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## THE „ZOGRAPH“ MODEL OF ORTHODOX PAINTING IN SOUTHEAST EUROPE 1830–1870

*Abstract:* The „zograph” model of painting from 1830 to 1870 represents a important period of development in sacral Orthodox Christian art in the Ottoman Empire. It was formed as a component part of the church revival from 1830 to 1870 and a unified supra-national cultural model in South East Europe. The „zograph” model of Orthodox Christian painting shows that the region of „European Turkey” did not represent a civilisational void, exclusively dominated by an ethnic folkloric culture, but a specific cultural model, conditioned by political, social and religious conditions.

One of the periods of the most intense production of Orthodox Christian ecclesiastical art in Southeast Europe took place during the XIX century. It was at this time that a great many Orthodox Christian churches were reconstructed, erected, decorated and equipped with liturgical items in Serbia, Macedonia, Northern Greece, Bulgaria, and in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The territory where this tremendous activity took place to develop a church culture was under the authority of the Ottoman Empire, and under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. As for painting activities, artists applied a „zograph“ model of Orthodox Christian iconography, which at that time already had a tradition that had endured for several centuries.<sup>1</sup>

Writing on ecclesiastical art and the zograph model of Orthodox Christian iconography already appeared at the time when they came into being, but it was not until the last five decades that the process of researching them evolved more intensely. It was at this time that a great many studies,

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<sup>1</sup> This painting model is named after the traditional orthodox painters –zographs. (from greek ζωγράφος – painter ). In the Art History „zograph“ model of painting is separeted from the academical pictural practice.

monographs and syntheses devoted to the artistic practice of the XIX century, were written in the region of Southeast Europe.<sup>2</sup> A view of Orthodox Christian art work, produced within the borders of the Ottoman Empire or in the territory of so-called European Turkey, was defined by two starting points. The first was influenced by the European cultural model of the XIX century, whilst the other originated from the nationalistic constructions of culture and art.

The first encounters of European contemporaries and academically educated artists and scholars of art had already created what is still today the prevailing stand on zographical artistic practice. It was considered to be a retrogarde imitation of Byzantine art, the final stage of Post-Byzantine art and the testimony of the decline of Byzantine art. Therefore, according to the views that prevailed even during the XIX century, this sacral artistic practice was defined as a form that had lost its meaning, which also meant that the territory where it unfolded was considered as an area where contemporary civilizational trends were not pursued and where folk culture dominated completely.

Although the general stand in academic circles was negative regarding this art, it found a significant place in the constructions of national culture. Artistic and cultural heritage represented an essential segment of the development of a national identity.<sup>3</sup> During the XIX and XX centuries, the nations of Southeast Europe, liberated from Turkish rule, also developed and learned about the history and scale of their own cultures. And, that is how zographic artists and their work were included in the appraisal and construction of national art.

The understanding of zographic art as a retrogarde variant of Byzantine art was the consequence of dialectic standpoints regarding the development of art, as well as the established Orinetalistic perception of the Balkans,<sup>4</sup> while emphasis on the national definition of this artistic practice was conditioned by the building of the national states in this region.<sup>5</sup> The negative reception of zographic painting became one of the paradigms in the perception of the entire culture of the Orthodox Christians under the Ottoman Empire in the XIX century, and powerfully contributed to the general stand about the backwardness and provinciality of Balkan culture at the time.

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<sup>2</sup> The basic literature is: Василиев, А., 1965; Χατζηδακης, Μ. 1987; Χατζηδακης, Μ. –Δρακοπουλου, Ε., 1997; Вујовић, Б., 1986; 219-265; Ракић, С., 1998.

<sup>3</sup> See: Smit, A., 1998, 135-155.

<sup>4</sup> On Orientalistic look on Balkans: Todorova, M, 1997.

