ПАТРИМОНИУМ.МК, година 18, број 23 / 2025
УДК 271.2-523.4:75.052:[7.04:75.071.1(497.11)“653“

Anđela GAVRILOVIĆ
Institute of Art History (Department of Art History)
Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade

PROTOMASTER OF THE FRESCOES IN THE HOLY TRINITY CHURCH IN THE RESAVA MONASTERY

Keywords: *Resava Monastery, frescoes, protomaster, Metropolitan Jovan Zograf, Despot Stefan Lazarević, Serbian Medieval art.*

Abstract: *This research investigates the stylistic features of a chosen number of frescoes in the Church of the Holy Trinity at the Resava Monastery, making comparisons with relevant examples such as the frescoes of the Andreaš Monastery and the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in the Vatopedi Monastery. The findings reveal that the Resava frescoes analysed in this study are the work of Serbian painter Metropolitan Jovan Zograf. The research presented herein, thus, shows that Metropolitan Jovan Zograf was the protomaster of the frescoes in the most significant endowment of Serbian Despot Stefan Lazarević (Prince: 1389–1402; Despot: 1402–1427), which he adorned with frecoes alongside his disciples from his painting workshop.*

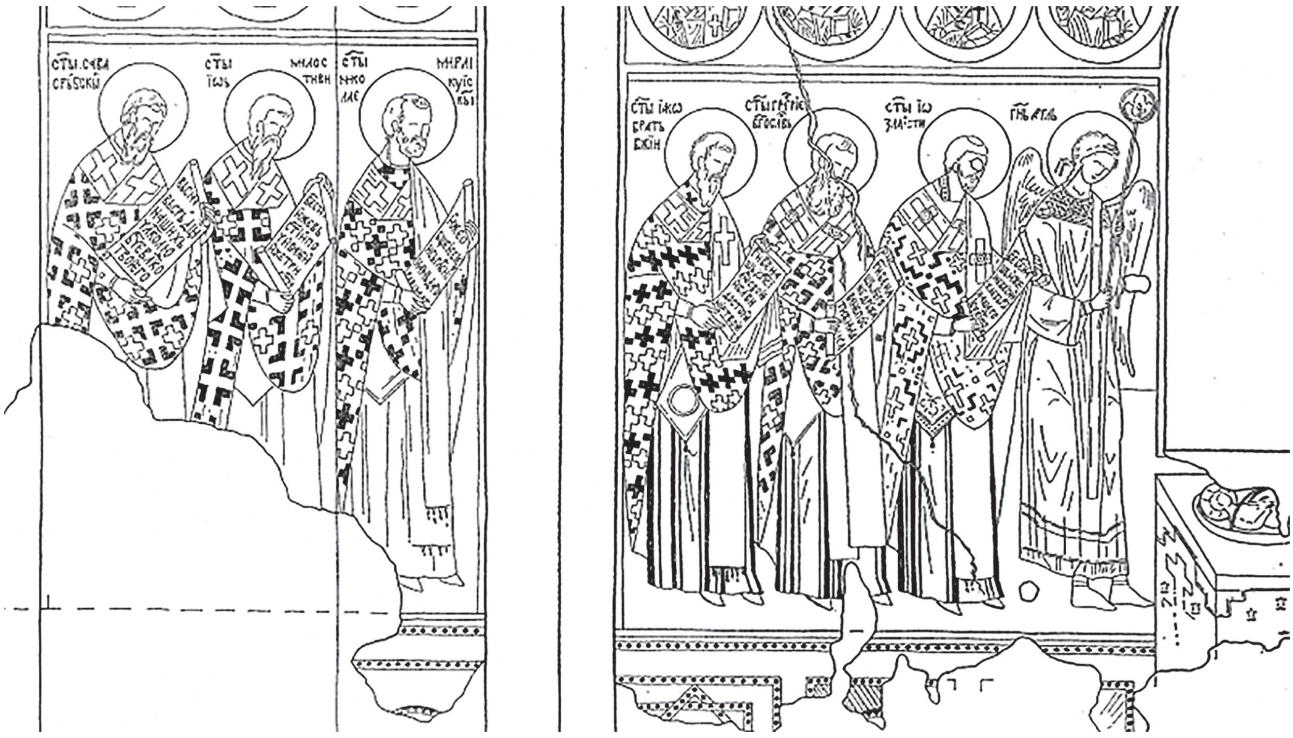
Introduction and historiography. The beauty of the burial church of Serbian Despot Stefan Lazarević (Prince: 1389–1402; Despot: 1402–1427), dedicated to the Holy Trinity in the Resava Monastery, was praised in the biography of Despot Stefan Lazarević written by Constantine the Philosopher, as well as in other medieval Serbian literary works (fig. 2a, 3c, 5c–d, 11).[1] Research into the foundation established by Despot Stefan, which is associated with the liberation of Serbia from the Turkish rule, began in the 19th century.[2] The frescoes of the Resava Monastery

* andjela1321@gmail.com; ORCID-ID: http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5734-8820

** This article was read at the Eight National Conference of Byzantine Studies, held in Belgrade in Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in October 2025. Article is a result of research done at the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Philosophy, financially supported by the Ministry of science, technological development, and innovations (451-03-137/2025-03/200163). I wish to express my sincere gratitude to academician Miodrag Marković, the vice-president of Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts for sharing his photographs of the frescoes in Andreaš Monastery, particularly the ktetorial inscription. Additionally, I extend my warm gratitude to Mr Darko Nikolovski for his generosity and patience in awaiting the completion of this paper and for providing me with the images of the frescoes in Andreaš Monastery, allowing me to publish them. Furthermore, I wish to express my thanks to Mr Anastasios Ntouros who allowed me to obtain and publish the images of the frescoes in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in Holy Monastery Vatopedi (Mount Athos). Without their help and support, my research would not have been possible.

[1] J. Prolović, *Resava (Manasija). Geschichte, Architektur und Malerei einer Stiftung des serbischen Despoten Stefan Lazarević*, Wien 2017, 27. On the historical sources from the 15th century that praise the beauty of the Resava church and its frescoes, specifically the life of Despot Stefan Lazarević by Constantine the Philosopher (around 1431) and the Genealogy of Karlovac (between 1418 and 1427): В. Јагић, *Константин Филозоф и његов Живот Стефана Лазаревића деспота српскога*, Гласник Српског ученог друштва 42 (1875) 288–290 (Part No 52); Константин Филозоф, *Живот деспота Стефана Лазаревића*, in: Старе српске биографије XV, XVI и XVII века. Цамблак, Константин, Пајсије, Београд 1936 (transl. by L. Mirković), 86–88 (Part No 52); Константин Филозоф, *Живот Стефана Лазаревића деспота српског*, Београд 2009 (transl. by G. Jovanović), 61–64 (Part No 52); Đ. Sp. Radojičić, *Antologija stare srpske književnosti (XI–XVIII veka)*, Beograd 1960, 160–162 (Karlovački rodoslov, that is, “Genealogy of Karlovac“). Constantine the Philosopher states that Despot Stefan constructed a tomb for himself within the Resava church, where he was subsequently buried (Јагић, *Константин Филозоф и његов Живот Стефана Лазаревића деспота српскога*, 289; Константин Филозоф, *Живот деспота Стефана Лазаревића*, 87; Константин Филозоф, *Живот Стефана Лазаревића деспота српског*, 62). On the tomb of Despot Stefan in Resava, and the frescoes around it: Д. Поповић, *Српски владарски гроб у средњем веку*, Београд 1992, 129–131.

[2] Prolović, *Resava*, 27.



1a Officiating Church Fathers, Resava Monastery, altar, north, in the period between 1412 and 1415

have been thoroughly examined by numerous scholars since the beginning of art history in Serbia.[3] Right after their completion in 1418,[4] the wall paintings of Resava were regarded not only as the most important aspect of Despot Stefan Lazarević's endowment, but also as the highest artistic achievement in Serbia as a whole.[5] Therefore, identifying the origins of the Resava's painters and the artistic influences behind their work is of utmost importance.[6] According to the correct evaluation of Vojislav J. Đurić, the Resava protomaster, together with Theophanes the Greek, and Andrei Rublev in Russia, and other old masters, represented the height of Byzantine artistic achievement during his era.[7] On another place, Vojislav Đurić, in collaboration with Gordana Babić Đorđević, emphasized the accurate observation that it was evident that the wise Despot had comissioned a master for the painter of his endowment who "surpassed all his contemporaries in talent and proficiency in the application of color".[8] Meanwhile, the Resava Monastery has been the focus of several scientific monographs up to the present day, among which the contributions by *Branislav Todić* and *Jadranka Prolović* stand out significantly.[9] Furthermore, the stylistic features of the catholicon paintings have been explored in the synthetical survey on Serbian painting during the periods of the Lazarević and Branković dynasties, writ-

[3] *Ibid*.

[4] Јагић, *Константин Филозоф и његов Живот Стефана Лазаревића*, 288–289; Константин Филозоф, *Живот деспота Стефана Лазаревића*, 87–88; Константин Филозоф, *Живот Стефана Лазаревића деспота српског*, 62–63.

[5] О. Томић, *Новија истраживања Ресаве*, in: В. Ј. Ђурић, Манастир Ресава, историја и уметност. Научни скуп Манастир Манасија и његово доба, Деспотовац, 21–22. 9. 1994. (Дани српскога духовнога Преображења 2), Деспотовац 1995, 19.

[6] *Ibid*.

[7] V. J. Đurić, *Resava (Manasija)*, Belgrad 1966, XII (= В. Ј. Ђурић, *Манастир Ресава*, Београд 1963); В. Ј. Ђурић, *Византијске фреске у Југославији*, Београд 1975, 101; Томић, *Новија истраживања*, 19.

