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ЗБОРНИК РАДОВА

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LVII

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DEPICTIONS OF ST. MARK OF EPHEBUS IN POST-BYZANTINE ART

The paper discusses the visual representations of St. Mark of Ephesus, under-researched in previous scholarship, which have survived in several monuments of post-Byzantine wall painting in the Balkans. These depictions are analyzed as visual testimonies of the veneration of Mark of Ephesus in the period under consideration, i.e. as important indicators of the presence, continuity and dissemination of his cult a long time before his official canonization in the 18th century. The paper also offers an overview of the different iconographic versions of the images of St. Mark of Ephesus. Finally, it examines the possible reasons for the emergence of images representing this famed anti-Unionist metropolitan in the discussed monuments. In this context, the images of Mark of Ephesus are considered through the prism of their placement in a given iconographic program; wherever possible, the role of the ktetor and artist in their creation is examined.

Keywords: St. Mark of Ephesus, Council/Union of Florence, iconography, post-Byzantine art, fresco/wall painting, 16th century

One of the most striking figures in the Byzantine intellectual, ecclesiastical and even socio-political landscape in the fateful decades leading up to the fall of Constantinople was the theologian Manuel Eugenikos (c. 1392–1445, i.e. Mark of Ephesus). This “atlas” or “pillar” of Orthodoxy, as he is now hailed in the Eastern Church, was born in the capital of the Byzantine Empire. He received a good education in his hometown, learning first from his father George, deacon and *sakellios* of Hagia Sophia, and then from the leading scholars of his time, John Chortasmenos (1370–1437) and George Gemistos Plethon (c. 1355/1360–1452/1454). In time, as his reputation and authority grew, he acquired a number of followers, the most notable among them being George Scholarios, who went on to become Gennadios II (1454–1464), the first patriarch of Constantinople under Ottoman rule. Despite having acquired knowledge

in a wide range of different fields, primarily secular humanities, Manuel Eugenikos decided early on to take the vows. He became a monk in 1420, probably at the Transfiguration Monastery on the island of Antigone in the Sea of Marmara, where he lived before relocating to the famed Constantinopolitan monastery of St. George in Mangana. Both of these aspects of the personality of Mark of Ephesus – his great erudition and monastic dedication – must be equally borne in mind in any consideration of his historical role. As is well known, this role concerns his participation at the Council of Ferrara–Florence (1438–1439), convened to discuss a union between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Church. Mark Eugenikos participated at this council as the leader of the Byzantine delegation and the newly anointed metropolitan of Ephesus, an office he had received in the spring of 1437 at the suggestion of John VIII Palaiologos (1425–1448). At the council sessions Mark of Ephesus took a firm stand, strongly polemicizing with the opposing side and rejecting the Latin teaching of the procession of the Holy Spirit from both the Father and the Son (*Filioque*) and the existence of the Purgatory. He remained steadfast in his views to the very end. As the most distinguished theologian among the Orthodox bishops in attendance, he was the only member of the present senior Orthodox clergy who publicly refused to sign the decree to formalize the Union (*Laetentur Caeli*) on 6 July 1439. Upon his return to Constantinople (February 1440), he was celebrated as a true defender of Orthodoxy in anti-Unionist circles. Anti-Uniatism gradually attracted more and more followers, ultimately leading to the collapse of the Union. After a few years spent in isolation in Ephesus, Lemnos and Constantinople, Mark of Ephesus departed on 23 June 1445.¹

The Orthodox church venerates Mark of Ephesus as a saint and commemorates him on 19 January. The celebrated anti-Unionist metropolitan was officially canonized only three centuries after his death – in 1734, during the patriarchate of Seraphim I (1733–1734).² There is no doubt, however, that the cult of Mark of Ephesus began to take shape shortly after his passing. The funeral oration delivered by George Scholarios at the Constantinopolitan monastery of St. George in Mangana already contained

¹ The most recent overview of the biography and theological opus of St. Mark of Ephesus, along with extensive bibliographical information, is provided in Conostas, *Mark Eugenikos*, 411–475. Particularly noteworthy among the contributions cited in this publication is Joseph Gill's study about the Council of Florence, cf. Gill, *The Council of Florence*, passim, and the entry on Mark of Ephesus in: PLP, 6193. Along with the highly informative entry on Mark of Ephesus in PE XLIII, 685–693 (A. V. Barmin), notable contributions published after 2002 include Kappes, *A Latin Defense of Mark of Ephesus*, 161–230; *Hinterberger, Schabel*, *Andreas Chrysoberges' Dialogue*, 492–545; Kappes, *Mark of Ephesus*, 109–150. More recent editions of the writings of Mark Eugenikos include a monograph discussing his hymnographic opus (cf. Mineva, *To υμνογραφικό έργο του Μάρκου Ευγενικού*), as well as a previously unknown commentary of an oration by Libanios (cf. Pascale, *Un nuovo manoscritto*, 339–361). In the writing of this paper another particularly useful resource has been the Serbian translation of his selected works and hagiographic writings dedicated to him: Sveti Marko Efeski. The doctoral thesis of Bishop Irinej (Bulović) awarded from the University of Athens in 1983 has been translated into Serbian very recently: *Episkop novosadski i bački dr Irinej (Bulović)*, *Tajna razlikovanja božanske suštine u Svetoj Trojici*.

² For the canonization decision of the synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, addressed to the Archbishop of Kefalonia and Zakynthos, cf. *Nikodēmos Agiorētēs*, *Ακολουθία*, 21–29; On the lead-up and circumstances of the canonization cf. *Blanchet*, *Un plaidoyer inédit*, 95–131. Cf. et BHG III, 46.

so many elements of a celebratory text that it has been classed by scholars as a hagiographic work (BHG 2251).³ Shortly thereafter, deacon John Eugenikos (after 1394 – before 1454), brother of Mark Eugenikos and notary of the Great Church, composed his service and synaxarion *vita*, which have survived in two redactions (BHG 2252–2253).⁴ Finally, under Patriarch Maximos III (1476–1482), a new *akolouthia* to St. Mark of Ephesus was composed by Manuel of Corinth († 1530/1531), *rhetor* of the Great Church;⁵ in 1499 the memory of the Ephesian metropolitan was included in the synodikon of Orthodoxy.⁶

The research of the cult of Mark of Ephesus has so far not focused on the visual representations of this saint.⁷ It has thus remained insufficiently known that in the 16th century – a long time before his synodal canonization in 1734 – his images were painted in several churches in various parts of the Balkans. Although admittedly scarce,⁸ his surviving images nonetheless represent excellent testimonies of the veneration of Mark of Ephesus in the post-Byzantine period. In other words, the general picture of the depth and scope of the cult of St. Mark of Ephesus, in the period before his official inclusion in the family of Orthodox saints in the 18th century, can hardly be complete without an insight into the history of his representation in Orthodox art. Quite the contrary, in fact: being unaware of these images could result in some unfounded inferences about the nature of the cult of the renowned anti-Unionist bishop.⁹ Filling this gap in the research of the veneration of St. Mark of Ephesus represents the main task of this paper.

* * *

³ Oeuvres complètes de Gennade Scholarios, 247–254; *Sideras*, Die byzantinischen Grabreden, 367–370. Cf. *Blanchet*, Gennadios Scholarios, 396 sq.

⁴ Le Synaxaire de Marc d'Éphèse, 97–107; Acolouthie de Marc Eugenicos, 195–235. For the English translation of his brief *vita* cf. *Gill*, Personalities, 56–60. On John Eugenikos cf. PLP 6189.

⁵ *Papadopoulos-Kerameus*, Μανουήλ ὁ Κορίνθιος, 90–102; Documents relatifs au Concile de Florence II. cols. [353–384]/491–522. On Manuel of Corinth cf. PLP, no. 16712.

⁶ *Papadopoulos-Kerameus*, Μάρκος ὁ Ἐφέσιμος, 60. Cf. *Blanchet*, Un plaidoyer inédit, 106.

⁷ Cf. *Constas*, Mark Eugenikos, 412, n. 4, who only mentions the miniature of Mark of Ephesus in an 18th-century manuscript (cf. n. 68 *infra*). The under-researched status of the visual representations of St. Mark of Ephesus is best illustrated by the fact that the most well-known lexicon of Christian iconography does not include an entry about him, cf. LCI VII. Relevant reference books that offer biographical data on the Ephesian metropolitan fail to provide a section about his visual representations like they usually do for other saints mentioned in those publications, cf. ODB II, 742; PE XLIII, 685–693.

⁸ Besides the small number of the images of St. Mark of Ephesus, it is worth noting here that his name fails to appear in post-Byzantine painter's manuals, cf. *Medić*, Stari slikarski priručnici. II–III.

⁹ Cf. *Mineva*, Predlozheniia za kanonizaciia, 196–209, which treats the cultic celebration of St. Mark of Ephesus as an example of an unsuccessful or belated cult. He is compared with some other figures whose celebratory texts were composed shortly after their death but whose cult failed to take root – the Serbian despot Stefan Lazarević (1377–1427), who was officially canonized as late as 1927; or Patriarch Euthymios II of Constantinople (1410–1416) and the primate of the Bulgarian church of the same name (1375–1393), neither of whom were ever officially canonized. Since her consideration fails to take into account the visual representations of Mark of Ephesus, the author's main conclusion is difficult to accept.