New research of the Balkan cultures casts off the stereotypical, negative image that was constructed from the XIX century and on.<sup>6</sup> Research into cultural history points out intense communication about events in the rest of Europe<sup>7</sup> among the educated class of the Orthodox Christian community, in the time of Ottoman rule. Zographical painting also offers a different picture of the development of Balkan culture. In the period from 1830 to 1870, there was a vast revival and production of Orthodox Christian art. And so, most probably, there was not one Orthodox Christian church that was in service where zographical painting was not being done. The large number of art works that were completed, the activity of numerous zographical and architectural workshops, and the existence of many zographical manuals – *hermineia*, iconographic and programme solutions indicate that this process was not chaotic, and that it was limited by a modest material potential and a low level of visual culture. Therefore, an understanding of the „zograph“ model from 1830 to 1870, its role and significance, can be achieved only by clearly recognizing the basic elements that led to its duration and constituted its activities and the perception of it as being one of the factors of the culture and religious life of the Orthodox Christians under Ottoman rule.

### *I The religious and the cultural model 1830–1870*

The years from 1830 to 1870 span one of the prominent periods in the culture of the Orthodox Christians under Turkish imperial rule. In the years following the Treaty of Edirne in 1829, a change came about in the conditions of life of the non-Moslem population.<sup>8</sup> One of Turkey's obligations under the Treaty of Edirne referred to the improvement of the position of the Orthodox Christians and the conditions for ecclesiastical life to evolve.<sup>9</sup> During the fourth decade of the XIX century, a period of reforms began in the Ottoman Empire, the *tanzimat*,<sup>10</sup> which resulted in a more favourable

<sup>5</sup> On relationship between art history and building the nation : Locher, H., 2001, 195-202.

<sup>6</sup> Stereotypes on the Balkans are renewed in the last decades of XX century after the fall of SFR Yugoslavia. Therefore it is possible to make a continuity of negative projections on the Balkans. See: „Balkanski kasapi“, 2002, 137-146.

<sup>7</sup> See: Kitromilides, P, 1994, 51-70.

<sup>8</sup> See: Стојанчевић, В., 1971; Екмеџић, М., 1989, књ. 1, 303-334.

<sup>9</sup> Стојанчевић, В., 1971, 88.

<sup>10</sup> On Tanzimat: Hammer, J., 1979, 330-451.

legal position for Christians<sup>11</sup> And so, the development of ecclesiastical culture was determined by the fulfilment of the new conditions for the religious and church life of the Orthodox Christian population, and, in 1871., by the times when the Bulgarian exarchate was established, and by the outbreak of fierce inter-ethnic conflicts.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the period from 1830 to 1870 was a time when the development and life of the unified religious culture of Orthodox Christians flourished in the Ottoman Empire.

The fundamental characteristics of the cultural model, in which zographical art evolved, lay in the circumstances that prevailed in society and in the state. While XIX century Europe was cultivating the tradition of Enlightenment, paving the way to a progressive, secular society, the situation of the Ottoman Empire was entirely different. Religious affiliation played a dominant role. Islam was the leading state religion and the Orthodox Christians were one of the most significant religious minorities which, in certain periods, like after 1830, acquired greater and more important rights. Thus, the whole of life in the region of the Ottoman Empire was primarily determined by the religious organization of the state. This meant that different periods in the history of the Christian nations under Turkish rule were defined by the status of their religion and religious freedoms and the way in which the organization of their churches functioned.

The establishment of religious freedoms in the period after 1830 led to the life and culture of the Orthodox Christians being chiefly characterized by a revival of religious life. The main tasks of the religious revival were certainly directed to shaping parochial church life, which had been destroyed in the wake of numerous wars and rebellions in the first decades of the XIX century. And so, old churches were repaired and new ones were built. The religious revival came about in new circumstances in the organization of the Orthodox Christian church. At the end of the XVIII century, in 1767, the Ohrid archdiocese and the Peć Patriarchate, which traditionally played a significant role in the religious life of the population of Slavic origin, were abolished.<sup>13</sup> Subsequently, jurisdiction over this area was handed to the Patriarchate of Constantinople.<sup>14</sup> Bishops, known as phanariots, were appointed in Istanbul to lead the eparchies.<sup>15</sup> After the liberation from Turk-

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<sup>11</sup> Павловић, С., 98-101.

<sup>12</sup> Павловић, С., 156-158.

<sup>13</sup> Слијепчевић, Ђ., 1991, књ. 1, 421-450; Снегаров, И., 1995, 150-151.