[8] В. Ј. Ђурић, Г. Бабић Ђорђевић, *Полет уметности*, in: Д. Богдановић и др., Историја српског народа, Књ. 2, Доба борби за очување и обнову државе (1371–1537), Београд 1982, 185 (= В. Ј. Ђурић, Г. Бабић Ђорђевић, *Полет уметности*, in: В. Ј. Ђурић, Г. Бабић, Ђорђевић, Српска уметност у средњем веку, Књ. 2, XIV–XVI век, Београд 1997, 158).

[9] С. Станојевић, Л. Мирковић, Ђ. Бошковић, *Манастир Манасија*, Београд 1928; В. Ј. Ђурић, *Ресава*, Београд 1963; С. Томић, Р. Николић, *Манасија. Историја*, *живопис*, Саопштења 6 (1964), 7–97 (on the wall painting: Р. Николић, *Живопис*, 47–97, сл. 1–128 [I–CXII]); С. Томић, *Манастир Ресава*, Београд 1971; В. Томић де Муро, С. Томић, *Манасија – Ресава*: *Историја, архитектура, сликарство*, Београд 1977[2] (1985[3]); Б. Тодић, *Манастир Ресава*, Београд 1995; Г. Симић, Д. Тодоровић, М. Брмболић, Р. Зарић, *Манастир Ресава*, Београд 2007 (2014[2]); G. Simić, D. Todorović, M. Brmbolić, R. Zarić, *Monastery Resava*, Belgrade 2007 (2014[2]); Prolović, *Resava*, 23–714.

1b Officiating Church Fathers, Resava Monastery, altar, south, in the period between 1412 and 1415

ten by *Tatjana Starodubcev*, along with other scholarly works.[10]

In the biography of Despot Stefan Lazarević, authored by Constantine the Philosopher, it is noted that Despot Stefan Lazarević sought out the finest builders and the most talented painters for the Resava endowment, and he "even sent to the islands and beyond".[11] This passage from the Despot's biography has inspired researchers to investigate the origins of the Resava painters, resulting in various responses that, with few exceptions, are predominantly unsubstantiated or insufficiently supported theories. A more detailed analysis of the previously mentioned statement from the life of Despot Stefan Lazarević indicates that it lacks precision, making it difficult to definitely determine whether the Serbian Despot sent individuals to the islands specifically to find painters, or if he was simultaneously searching for both builders and painters. However, when examining this matter in connection with conclusions regarding the origins of Resava painting, it seems that the interpretation indicating that Constantine the Philosopher's statement refers to builders is more precise and more close to the truth. In the end, upon considering that the general term "islands" is paired with another ambiguous term, the locative adverb "and anywhere", it becomes evident that these expressions do not provide a definitive answer to the question concerning the origins of the Resava painters.

According to the previously mentioned quote, earlier literature suggested that the Resava artists were Dalmatians originating from the Coastal regions (*Đurđe Bošković*, *Miloje Vasić*),[12] and that they received their education in the same area (*Radomir Nikolić*).[13] It was also proposed that the Resava painters migrated to Serbia from Crete (*Lazar Mirković*),[14] from the Aegean islands (*Svetozar Radojčić*),[15] or, more specifically, from Lesbos, and its principal

[10] Т. Стародубцев, *Српско зидно сликарство у земљама Лазаревића и Бранковића*, Књ., 1–2, Београд 2016, 308–311 (Књ.1), 124–146 (Књ. 2); Т. Стародубцев, *Сликари задужбина Лазаревића*, Зборник радова Византолошког института 43 (2006) 359–361.

[11] Јагић, *Константин Филозоф и његов Живот Стефана Лазаревића*, 289; Константин Филозоф, *Живот деспота Стефана Лазаревића*, 87 (= Константин Филозоф, *Живот Стефана Лазаревића деспота српског*, 62).

[12] Ђ. Бошковић, *Архитектура*, in: С. Станојевић, Ђ. Бошковић, Л. Мирковић, *Манастир Манасија*, Београд 1928, 30, нап. 2; М. Васић, *Жича и Лазарица*, Београд 1928, 138.

[13] Николић, *Живопис*, 59–60, 67, 82–86; Р. Николић, *На која острва помишља Константин Филозоф када говори о Манасији?*, Саопштења 8 (1969) 187.

[14] Л. Мирковић, *Иконе грчких зографа у Југославији и у српским црквама ван Југославије*, in: Иконографске студије, Нови Сад 1974, 335 (= L. Mirković, *Die Ikonen der griechischen Maler in Jugoslawien und in den serbischen Kirchen ausserhalb Jugoslawiens*, in: Στ. Κυριακίδου, Α. Ξυγγόπουλου και Π. Ζέπου (επιμ.), Πεπραγμένα του θ΄ Διεθνούς Βυζαντινολογικού Συνεδρίου, Θεσσαλονίκη, 12–19 Απριλίου 1953, Τ. Α΄, Αθήνα 1955, 301–328).

[15] С. Радојчић, *Портрети српских владара у средњем веку*, Београд 1934, 70.

2a Officiating Church Fathers, Resava Monastery, altar, central apse

town, Mytilene (*Svetozar Radojčić*).[16] Furthermore, it was thought that they originated from significant artistic centers in Chalkidiki (*Svetislav Mandić*).[17] Additionally, it was believed that the style of the Resava frescoes was "imbued with Western influence", a notion that is incorrect.[18]

In contrast to these assumptions, a new perspective has emerged, showing that Resava painting is derived from Thessaloniki painting, with which it shares notable similarities. This viewpoint was proposed by *Vojislav J. Đurić*. Although initially met with skepticism, influenced by the biases of his era and a segment of older historiography,[19] Đurić's per-

[16] С. Радојчић, *Старо српско сликарство*, Београд 1966, 202.

[17] С. Мандић, *„Острови" Константина Филозофа*, in: С. Мандић, Чрте и резе. Фрагменти старог именика, Београд 1981, 233 (= С. Мандић, *Розета на Ресави. Плетенија словеса о Раваници и Манасији*, Крушевац 1986, 77).

[18] Николић, *Живопис*, 59–60, 67, 82–86; Николић, *На која острва помишља Константин Филозоф*, 187. On this occasion, it is important and sufficient to recall that Vojislav J. Đurić, Branislav Todić and Oliver Tomić rightfully rejected the assumption of Western art influence on the realistic and other elements present in the Resava frescoes, which they interpreted by drawing upon the Orthodox, Byzantine art and tradition (V. J. Đurić, *La peinture murale de l'école de la Morava*, in: La peinture de l'école de la Morava, Belgrade 1968, 49 (see also f. 20 on the following page); Тодић, *Ресава*, 110; Томић, *Ресава дεспота Стефана*, 28). Similarly, Gojko Subotić, with equall correctness, refuted the possibility of Western art's impact on the frescoes of the Church of St. John the Theologian near Pirot (Poganovo), recognizing in fresco details the Orthodox Byzantine tradition (Г. Суботић, *На прагу новог века. Сликарство византијског стила у нашој средини крајем XV века*, Лесковачки зборник 33 [1993] 156). At this point, it is noteworthy to mention that there existed a belief in earlier bibliography suggesting that Western influences can be observed in the frescoes of the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in Vatopedi Monastery on Holy Mount Athos (Ε. Ν. Τσιγαρίδας, *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Παρεκκλησίου τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀναργύρων*, in: Ιερὰ Μεγίστη Μονὴ Βατοπαιδίου. Παράδοση. Ἱστορία. Τέχνη, Ἅγιον Ὄρος 1996, 283). This assumption is also incorrect, similar to the situation with the Resava frescoes and the frescoes in the Church of St. John the Theologian near Pirot (Poganovo). The frescoes of the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi are also created in Orthodox tradition, and there are no traces of Western artistic influences on them [А. Гавриловић, *Протомајстор фресака у параклису Светих Бесребреника у Ватопеду (1365/1366–1368)*, Зборник радова Филозофског факултета у Приштини 55. 2 (2025) 299–307].

[19] Ђурић, *Историографско-мемоарска белешка*, 27; М. Ћоровић Љубинковић, *Уз проблем иконографије српских светитеља Симеона и Саве*, Старинар 7–8 (1956–1957) 85.

2b Officiating Church Fathers, Andreaš Monastery (St. Andrew's Monastery, Matka), altar, central apse, detail, 1388/1389

spective is the most accurate, comprehensive, and scientifically substantiated explanation regarding the origins of Resava painting.[20] The significance and precision of his research are further evidenced by its gradual development, the successive publication of new findings, and an objective, reasoned approach to the issue. Vojislav Đurić discovered and highlighted the undeniable connections between Resava wall painting and the art of Thessaloniki.[21] In this regard, significant importance was given to the wall painting of the endowment of Despot Jovan Uglješa in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in Vatopedi Monastery.[22] *Branislav Todić* pointed out that the Resava painters were "exceptionally talented and educated", and remarked that they were regarded as "the most experienced painters" by Despot Stefan Lazarević's biographer, Constantine the Philosopher, placing them among the elite painters of their time. For this reason, Branislav Todić deemed it implausible for the painters to have emerged from a provincial background.[23] Therefore, he proposed that they most probably came from Constantinople or Thessaloniki, which were the major centers of a rich artistic tradition and high-quality art.[24] *Tatjana Starodubcev* remarked that the Resava painters were the foremost artists of their time, a status appropriate for a ruler's patronage and expressed her belief that they most likely originated from one of the two cities of the Byzantine Empire, with a primary focus in Thessaloniki.[25]

Setting aside various other issues and observations made by *Vojislav J. Đurić*, I wish to highlight his conclusion that the old masters of the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi at Vatopedi Monastery, build

[20] В. Ј. Ђурић, *Солунско порекло ресавског живописа*, Зборник радова Византолошког института 6 (1960) 111–128; В. Ј. Ђурић, *Фреске црквице св. Бесребреника деспота Јована Угљеше у Ватопеду и њихов значај за испитивање солунског порекла ресавског живописа*, Зборник радова Византолошког института 7 (1961) 125–136; Đurić, *La peinture murale de l'école de la Morava*, 49; Đurić, *Resava (Manasija)*, III–XIII; Đurić, *La peinture murale de Resava. Ses origines et sa place dans la peinture byzantine*, in: L'école de la Morava et son temps, Symposium de Resava, 1968, Beograd 1972, 277–291; Ђурић, *Византијске фреске*, 99–101, 224–225 (footnote no 125); V. J. Đurić, *Thessalonique et la peinture serbe au Moyen Âge*, Cyrillomethodianum 15–16 (1991–1992) 25–39; Томић, *Новија истраживања*, 19–20.