According to some written sources, the first visual representations of St. Mark of Ephesus were created concurrently with the earliest hagiographic writings dedicated to him. In his defense of the Council of Florence penned sometime after 1455, the learned supporter of the Union John Plousiadenos (1426?–1500), who later became the bishop of Methone under Venetian rule (before 1492),¹⁰ reports that the people venerated Mark of Ephesus as a saint and that he was represented on icons. A particularly noteworthy piece of information is that in those works of art the saint was shown together with Gregory Palamas (1296–1359), another luminary of Orthodox theology and a fervent opponent of cooperation with the Western church.¹¹ The association with this leader of the hesychast movement mentioned in this written testimony about their joint visual representations is very understandable given the uncompromising anti-Latin position of both. Furthermore, it is important to note that Mark Eugenikos was also a follower of sorts of Gregory Palamas in his theological writings, and not only in their polemical and dogmatic segment.¹²

Unfortunately, none of the icons mentioned by John Plousiadenos have survived. The oldest extant representation of St. Mark of Ephesus was created a few decades later – almost eighty years after the saint’s death, and it has survived in a monument built during the first century of the Ottoman rule in the former Serbian territories. This is a bust in the Church of St. John the Forerunner in the village of Jašunja near Leskovac (fig. 1). According to the ktetorial inscription, the construction of this modest monastery church was funded by Andronikos Kantakouzenos and his brothers, during the time of *hegoumenos* Teodor and “in the days of Emperor Selim”, in 1516/1517. The frescoing of the church was completed on 1 August 1524 during the reign of Sultan Suleiman in the Ottoman Empire and sponsored by another ktetor, a certain Petar of Sofia, during the time of Luka, the new *hegoumenos* of the monastery.¹³ The image of St. Mark Eugenikos is located in the sanctuary and belongs to a long series of busts of hierarchs in medallions covering the entire second fresco zone. The half-length figure of the Ephesian metropolitan is on the southern wall of the

¹⁰ On this intriguing figure cf. e.g. *Manoussacas*, *Recherches*, 28–51; PLP, no. 23385; PE XV, 610–614; *Despotakis*, *Some observations*, 129–137.

¹¹ PG 159, col. 1357B.7–8, 11–14: “τὸν καλούμενον Παλαμᾶν καὶ τὸν Ἐφέσου Μάρκον [...] δοξάζετε καὶ ὑμνεῖτε, καὶ εἰκόνας ἐγκοσμεῖτε αὐτοῖς, καὶ πανηγυρίζοντες στέργετε αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀγίους καὶ προσκυνεῖτε.” Cf. *Constas*, *Mark Eugenikos*, 422; *Mineva*, *Predložheniia za kanonizaciia*, 200. On this work cf. *Candal*, *La «Apologia» del Plusiadenos*, 36–57. John Plousiadenos also wrote an extensive polemical text against Mark Eugenikos, cf. PG 159, cols. 1023–1094.

¹² On this cf. the extensive study by Bishop Irinej (Bulović) cited in n. 1. Cf. also *Constas*, *Mark Eugenikos*, 452, 460–461; *Demetracopoulos*, *Palamas Transformed*, 342–368. Mark of Ephesus wrote a commentary of the Jesus Prayer, cf. *Ieromonachou Eirēnaiou Bulović*, *Ἡ ἐρμηνεία τῆς εὐχῆς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, 345–352. For the English translation cf. *Constas*, *Mark Eugenikos*, 465–467. Cf. et *Rigo*, *Marco Eugenio*, 179–193.

¹³ *Subotić*, *Zidno slikarstvo Svetog Jovana Preteče*, 24–25. The frescoes of the Church of St. John in Jašunja are the subject of a detailed monograph based on Gojko Subotić’s multidecennial research, which is soon to be published. Cf. also idem, *Οἱ Καντακουζηνοί*, 223–232. I am indebted to the academician Gojko Subotić for generously providing a photograph of the Jašunja representation of Mark of Ephesus for my perusal.



Fig 1. Jašunja Monastery, Church of St. John the Baptist, St. Mark of Ephesus

bema, in the second clipeus from the left, in a sequence of four hierarch images.¹⁴ The saint's frontal bust is shown in a medallion with white contours, filled with three concentric circles in different shades of red – from the darkest in the center to the lightest around the edges. St. Mark of Ephesus – *·с(в)ты / марко ефен|скы* – is dressed in a white phelonion and white omophorion with dark red crosses; he blesses with his right hand; his left hand, covered by the phelonion, holds a book with jewel-encrusted covers. The hierarch's gaze is not centered at the viewer and is instead slightly averted

¹⁴ *Subotić*, *Zidno slikarstvo Svetog Jovana Preteče*, 28, 29, 31–32; *idem*, *Svetitelj u medaljonu*, 11. A very recent academic-popular monograph also calls attention to the bust of St. Mark of Ephesus, cf. *Pejić*, *Ninošević*, *Trajković*, *Jašunjski manastir*, 125, fig. 35 (S. *Pejić*).



Fig. 2. Great Lavra, Chapel of St. Nicholas, St. Mark of Ephesus
(drawing by Marijana Marković)

to the left. He is shown as a middle-aged man with large, wide open eyes and regular facial features, short brown hair with a prominent curl on his forehead, and a longish beard split into two strands with rounded ends.

The next example is found on Mount Athos, at the *parekklesion* of St. Nicholas in the katholikon of the Great Lavra of St. Athanasios (fig. 2).¹⁵ The walls paintings in this chapel were made in 1559/1560 on the commission of the monk Kyprianos, in the time of *hegoumenos* Ignatios, as reliably attested by the ktetorial inscription.¹⁶ The image of Mark of Ephesus (Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ | ΜΑΡΚΟΣ / ΕΦΕΣ/ΟΥ) is on the eastern side of

¹⁵ *Semoglou*, *Les peintures murales*, 93, sch. 5 (no. 105). Cf. *Toutos*, *Phousterēs*, *Ευρετήριο*, 77, σχ. 2.2.1 (no.117).

St. Mark of Ephesus is also represented in the sanctuary of the katholikon of the Pantokrator Monastery on Mount Athos [cf. *ibid.*, 321 (no. 259)], but in the fresco layer which dates from 1854. This image of the Ephesian hierarch could have been modeled after an original painting in the older fresco layer (1640/1641); however, such a hypothesis is to be taken with a large dose of caution until some conservation-restoration works can be done. After the cleaning of some parts of the 19th-century paintings, it turned out that the images of some saints had not been based on the 17th-century figures. An example is the representation of St. Nicholas, who was painted by the restorers over the image of St. Modestos of Jerusalem, cf. *Bonovas*, *Αρχαϊκά τεκμήρια*, 470, Εικ. 11. For another later representation of St. Mark of Ephesus on Mount Athos, cf. *infra*.

¹⁶ *Millet*, *Pargoire*, *Petit*, *Recueil des Inscriptions*, 122 (no. 373); *Semoglou*, *Les peintures murales*, 16–19, pl. 1.b.

the soffit of the southern arch separating the northeastern bay from the central part of the sanctuary. The saint's depiction is very similar to that in Jašunja. Admittedly, in the Athonite parekklesion he is shown in a *polystavrion* rather than a white phelonion like in the Serbian church, but the "portrait" characteristics of both images are very similar. In the Great Lavra Mark of Ephesus is again shown with what seems to be historical veracity – as a middle-aged, short-haired man with a thick, wide and rounded beard.

Another image of St. Mark of Ephesus has survived in the territory of the restored Patriarchate of Peć (1557–1766). This depiction is located at the Virgin's Church of Studenica and was painted during the restoration of its frescoes in 1568 owing to the efforts of *hegoumenos* Simeon and the fraternity. At Simeon Nemanja's burial church Mark of Ephesus is shown in the sanctuary, more specifically on the eastern side of a window on the southern wall of the diakonikon (fig. 3–4).¹⁷ Like in the cases discussed above, the saint – *с(в)ѣтын / μαρκο εφε[ε]σκη* – is shown as a bishop (dressed in a dark red phelonion and white omophorion with black crosses) blessing with his right hand and supporting a codex with his left; unlike the busts in Jašunja and the Great Lavra, however, this is a standing figure. His facial features also seem fairly consistent with the typology of the two older depictions of St. Mark of Ephesus. Even though the image at Studenica has suffered substantial damage, it clearly reveals the short brown hair, here slicked behind the ears, and the remnants of a brown beard which, although slightly shorter, in terms of its shape resembles the same detail in the depiction of Mark Eugenikos at the Great Lavra.