<sup>14</sup> On activities of Patriarchate of Constantinople: Hassiotis, I., 1999, 41-55; Kitromilides, P.; 1999, 131-145.

<sup>15</sup> Arnakis, G., 1974, 133-140.

ish rule and the creation of the new states, a process began of establishing independent Orthodox churches in Greece and Serbia, which played an important role in creating their respective national identities. Characteristically, the work of the phanariot hierarchy focused on activities at the level of the eparchy administration, while in the arrangement of church life, one of the most important roles belonged to the administrators of the parishes and the monasteries. In the period of 1830 to 1870, the role and significance of the phanariots declined among the Slavic population because of the Patriarchate's system of taxation, the poor relations of these bishops with their congregations, and their opposition to Slavic characteristics of religious life.<sup>16</sup>

The state of affairs in the church's organization led to the religious revival not being completely centralized and, instead, local characteristics largely determined it. This resulted in the strengthening of local cults. As the parish and cathedral churches were the only public buildings of the Orthodox Christian population, in them were reflected all the segments of the life of the parish or the monastery center. Therefore, besides a religious function, churches also contained many social characteristics.

The conditions in which church life unfolded resulted in the ktetors, or patrons who came from the wealthy, urban, mercantile, artisan and rural population having an essential influence on the formulation of ecclesiastical art. Their influence could have been manifold. They were the representatives, who, according to their economic means, encouraged the renewal and building of churches, selected the craftsmen, the builders and the painters, and influenced the programme solutions of the iconography and mural painting.<sup>17</sup> The motives that initiated the mechanism of patronage were different. Most certainly, the motives were primarily religious ones, but it also implied prominence in the local community, as well as the idea of cultural patriotism. Thus, one of the main features of the revival of church life in the territory of the Ottoman Empire, from 1830 to 1870, was that an important role was played by the local communities, personified in the ktetors, patrons, and the administrators of the parishes and monasteries.

In the Ottoman Empire from 1830 to 1870, the process of creating national identities was not finished.<sup>18</sup> It was not the same for all the ethnic

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<sup>16</sup> Стојанчевић, В., 1971, 98-99.

<sup>17</sup> On mechanism of patronage of ecclesiastical art in South East Europe in XIX ct.: Макуљевић, Н., 1998, 119-131; Κωνσταντιος, Δ., 1999, 409-416; Макуљевић, Н., in print .

<sup>18</sup> The region of Sout East Europe is recognized as a last one in a history of European nationalism: Kohn, H., 1946, 543.

groups or in all parts of the southern Slav territories.<sup>19</sup> Religious and linguistic features – the elements of protonational values – formed the bases of identity. Thus, there was a clear distinction between the Christians and the Moslems, as well as between the Slavic and the Greek populations. Within the frame of the Slavic population, depending on its geographical position, the traditional and protonational values and influence of the newly formed states, the Serbian and the Bulgarian national identities were established. In the region of Macedonia, from where a numerous group of zographs and builders came, the process of nationalization had not been finished and so emphasis was placed on local identities. The zographs, such as Dimitar Krstevič – Dičo zograf, offer an eloquent illustration of this. He signed himself in Greek as well as in the Slavic language,<sup>20</sup> and he often stressed that he was from the „State of Debar village of Tresonče.<sup>21</sup> There are similar signatures belonging to other zographs, such as the prodigious Vena Ilievič.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the religious and cultural model from 1830 to 1870, in the broadest sense, was determined by shared Orthodox Christian religious beliefs and the recognition of local and not national values.

### *II The religious revival and zographic painting.*

The religious revival that unfolded in the Orthodox Christian church in the Balkan territories under Ottoman administration encompassed numerous activities in church life. One of the activities needed in order to establish an active influence on believers was linked to the use and production of appropriate ecclesiastical literature.<sup>23</sup> During the XIX century, as well as earlier, this territory was not completely isolated from other Orthodox Christian centers. The church literature that was published in Russia or in the Karlovac Metropolitanate was regularly used by the Slav hierarchy. The distribution of the necessary liturgical books was done along the trade routes, while the big monasteries, such as Hilandar, were centers, whose libraries were mostly up to date regarding contemporary events in the domain of religious litera-

<sup>19</sup> Ekmečić, M., knj. 2, 1989, 152–173.