[21] See the previous footnote.

[22] Ђурић, *Фреске црквице св. Бесребреника*, 125–136.

[23] Тодић, *Ресава*, 120.

[24] *Ibid*.

[25] Стародубцев, *Српско зидно сликарство*, 309 (Књ. 1), 146 (Књ. 2).

and adorned with frescoes by Despot Jovan Uglješa, belonged to the same group of painters who worked in Resava.[26] In my recent research, I have reached an unequivocal conclusion that the protomaster of the old frescoes in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi at Vatopedi Monastery was Metropolitan Jovan Zograf.[27] This conclusion is supported by the analysis of the iconography and the style of several original cleaned frescoes in the Parecclesion, as well as the palaeographic analysis of the inscriptions on them – chosen inscriptions in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in Vatopedi Monastery written in Greek, match with the Greek inscriptions in Andreaš Monastery, the endowment of Andreaš Mrnajvčević painted by Metropolitan Jovan Zograf and his painting workshop (1388/1389).[28] The precise correspondance between the painter's handwriting in both ensembles can be most clearly observed when one compares the letters on the scroll of St. John Chrysostom from the central apse of the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in the Vatopedi Monastery with those on the scroll of St. Peter of Alexandria in Andreaš Monastery.[29] Notably, both scrolls feature identical prayer – the Prayer of the Offering, which provides ideal opportunities for comparison since the same painter inscribed this identical prayer.[30] Considering the above, a clear conclusion arises that Metropolitan Jovan Zograf was the protomaster of the frescoes in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Resava Monastery of Despot Stefan Lazarević, and that he adorned it with frescoes alongside the members of his painting workshop. This conclusion is proven by comparing several frescoes from Resava with those from Andreaš and from the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in Vatopedi monastery, all of which, like Resava frescoes, share the same blue background, which serves as their primary and easily recognizable common feature (fig. 2a–3c). Ultimately, in addition to the iconography, several other significant elements of the fresco style in Andreaš correspond with those found in Resava. Moreover, the Serbo-Slavic inscriptions on the scrolls held by the holy fathers in Resava, which will also be examined in this paper, match with the Serbo-Slavic inscriptions in Andreaš (fig. 9a–10).

3a St. John Chrysostom, Andreaš Monastery

[26] Ђурић, *Фреске црквице св. Бесребреника*, 132.

[27] Гавриловић, *Протомајстор фресака у параклису Светих Бесребреника*, 287–315; on Metropolitan Jovan Zograf: J. Prolović, *Die Kirche des Heiligen Andreas an der Treska*, Wien 1997, 42–44, 206–214 (with earlier bibliography); Б. Тодић, *Српски сликари од XIV до XVIII века*, *Књ*. 1, Нови Сад 2013, 253–255 (with earlier bibliography).

[28] On the Andreaš monastery and its frescoes see the previous footnote.

[29] See the next footnote.

[30] Гавриловић, *Протомајстор фресака у параклису Светих Бесребреника*, 299–307, сл. 5–6.

3b St. John Chrysostom, the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in Vatopedi Monastery, central apse, 1365/1366–1368

Taking into account the previously mentioned points, it is justifiable to claim that *Milan Kašanin*'s viewpoint, which posited that the carefully inscribed and flawlessly executed Serbian inscriptions devoid of linguistic errors in Resava church (and on the scrolls of Church fathers as well), serves as a proof of the Serbian origin of the Resava masters, is completely valid and correct (fig. 3c, 9a–d).[31] Milan Kašanin also emphasized the fact that during the late 14th and early 15th centuries, many exceptionally skilled Serbian masters were active in Serbia, and that the considerable artistic merit of the Resava frescoes should not be seen as evidence that they were created by foreign painters from Thessaloniki.[32] The same author, similar to Vojislav J. Đurić, effectively and convincingly rejected the idea of a coastal, or more specifically, Italian influence on the style of the Resava frescoes, rightfully asserting that the Resava frescoes are not linked to the contemporary art of the Italian Peninsula.[33] Moreover, the conclusions reached by Milan Kašanin emphasize the reasoning behind Viktor N. Lazarev's "caution" expressed in his correspondence with Vojislav J. Đurić regarding Đurić's discoveries on the origins of the Resava painting, a topic Viktor Lazarev also brought to attention in his comprehensive work, History of Byzantine Painting.[34] In particular, in the Italian edition of this extensive survey, Viktor Lazarev acknowledged all the results proposed by Vojislav J. Đurić regarding the Thessaloniki origins of Resava painting, while also stating that the painters of Resava included both Greek artists and their Serbian disciples, leaving, thus, the possibility that the Resava painters may have been Serbs.

Shared features. In line with the aforementioned, I will briefly outline the conclusions derived from earlier literature regarding the Resava painters and Resava painting, as well as the findings related to the Andreaš frescoes. The identical nature of these find-

[31] М. Кашанин, *Ресава деспота Стефана*, Зограф 3 (1969) 8; Томић, *Новија истраживања*, 22.

[32] Кашанин, *Ресава деспота Стефана*, 9. Considering the same fact – that numerous gifted Serbian painters were acrive in Serbia –Tatjana Starodubcev (Стародубцев, *Сликари задужбина Лазаревића*, 372) recently posed the question: "Why then did the members of the Lazarević dynasty invite Greeks to decorate their most famous endowments?" ("Зашто су онда за украшавање својих најзнаменитијих задужбина Лазаревића позивали Грке?")

[33] Кашанин, *Ресава деспота Стефана*, 9.

[34] Ђурић, *Историографско-мемоарска белешка*, 28.

3c St. James the Brother of the Lord, St. Gregory the Theologian, St. John Chrysostom, Archangel, Officiating Church Fathers, detail, Resava Monastery

ings further proves the conclusion that Metropolitan Jovan Zograf was the protomaster of the frescoes in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Resava, commissioned by Despot Stefan Lazarević. The frescoes of Andreaš and those of Resava have been connected in earlier literature in multiple ways to similar artistic works, especially to the most representative art that flourished in Byzantium during the early and throughout the 14th century.[35] It is of particular importance to emphasize that the conclusions regarding the style of the frescoes in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi and the Resava style are literally identical – all these artworks display a melancholic lyrism.[36] Frescoes of all three monuments strongly relay on ancient (classical) Byzantine legacy and traditions, what can be seen also by considering the connection to the 14th century artworks.[37] While Jadranka Prolović associates the painting of Resava with the monuments of Constantinople, it is essential to note that Manolis Chatzidakis has already rejected the distinction between the works of Constantinople and those of Thessaloniki.[38]

At this point, I will first clearly identify which figures in the Resava church were painted by Metropolitan Jovan Zograf, followed by an analysis of these figures. Given the focus of this paper, I will not address stylistic handwritings of other artists at this time. I will focus exclusively on the works of Metropolitan Jovan Zograf and those painters directly linked to his contributions in the examined context, which will be discussed in detail below.

Metropolitan Jovan Zograf, together with his three disciples, illlustated the scene of *Officiating*

[35] Prolović, *Die Kirche*, 201–222, esp. 214–222; Тодић, *Ресава*, 107–109, 124–129; Prolović, *Resava*, 428–444 (esp. 439).

[36] Ε. Ν. Τσιγαρίδας, *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Παρεκκλησίου τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀναργύρων*, in: Ιερὰ Μεγίστη Μονὴ Βατοπαιδίου. Παράδοση. Ἱστορία. Τέχνη, Ἅγιον Ὄρος 1996, 283 (frescoes of the parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi); Đurić, *Resava*, XIII; Тодић, *Ресава*, 114 (frescoes of Resava).

[37] Prolović, *Die Kirche*, 201–222, esp. 214–222; Тодић, *Ресава*, 107–109, 124–129; Prolović, *Resava*, 428–444 (esp. 439); Гавриловић, *Протомајстор фресака*, 287–315.

[38] Prolović, *Resava*, 428–444; M. Chatzidakis, *Classicisme et tendances populaires au XIVe siècle. Les recherches sur l'évolution du style*, in: M. Berza, E. Stănescu (publ.), Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Bucarest 6–12 Septembre 1971, Vol. I, Bucarest 1974, 187–188.