As far as I am aware, there is only one more depiction of St. Mark of Ephesus from the 16th century – the one in the katholikon of the Philantropinon Monastery in the island in the Lake of Ioannina (fig. 5). In this monumental church his figure was not included in the iconographical program of the sanctuary like in the cases discussed above and is instead located in the northern exonarthex frescoed in 1560.¹⁸ Furthermore, in the Ioannina church the saint was not shown in the vestments of a bishop, as would have been expected, but in the monastic habit. Here St. Mark of Ephesus (*Μαρκος / ὁ ἐφέσου*) wears an ocher robe with a grey analabos and koukoulion coming down to his shoulders, and a long green cloak fastened at the chest, with two rectangular brown patches with golden ornaments. His right hand, the palm facing his body, is raised to chest level; the left, relaxed hand holds an unrolled scroll whose text is meant to remind the viewer of the importance of solemnity and hesychia for spiritual betterment by condemning the corresponding vices: "The beginning of a monk's fall (are) laughter and garrulity".¹⁹ The decision of the creators of such

¹⁷ *Petković*, Manastir Studenica, 55; *Petković (S.)*, Zidno slikarstvo, 168; *Nikolić*, Konzervatorski natpis, 77, sh. 4 (no. 17); *Kašanin et al.*, Manastir Studenica, 138 (*B. Todić*). The Studenica image was pointed out by *Subotić*, Zidno slikarstvo Svetog Jovana Preteče, 32; *idem*, Svetitelj u medaljonu, 11.

¹⁸ Monasteries of the Island of Ioannina, 218 (no. 18n), fig. 296; *Acheimastou-Potamianou*, Οι τοιχογραφίες της Μονής των Φιλανθρωπηγών, 192, 254 (no. 516), εικ. 164, σχ. 13.

¹⁹ For the Greek text cf. *ibid.*, 250 (no. 975), who notes that in the *Hermeneia* by Dionysios of Phourna a similar quote is associated with Ephrem the Syrian, cf. *Medić*, Stari slikarski priručnici. III, 419.



Fig. 3. Studenica, Church of the Mother of God, St. Mark of Ephesus
(photo: Blago Fund)

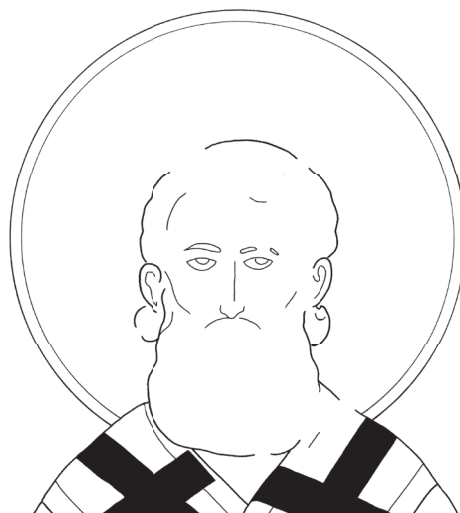


Fig. 4. Studenica, Church of the Mother of God, St. Mark of Ephesus
(drawing by Marijana Marković)



Fig. 5. Philantropinon Monastery, St. Mark of Ephesus
(after M. Acheimastou-Potamianou)

an iconographical concept is easier to understand in view of the fact that in the East Christian art of the earlier centuries some bishops were shown in the monastic habit when their figures were located in the narthex or the western parts of the naos.²⁰ Usually the only details distinguishing them from depictions of monks were episcopal *potamoi* (“rivers”) over the *mandyas* and rectangular *tablia* on the chest,²¹ which also appear on the cloak of St. Mark of Ephesus at Philantropinon. This distinction is even easier to explain in view of the fact that some other hierarchs were also not shown in formal liturgical vestments but monastic robes in the Ioannina church. For instance, this is the case with the next image in the sequence, painted on the southern side of the western wall – a standing figure of Patriarch Sophronios of Jerusalem (634–638).²² Far more surprising than the monastic garb – easily explained in light of the above-mentioned circumstances – are the typological features of the visage of St. Mark of Ephesus in Philantropinon, as they do not seem to have any parallels. In contrast to the iconographical “redaction” evidenced by his depictions in Jašunja, the Great Lavra and Studenica, and disregarding the report that he died at only 53 years of age, the representation in the church in Ioannina shows St. Mark of Ephesus as a balding old man with a relatively long, white, wavy beard bifurcating into two long curled strands.

The fact that in his image at Philantropinon St. Mark of Ephesus wears the monastic habit could perhaps offer some grounds for the hypothesis that the same saint appears in another monument from the following century. Namely, in the narthex of the Church of St. Nicholas at the Monastery of Novo Hopovo on Fruška Gora, frescoed in 1654 by very accomplished Greek painters, in a rather large group of holy monks there is a standing figure of a saint named Mark. The image is located on the western wall, in the second fresco zone (fig. 6).²³ Shown frontally, the saint is a middle-aged man: his short, wavy, black hair and the long beard made up of two curled strands and extended outwards at the end, are only streaked with gray. He wears a green tunic and dark purple cloak; a dark ocher analabos and koukoulion, the latter coming down to his shoulders; in his hands he holds a scroll with an inscription.²⁴ Unfortunately, there is no geographical epithet to accompany his name – ς(βε)τυ / μαρκο :, and hence he is impossible to identify with certainty. It is striking, however, that his

²⁰ From the Komnenian period on, and particularly during the high 14th century, some of the most eminent church fathers could also be shown in the monastic habit: St. John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil the Great and others. On depictions of hierarchs as monks cf. *Djurić*, Les docteurs de l'Église, 129–135; *Gerov*, Narthex as Desert, 145–157; *Todić*, Slikarstvo priprate Zrza, 214–215, including older literature. Besides the examples mentioned in the works cited above, some depictions of Gregory Palamas are also of note for the problem at hand. Namely, in the post-Byzantine period this Thessalonian metropolitan could also be shown in monastic robes. Cf. n. 37 infra, as well as *Toutos*, *Phousterēs*, Ευρετήριο, 268 (no. 177), fig. on p. 269.

²¹ Cf. *Todić*, Slikarstvo priprate Zrza, 213, 214.

²² *Acheimastou-Potamianou*, Οι τοιχογραφίες της Μονής των Φιλανθρωπητών, 190, 248 (no. 976), 257 (no. 502). On the visual representations of St. Sophronios of Jerusalem, where he is usually shown as a bishop, cf. LCI VIII, col. 385; *Gkioles*, Οι τοιχογραφίες, 136; *Prolović*, Resava, 228.

²³ *Milošević*, *Milanović*, Crkva Svetog Nikole, 263.

²⁴ ДИВДЮ (sic!) | сє бРАТН|є АЩЕ ДО|БРА НАША | КТО ... Н|є МОЖЕТЬ | БЗЪ [С]ТРАХА



Fig. 6. Novo Hopovo, St. Mark

physiognomy is largely consistent with the typological characteristics of most of the mentioned representations of St. Mark of Ephesus. Regardless of the different hair, the Novo Hopovo image of St. Mark shares the characteristic shape and treatment of the beard with the other representations, particularly with the one at the Great Lavra. Of course, as there are other saint monks named Mark, this identification is to be taken with caution. Besides St. Mark of Athens (or Thrace), who is represented on the opposite side of the same wall in the Hopovo narthex,²⁵ there is also St. Mark the Ascetic (4 or 5 March), who lived in the Nitrian Desert.²⁶ In the Byzantine tradition this saint was identified with a disciple of St. John Chrysostom of the same name known from some

²⁵ Milošević, Milanović, Crkva Svetog Nikole, 263.

²⁶ PG 117, 342C; Syn. CP, cols. 509–511; BHG, III, 45. The *Lausiac History*, one of the most important sources for the early history of Egyptian monasticism, does not include a separate chapter on this ascetic. Information on Mark is reduced to just one episode, albeit a very interesting one: that he received communion from an angel when he was still a young disciple of Makarios of Alexandria, cf. Palladio. *La storia Lausiaca*, 92.213–220; Palladius of Aspuna. *The Lausiac History*, 46. Some other redactions of this work offer more details from the monastic life of St. Mark, cf. n. 32 infra. The presence of angels at the communion of St. Mark of Egypt is also mentioned in the so-called alphabetical collection of stories about the early desert fathers – *Apophthegmata Patrum*, cf. PG 65, col. 304; *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, 150–151.

fairly reliable historical sources and believed to have authored several ascetic writings which became very popular in monastic circles in the following centuries.²⁷ For the matter at hand it is particularly important to note that this monk, unlike St. Mark of Ephesus, does appear in painter's manuals: the "Book of Priest Daniel", the *Hermeneia* by Dionysios of Phourna and the *Hermeneia* of the Zografski family. Interestingly, no epithet accompanies his name in the manuals, just like in the fresco of Hopovo. Yet, the information about his appearance provided in these guides is not consistent with the Hopovo image; instead, they describe St. Mark as an old man with a very sparse beard.²⁸ Of course, his description in these guidelines poses a rather serious obstacle for the hypothesis that this saint was painted in the church of Fruška Gora. On the other hand, the appearance of St. Mark the Ascetic in his few surviving representations is also inconsistent with the description in two of these painter's manuals. In the narthex of Hilandar (1321)²⁹ and in the Menologion at Dečani (1347, fig. 7), this saint is not shown as with a sparse beard. However, the short white hair and beard³⁰ clearly indicate that this is an aging rather than middle-aged man like in Novo Hopovo,³¹ as would be expected from a representation of an Egyptian hermit and would be partially consistent with hagiographic testimonies.³² Similarly, in the representation

²⁷ On St. Mark the Ascetic, with an extensive bibliography cf. PE XLIII, 701–705 (S. S. Kim). For a critical edition of his writings cf. Marc Le Moine, *Traités*, I–II.