<sup>20</sup> One example is signature of Dičo zograf on icon of St. Nikola on the iconostasis of Church St. Nikola - Gerakomija in Ohrid. See: Шекеровска, B., 2001, 253.

<sup>21</sup> Васиљев, A., 1965, 183.

<sup>22</sup> Signature of Veno zograf on icon of St. Petka in church of village Sveta Petka: Documentation of Chair for the New Art history at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade – Sveta Petka.

<sup>23</sup> On Greek and Orthodox theology on Balkans until 1820: Podskalsky, G., 1988, 329–385; Peufuss, D., 1989., 95–165.

ture.<sup>24</sup> During the first half of the XIX century, a more intense production of Slavonic church literature commenced in this territory, as well. Progress was made in the development of Bulgarian literature, in the age of „vzroždenija“<sup>25</sup> and, in Istanbul, Neofit Rilski published a typikon in the Church Slavonic language.<sup>26</sup> Kiril Pejčinović, the author of a large number of books of religious moralistic content, was active in the region of Macedonia.<sup>27</sup> Ecclesiastical literature represented the pillar of the curriculum in the schools of a religious educational character, the establishment of which had a dynamic development in the regions under Turkish authority in the mid-XIX century.<sup>28</sup> The use of ecclesiastical literature from Russia, Serbia and the Karlovac Metropolitane, and a special publication intended for local requirements and school education, established and strengthened the ideas of religious renewal that were also implemented by means of the iconographic and the programme solutions of zographic painting.

The production and nature of ecclesiastical literature indicates that the ideas of religious revival kept up with the trends and activities that had unfolded in similar circumstances in earlier periods, as well. Thus, emphasis was placed on the cults of saints, particularly the cult of the Mother of God, and there was also an emphasis on moralist and didactic activities.<sup>29</sup> The direction the religious revival took determined some of the segments of the programme and iconographic solutions of iconostases and mural paintings. The direct models that may have influenced the achievement of the religious renewal in zographic painting, originated primarily from the Mount Athos, where, until the Greek uprising in 1821, a large process of renewal and the painting of many monastery units were unfolding. Hilandar had the greatest significance for the Slavic Orthodox Christian population. Here, at the beginning of the XIX century, important works were being painted. The existing medieval painting was renewed and adapted, while the outer porch of the catholicon was painted in the course of 1803 to 1804.<sup>30</sup> Thus, the religious revival from 1830 to 1870 may have largely followed the practice, which was interrupted in 1821.

<sup>24</sup> On library of monastery Hilandar: Дачанац, С., 1997, 126-150.

<sup>25</sup> Пеневъ, Б., 1933, 212-937; Литература на възрождането, 1966, 87-623.

<sup>26</sup> Типикъ църковни, въ Константинополи аѢнг.

<sup>27</sup> Поленаковиќ, Х., 1973, 81-218.

<sup>28</sup> Хаџи Васиљевић, Ј., 1928.

<sup>29</sup> For the theological literature in this period is characteristic a work of Kiril Pejčinović. See: Кирил ѱеромонах 1840.

<sup>30</sup> On wall painting in Hilandar in XIX century: Дачанац, С., 1997, 87-100.

One of the focal points of the revival was the reference to tradition. Within the framework of all the church reforms during the new century, tradition played an important role. Tradition was interpreted as the measure of the correctness of contemporary ecclesiastical standpoints. It represented one of the most important arguments of religious correctness and influenced the cultivation of retrospection within the framework of ecclesiastical art.<sup>31</sup> The significance of tradition, which became topical in Europe from the end of the XVI century, had a special importance for the Orthodox Christian church under Turkish domination. Exposed to the danger of Islamization and to the activities of the missionaries of other Christian churches, by invoking tradition and the need to preserve it, the Orthodox Christian church kept its flock under its wing. The perception of tradition did not only refer to respect for the religious rules but also to emphasizing historical duration. Consequently, in the requests that were submitted to the rulers of Serbia for assistance to the churches and monasteries on the territory of the Ottoman Empire, it was frequently underlined that they were the endowments of the medieval rulers.<sup>32</sup>