4 Christ Melosmos, Officiating Church Fathers, Resava Monastery, detail

Church Fathers.[39] He depicted the *Holy Table* featuring *Christ Melismos* and the *chalice*, *two archangels* holding ripidia next to the Holy Table, and *several hierarchs* participating in the Service: on the north side, St. John Chrysostom, St. Gregory the Theologian, St. James the Brother of the Lord, and St. John the Merciful; on the south side, St. Athanasios of Alexandria, St. Sylverster of Rome, and St. Spyridon of Tremithus, along with a portion of the figure of St. Cyril of Alexandria (fig. 1a–b, 2a, 3c). Other figures and frescoes in the Resava Church were painted by the disciples of Metropolitan Jovan Zograf, who were members of his painting workshop. This conclusion is based on the observation that within the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in Vatopedi Monastery, Metropolitan Jovan Zograf depicted the figures located in the altar area (St. John Chrysostom, St. Gregory the Theologian, and two archangels above who bow in reverence to the Mother of God).[40] The remarkable distinction between these two fresco ensembles is evident in the portrayal of the ktetorial composition: in the Parecclesion in the Vatopedi Monastery, in addition to the aforementioned frescoes in the altar, Metropolitan Jovan Zograf painted the ktetor's portrait of Serbian Despot Jovan Uglješa who is shown holding his endowment in his left hand on the eastern wall of the nartex.[41] In contrast, in Resava, he did not illustrated the image of its ktetor, Despot Stefan Lazarević.[42] In my opinion, this particular detail, clearly

[39] On the scene of Officiating Church Fathers in Resava: Л. Мирковић, *Живопис*, у: С. Станојевић, Ђ. Бошковић, Л.Мирковић, *Манастир Манасија*, Београд 1928, 38–40, Т. XI.1–2, XII.1; Тодић, *Ресава*, 57–61, 83, 117, сл. 32, 56–59, 61, 100–101, 107; Симић, Тодоровић, Брмболић, Зарић, *Манастир Ресава*, 63–66, сл. 29, 30, 31 (Simić, Todorović, Brmbolić, Zarić, *Resava Monastery*, 66, fig. 30–31); Χ. Κωνστανίδη, *Μελισμός. Οι συλλειτουργούντες ιεράρχες και οι άγγελοι-διάκονοι μπροστά στην Αγία Τράπεζα με τα Τίμια Δώρα ή τον Ευχαριστιακό Χριστό*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2008, 94.63, 132, 136, 153, 157, 215, 473–474 (LXXXI–LXXXII, εικ. 265–267); Ј. Проловић, *Представа литургије у олтарском простору цркве манастира Ресава*, Саопштења 41 (2009) 45–53; Стародубцев, *Српско зидно сликарство*, 142, сл. 140–142, 145–146 (Књ. 2); Prolović, *Resava*, 179–191, Abb. 110–121; for previous distinctions of painters and their "artistic handwritings": Đurić, *Resava*, XII–XIII (= Ђурић, *Ресава*, XII–XIV); Тодић, *Ресава*, 117–120; Стародубцев, *Сликари задужбина*, 360–361; Стародубцев, *Српско зидно сликарство*, 308–309 (Књ. 1), 144–145 (see also footnote no 688).

[40] Гавриловић, *Протомајстор фресака у параклису Светих Бесребреника*, 287–315.

[41] On the ktetorial composition in the nartex of the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in Vatopedi (repainted): Ђурић, *Фреске црквице св. Бесребреника*, 126–127; Гавриловић, *Протомајстор фресака у параклису Светих Бесребреника*, 306–311, сл. 7а.

[42] On the ktetorial composition in the Holy Trinity Church in Resava Monastery: Николић, *Живопис*, 55–56; Тодић, *Ресава*, 100–104, сл. 82–84; Д. Војводић, *Владарски портрети српских деспота*, in: В. Ј. Ђурић (ed.), Манастир Ресава. Историја и уметност, Научни скуп 2019, Манастир Манасија и његово доба, Деспотовац, 21–22. 8. 1994 (Дани српскога духовнога Преображења 2), Деспотовац 1995, 76, црт. 5, сл. 2; Б. Цветковић, *Владар као слика Бога: Пример Ресаве*, Корени 5 (2007) 13–24; Ч. Маринковић, *Слика подигнуте цркве. Представе архитектуре на ктиторским портретима у српској и византијској уметности*, Београд 2007, 155–156, сл. 175–176; B. Cvetković, *Imago*

5a Archangel Michael next to the Mother of God, the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi, Holy Monastery of Vatopedi, altar, central apse

indicates that during the period of his work on the fresco of Officiating Church fathers in Resava (between 1412 and 1415), Metropolitan Jovan Zograf had passed away, and his disciples completed the fresco decoration of Despot Stefan Lazarević's endowment. Had he been alive during the creation of the Resava ktetorial composition, he would certainly have painted it, just as he painted the portrait of the ktetor Despot Jovan Uglješa in the Perecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in Vatopedi Monastery (the original fresco by Metropolitan Jovan Zograf from the 14th century is indeed preserved today beneath a new fresco layer dating from 1847).[43]

Regarding the time of Metropolitan Jovan Zograf's passing, it is important to note that the year of his death remains unknown, as there are no historical records that provide this information. The inscription detailing the history of the construction of the Catholicon of the Transfiguration at Zrze Monastery, located on the southern façade of this church, presents a wealth of important historical and other details related to the founding of the Zrze Monastery, the construction of the Catholicon dedicated to the Transfiguration, and the lives of the brothers Metropolitan Kyr Jovan Zograf and his brother Hieromonk

leonis in Despot Stefan's Iconography, Ikon. Journal of Iconographic Studies 2 (2009) 137–146; Б. Цветковић, *Портрет деспота Стефана у Ресави: историографија и иконографија*, Средњи век у српској науци, историји, књижевности и уметности 11, Научни скуп Деспотовац – Манасија, 20–21. август 2019. године, Деспотовац 2021, 219–254; Т. Стародубцев, *Српско зидно сликарство*, 114, 115, 128 (Књ. 1); 129–131 (Књ. 2: with earlier bibliography); Prolović, *Resava*, 347–356, Fig. 70, Abb. 277, 298–301 (with earlier bibliography); Д. Војводић, *Оружје с небеса. Иконологија средњовековних представа инвеституре владара војним инсигнијама*, in: М. Вуксановић (ур.), Приступна предавања дописних чланова. Књ. 1, Београд 2019, 239, сл. 4; B. Cvetković, *The Royal Imagery of Medieval Serbia*, in: T. Herzig, P. Magdalino et als. (eds.), Meanings and Function of the Ruler's Image in the Mediterranean World (11th–15th Centuries), Leiden – Boston 2022, 194, Fig. 5.10.

[43] On the arguments which prove that the original fresco from the 14th century depicting the ktetorial portrait of Despot Jovan Uglješa Mrnjavčević in the Parecclesion painted by Metropolitan Jovan Zograf is still preserved below the new fresco layer: Гавриловић, *Протомајстор фресака у параклису Светих Бесребреника*, 306–311, сл. 7а.

5b Angel, Officiating Church Fathers, Andreaš Monastery, altar, detail

Kyr Makarije.[44] While this inscription refers to Metropolitan Jovan Zograf as the one who is "resting in holiness", the year of his death is not recorded, nor is the date when the inscription was created. Some scholars have dated the inscription to the timeframe between 1395 and 1402, based on the references to Kings Vukašin and Marko within the text, along with a subsequent mention of Sultan Bayezit I.[45] Nevertheless, most scholars, without further investigation and proofs, have accepted Ljubomir Stojanović's opinion that the inscription on the southern façade of Zrze was created around 1400, a statement that Ljubomir Stojanović himself did not support with any evidence.[46] Only Gojko Subotić correctly ob-

[44] On this inscription: J. Шафарик, *Грађа за стару историю србску*, Гласник Друштва србске словесности 6 (1854) 186 (3. Надписъ на цркви у монастиру Преображенія, названомъ данасъ Зерзе кодъ Прилепа); S. Verković, *Starine macedonske*, Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku. Knj. 4 (1857) 169–170; Љ. Стојановић, *Стари српски записи и натписи*, Књ. I, Београд 1902, 63, бр. 200; Г. Суботић, *Охридско зидно сликарство XV века*, Београд 1980, 43–46, црт. 20; Prolović, *Die Kirche*, 43; А. Голац, *Зидно сликарство цркве Преображења Христовог у манастиру Зрзе*, Београд 2019 (необјављена докторска дисертација), 6, 8–10, 12, 14, 15, 20–22; V. J. Đurić, *Icônes de Yougoslavie*, Belgrade 1961, 40–41; Ђ. Степић, *Баштенске цркве у српском средњовековном праву*, Београд 2022 (необјављени мастер рад), 54–57; on different dating of this inscription see the next footnotes.

[45] Ђ. Сп. Радојичић, *Макарије. Живописац Љубостиње*, Старинар нова серија, бр. 1 (1950) 88; З. Расолкоска Николовска, *Историјатот на манастирот Зрзе низ натписите и записите од XIV до XIX век*, Зборник на Археолошкиот музеј 4–5 (1966) 329. 336, inscription no 4 (= eadem, Средновековна уметност во Македонија. Фрески и икони, Скопје 2004, 327–339); З. Расолкоска Николовска, *Манастирот Зрзе со црквите Преображение и Свети Никола*, Спомениците на средновековната и поновата историја на Македонија 4 (1981) 371, натпис бр. 5 (= eadem, Средновековна уметност во Македонија. Фрески и икони, Скопје 2004, 349–404).

[46] Stojanović's view was accepted by Vojislav J. Đurić [Đurić, *Icônes de Yougoslavie*, 40; В. Ј. Ђурић, *Радионица митрополита Јована*, Зограф 3 (1969) 18; Ђурић, *Византијске фреске*, 84], Boško Babić [Б. Бабић, *Прилог кон историјата на манастирот Зрзе*, Стремеж 3 (1966) 63], Kosta Balabanov (К. Балабанов, *Иконе из*

5c Archangel with ripidion, Officiating Church Fathers, Resava Monastery, altar (north), detail

served that the inscription on the southern façade of the Zrze catholicon refers to the reign of the Turkish Sultan Bayezid, solely as the period during which the Transfiguration Monastery of Zrze, located near Prilep, began to experience deterioration and decline. This period is recognized as the time when the brothers, Metropolitan Kyr Jovan Zograf and Hieromonk Kyr Makarije Zograf, entrusted the management of their inherited church to the serf Konstantin and his descendants, thereby transferring the associated rights to him.[47]

Now let me return to the scene of the Officiating Church Fathers in Resava. Metropolitan Jovan Zograf was not the only painter who illustrated this scene. In total, four painters contributed to it, including him. One of his disciples portrayed the figure of St. Sava of Serbia, [48] another depicted the figure of St. Nicholas of Myra,[49] while a third anonymous disciple was responsible for illustrating the figures of St. Basil the Great,[50] St. Gregory of Nyssa (fig.),[51] and a portion of the figure of St. Cyril of Alexandria (fig. 1a–b).[52] The figures painted by Metropolitan Jovan Zograf are particularly recognized by their exquisite harmony and delicate interplay of blue and gold, as well as gold and darker tones, which are all characterized by an overall subtlety. These figures emanate an unmatched sense of solemnity and grace. The differences in the "artistic handwritings" become evident

Македоније, Скопје 1969, стр. XXVI], Petar Miljkovik Pepek [П. Миљковиќ Пепек, *О митрополиту Јовану и јеромонаху Макарију*, Багдала 118 (1969) 12; П. Миљковиќ Пепек, *О сликарима митрополиту Јовану и јеромонаху Макарију*, in: В. Ј. Ђурић (ур.), Моравска школа и њено доба, Београд 1972, 242]; and some other scholars (for a detailed list of authors, see Суботић, *Охридска сликарска школа*, 43–46, esp. the footnote no 44).