²⁸ *Medić*, *Stari slikarski priručnici* II, 368/369, 549; III, 418/419.

²⁹ The image was painted over in the 19th century, but there are sound reasons to assume that it also featured in the original fresco layer dating from King Milutin's time, cf. *Marković*, *Ilustracije pateričkih priča*, sh. I (no. 16). The most recent list of the paintings in the katholikon of Hilandar misidentifies it as a representation of St. Mark of Thrace, cf. *Toutos*, *Phousterēs*, Εὐπετήριον, 187 (no. 15).

³⁰ In fact, these "attributes" seem consistent with the description of another holy monk named Mark mentioned in the "Book of Priest Daniel", cf. *Medić*, *Stari slikarski priručnici* II, 364/365.

³¹ *Petković*, *Bošković*, *Manastir Dečani*, II, tab. CXX/2; *Kesić-Ristić*, *Vojvodić*, *Menolog*, 400. In the painted calendar in the Church of St. Nicholas in Pelinovo (1718), Mark the Ascetic is again shown as a white-haired and white-bearded old man, cf. *Mijović*, *Menolog*, 385, sl. 280; *Ševo*, *Srpsko zidno slikarstvo*, 248.

³² The Synaxarion of the Great Church notes that St. Mark the Ascetic lived to be a hundred years old, i.e. that he was tonsured at forty and spent six decades in asceticism, cf. Syn. CP, col. 510.16–511.1–3. He is also mentioned as a centenarian in the version of the *Lausiac History* published in PG 34 (col. 1065C). This version does not follow the authentic Greek manuscript tradition and instead combines some Latin translations of the *Lausiac History*, although they seem to include some elements of the Greek redaction A, which has yet to be published (cf. *Marković*, *Ilustracije pateričkih priča*, 507, n. 11). Here Palladius recounts Mark's struggle with the devil which he witnessed during a visit to his cell. Before relating the event, the author notes that Mark was "a hundred-year-old man who had lost all his teeth". The fragment is almost fully consistent with a paragraph in Palladius's story about St. Makarios of Alexandria in the main, G redaction of the *Lausiac History*, more specifically the part of the text which mentions Mark the Ascetic as Makarios's disciple, cf. Palladio, *La storia Lausiaca*, 92.221–222, 94.223–231; *Palladius of Aspuna. The Lausiac History*, 46. Cf. also Syn. CP, col. 509–510.26–33. Interestingly, the information provided by the "Book of Priest Daniel" and the *Hermeneia* by Dionysios of Phourna about the facial features of St. Mark the Ascetic seems consistent with the description of Makarios of Alexandria in the *Lausiac History*, cf. Palladio, *La storia Lausiaca*, 94.246–249; *Palladius of Aspuna. The Lausiac History*, 47 ("In appearance he was small of stature, beardless, with hair only on his lip and the point of the chin. Through his excessive spiritual discipline no hair grew on his cheeks").



Fig. 7. Dečani, St. Mark the Hermit

on the northern window of the northern exonarthex of the Church of St. Nicholas at Philantropinon – the same space where the figure of Mark of Ephesus is located, but on the opposite wall – St. Mark the Ascetic is pictured as a white-haired old man. Unlike in the mentioned Serbian representations, here he has a high forehead and a

rather long, pointed beard.³³ These examples, along with the descriptions in painter's manuals which are inconsistent with this representation, do not support the possibility that the image in the narthex of Novo Hopovo represents Mark the Ascetic. In other words, based on the saint's physiognomy, it seems more likely that this is another image of St. Mark of Ephesus shown as a monk, like a century earlier at Philantropinon. However, tempting as it may be, this identification is proposed merely provisionally; notwithstanding all arguments against it offered above, the possibility that this is a representation of St. Mark, the Egyptian hermit and author of influential ascetic writings, is by no means to be discarded. Besides the reasons listed above³⁴ in favor of this identification, it should be noted that next to St. Mark, on his left, there is a depiction of another Egyptian anchorite – St. Paphnutius.³⁵ Finally, the fact that the writings of St. Mark the Ascetic were copied in Serbian monastic scriptoria during the medieval period and later is certainly not without relevance.³⁶

* * *

All of the above allows some general conclusions to be drawn about the depictions of St. Mark of Ephesus in post-Byzantine wall painting. Firstly, there seems to have been a main iconographical type for his representations. This type is evidenced by the examples of Jašunja, the chapel of St. Nicholas at the Great Lavra, Studenica's katholikon, and perhaps even the image of Novo Hopovo; only the representation at Philantropinon diverges from it. Despite their differences in some minor details, all of

³³ Monasteries of the Island of Ioannina, 219 (no. 38δ), fig. 309; *Acheimastou-Potamianou*, Οι τοιχογραφίες της Μονής των Φιλανθρωπινών, 192, 250 (no. 990), 254 (no. 520). M. Acheimastou-Potamianou identified this saint as Mark of Jerusalem. I am, however, unaware of a Jerusalemite monk-saint named Mark and therefore believe that this is a representation of St. Mark the Ascetic.

³⁴ It should be noted that, in the absence of an accurate inscription, the identity of some rarely painted saints is difficult to determine based on their portrait characteristics or age alone. The image of St. Mark of Ephesus at Philantropinon is an apt example of this. If the inscription in the Ioannina church had not included his cathedra alongside the name, it would have been impossible to identify him with certainty.

³⁵ The monastic life of St. Paphnutius is recounted in more detail in the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto* (History of the Monks in Egypt), the second most important work about the anchorites of Egypt after the *Lausiac History*, cf. *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, 102–110; *Cain*, The Greek *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, 209–210 et passim. For the visual representations of St. Paphnutius and other hagiographic sources about him cf. LCI VIII, col. 115–116; *Marković*, Ilustracije pateričkih priča, 509–510; *Tomeković*, Les saints ermites et moines, 52, 243.

The image of the saint on his right could also be relevant for the discussion about the identity of St. Mark in Novo Hopovo. Rather unexpectedly, the image shows Melchizedek, who does not belong to the series of monastic figures on the southern, western and northern wall of the narthex, cf. *Milošević*, *Milanović*, Crkva Svetog Nikole, 263. In light of this oddity, however, it should be noted that St. Mark the Ascetic wrote a polemical text about Melchizedek against the heretics who believed him to be the Son of God, cf. Marc Le Moine, *Traités*. II, 168–223.

³⁶ Since spatial constraints preclude a more in-depth discussion of the Serbian reception of the works of St. Mark the Ascetic, let it suffice here that his teachings were included in two 16th-century miscellanies of ascetic literature kept in the Hilandar library; the same collection also includes a separate manuscript of his *Counsels* copied in the 18th century, cf. *Bogdanović*, *Katalog*, 109 (no. 206), 176 (no. 459), 181 (no. 474).

these images show a very similar representation of St. Mark of Ephesus: a middle-aged man with a longish, neat beard, more or less divided into two strands. It is possible that this type was modeled after the physiognomy of an older saint. As already noted, the representations of the Ephesian hierarch are reminiscent of the images of St. Gregory Palamas.³⁷ This view is, of course, impossible to prove beyond doubt, but it does seem very reasonable, especially in light of the abovementioned report about the existence of joint depictions of these saints in Constantinople. Regardless of whether it was formulated in direct association with images of St. Gregory Palamas or whether it simply represented an attempt to capture Mark's authentic appearance, it seems fairly certain that this iconographical type of his image emerged in the Empire's capital, where his cult was at its strongest in its formative phase. In other words, it is highly unlikely that the "portrait" of the renowned prelate is to be associated with a provincial milieu, even though its oldest extant example comes precisely from a monument in this category (Jašunja).

Listing extant representations of St. Mark of Ephesus and analyzing their iconographical characteristics represents just one – possibly simpler – component of studying the reception of his cult in post-Byzantine art. The phenomenon becomes rather more complex and its interpretation more difficult once the research focus shifts to the reasons that might have led to the appearance of these images of Mark of Ephesus, i.e. their possible ideational incentives. The problem is even more delicate as it concerns a saint of a very strong and peculiar spiritual profile, whose biography and work have unusual historical importance, giving his cult a distinctive anti-Unionist meaning. To elucidate this problem at least to some extent, let us revisit the abovementioned images of St. Mark of Ephesus, this time from a slightly different angle.