The question of tradition had special importance in iconography. In the Orthodox Christian church's comprehension, the teachings on icons had a dogmatic character. The icon represented the testimony of Christ becoming man and of his divine and human nature.<sup>33</sup> It was stressed that the zographs had painted Christ from prototypes for centuries and that the task of every zograph was to pursue that course. Digression from tradition would have meant digression from religion, and the path into heresy. Thus, the teachings about icons stressed their antiquity and stressed the need for the respect and copying of the old models.<sup>34</sup>

The dogmatic significance of the icon was emphasized in theological literature and the painting manuals – *hermeneia*.<sup>35</sup> The *hermeneia* contained the iconographic and programme rules, technological instructions as well as the theoretical, dogmatic foundations of ecclesiastical art. Consequently, along with stressing the dogmatic features of the icon, emphasis was laid on invoking earlier models and the obligation of repeating their

<sup>31</sup> Тимотијевић, М., 1996, 229-241.

<sup>32</sup> See a letter from Arsenije, the hegoumenos of closter St. John–Bigorski to serbian ruler Miloš Obrenović from 1837: Џамбазовски, К., 1979, 135-141

<sup>33</sup> Сокровиште Христијанское, 1824, 216–217.

<sup>34</sup> On tradition in XVIII ст: Тимотијевић, М., 2003, 201-205.

<sup>35</sup> On hermeneias in South East Europe in XIX century: Муџафов, Е., 2001, 110–192; Муџафов, Е., 2001а, 268–279; Поп-Атанасов, Г., 1978, 197–202; Георгиевски, М., 1987, 123–130.

solutions.<sup>36</sup> Panselinos appeared as the ideal Orthodox Christian painter. He was a painter, who lived at the end of the XIII and the beginning of the XIV century, to whom the work in Protaton on the Mount Athos was attributed. Sava Dečanac refers to the tradition of Panselinos as the author of the mural paintings in Hilandar.<sup>37</sup> The values of the Hilandar iconography are highlighted in the XIX century literature devoted to this monastery. Thus, Kiril Mihailović points out that the iconography „without comparison“, although very old ... has now been renewed and artistically done with Serbian inscriptions“.<sup>38</sup> The view regarding Panselinos as the ideal Orthodox Christian painter was also adopted by the zographs who entered his name in the painting manuals.<sup>39</sup> The idea of tradition and emulating the old models endured right up to the first decades of the XX century. Testimony of this is in the conversation between Svetozar Radojčić and the old zograph, Janko Frčkoski, in Skopje, who emphasized the link between the zographic craft and the models, and believed that the end of this artistic practice had come because of the deformation of the original models.<sup>40</sup>

Although reference to the old models and emphasis on Panselinos as the ideal painter were constant features in the painting handbooks, zographic practice did not completely follow medieval concepts. Research into zographic church paintings from 1830 to 1870 shows the presence of different iconographic, artistic and decorative solutions that originated from mannerist and baroque and even Rococo conceptions.<sup>41</sup> With the appearance of painters, who had been trained in art academies<sup>42</sup> a clear departure from medieval practice was to highlight the name and identity of the zograph, which clearly indicated the new status and awareness of the painter.<sup>43</sup> Thus, tradition was reflected mostly in the application of elements such as a golden background, indirect narrativeness and medieval painting procedures. These

<sup>36</sup> Compare hermeneia of Krste Avramov Dičoski in: Arhiv na Makedonija, Skopje, M II 17, 198-200.

<sup>37</sup> Дачанац, С., 1997, 94;100.

<sup>38</sup> Михајловић, К., 44.

<sup>39</sup> Hetherington, P., 1996, 2;4; Мутафов., Е. 1999, 212-215.

<sup>40</sup> Радочић, С., 1966, 4-5.

<sup>41</sup> On influences from european painting on zographic practice 1830-1870: Милосављевић, Д., 1990, 31-40; Грозданов, С., 1991, 217-223; Тричковска, Ј., 1991, 207-212; Тричковска, Ј., 2003, 223-232; Соколова, Д. 2001; 23-36.

<sup>42</sup> One of the most important painters who was trained at the art academy and realized a large production of church paintings is painter from Samokovo Stanislav Dospevski: Васиљев, А., 1965, 394-419.