[47] Суботић, *Охридска сликарска школа*, 43–46.

[48] Тодић, *Ресава*, сл. 59; Prolović, *Resava*, Abb. 115–116.

[49] Prolović, *Resava*, Abb. 113.

[50] Тодић, *Ресава*, сл. 58; Prolović, *Resava*, Abb. 87.

[51] Prolović, *Resava*, Abb. 119.

[52] Тодић, *Ресава*, сл. 58; Zarić, *Monastery Resava*, fig. 29; Prolović, *Resava*, Abb. 87.

5d Archangel with ripidion, Officiating Church Fathers, Resava Monastery, altar (south), detail

when one compares the figures done by the esteem Metropolitan with those illustrated by his disciples (for example, the figure of St. Spyridon of Tremithus by the Metropolitan Jovan, in contrast to the figures of St. Nicholas of Myra and St. Gregory of Nyssa, which are not directly and easily visible to the observer, and thus, done by his disciples).

The shared features and similarities observed in the paintings of Andreaš, the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in Vatopedi Monastery, and Resava are evident in various aspects. The most distinctive and noteworthy common feature of these fresco ensembles is the *blue background* present in frescoes. The upper section of the background in all three churches exibits a notable blue hue. Additionally, in each of the three painted ensembles, the lower part of the background is green. Shared features can be discerned both in the overall composition and in the finer details.

In the context of this research, it is important to highlight that *the St. John Chrysostom's position* among the Officiating Church Fathers is same in all three monuments (Andreaš, the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in Vatopedi Monastery, and Resava; fig. 1a, 2a–3c). Furthermore, *the text of the prayer* on his scroll remains uniform in both Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi and Resava (fig. 3b–c, 7, 9a).[53] The only difference is that the text in the Parecclesion in Vatopedi Monastery is inscribed in Greek, while in Resava it is rendered in the Serbo-Slavic language. Moreover, *the iconography of St. John Chysostom* in Resava matches the iconography of the same church father in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in Vatopedi Monastery and in Andreaš (fig. 3a–c, 7). In the Resava Monastery, St. John Chrysostom is depicted as the leading figure in the liturgical procession of the Church Fathers on the northern side of the bema, similar to his portrayal in Andreaš, and in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in Vatopedi Monastery (fig. 3a–c, 7).[54] He is depicted similarly in

[53] On this prayer on the scrolls of St. John Chrysostom, and of other church fathers: B. Babić, Ch. Walter, *The Inscriptions upon liturgical rolls in Byzantine Apse Decoration*, Révue des études byzantines 34 (1976) 270; А. Гавриловић, *Црква Богородице Одигитрије у Пећкој патријаршији*, Београд 2018, 91.

[54] Prolović, *Die Kirche*, 94 (3), 102–103 (Abb. 15–16);

6a Left hand of St. Gregory the Theologian, Andreaš Monastery, altar

6b Left hand of St. John Chrysostom, the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi, Holy Monastery of Vatopedi

all the three previously mentioned monuments, presented in a semi-profile view, oriented towards the Holy Table, as an older man. His figure in all three churches is characterized by a distinctive tonsure, a medium-thin brown beard with two short circular strands, and a slender mustache. The saint's tonsure in all three churches is formed by a series of curls that give it a wreath-like look, alluding to its symbolism.[55] In all the monuments, the Archbishop of Constantinople is depicted with brown hair and beard, a narrow face, and notably, prounounced cheekbones. When comparing the image of St. John Chrysostom from Andreaš with that from Resava, one can notice the emergence of red or reddish shadows along the left side of the face (the observer's right), the area towards which the figure leans and turns (fig. 3c, 7). Despite the damage to the face in Resava, these reddish shadows are clearly visible on the lower left section of the saint's tonsure (the observer's right), along the left edge of the forehead, and on the chin. In Andreaš, these shadows can also be seen on the right side of the face (the observer's left). The size of the tonsure in Resava is smaller and more similar to the fresco in Andreaš, while in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi, it appears somewhat larger. The saint's forehead is notably large, taking up one-third of the head, and together with the hair, it makes up half of the head. In these representations, as previously mentioned, the distinctly emphasized, rounded cheekbones are prominent, which is characteristic of Metropolitan Jovan Zograf's style in depicting St. John Chrysostom. Alongside the overall appearance of the hierarch, this resemblance in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi and in Resava is particularly noticible when considering facial features. The semicircular outline of the cheekbones is clearly discernible on the saint's right cheek in both the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi and in Resava. It is evident that, despite the common iconographcal traits of St. John Chrysostom, the frescoes depicting this saint from Andreaš, the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi, and Resava undoubtedly show the charactestics of Metropolitan Jovan Zograf's style, particularly in how he represents the image of the Patriarch of Constantinople (398–404) and the renowed preacher.[56]

In the Parecclesion of Vatopedi Monastery, as well as in Andreaš and in Resava, *the iconography of the Church Fathers* depicted in the scene of the Officiating of Church Fathers is uniform – the iconography of Church Fathers from Resava entirely matches the iconography and stylistic approach of Metropolitan Jovan Zograf, which relates to the overall design of the phelonion, including variations in the color of the crosses, the design and shape of the epitracheilon, and the appearance of the epitrachelon itself, which is represented as golden in both Andreaš and Parecclesion of Vatopedi Monas-

Гавриловић, *Протомајстор фресака у параклису Светих Бесребреника*, 294, сл. 2, 3б, 5; Проловић, *Представа литургије*, 46–47 (црт. 1/3), 48; Prolović, *Resava*, 181.

[55] On the symbolism of the wreath-like tonsure in Orthodox church: Б. Миљковић, *Кружни постриг у православној цркви (στρογγύλη κουρὰ, παπαλήθρα,* свеще́нничьско гоуме́нь'це, Зборник радова Византолошког института 50 (2013) 987–1002.

[56] On the iconography of St. John Chrysostom in Byzantine and Serbian art: O. Demus, *Two Paleologan Mosaic Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 14 (1960) 89–119; H. Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies in Byzantium*, Princeton NJ 1996, 78 –81; А. Р. Фокин, Д. В. Зайцев, А. А. Королёв, В. Г. Ченцова, А. А. Турилов, А. А. Лукашевич, М. А. Маханко, *Иоанн Златоуст*, Част II, Православна энциклопедия 24 (2010) 240–250.

6c Left hand of St. John the Merciful, Resava Monastery

6d Right hand of St. Sylvester of Rome, Resava monastery

tery, while in Resava, it is made from gold leaves (fig. 2a–3c, 7).[57] The distinctive technique used to depict the folded omophorion and its draping is consistently utilized in depicting Church Fathers in all three churches (fig. 2a–3c, 7). A specific iconographic element from the depiction of the Officiating Church Fathers stands out in the context of this study, as it is consistently depicted in both Resava and Andreaš. This feature is the kamilavkion (hat) of St. Cyril of Alexandria, which is typically pointed at the top, similar to those found in the Parecclesion in Chora (Constantinople), the White Church of Karan, and various other churches.[58] In contrast to the prevailing iconographic solution, the domed kamelavkion of St. Cyril of Alexandria in Resava is similar with the one in Andreaš (fig. 1b, 2a).[59] The arrangement of the figures depicting St. Athanasios of Alexandria and St. Cyril of Alexandria on the southern wall of the altar in Andreaš, the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi and in Resava is uniform, as is the positioning of St. Cyril of Alexandria following St. Athanasius of Alexandria in all three monuments.[60] Likewise, the sequence in which St. Basil the Great is followed by St. Athanasios of Alexandria and St. Cyril of Alexandria in all three monuments represents another common trait of the frescoes in Andreaš, the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi, and Resava (fig.1a–b, 2a).[61] This choice reveals the work of Metropolitan Jovan Zograf, who served as the protomaster for the frescoes in all these churches. Additionally, it is also equally important to note that the depiction of St. Gregory the Theologian following St. John Chrysostom is not only found in Andreaš and Resava, but also in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in Vatopedi Monastery (fig. 1a, 2a, 3b–c, 7).[62] The same selection of holy fathers depicted in Resava is also evident in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi, albeit with a variation of their positioning in the altar (St. John the Merciful; St. James the Brother of the Lord, St. Sylvester of Rome, St.Spyridon of Tremithus; fig. 1a–b).[63] In the same way and due to the

[57] Гавриловић, *Протомајстор фресака у параклису Светих Бесребреника*, сл. 2–6; Prolović, *Die Kirche*, T. IVa, Abb. 15, 16, 18–23; Prolović, *Resava*, Abb. 87, 112–121.

[58] P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, Vol. 3, Plates 335–553, *The Frescoes*, New York 1966, [201]; Д. Панић, Г. Бабић, *Богородица Љевишка*, Београд 1975, 116–117 (117); М. Кашанин, *Бела црква Каранска*, Старинар сер. III, књ. 4 (1928) 188.