Of all of the described examples, his oldest surviving representation seems the most baffling. The reasons for painting St. Mark of Ephesus at the Church of St. John in Jašunja cannot be analyzed on firm grounds, not even at the level of some more general circumstances which can be of help in the cases discussed below. What we do know for certain is that the inclusion of the bust of Mark of Ephesus bears evidence to the veneration of his cult and awareness, at least in some rudimentary form, of his illustrious biography. However, when it comes to determining who would have been responsible for the decision to include his image in the sanctuary of this modest monastery church, the possible initiators of such a programmatic solution cannot be hypothesized about based on sound enough argumentation. Naturally, the decision to include St. Mark of Ephesus could be attributed to the ktetor. However, there is no

³⁷ This was noticed by Gojko Subotić based on the distinctive stylization of the beard of St. Mark of Ephesus in Jašunja, cf. *Subotić*, *Zidno slikarstvo Svetog Jovana Preteče*, 32; *idem*, *Svetitelj u medaljonu*, 11. In most examples the physiognomy of Gregory Palamas does indeed resemble the "portrait features" of St. Mark of Ephesus. The most conspicuous similarity is the relatively long bifurcated beard. On the other hand, the most obvious difference between these two iconographical types is that the famed hesychast generally tends to be shown with a tonsure. For the most recent overviews of the iconography of Gregory Palamas, including extensive literature cf. PE XIII, 40–41; *Trifonova*, *Η απεικόνιση του Αγίου Γρηγορίου του Παλαμά*, 85–94

relevant surviving data about the ktetor, Petar of Sofia, to help us verify this hypothesis.³⁸ There is also little to confirm the second possibility – that the Kantakouzenos brothers played an advisory role in the frescoing of the church, assuming that they, as Greeks, would have been more likely to be familiar with the biography of Mark Eugenikos and to venerate his cult.³⁹ Hence we must allow the third view, which has already been proposed in previous scholarship: that St. Mark was included on the initiative of the painters who frescoed the Church of St. John in Jašunja. If the hypothesis that the church was painted by a workshop from Kratovo, the largest mining center of the Ottoman Empire in the early decades of the 16th century, is correct (and the fine stylistic qualities of the frescoes seem to support this view), the appearance of the bust of St. Mark of Ephesus might be explained by their familiarity with Constantinopolitan iconographical models.⁴⁰ The validity of this interpretation is additionally supported by the fact that, as noted above, the saint's image is consistent with the iconographical model which remained in use over the following decades.

The identity of the artist also needs to be borne in mind in any consideration of the wall paintings in the chapel of St. Nicholas at the Great Lavra. The Athonite *parekklesion* was frescoed by Frangos Katellanos of Thebes, who left his only surviving signature at this church. Besides the frescoes discussed here, for the Great Lavra Monastery Katellanos also painted an icon of the Synaxis of the Archangels;⁴¹ beyond Athos, several other works have been attributed to him in different corners of continental Greece – two icons and some fresco-ensembles, including the second fresco layer (1542) in the katholikon of Philantropinon, the monastery mentioned multiple times in this paper, and the wall paintings at Barlaam Monastery in Meteora (1548).⁴² The influence of Frangos Katellanos on the thematic program in the Church of St. Nicholas is evidenced by a representation in the proximity of – more specifically, directly facing – the image of the famed Ephesian metropolitan. This is another rarely painted saint – John Kaloktenes, metropolitan of Thebes, who died in the 1190s. Since this hierarch resided in the artist's hometown, scholars have rightly assumed that it was Frangos Katellanos who was responsible for including his image.⁴³ Unfortunately,

³⁸ *Subotić*, Svetitelj u medaljonu, 11.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* For the hypothesis that the depiction of St. Mark of Ephesus at the Forerunner's church in Jašunja represents a "very unusual choice of the ktetor or artist" cf. also *Pejić*, *Ninošević*, *Trajković*, Jašunjski manastir, 125 (S. *Pejić*). According to Viktorija Popovska-Korobar, the followers of the lead painter of Jašunja frescoed three churches in the Skopje area in the 1590s, cf. *Popovska-Korobar*, *Beleška*, 111–122.

⁴¹ *Tsigaridas*, Άγνωστες φορητές εικόνες, 398–400, εικ. 1–2.

⁴² Besides the dissertation of Athanasios Semoglou (cf. *Semoglou*, *Les peintures murales*, 121–137), which offers the most exhaustive analysis of Frangos Katellanos's opus, cf. *Acheimastou-Potamianou*, Η μονή των Φιλανθρωπηνών, 197–205; *Chatzēdakēs*, Έλληνες Ζωγράφοι μετά την Άλωση. I, 86–87, 89; *Garidis*, La peinture murale, 189–199; *Chatzēdakēs*, *Drakopoulou*, Έλληνες Ζωγράφοι μετά την Άλωση. II, 76–79; *Semoglou*, Η μονή Βαρλαάμ 185–192; *idem*, Παρατηρήσεις, 143–147; *idem*, Κλασικά στοιχεία, 277–288.

⁴³ *Semoglou*, *Les peintures murales*, 93, pl. 69b, 70. For some other depictions of the saint cf. *Panayotidi*, Οι τοιχογραφίες της κρύπτης, 599, 614–615, fig. 5–6; *Constantinidi*, Le message idéologique, 46, fig. 15–16; *Katselaki*, Post-Byzantine Wall Paintings in Euboea, 257–258.

in the case of the Ephesian's bust, the possibility of the artist's initiative for its inclusion cannot be explained by such a suggestive piece of information as the fact that John Kaloktenes served in Thebes. Hence, in the case of the image of Mark Eugenikos in the chapel of St. Nicholas, it seems justified to shift the focus to other possible factors that could have led to its inclusion: the wishes of the ktetor or, more generally, the Athonite monastic milieu. Admittedly, this approach is again impossible to base on fully reliable historical data,⁴⁴ but it is supported by information about the reception of the saint's theological works and the hagiographic writings penned in his honor on Mount Athos in the 16th century. More specifically, the manuscript tradition offers many confirmations of this. Thus, a manuscript with very interesting contents compiled at the Monastery of Iviron in the 16th century [cod. 4580 (=388)] includes the necrologue by Gennadios Scholarios; the service and synaxarion *vita* of St. Mark of Ephesus; and his oration addressed to Pope Eugenius IV (1431–1447).⁴⁵ The 15th- and 16th-century codices kept in the libraries of Athos contain a number of other important texts by Mark of Ephesus.⁴⁶ Finally, the Great Lavra Monastery has a 15th-century codex which, among other things, includes his epistles and polemical writings.⁴⁷ This information is, of course, impossible to reliably associate with the image of the famed anti-Unionist hierarch in the *parekklesion* of St. Nicholas at the Great Lavra. It does, however, offer solid enough grounds for the conclusion that in the relevant period there was some interest in his cult on Mount Athos – that the Athonite monks, including the fraternity of the Lavra of St. Athanasios, were familiar with the figure and theological opus of St. Mark of Ephesus.

Finally, any discussion of the image of St. Mark Eugenikos at the Great Lavra should take into account the fact that he did have a link with Mount Athos in his lifetime. According to written testimonies left personally by Mark, he seems to have intended to spend his last days in this famed monastic community. After the

⁴⁴ Unfortunately, little is known about the ktetor of the frescoes in the *parekklesion* of St. Nicholas. The only surviving piece of evidence about him is his supplicatory note in a collection of the Lives of the Saints in the library of the Great Lavra, which reports that he was from the village of Metsovo near Ioannina, cf. *Lauriōtēs, Κατάλογος*, 361 (no. 1956); *Semoglou, Les peintures murales*, 17.

⁴⁵ *Lambros, Κατάλογος* II, 126, 131, 132–133, 134; *Le Synaxaire de Marc d'Ephèse*, 97; *Acoluthie de Marc Eugenicos*, 200; *Psephtogas, Le codex 388 du monastère Iviron*, 138. In the library of the same monastery there is a collection of the services by Manuel of Corinth (cod. 512) including the one to St. Mark, but the manuscript was copied sometime in the 17th century, after the frescoing of the chapel of St. Nicholas, cf. *Lambros, Κατάλογος* II, 161. For the contents of this manuscript cf. et *Patrinelis, Ειδήσεις*, 41–46; *Anagnōstou, Μανουήλ Κορινθίου*, 365–380.

⁴⁶ *Lambros, Κατάλογος* I, no. 2789, 28 (Docheiariou, cod. 115, 15th c.), 3808, 50 (Dionysiou, cod. 274, 16th c.) 3809, 26 (Dionysiou, cod. 275, 16th c.); II, no. 4251, 12, 17 (Iviron, cod. 131, 15th c.), 4408, 8 (Iviron, cod. 288, 16th c.), 4449, 32, 171, 174 (Iviron, cod. 329, 16th c.), 4476, 16 (Iviron, cod. 356, 15th–16th c.), 4502, 148 (Iviron, cod. 382, 15th c.), 4798, 14, 17, 28 (Iviron, cod. 678, 16th c.).