<sup>43</sup> Good example gives Dičo zograf who take a signature allmost on every icon.

conceptions of zographic poetics were accompanied by the experience gained from the activities of the Italo-Cretan workshops of the XVI century, which then, particularly from the beginning of the XVIII century<sup>44</sup> was adopted throughout the Balkans.<sup>45</sup> Consequently, this practice, which was applied in religious graphics,<sup>46</sup> although, during the XIX century, it adopted solutions applied in Orthodox Christian ecclesiastical art from the territory of Ukraine and from the Karlovac Metropolitanate, and from European artistic practice, brought together different artistic experiences in painting and created the impression of upholding tradition in zographic art. And so, during the period from 1830 to 1870, the constructed „medieval“ tradition continued in the frame of the needs of the ongoing religious revival, which clearly differed from the concept of religious painting as historical truth that was cultivated in the territory of Russia, the Principality of Serbia and the Karlovac Metropolitanate – Patriarchate.<sup>47</sup>

### *III Territory*

In understanding the zographic model of Orthodox Christian painting, the definition of the area, where it unfolded, occupies an important place. The picture obtained in contemporary research is not whole. One clearly observes the diffusion of this model over the territory of Greece, Macedonia and Bulgaria, whereas in Serbian historiography, its presence was not documented until around 1830. The new art historical research in southern Serbia<sup>48</sup> and the knowledge of artistic practice in Kosovo and Metohia, Sandžak, and Bosnia and Herzegovina definitely indicates the presence and domination of this model, right until the end of the XIX century. This shows that the range of the „zograph model“ of Orthodox Christian iconography in Southeast Europe was defined by the territorial extent of the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

<sup>44</sup> On XVIII century painting on Balkans: Šelmić, L., 2004, 52-58; Попова, Е., 2001; Поповска Коробар, В., 2003.

<sup>45</sup> This practice Miroslav Timotijević attributes as early baroque painting: Тимотијевић, М., 1996, 72-93.

<sup>46</sup> See: Παλαστρατου, Δ., 1986; Давидов, Д., 1990, 52–152; Чокревска-Филип, Ј., 2003.

<sup>47</sup> On religious painting as a historical truth: Макуљевић, Н., 1997а, 205-229. Тимотијевић, М., 2002, 374-377.

<sup>48</sup> Research is made by Chair for New Art history from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade during 2002, 2003. and 2004.

Research on ecclesiastical art shows that in this territory, there was a unified „art scene“, within the scope of which the movement of builders and painters became very dynamic. This is a clear sign of the activity of the more prominent zographs, who fulfilled commissions in the wealthier parishes and monastery centers.

The activity of well known zographs shows that the range of their movement was extremely vast. At the beginning of the XIX century, we encounter zographs from Macedonia, such as Mihailo Konstantinović, Janje Moler and Anastas Konstantinović in the region of northern Serbia.<sup>49</sup> The Lazović family of painters from Bijelo Polje were busy from the Adriatic Coast across Montenegro, Kosovo and Metohija, to Serbia.<sup>50</sup> During the second half of the XIX century, art workshops from Debar were working in the area from western Macedonia all the way to south-eastern Serbia.<sup>51</sup> The painters from Samokovo were working in the area of Macedonia, as well as in Serbia.<sup>52</sup> Artists from Galičnik, such as the brothers Teofil and Vasilije Djinovski were also to be found in Montenegro<sup>53</sup> at the end of the XIX century, and some of them, like Hristo Makariev, appear throughout the Balkans, most notably, in the region of Ohrid, Ser, Štip, Plovdiv and Sarajevo.<sup>54</sup>

In their movements, the zographs accompanied the activities of masons and wood carvers.<sup>55</sup> Thus, one of the best known building workshops, the Damjanov's from Veles, erected churches throughout the southern Slav territories within the Ottoman Empire. Among other things, they built the Church of the Holy Mother of God in Skopje, in 1835, St. John in Kratov, in 1836, St. Pantaleimon in Veles, in 1840, the catholicon of the Monastery of St. Joachim Osogovski, in 1845, St. Nikola in Kumanovo, in 1851, the Church of the Holy Spirit in Niš, from 1852 to 1872, the Church of the Holy Trinity in Sarajevo, from 1863 to 1868, and the Church of the Holy Trinity in Mostar, in 1873.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Вујовић, Б., 1986, 254-264.