[59] Simić, Todorović, Brmbolić, Zarić, *Monastery Resava*, fig. 29 (= Симић, Тодоровић, Брмболић, Зарић, *Манастир Ресава*, сл. 29); Prolović, *Die Kirche*, 103–104, Abb. 29, 23; Тодић, *Ресава*, 60, сл. 58; Проловић, *Представа литургије*, 46–47 (црт. 1/3), 51; Prolović, *Resava*, 187–188.

[60] N. Τούτος, Γ. Φουστέρης, *Ιερά Μονή Βατοπαιδίου. Ναός Αγίων Αναργύρων*, in: Ευρετήριον της Μνημειακής Ζωγραφικής του Αγίου Όρους, 10–17ος αιώνας, Αθήναι 2010, 150–152 (No 64, 141); Prolović, *Die Kirche*, 95 (Sch. 2/50–51), 103–104, Abb. 19; Тодић, *Ресава*, сл. 58; Prolović, *Resava*, 187–188, Abb. 87.

[61] Τούτος, Φουστέρης, *Ιερά Μονή Βατοπαιδίου. Ναός Αγίων Αναργύρων*, 150–152 (No 63, 64, 141); Гавриловић, *Протомајстор фресака у параклису Светих Бесребреника*, сл. 2; Тодић, *Ресава*, сл. 58; Prolović, *Resava*, 186–188, Abb. 87.

[62] Τούτος, Φουστέρης, *Ιερά Μονή Βατοπαιδίου. Ναός Αγίων Αναργύρων*, 150–152 (No 63, 64, 141); Гавриловић, *Протомајстор фресака у параклису Светих Бесребреника*, сл. 2, 3б, 5, 8; Prolović, *Die Kirche*, 94 (Sch. 1/3), 97 (Sch. 4/108), 102–103; Prolović, *Resava*, 186–187, Abb. 87.

[63] Τούτος, Φουστέρης, *Ιερά Μονή Βατοπαιδίου. Ναός*

7 St. Gregory the Theologian (new fresco layer from 1847, painted over the original fresco from 1366–1368) and St. John Chrysostom (original fresco layer, 1366–1368), the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi, Holy Monastery of Vatopedi

same reason, the figure of St. Peter of Alexandria is present in both Andreaš and Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in Vatopedi Monastery.[64]

The appearance, particularly the shape of the *Holy Table*, shows slight variations in all three altars: in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi, Andreaš and Resava (fig. 2a–3b). The design of the paten, along with the placement and representation of Christ Melismos, remains consistant in all three churches, where Christ also gives blessing (fig. 2b, 3b, 4). Furthermore, the shape of the paten, the positioning and representation of Christ Melismos, as well as the manner in which Christ Melismos conveys a blessing, are identical in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi and in Resava (fig. 3b, 4). Furthermore, the placement of the Holy Table and the angels is the same in both Andreaš and Resava, with (arch)angels holding ripidia positioned beside the Holy Table, all dressed uniformly in white sticharion, blue robes, and red shoes (fig. 2a–b).[65] In both churches, these angels face the Holy Table. In each of the three monuments, the upper sections of the angels' wings are adorned with gold at the top and blue at the bottom, a feature similarly observed on the frescoes of the archangels Michael and Gabriel, located above the Officiating Church Fathers in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi (fig. 2a–b).[66] A single minor variation can be noted – in illustrating the red lower section of the wings of the archangel shown to the south from Holy Table in Resava.

Furthermore, in all three monuments, the angels are depicted with *hair ribbons* that are painted in an identical manner (fig. 5a–d). These ribbons are blue,

Αγίων Αναργύρων, 150–152 (No 65, 79, 140, 141, 142); Prolović, *Resava*, 184–185, Abb. 114, 116 (St. John the Merciful), 182–182, Abb. 112 (St. James the Brother of God), 188–189, Abb. 117, 120 (St. Sylvester of Rome), 190, Abb. 117, 121 (St. Spyridon of Tremithus).

[64] Prolović, *Die Kirche*, 97 (Sch. 4/107), 103; Τούτος, Φουστέρης, *Ιερά Μονή Βατοπαιδίου. Ναός Αγίων Αναργύρων*, 150 (No 140).

[65] Prolović, *Die Kirche*, T. IVb, Abb. 15–16; Prolović, *Resava*, Abb. 87, 110–111.

[66] Prolović, *Die Kirche*, T. IVb, Abb. 15–16; Prolović, *Resava*, Abb. 110–111; Гавриловић, *Протомајстор фресака у параклису Светих Бесребреника*, сл. 2.

8a Right hand of St. Peter of Alexandria, Andreaš Monastery

8c Left hand of St. Athanasios of Alexandria, Resava Monastery

8b Right hand of St. John Chrysostom, Parecclesion of Holy Anagryroi, Holy Monastery of Vatopedi

8d Left hand of St. Spyridon of Tremithus, Resava Monastery

short, semicircular, divided into two horizontal sections, with their ends visible behind the head, gently swaying. In all frescoes depicted in the three mentioned monuments, the ribbon is positioned behind the first row of angels' curls, which consists of a series of small, circular curls. The ribbon in the angels' hair is not entirely visible; only the semicircular part that extends from the hair is visible. The hair, despite slight variations in execution, is made of numerous curls, and the faces of all the angels are identical, as are the shapes of their heads and the proportions of their hair and faces. All faces of angels painted by Metropolitan Jovan (in Holy Anargyroi, Andreaš and Resava) are oval, a characteristic that is similarly observed in the depictions of the Mother of God from the Annunciation scene in Andreaš.[67] On the necks of the angels depicted in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargiroi and those in Resava, a distinctive fold is observed, representing Adam's apple on the portrayals of Christ, while also appearing on female figures, including the Mother of God from Annunciation scene in Andreaš (fig. 5a, 5c–d).[68] Furthermore, the technique used in depicting the incarnate is identical in all the previously mentioned painted ensembles (fig. 5a–d).[69]

Several additional details unmistakably demonstrate that Metropolitan Jovan Zograf is the protomaster of the frescoes in the Resava catholikon, and that Despot Stefan Lazarević engaged him and his painting workshop to decorate his burial church with

[67] Τσιγαρίδας, *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Παρεκκλησίου τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀναργύρων*, εικ. 240–241; M. Marković, *Serbia in Byzantium – The Patronage of Serbian Ktetors in the Byzantine Empire*, in: D. Popović, D. Vojvodić (eds.), Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages, Belgrade 2016, fig.47 (M. Марковић, *Србија у Византији – ктиторска делатност српских задужбинара на подручју Ромејског царства*. in: Д. Поповић, Д. Војводић (ур.), Сакрална уметност српских земаља у средњем веку, Београд 2016, сл. 47); Prolović, *Die Kirche*, Abb. T. IIIb, IVb, Abb. 14–15; Тодић, *Ресава*, сл. 32, 56–58, 100; Prolović, *Resava*, Abb. 110–111.

[68] Prolović, *Die Kirche*, Abb. T. IIIb, Abb. 14.

[69] On the detailed way in which Metropolitan Jovan Zograf illustrates the incarnate: Prolović, *Die Kirche*, 208.

9a Inscription on the scroll of St. John Chrysostom, Resava Monastery

9b Inscription on the scroll of St. Athanasios of Alexandria, Resava Monastery

frescoes. These details include *the specific manner in which holy fathers hold their scrolls*, a practice that is consistently observed in Andreaš, the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi, and Resava. A comparative analysis of the hands of various holy fathers across all three churches reveals identical details. The signature mark of Metropolitan Jovan Zograf is his depiction of the *upper hand*, with which the holy fathers hold the scroll – they are firmly holding a kontakion (fig. 6a–6d). In his works, Metropolitan Jovan Zograf places particular emphasis on the thenar (the small area at the base of the thumb), a feature that is apparent in all the hands of the holy fathers he illustrates. Thus, Metropolitan Jovan Zograf similarly depicted the hand of St. Gregory the Theologian in Andreaš (fig. 6a), the hand of St. John Chrysostom in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi (fig. 6b), and in Resava, the hand of St. John the Merciful (fig. 6c) as well as that of St. Sylvester (fig. 6d), to name a few.

Another detail proves that Metropolitan Jovan Zograf was the protomaster of the frescoes in the burial church of Despot Stefan Lazarević in Resava. The ductus of the original, cleaned inscription in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in Vatopedi Monastery with the name of St. Gregory the Theologian in the central apse, is identical with the one of the nearby inscriptions, including the inscription with the name of St. John Chrysostom next to it, clearly showing that Metropolitan Jovan Zograf was the painter who illustrated the mentioned figure of St. Gregory the Theologian in this small chuch (fig. 7). Namely, the inscriptions with the names of St. John Chrysostom, St. Gregory the Theologian and other adjacent figures are written by the same hand, the hand of Metropolitan Jovan Zograf.[70] The fact that the original fresco of St. Gregory the Theologian painted by Metropolitan Jovan Zograf is still preserved under the 19th century fresco layer is clearly demonstrated by the *specific gesture of St. Gregory the Theologian holding a scroll with his right hand*, another signature mark of Metropolitan Jovan Zograf (fig. 3c, 7), which the artist who undertook the "fresco-restoration" in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in 1847 faithfully repeated following the original fresco. Many years ago, it was observed that the Greek artist Matthew, who painted new frescoes over the original ones in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in 1847, accurately reproduced the old frescoes he had previously seen.[71] Thus, the fresco depicting St. Gregory the Theologian is not an exception. An analysis of the *right hand gesture of St. John Chrysostom*, as depicted on the original fresco painted by Metropolitan Jovan in Resava, and the precisely replicated gesture on the fresco of St. Gregory the Theologian from the

[70] Гавриловић, *Протомајстор фресака у параклису Светих Бесребреника*, 300.

[71] Ђурић, *Фреске црквице св. Бесребреника*, 128, 130; Ђурић, *Историографско-мемоарска белешка*, 28 (see also: Гавриловић, *Протомајстор фресака у параклису Светих Бесребреника*, 307).