⁴⁷ *Lauriōtēs, Κατάλογος*, 278, 288 (no. 1626, 23–25, 31). The most comprehensive collection of the writings by Mark of Ephesus, along with the service dedicated to him by John Eugenikos, is found in a 15th-century codex which used to belong to the Monastery of Panagia Eikosisfoinissa (Kosinitza Monastery) near Drama (Cod. Cosinitzensis 192), now kept as gr. 16 in the library of the Center for Slavo-Byzantine Studies “Prof. Ivan Dujčev” in Sofia, cf. *Džurova, Les manuscrits grecs*, 125; *eadem et al., “Checklist”*, 23, 49, 108.

appointment of Metrophanes II (1440–1443), the pro-Union patriarch of Constantinople, Mark set out for Mount Athos from Ephesus, where he had stayed for a short time from May 1440. But it was not to be: on the emperor's orders Mark was stopped on his way to Athos and imprisoned on the island of Lemnos, as reported in his letter to hieromonk Theophanes of Euboea (16 June 1441).⁴⁸ The following year, from Lemnos Mark Eugenikos sent a very interesting letter to the *hegoumenos* of Vatopedi. In this letter the Ephesian metropolitan says that during his journey to Athos he felt as if he were “ascending to the heavens” expecting to “commune with people who emulate the life of angels while still in their earthly bodies”. He ends his missive by advising the monks of Vatopedi to remain steadfast in their defense of Orthodoxy and keep away from “Latin novelties and those who would introduce them and let them take root”.⁴⁹

Among the images discussed here, the representation of St. Mark of Ephesus in the second fresco layer at the Virgin's Church of Studenica seems particularly interesting for several important reasons. The image is noteworthy already because it belongs to the rather small group of frescoes that were not based on the original iconographical program of 1208/1209, which the restorers tried to preserve as much as they could.⁵⁰ Changes were made to the selection of the shown saints only when certain cults needed to be specially highlighted. Thus, the saints painted in the 16th century at Studenica's *katholikon* included some new martyrs killed by the Ottomans (George the New of Kratovo), Serbian rulers and church primates (Stefan of Dečani, Sava, Jefrem), educators of the Slavs (Cyril the Philosopher) and hierarchs (Hilarion of Moglena) or notable Balkan hermits (John of Rila and Joachim of Osogovo).⁵¹ Since these images were created in the enthusiastic period ushered in by the re-establishment of the Patriarchate of Peć (1557), they were the result of a wish to underline the long history and glory of the Serbian church and glorify local saints as much as possible. This, in turn, leads us to the question of whether the image of St. Mark of Ephesus needs to be seen as a reflection of certain programmatic principles espoused by the ideational creators of the new thematic repertoire. The question is all the more justified in view of the location of the Ephesian's image. His standing figure in the *diakonikon* directly faces the representation of the Serbian patriarch Jefrem (1375–1379; 1389–1392) and is near the figure of Archbishop Arsenije (1233–1263), St. Sava's successor on the throne of the Serbian Church.⁵² In

⁴⁸ Documents relatifs au Concile de Florence II, cols. [342–344]/480–482; Sveti Marko Efeski, 286. For an examination of the historical veracity of the information provided by Mark of Ephesus about the last period of his life cf. *Djurić*, *Sumrak Vizantije*, 320–321.

⁴⁹ Documents relatifs au Concile de Florence II, cols. [339–341]/477–479; Sveti Marko Efeski, 282–285. Cf. *Paschalidēs*, *Ὁψεις τῆς ἀγιορείτικῆς ἱστορίας*, 229–231.

⁵⁰ On the restoration of the frescoes in Studenica's *katholikon* in 1568, with a complete bibliography, cf. *Živković*, *Najstarije zidno slikarstvo*, esp. pp. 434–565.

⁵¹ Besides the doctoral dissertation cited above (cf. *ibid*, *passim*), on these images in the new fresco layer at Studenica cf. *Subotić*, *Najstarije predstave*, 176, 181–182; *Marković*, *Odblesci kulta Ilariona Meglenskog*, 217–218; *Todić*, *Srpski i balkanski svetitelji*, 653–663; *Živković*, *Iz ikonografskog programa*, 409–432; *idem*, *Predstave svetih monaha*, 65–90; *Vojvodić*, *Studenički grob svetog Simeona*, 587–614.

⁵² *Živković*, *Najstarije zidno slikarstvo*, 60 (no. 65, 67–68), 449–453.

other words, there are enough grounds to consider the possibility that the creators of the thematic program in the Virgin's Church of Studenica also used the image of St. Mark of Ephesus to convey a specific message. Naturally, these particular reasons for painting St. Mark of Ephesus would primarily pertain to his uncompromising anti-Unionist position. However, tempting as it may be, the idea that his representation at Studenica was driven by such a thought process has little evidence to support it, especially because the Holy See began its proselytizing activities in the territory of the Patriarchate of Peć a few decades after the restoration of the frescoes in Studenica's katholikon and it was only then that some anti-Western views began to appear in the painted programs of Serbian churches.⁵³ Of course, we might cautiously assume that the Serbian Church had not forgotten the Council of Florence almost 130 years after it was convened, i.e. the fact that the Serbs had ignored this ultimately ill-fated attempt at uniting the Eastern and Western church.⁵⁴ However, the possibility that this circumstance could have been a factor for the appearance of St. Mark's image at Studenica is rather compellingly countered by the lack of other evidence of his popularity in the Serbian Church in the discussed period. To the best of my knowledge, the Serbian manuscript heritage does not include any *vitae*, services, panegyrics or other liturgical texts in his honor.⁵⁵ It is also highly indicative that none of the calendars painted in Serbian churches from the 16th to the 18th century include an image of St. Mark of Ephesus.⁵⁶

In the absence of more compelling arguments, I am inclined to give precedence to a simpler and more practical possibility than the "anti-Unionist interpretation" of the appearance of St. Mark's image at Studenica. More specifically, a possibility that seems worthy of serious consideration is that his image was included in the program of the diakonikon of the Virgin's Church at Studenica due to the use of a church calendar. This hypothesis is suggested by the fact that the memory of the Serbian patriarch Jefrem is celebrated on 15 June, while St. Mark of Ephesus passed away on 23 June 1445.⁵⁷ Recent research has revealed that the currently used date of the commemoration of Mark of Ephesus (19 January) is the result of a mistake made during

⁵³ On this cf. the observations of Branislav Todić on the painted program in the *parekklesion* of St. Stephen at Morača (1642), which puts special emphasis on the representations of the canonized primates of the Serbian Church, a move that has been associated with Rome's efforts to convince the Patriarchate of Peć to accept a union: Todić, Srpski arhiepiskopi, 106–107.

⁵⁴ On the position of the Serbian Church and Despot Đurađ Branković on the Council of Florence cf. Spremić, Srbi i Florentinska unija, 413–421; *idem*, Despot Djurađ, 228–233; Nikolić, Vizantija i Srbija, 9–23.

⁵⁵ For an overview of Serbian manuscripts from the period of the Ottoman occupation cf. *Subotin-Golubović*, Srpsko rukopisno nasleđe. Mark of Ephesus is also conspicuously absent from the menologia of the most important Serbian printed books, cf. for example Naumov, Svetačnik Božidara Vukovića, 75–115.

⁵⁶ The menologia in the narthex of the Patriarchate of Peć, painted just three years before the Virgin's Church of Studenica (1565), and in the Church of St. Nicholas in Pelinovo (1718), cf. Mijović, Menolog, 361–391. The absence of Mark of Ephesus in the painted calendar of Peć was noted by Subotić, Zidno slikarstvo Svetog Jovana Preteče, 32; *idem*, Svetitelj u medaljonu, 11.

⁵⁷ The concise *vita* of St. Mark of Ephesus specifically states the date of his death, cf. Le Synaxaire de Marc d'Ephèse, 106; Acoluthie de Marc Eugenicos, 217; Gill, Personalities, 59. The saint's year of death has been most recently discussed by Blanchet, Gennadios Scholarios, 385–390.

the preparations for his canonization in the 18th century.⁵⁸ Based on this, it is very likely that his memory was originally held on the date of his death; hence it is possible that the painters of Studenica used a menologion in which Mark of Ephesus was commemorated on 23 June, only six days after Patriarch Jefrem. This explanation is additionally supported by the fact that the restorers of Studenica's frescoes followed the same method when painting other saints who could not have been shown in the original thematic repertoire.⁵⁹

Unlike the representation of St. Mark of Ephesus at Studenica, his slightly unusual, iconographically distinctive image in the Church of St. Nicholas at Philantropinon is much easier to assess in its native programmatic context. As for the other saints in his proximity, it bears repeating that beside St. Mark, on the western wall, there is an image of St. Sophronios of Jerusalem, another bishop shown in the monastic habit. On the other hand, the saints pictured in front of St. Mark of Ephesus, on the western side of the southern wall, also need to be taken into account. The easternmost spot in this segment of the painted program features a representation of the famed Sinaite *hegoumenos* John Climacus, who is – very indicatively – followed by the figures of two holy monk-melodists – Kosmas of Maiuma (Hagiopolites) and Joseph the Hymnographer. The last pair of saints, shown close to the image of St. Mark Eugenikos, could be of some relevance for a sound interpretation of the programmatic place assigned to his figure. The representation of the Ephesian saint in the company of distinguished hymnographers, who had a centuries-long history of being painted in Orthodox churches,⁶⁰ should perhaps be seen in light of the fact that Mark also tried his hand at writing religious poetry. Although they were hardly the main field of his work, hymnographic writings do have a relatively important place in the theological opus of Mark Eugenikos.⁶¹ This explanation is all the more convincing because the *Hermeneia* by Dionysios of Phourna includes Sophronios of Jerusalem among the holy poets⁶² based on the fact that he composed many works of religious

⁵⁸ Marie-Hélène Blanchet has convincingly shown that hieromonk Sylvester of Kephallonia, who in 1731 compiled a dossier of sorts on Mark of Ephesus which was used by the ecumenical patriarch Sophronios when approving his canonization, misread the sources at his disposal. Failing to carefully analyze the chronology of the available documents, he incorrectly concluded that the relics of St. Mark were kept at the Church of St. Lazaros in Galata and that his memory was on 19 January. In fact, the saint commemorated on this day is St. Meletios the Confessor, an opponent of the Second Council of Lyon (1274) whose relics were kept in this Constantinopolitan church. For more details cf. *Blanchet*, *Un plaidoyer inédit*, 104–106. On St. Meletios the Confessor cf. *Failler*, *Mélèce le Confesseur*, 231–238.