<sup>50</sup> Вујовић, Б., 1986, 240-242.

<sup>51</sup> Documentation of Chair for New art history at the Faculty of Philosophy Belgrade.

<sup>52</sup> On painters from Samokovo: Василиев, А., 1965, 1965, 313-476; Попова, Е., 2001a, 215-224.

<sup>53</sup> See: Поленаковиќ, Х., 1973a, 278-279.

<sup>54</sup> Василиев, А., 1965; 216-217.

<sup>55</sup> On work of masons and wood carvers from Macedonia: Svetieva, А., 1992., 124-156.

<sup>56</sup> O Damjanov's workshop: Тимоски, К., 1966; Хаџиева-Николска, Каспарова, Е., 2001; Кадијевић, А., 1997, 14-24; Кадијевић, А., 1998-1999, 167-175.

The routes of the zographs and the builders largely coincided with the trends in the movement of the population, merchant and artisans' routes and, to the greatest extent, encompassed the territory of the Balkans.<sup>57</sup> In the period from 1830 to 1870, intense links existed between the Balkan cities. Therefore, one can speak of a unified culture of Orthodox Christian merchants and craftsmen from different towns, such as Sarajevo, Mostar, Niš, Vranje, Sofia, Skopje, Prilep, Ohrid, Thessaloniki, and Ioannina.<sup>58</sup> The unity of this culture was established by identical religious ideals and material resources, but also because of the fact that the Balkans, were largely constituted of members of the Aromunian-Tsintsar ethnic community, who were important factors in commerce and trade in the Balkans.<sup>59</sup> Thus, by means of a multitude of links, it was possible to create common ideals in designing and decorating religious buildings, which is clearly indicated by the activity of the Damnjanov's builders' workshop. Besides religious unity, the visual artistic culture of the Orthodox Christians was codified by the activities of the Ottoman authorities, who endeavoured to emphasize the difference in the position of their subjects, according to their religious affiliation.<sup>60</sup>

The work of zographs and masons shows that it was extremely dynamic within a certain region, but that it was also defined by ecclesiastical and state jurisdiction. Thus, their work can be clearly linked to the territory of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the borders of the Ottoman Empire. A clear example of this is offered by the situation in ecclesiastical art in the Principality of Serbia and in the development of art in the Kingdom of Greece.<sup>61</sup> Thus, the range of the „zograph“ model depended directly on the status of the state and on the ecclesiastical organization. In the territory of the Principality of Serbia, one encounters zographs right until 1830 to 1833<sup>62</sup> until the *Hatisherif* which granted a more independent status to the state and the church, when their work extended to the state borders.<sup>63</sup> The cessation of zographic activities also came about because of the different

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<sup>57</sup> On Balkans and historical, geographical and social aspects in the development of material culture: Цвијић, Ј., 1922.

<sup>58</sup> Archival sources for Balkan trade in XIX st.: Џамбазовски, К., 1979, 25-495; Skarić, V., 1937, 203-204.

<sup>59</sup> Поповић, Д., 1937, 110-180.

<sup>60</sup> Попрошић-Дворнић, М., 1988, 184-186.

<sup>61</sup> See icons painted by Θ. Βρυζακης and Ν. Λυτρας : ΛΥδακη, Σ., 1976, 125; 139,

<sup>62</sup> Вујовић, Б., 1986, 265.

<sup>63</sup> On stopping the work of zographs Konstantin from Bitolj and Nikola Janković from Ohrida in Serbia in the mid of the XIX century: Јовановић, М., 1987, 86-87.

character of the church's organization in the Principality of Serbia. Here, after the arrival of Metropolitan Petar Jovanović, a period of historical church theology began, according to the model of the already existing experience of Russia and the Karlovac Metropolitan, in which the idea was advocated of the religious painting as the bearer of historical truth. Thus, with the enlargement and activities of the Serbian state, the work of the zogographs ceased and, academically educated artists instead took over their position of prominence. This process was also confirmed after 1878, and the Berlin Congress, in the liberated regions of southern Serbia, where a complete reform of ecclesiastical life came about, which also involved changes in the construction and decoration of the Orthodox Christian churches.<sup>64</sup>

The activities of the zogographs indicates that the area of their activities cannot be defined by ethnic or national borders, nor by the territorial and economic relations of south and north, but primarily by ecclesiastical jurisdiction over a specific territory and respect for the ideals of church iconography.