9c Inscription on the scroll of St. Sylvester of Rome, Resava Monastery

19th century in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in Vatopedi Monastery, also reveals and confirms the fact that Metropolitan Jovan Zograf is the author and protomaster of the frescoes in Resava.

Another element shows that Metropolitan Jovan Zograf served for the protomaster of the Resava frescoes. The particular in question is *the manner in which the hierarchs hold their scrolls with their lower hand*, a characteristic observable in all three of the aforementioned monuments. This characteristic is another signature mark of Metropolitan Jovan Zograf. In particular, certain hierarchs in Andreaš, the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi, and Resava hold their scrolls between the second and third fingers, with the last three fingers positioned behind the scroll and only partially visible. These figures include St. Peter of Alexandria in Andreaš (fig. 8a), St. John Chrysostom in the Pareclesion of Holy Anargyroi (fig. 8b), as well as St. Athanasios of Alexandria (fig. 8c, 9b), St. Sylvester of Rome (fig. 9c), and St. Spyridon of Tremithus (fig. 8d, 9d) in Resava. Moreover, the depiction of the incarnate on the backs of the hands and fingers remains uniform in Andreaš, the Pareclesion of Holy Anargyroi, and Resava.[72] The upper part of the hand is outlined brown, followed by a thick layer of green, and highlighted with white accents, which gradually transition into darker skin tones through color modeling, while a substantial portion of the lower part of the hand is depicted in darked tones. Additionally, the upper contours of the fingers are rendered in green, whereas the lower contours are in reddish and dark ochre. Another distinctive feature of the work of Metropolitan Jovan Zograf is the illumination of the first three fingers of the hand with white accents, which stands in severe contrast to the significantly darker depiction of the last two fingers.

Inscriptions. Upon examining the Serbo-Slavic inscriptions in Andreaš alongside those on the scrolls of the Holy Fathers illustrated in the scene of Officiating Church Fathers in Resava, it becomes clear that they were inscribed by the same painter, Metropolitan Jovan Zograf (fig. 9a–10). The visual characteristics of the letters are identical. It is particularly noteworthy that in Resava, all the prayer texts on the open scrolls of the church fathers in the scene of Officiating Church Fathers were inscribed by Metropolitan Jovan Zograf, even though he did not depict all the church fathers present in the scene (fig. 9a–d). He also inscribed all the names of the church fathers in the same scene in gold (see below). The Serbo-Slavic inscriptions in Andreaš include the ktetorial fresco inscription above the western portal, the text of the charter inscribed in a gold band above the second painted register, as well as the inscriptions beneath the Annunciation scene, the texts on the scrolls of the prophets David and Solomon next to the Annunciation, along with the inscriptions on the scrolls of certain prophets in the dome and other figures. There is no doubt that these were inscribed by the protomaster

[72] On the detailed manner in which Metropolitan Jovan Zograf illustrates the incarnate: Prolović, *Die Kirche*, 208.

of Andreaš, Metropolitan Jovan Zograf, whose handwritting is distinguished by large, calligraphically beatiful letters (fig. 9e, 10). His letters are arranged in rows that are bordered by stright lines, with an empty space between two rows that is half the size of the area occupied by the written letters. Metropolitan Jovan Zograf often writes individual letters in smaller dimensions between the rows, which appear as superscript letters. This is frequently the case with the letter д, as seen in the word „built" (сѣзда) from the verse (Прѣмоудрость сѣзда себѣ храмь; Wisdom built herself a house, Prov.9.1) held by the prophet Solomon in Andreaš (fig. 9e),[73] or the letter д in the word "security" (оутвръжденіе) found in the twelfth line of the ktetorial fresco inscription in Andreaš (fig. 10).[74] The inventory of the superscript letters that Metropolitan Jovan Zograf inscribed above the rows (that is between the rows) in the ktetorial inscription above the western portal of the nave in Andreaš Monastery, as well as on the open scroll held by the prophet Solomon within the same church, includes: д, е, к, л, м, н, о, р, с, т, х, ч, along with ь, ѳ and ѵ. In addition to these letters, Metropolitan Jovan Zograf also inscribes diacritical marks above the rows: titloi (fig. 9a–10), double gravis (fig. 9b), acute (fig. 9a, 9c–d), and spiritus lenis (fig. 9a–d, 10). In the inscriptions on the scrolls of the church fathers in Resava, the letters д (fig. 9b), с (fig. 9b–c) and х appear most frequently, whereas titloi are the most common among the diacritical marks (fig. 9a–d). Letter т appears between the rows in the word ѿ ("of", "from"), for instance on the scroll of St. Gregory of Nyssa in Resava, as well on the scroll of the prophet Habakkuk in the dome of Andreaš. On the scrolls of certain church fathers in Resava, including St. John Chrysostom (fig. 9a), St. Gregory the Theologian, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and St. Spyridon of Tremithus (fig. 9d), only titloi and diacritical marks are inscribed between the rows, while all other letters are arranged in rows, leaving the spaces them devoid of superscript letters.

In the text on the scrolls of the holy fathers in the scene of the Officiating Church Fathers in Resava, the letters б, в, г, д, е, и, к, н, о, п, р, с, ш, ь, among others, along with capital letter а and the lowercase letter а match with the letters of Metropolitan Jovan Zograf in Andreaš (fig. 9a–10). The dual representation of the letter а is also a distinctive feature of the Metropolitan Jovan Zograf's handwriting. The letter а is represented in Resava in both lowercase and uppercase variations, depending on the context of the word in which it appears. Consequently, the letter а in the term "God" or in phrases containing or connected with the term "God", such as "ours" (нашь), sometimes appears in uppercase form in the first line (for example on the scroll of St. Athanasios of Alexandria; fig. 9b), whereas the same letter is rendered in lowercase form in other terms of lesser importance. Nonetheless, the fact that this was not an absolute rule is evidenced by the lowercase letter а in a first line on the scroll of St. John Chrysostom (fig. 9a), which serves as a variant of this letter. However, in many instances, when a specific word holds significance and is more prominent than others, like the term "God", the Metropolitan chooses to capitalize it. For instance, on the scroll of St. John Chrysostom (forth row; fig. 3c, 9a), Metropolitan Jovan Zograf wrote this word using two letters and placed them under a titlo, with the letter а being capitalised (Ѣ҃а).

9d Inscription on the scroll Spyridon of Tremithus, Resava Monastery

The letter б features a vertical column, and its upper horizontal line is consistently straight and adorned with a triangular pendant in both Resava and Andreaš (fig. 9a–10). Letter т (fig. 9c), г (fig. 9a), and х (fig. 9a) are also embelished with same characteristic triangular pendants. In contrast, the letter е is slender and elongated, taking up half the space of larger letters like the letter н, ш and и (fig. 9a–10).

[73] Prolović, *Die Kirche*, Abb. 12.

[74] Prolović, *Die Kirche*, Fig. 1.

9e Prophet Solomon with scroll, Andreaš Monastery

The diagonal line of the letter н starts just below the top of the left vertical stroke and connects to the right vertical stroke at its midpoint (fig. 9a–9c). The letter с akin to е, is drawn narrowly resembling an arch with extended endings, typical for handwriting of Metorpolitan Jovan Zograf (fig. 9a–10). The letters н and и possess a shared vertical stroke, a practice utilized by the Metropolitan Jovan in both Serbo-Slavic and Greek inscriptions (fig. 3b, 7, 9a, 10). For example, he inscribed these two letters in the word "heavenly"(нєвєсни) from the phrase "heavenly bread" on the scroll of St. John Chrysostom (fig. 9a). Similarly, in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi, he wrote the letters *alpha* and *ro* next to the figures of Archangels Michael and Gabriel, just as in Resava, where he inscribed the Cyrilic letters *a* and р with a shared vertical stroke next to the figures of archangels deacons. The sole distinction is that in the Parecclesion of Vatopedi Monastery, he used lowercase letter *alpha*,[75] while in Resava, he utilized the uppercase Cyrillic letter а (fig. 1a–b). Following the same principle, the Metropolitan also linked the letters т and и, as seen in the word "holy" on the scroll of St. Athanasios of Alexandria in Resava (second row; fig. 9b). This specific method of connecting the aforementioned letters is also present in the Greek inscriptions of the same painter. As an example, I mention the article τήν from the word τὴν τροφὴν on the scroll of St. John Chrysostom in the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi (fig. 3b, 7).

It is noteworthy to observe the variations of the letter в as well. In the case of Andreaš, for instance, the scroll of the prophet Solomon features letter в with side loops that are connected just above the midpoint of the column, while below the prophet one can see the letter в similar to its variant present on the scrolls in Resava (fig. 9e, 9b–d). The letter к is identical in Andreaš (fig. 10) and Resava (fig. 9b, 9d), and without exception, similarly to the letter х, it features a distinct triangular pendant at the upper section.[76] The letter г has its vertical stroke whose height corresponds to the height of the letter row, while its upper horizontal line is shorter than the vertical stroke and is also adorned with a triangular pendant (fig. 9a, 10). The vertical stroke of the letter г may occasionally be adorned with a short lower horizontal line, at the root of vertical stroke, as seen on the scroll of St. Gregory of Nyssa in the word "Lord" (Гѳ). The letter д is the

[75] Cf. Гавриловић, *Протомајстор фресака у параклису Светих Бесребреника*, сл. 2.

[76] Prolović, *Die Kirche*, Fig. 1–2.