⁵⁹ For examples cf. *Živković*, *Predstave svetih monaha*, 77, 79.

⁶⁰ For their visual representations cf. *Babić*, *Les moines-poètes*, 205–216; *Ševčenko*, *Five Hymnographers in Nerezi*, 55–68; *Tomeković*, *Les saints ermites et moines*, 43–45.

⁶¹ On the liturgical poetry of St. Mark of Ephesus cf. *Mineva*, *To υμνογραφικό έργο του Μάρκου Ευγενικού*.

⁶² *Medić*, *Stari slikarski priručnici III*, 424/425. The same manual mentions Sophronios of Jerusalem among hierarchs (cf. *ibid.*, 396/397); in the *Hermeneia* of the Zografski family he appears in both groups of saints, cf. *ibid.* II, 541, 552.

poetry.⁶³ In view of the described programmatic surroundings, it is highly likely that St. Mark of Ephesus was painted at Philantropinon as a hymnographer.⁶⁴ In any case, even if this explanation were to prove inadmissible, the image of St. Mark of Ephesus in the Ioannina church bears evidence to another branch of the reception of his cult in the post-Byzantine period. Above all, its appearance testifies to the need to visually glorify the monastic rather than the episcopal component in the saint's spiritual profile. Of course, this does not exclude the possibility that his primary, anti-Unionist role might have been entirely marginalized in the consciousness of the creators of this programmatic-iconographical concept and its devout viewers.

Finally, let us take another brief look at the representation of St. Mark of Ephesus in the narthex of Novo Hopovo which, like the previously discussed image, could testify to the glorification of the monastic virtues of the famed Ephesian metropolitan. However, since the depicted saint cannot be identified with absolute certainty, there are not enough grounds for a more in-depth analysis of the reasons that might have led to its appearance. In the absence of reliable factual evidence, let it suffice here that, if this is indeed a depiction of St. Mark of Ephesus, its selection should probably be attributed to the Greek artists who painted a very interesting and, for the Serbian milieu, highly unusual iconographical program in the Hopovo narthex,⁶⁵ probably due to their possible Athonite background.⁶⁶ Of course, the possibility that the representation of St. Mark of Ephesus (?) was painted at the wishes of the ktetor or the advisors of the Greek painters cannot be fully discarded.⁶⁷

* * *

The main task of this paper was to analyze the images of St. Mark of Ephesus created before his official canonization. The study of his representations from the 18th and 19th centuries, a new and markedly different stage in the development of his cult, will be left to better connoisseurs of this epoch. However, there is little reason not to include at least a cursory overview of some more recent and highly representative

⁶³ For the hymnographic texts attributed to Sophronios of Jerusalem cf. *Wellesz*, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 357–359; *von Schönborn*, *Sophrone de Jerusalem*, 107–109; *Cameron*, *The Epigrams of Sophronius*, 284–292; *Arfuch*, *Los poemas anacreónticos*, 221–255.

⁶⁴ The same compartment includes two more hymnographers. St. John of Damascus and Kosmas of Maiuma are shown on the soffit of the arch separating the western from the central bay of the exonarthex, cf. *Acheimastou-Potamianou*, *Οι τοιχογραφίες της Μονής των Φιλανθρωπητών*, 190. 257 (no. 478–479), Εικ. 160.

⁶⁵ For the iconographical program of the frescoes in the narthex cf. *Milošević*, *Milanović*, *Crkva Svetog Nikole*; *Popović*, *Scene Stradanja*, 308–328.

⁶⁶ For the background and origin of the painters cf. *Kyriakoudis*, *Les artistes Grecs*, 509; *Petković*, *Srpska umetnost*, 155–157. It bears repeating that Mark of Ephesus might have been shown in the sanctuary of the Pantokrator Monastery on Mount Athos some fifteen years before the frescoing of the Novo Hopovo narthex, cf. n. 15 supra.

⁶⁷ The main ktetor of the frescoes in the Novo Hopovo narthex was *hegoumenos* Neofit, with the financial aid of several other members of the clergy and laymen. Neofit did not live to see the frescoes completed and by that time the monastery was headed by the new *hegoumenos* Visarion, cf. *SSZN*, no. 4990.

images of St. Mark of Ephesus.⁶⁸ After his official canonization, a new type of his image began to take shape – a solution so semantically transparent and formally effective that it does not entail the main dilemmas that a researcher would face when analyzing his earlier depictions. After 1734 St. Mark of Ephesus began to be painted in a form consistent with his historical role as seen in the Orthodox tradition – as a champion of the purity of faith and an opponent of the rapprochement with the Holy See of Rome. This is clearly evidenced by an unusually striking representation of St. Mark of Ephesus in the skete of the Holy Trinity in Kavsokalyvia on Mount Athos (fig. 8). The saint is shown in the sanctuary of the *parekklesion* of the Dormition of the Virgin, the endowment of hieromonk Jonah (†1765), a disciple of St. Akakios of Kavsokalyvia († 1730), which was frescoed by Parthenios of Phourna in 1759.⁶⁹ “St. Mark Eugenikos” is shown as a frontal representative figure, his right hand pointing to the unrolled scroll in his left; the text on the scroll condemns abandoning the true faith and there is a figure of the pope at his feet.⁷⁰ The Roman pontiff, probably Eugenius IV, is shown in a rather humiliating position: naked from the waist up and lying on his back, his left hand clutching his head; his right hand, with the Keys of St. Peter dangling from it, holds a saber piercing a book. In the bottommost register of the image, a two-tiered papal crown is devoured by a dragon, its jaws wide open.

Due to its obvious symbolism, the described iconographical type continued to be used as the model for images of St. Mark of Ephesus in later times, with some variations in the organization of the scene and iconographical details.⁷¹ Its popularization through printmaking seems to have contributed to this. To conclude this paper, it will suffice to mention just one copper engraving in the possession of the Patriarchate of Alexandria made in Venice in the first quarter of the 19th century (fig. 9),⁷² in the hope that this passing reference might encourage more comprehensive research of the iconography of St. Mark of Ephesus in the last stage of the evolution of his cult.

⁶⁸ First noteworthy example is the miniature illustration in the collection of various hagiographic sources on St. Mark of Ephesus (Benaki Museum, cod. 19), compiled by hieromonk Sylvester of Kefalonia to affirm his status as a saint before his canonization. For the contents of this curious codex cf. *Papadopoulos-Kerameus*, Δύο κώδικες, 5–23; Les «memoires» du Sylvestre Syropoulos, 47–48, 70–73; *Lappa-Zizëka, Rizou-Kouropou*, Κατάλογος ἑλληνικῶν χειρογράφων, 23–29; *Blanchet*, Un plaidoyer inédit, 96–100. This image of Mark of Ephesus on fol. 350v is relevant for the topic at hand only as a sign of the break with the earlier iconographical tradition. Here he is shown frontally, seated on a “Baroque” throne; he blesses with his right hand and holds a book in his left. His physiognomy is inconsistent with the examples discussed above, as he has short white hair and a very long white beard, cf. *Lappa-Zizëka, Rizou-Kouropou*, Κατάλογος ἑλληνικῶν χειρογράφων, 26; Les «memoires» du Sylvestre Syropoulos, 71, pl. IV, fig. 5.

⁶⁹ *Vokotopoulos*, Ἡ calcatio, 134, εἰκ. 11; *Patapios Kausokalyvitēs*, Ὅσιος Παρθένιος ὁ Σκοῦρτος, 108–110, 125 (no. 20), εἰκ. 78. The representation from Kavsokalyvia was reproduced in the entry on St. Mark of Ephesus in PE XLIII, 685, which erroneously states that it is located at Esphigmenou.

⁷⁰ The legend next to the representation of the pope and the signature accompanying the image of St. Mark of Ephesus are now lost, but they were visible in older photographs.