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Research into the circumstances of the creation, mechanism and the scale of these activities, the poetics and identities of the artists indicates that the zogographic model of Orthodox Christian iconography was formed as a component of the religious model that was cultivated under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the territory governed by the Ottoman Empire. This artistic model was common to all Orthodox Christians in the territory and was defined by the needs of the religious revival from 1830 to 1870.

The conditions in which church life unfolded led to the local church communities becoming the essential bearers of this model, who, with their selection of the zogographs, contributions and patronage, defined how church painting was to be done. Thus, the religious revival also gained powerful, local characteristics. The range of the „zograph“ model was defined by the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Thus, it was applied throughout the Ottoman Empire, on the territory where the Orthodox Christians lived. This influenced the formation of a territorial art scene, across which the most important masons and artists travelled. All the zogographs applied an identical retrospective model of iconography, based on respect for dogma and tradition, which also corresponded to the requirements of the religious revival.

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<sup>64</sup> Макуљевић, Н., 1997, 35-58.

The „zograph“ model of iconography from 1830 to 1870 represents a special period of development in sacral Orthodox Christian art in the Ottoman Empire. It was characterized by a prolific productivity, due to favourable political circumstances and a greater degree of religious tolerance. The „zograph“ model of Orthodox Christian painting shows that the region of „European Turkey“ did not represent a civilizational void, exclusively dominated by an ethnic folkloric culture, but that here, a specific cultural model, conditioned by political, social and religious conditions, unfolded. Thus, the all-Orthodox Christian church revival from 1830 to 1870 led to the development of a unified supra-national cultural model in South East Europe.

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## ЗОГРАФСКИ МОДЕЛ ПРАВОСЛАВНОГ СЛИКАРСТВА У ЈУГОИСТОЧНОЈ ЕВРОПИ 1830-1870

Р е з и м е

У периоду 1830-1870, приликом осликавања православних храмова на простору југоисточне Европе коришћен је зографски модел православног сликарства. Истраживањем услова настанка, механизма и простора деловања, поетике иконописа и идентитета уметника показују се да је зографски модел православног иконописа формиран као саставни део верског модела који је био негован под јурисдикцијом Васељенске патријаршије на простору под Отоманском империјом. Овај ликовни модел био је заједнички свим православним хришћанима на овом простору и био је одређен потребама верске обнове 1830-1870.

Услови у којима се одвијао духовни живот утицали су да у најбитније носиоце овог модела спадају локалне црквене заједнице које су одабиром зографа, прилозима и ктиторисањем одређивали реализовање сакралне ликовне праксе. Тако да је верска обнова добила и снажне локалне карактеристике. Распрострањеност зографског модела била је одређена јурисдикцијом Васељенске патријаршије. Тако да је широм Отоманске империје, на територији на којој је живело православно становништво, он био примењиван. То је условило уобличавање просторне и јединствене балканске уметничке сцене широм које су се кретали најзначајнији градитељи и сликари. Сви зографи су примењивали

истоветни ретроспективни модел иконописа заснован на поштовању догмата и традиције што је било одговарало и захтевима верске обнове.

Зографски модел иконописа 1830-1870 представља посебан период развоја сакралне православне уметности у Отоманској империји. Њега карактерише велика продуктивност која је била одређена повољним политичким условима и већим степеном верске толеранција.

Зографски модел православног сликарства показује да подручје «Европске Турске» није представљало празан цивилизацијски простор у коме је доминирала искључиво етничка фолклорна култура већ да се ту одвијао специфичан културни модел условљен политичким, друштвеним и верским условима. Тако да је свеpravославна црквена обнова, 1830-1870., условила изградњу јединственог наднационалног културног модела у југоисточној Европи.