⁷¹ For the icon of St. Mark of Ephesus by Spiridon Venturas (1761–1835) kept at the National Historical Museum in Athens, cf. *Vokotopoulos*, Ἡ calcatio, 135, εἰκ. 11.

⁷² *Papastratos*, Paper Icons I, 262 (no. 280).



Fig. 8. Kavsokalyvia Skete, Chapel of Dormition of Virgin, St. Mark of Ephesus
(photo: G. Fousteris)



Fig. 9. Patriarchate of Alexandria, St. Mark of Ephesus (after D. Papastratou)

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ПРЕДСТАВЕ СВЕТОГ МАРКА ЕФЕСКОГ У ПОСТВИЗАНТИЈСКОЈ УМЕТНОСТИ

Једна од најмаркантнијих фигура византијске интелектуалне, црквене, па и друштвено-политичке позорнице у судбоносним деценијама што су претходиле паду Цариграда био је теолог Манојло Евгеник (око 1392–1445). Тај учени митрополит Ефеса био је предводник византијске делегације на сабору у Ферари и Фиренци (1437–1439), на којем су вођени преговори о склапању уније између Православне и Римске цркве. Као једини од православних архијереја, јавно је одбио да потпише акт озваничења Уније 6. јула 1439. Због тог поступка је по повратку у Цариград слављен као истински бранилац православља у круговима противника Уније.

Иако је Свети Марко Ефески (19. јануар) канонизован тек после готово три века од смрти – 1734. године, за време цариградског патријарха Серафима I (1733–1734) – његов култ је почео да се уобличава недуго по смрти, о чему сведочи неколико култних списа састављених током XV столећа. Поред тих хагиографских састава, вредна сведочанства о светитељском прослављању Светог Марка Ефеског представљају његове ликовне представе, којима у стручној литератури раније није била посвећена одговарајућа пажња.

Најстарија представа Светог Марка Ефеског настала је скоро тачно осамдесет година после његове смрти. У питању је попрсје у Цркви Светог Јована Претече у селу Јашуњи код Лесковца, за чију су изградњу заслужни Андроник Кантакузин и његова браћа (1516/1517), а за осликавање (1524) извесни Петар из Софије. Допојасна представа митрополита Ефеса (сл. 1) налази се на јужном зиду беме, у другом клипеусу слева, у низу од четири архијерејска лика. Следећи пример је на тлу Свете Горе, у параклису Светог Николе у католикону Велике Лавре Светог Атанасија (сл. 2). Зидне слике у тој капели израђене су 1559/1560. године по наруџбини монаха Кипријана, за време игумана Игњатија. Лик Светог Марка Ефеског насликан је на источној страни потрбушја јужног лука што одваја североисточни травеј од централног дела олтара. Један лик Светог Марка Ефеског сачуван је и на подручју обновљене Пећке патријаршије (1557–1766).

Реч је о представи у Богородичиној цркви у Студеници, насталој у склопу обнове сликарства 1568. године, старањем игумана Симеона са братијом. У гробном храму Симеона Немање приказан је Свети Марко Ефески у олтару, то јест на источној страни прозора на јужном зиду ђаконикона (сл. 3–4). Свети Марко Ефески насликан је, у обличју монаха, у северном ексонартексу цркве Светог Николе Манастира Филантопинона код Јањине, осликаном 1560. Постоји, најзад, могућност да је Свети Марко Ефески насликан и у припрати Цркве Светог Николе у Манастиру Ново Хопово на Фрушкој гори, осликаној 1654. године. Ту је, наиме стојећа фигура једног светог монаха по имену Марко насликана на западном зиду, у другој зони живописа (сл. 6). Нажалост, уз Марково име није исписан и географски епитет, па се светитељ не може идентификовати са сигурношћу. Постоји, заправо, доста разлога да се закључи да је реч о светом Марку Подвижнику, ранохришћанском египатском аскети и аутору популарних аскетских поука.

На основу поменутих представа Светог Марка Ефеског закључује се да је у поствизантијској уметности постојао јасно дефинисан иконографски тип за сликање његовог лика. О том типу сведоче примери из Јашуње, капеле Светог Николе у Великој Лаври и католикону Манастира Студенице. На поменутих представама је Свети Марко Ефески приказан као средовечан архијереј са нешто дужом, уредном брадом, мање-више раздељеном у два прамена. Постоји могућност да је описани типолошки образац уобличен угледањем на физиономију Светог Григорија Паламе. С друге стране, од стандардног иконографског модела одступа у великој мери фигура Светог Марка у Филантропинону. У том храму је светитељ приказан о монашкој одежди, у обличју проћелавог старца нешто дуже седе браде, раздељене у два вијугава прамена.

Посебан и доста сложен истраживачки проблем представља разматрање разлога за појаву представе Светог Марка Ефеског у поменутих споменицима, то јест њихових могућих идејних подстицаја. О разлозима сликања Светог Марка Ефеског у Цркви Светог Јована у Јашуњи не може се расправљати на иоле поузданијој основи. Природно, појава његовог лика могла би се приписати вољи ктитора, али нипошто се не сме искључити могућност да су за одабир фигуре славног антиунистичког митрополита били заслужни сликари, за које се с разлогом претпоставља да су у Јашуњу дошли из Кратова. Поводом лика Светог Марка Евгеника у капели Светог Николе у Великој Лаври ваља, опет, уз могућу иницијативу ктитора, посебно имати на уму чињеницу да је на Светој Гори у XVI веку несумњиво постојало интересовање за његов култ. О томе речито сведоче сачувани рукописи његових списа, као и хагиографских састава који су му посвећени. С друге стране, веома је необична и занимљива појава представе Светог Марка Ефеског на другом слоју живописа у Богородичиној цркви у Студеници. Пошто су приликом обнове сликарства у тој гробној задужбини Светог Симеона Српског, у иконографски програм уврштене представе српских и балканских светитеља, у жељи да се, у полетном раздобљу што је наступило

обновом Пећке патријаршије (1557), истакну древност и слава српске црквене организације, поставља се питање да ли би и лик Светог Марка Ефеског требало тумачити као израз извесних назора идејних твораца новог тематског репертоара. Природно, посебни разлози за сликање Светог Марка Ефеског односили би се првенствено на његову оштру антиунионистичку позицију. Па ипак, у недостатку чвршћих аргумената у прилог наведеном гледишту, склони смо да, уместо у „антиунионистичку интерпретацију“ појаве лика Светог Марка Ефеског у Студеници, пре поверујемо у могућност да је његов лик уврштен у Ђаконикон Богородичине цркве у Студеници услед коришћена црквеног календара. За разлику од студеничке представе Светог Марка Ефеског, његов помало необичан, иконографски особен лик у Цркви Светог Николе у Филантропинону може се с много више поуздања сагледати у програмском контексту коме припада. Када се у обзир узме чињеница да су у непосредној близини Светог Марка Ефеског насликани славни црквени песници – Свети Козма Мајумски и Јосиф Химнограф – као и јерусалимски патријарх Софроније, који је у појединим сликарским приручницима такође уврштен у групу светих мелода, онда се може прилично поуздано закључити да је и Свети Марко Ефески у јањинском храму приказан „у функцији“ химнографа. Најзад, уколико је у Новом Хопову заиста реч о представи Светог Марка Ефеског, њен избор, по свој прилици, треба приписати грчким сликарима, који су на Фрушку гору пристигли највероватније са Атона.

Главни задатак нашег рада било је разматрање ликова Светог Марка Ефеског који су настајали пре његове званичне канонизације. Па ипак, и у овој прилици се за тренутак ваља осврнути на неке веома репрезентативне представе Светог Марка Ефеског из XVIII и XIX века. Међу њима је посебно значајна представа Светог Марка Ефеског у скиту Свете Тројице у Кавсокаливији (сл. 8). Светитељ је приказан у олтару параклиса Успења Богородице, задужбини јеромонаха Јоне (†1765), ученика Светог Акакија Кавсокаливита († 1730), коју је 1759. осликао сликар Партеније из Фурне. „Свети Марко Евгеник“ приказан је у фронталној репрезентативној фигури, како десном руком указује на развијени свитак у левој, са текстом у коме проклиње одступање од праве вере, док се под његовим ногама налази лик неименованог римског папе. Поглавар Западне цркве, највероватније Евгеније IV (1431–1447), приказан је у понижавајућем положају – наг до појаса, оборен на леђа, он се левом руком држи за главу, а у десној, о коју су обешени кључеви Светог Петра, држи сабљу којом пробија књигу. У најнижем регистру представе приказано је како двоструку папску круну гута аждаја разјапљених чељусту. Описани иконографски тип, са својом више него јасном симболичком садржином, био је и у потоњим временима коришћен као предлог за представе Светог Марка Ефеског, уз извесне варијације у поставци призора и решењу појединих иконографских детаља. Посебно је томе, изгледа, допринела његова популаризација кроз графичке листове, о чему, рецимо, сведочи један бакорез у поседу Александријске патријаршије (сл. 9), израђен у Венецији током прве четвртине XIX столећа.