10 Ktetorial inscription, Andreaš Monastery, 1389

one that predominantly appears above the letter rows. However, regarding the Cyrilic inscriptions on the scrolls of Holy Fathers in both Andreaš and Resava, Metropolitan Jovan Zograf inscribed all letters mostly only in uppercase form and avoided placing letters between the rows, as demonstrated, for example, in the scroll of St. John Chrysostom in Resava (fig. 9a). Namely, small letters between the rows are not immediately visible, they form a whole with the main row of letters, as observed in the ktetorial inscription in Andreaš, on the scroll of Prophet Solomon in the same church (fig. 9e) and on the scrolls of church fathers in Resava (fig. 9a–d, 10). On the scroll of St. Sylvester of Rome, only two letters are inscribed between the rows, accompanied by a long titlo (fig. 9c), which serves as another distinctive feature of Metropolitan Jovan Zograf's handwriting, thereby emphasizing the aesthetic appeal of the inscription. It is noteworthy and interesting to observe that Metropolitan Jovan writes the Cyrilic letter и and Greek letter *eta* in the same way, and also consistently applies spiritus lenis above both (fig. 9a–d, 10). Additionally, Metropolitan Jovan Zograf employes the spiritus lenis in similar fashion in all three churches. His letter и is identical to the Greek *eta*: a horizontal line connects two robust vertical strokes, and it is situated slightly above the midpoint of the vertical stroke's height. Regardless of whether Metropolitan Jovan Zograf is inscribing Greek or Serbo-Slavic letters, he maintains the same, consistent style in his writing, connecting letters, and embellishing them. It is also significant to note that the appearance of the scrolls are uniform in all three mentioned churches – Andreaš, the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi and Resava (fig. 3b–c, 7, 9a–e).

At this point, it is important to highlight another aspect of the inscriptions on Resava frescoes in the scene of Officiating Church Fathers as a whole. The inscriptions featuring the names of Holy fathers in this scene are rendered in gold. To this day, they have been significantly deteriorated. At present, the inscriptions are visible next to the figures of St. John the Merciful and St. Gregory of Nyssa (along with partially visible inscriptions that include the names of St. Sava of Serbia and St. Sylvester of Rome). All the inscriptions with the names of holy fathers from the scene Officiating Church Fathers were not restored at the beginning of the 20th century; however, during the latter half of the 20th century, they were cleaned by the conservator Branislav Živković. Alongside the appearance of the Resava frescoes depicting the Service of Holy Fathers, Branislav Živković also carefully replicated the accompanying inscriptions.[77] These inscriptions reflect the distinctive handwriting style of Metropolitan Jovan Zograf, as well as some very specific features of his handwriting. One of the most important signature marks of his work is first observed in the inscription bearing the name of St. John Chrysostom. Specifically, Metropolitan Jovan Zograf consistently abbreviates the name Jovan (John) in both Serbo-Slavic and Greek by inscribing the first two letters of his name and placing them be-

[77] Б. Живковић, *Манасија. Цртежи фресака*, Београд 1983, 15–17.

11 St. Spyridon of Tremithus, Officiating Church Fathers, Resava monastery, detail

neath the titlo, as demonstrated in Resava (fig. 1a) and Holy Anargyroi next to the figure of this holy father (fig. 3b, 7). In Andreaš, Metropolitan Jovan particularly emphasized the initial two letters of the name of St. John Chrysostom, by creating a slight space between them and the remaining letters, in addition to placing a long titlo above the first two letters, which once again show and confirm his practice to subtly highlight his own name within the name of this saint (fig. 1a, 3a–b, 7).

When examinig the mastery of the protomaster of the Resava frescoes, Metoropolitan Jovan Zograf, one can identify significant differences by comparing the figures of two angels positioned next to the Holy Table in the scene of Officiating Church Fathers that he painted (fig. 5c–d) with those of the all other angels depicted in the Resava church, particularly in the scenes of the Apostles' Communion, the Anapeson scene, the ktetorial composition, and others.[78] A comparison of these various angels reveals distinct contrasts. Although all the painters of Resava, as disciples of Metropolitan Jovan Zograf, demonstrate remarkable talent, the angels executed by Metropolitan Jovan Zograf stand out as the most spiritually potent figures, exhibiting the deepest expressions and the most technically flawless figures and faces among all the angels in the church. The pronounced depth of psychological expression and the unmatched sense of volume are all signature marks of Metropolitan Jovan's artistry, and in this regard, no other artist working in the Resava church can rival him, even though disciples have sought to imitate his style as part of the Metropolitan Jovan's painting workshop. The figures painted by the other artists in the church appear flat compared to those painted by Metropolitan Jovan Zograf, in whose work every stylistic element and detail is brought to perfection. Except from the figures of angels, one of the most exquisite figures

[78] For (arch)angels by Metropolitan Jovan Zograf in the scene of Officiating Church Fathers in Resava: Тодић, *Ресава*, сл. 32, 56–57, 100; T. Starodubcev, *Art in the Lands of the Lazarević and Branković Dynasties*, in: Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages, D. Vojvodić, D. Popović (ed.), Belgrade 2016, fig. 315 [Стародубцев, *Уметничко стваралаштво у држави Лазаревића и Бранковића*, in: Д. Поповић, Д. Војводић (ур.), *Сакрална уметност српских земаља у средњем веку* (*Уметничко наслеђе и српска уметност* II), Београд 2016, сл. 315]; Prolović, *Resava*, Abb. 87, 110–111; for other angels, done by the disciples of Metropolitan Jovan Zograf: Тодић, *Ресава*, сл. 31, 38, 47–48, 58, 99, 103, 113; Prolović, *Resava*, Abb. 87, 93, 98, 102, 106, 108–109, 169, 247–248, 255, 276, 292–294, 298–301.

that exemplify the perfection of Metropolitan's modeling approach is the figure of St. Spyridon of Tremithus (fig. 11). Conversely, when comparing the figure of St. Nicholas of Myra, one can discern the difference in the treatment of the figures' volume. Furthermore, a comparison between the figure of St. John the Merciful by Metropolitan Jovan Zograf and that of St. Sava of Serbia by his anonymous disciple reveals how disciples adopted and replicated the style of their teacher, Kyr Metropolitan Jovan Zograf.[79] This topic will be further explored in subsequent work, along with additional observations.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that I have deliberately focused on the most significant shared features, and analogies between the frescoes of Andreaš, the Parecclesion of Holy Anargyroi in Vatopedi Monastery and Resava in this paper. Further research, which also confirm that Metroplitan Jovan Zograf is the protomaster of the Resava wall painting, will be published in due course.*

[79] Prolović, *Resava*, 184–185, Abb. 114, 116 (St. John the Merciful); Тодић, *Ресава*, сл. 59; Prolović, *Resava*, Abb. 115–116 (St. Sava of Serbia).

* The origin of images: 1a–b) According to: Живковић, Манасија, 17; 2a) Blago Fund; 2b) Miodrag Marković 3a) Darko Nikolovski; 3b) Αγιορειτική εστία; 3c) Blago Fund; 4) Blago Fund; 5a) Αγιορειτική εστία; 5b) Darko Nikolovski; 5c) Blago Fund; 5d) Blago Fund; 6a) Darko Nikolovski; 6b) Αγιορειτική εστία; 6c) Blago Fund; 6d) Blago Fund; 7) Αγιορειτική εστία; 8a) Darko Nikolovski; 8b) Αγιορειτική εστία; 8c) Blago Fund; 8d) Blago Fund; 9a–d) Blago Fund; 9e) Darko Nikolovski; 10) Accoding to: Prolović, *Die Kirche*, Fig. 1; 11) Blago Fund.

Анђела ГАВРИЛОВИЋ

ПРОТОМАЈСТОР ФРЕСАКА У ЦРКВИ СВЕТЕ ТРОЈИЦЕ У РЕСАВИ

Резиме

У овом раду је анализом стилских особености одређеног броја фресака у цркви Свете Тројице у Ресави, и њиховим поређењем са одговарајућим аналогијама (Андреаш и параклис Светих Бесребреника у Ватопеду), доказано да су оне дело српског сликара Митрополита Јована Зографа. Из истраживања изложених у раду произилази да је Митрополит Јован Зограф био протомајстор живописа најмонументалније задужбине деспота Стефана Лазаревића (кнез: 1389–1402; деспот: 1402–1427), коју је осликао заједно са својим ученицима.

Лепота гробне задужбине деспота Стефана Лазаревића, црква Свете Тројице у манастиру Ресави, хваљена је већ у житију деспота Стефана Лазаревића од Константина Филозофа и другим средњовековним књижевним делима, а истраживања деспотове задужбине, повезана са ослобађањем Србије од Турака, отпочела су у XIX веку. Живопис манастира Ресаве представљао је предмет изучавања бројних истраживача од самих почетака историје уметности у Србији. Зидно сликарство Ресаве је одмах по настанку (завршено 1418. године), сматрано не само највећом вредношћу задужбине деспота Стефана већ и најбољим живописом у Србији уопште, па је одговор на питање о пореклу ресавског сликара и о уметничким изворима њиховог стваралаштва од прворазредног значаја.

Насупрот бројним претпоставкама о пореклу ресавских живописаца у литератури се јавило мишљење да ресавски живопис води своје порекло од солунског живописа са којим има наглашене сличности. Овакво мишљење понудио је *Војислав Ј. Ђурић*. Иако испрва недовољно прихваћено, под утицајем предрасуда свог времена и једног дела старије историографије, Ђурићево гледиште је најисправније, најтемељније и научно најоправданије мишљење о изворишима ресавског живописа. Војислав Ђурић је указао на несумњиве везе између ресавског сликарства и живописа Солуна, а у овом смислу посебна важност дата је сликарству задужбине деспота Јована Угљеше у Ватопеду – параклису Светих Бесребреника. Остављајући на овом месту по страни бројне друге проблеме и запажања Војислава Ђурића и других аутора, у раду истичем закључак Војислава Ј. Ђурића да су стари мајстори Угљешиног параклиса у Ватопеду припадници исте оне групе живописаца који су радили у Ресави. Наиме, у својим новијим истраживањима дошла сам до недвосмисленог закључка да је протомајстор старог живописа у параклису Светих Бесребреника у Ватопеду био Митрополит Јован Зограф. Овај закључак потврђује анализа иконографије, стила одређеног броја првобитних очишћених фресака параклиса, као и палеографска анализа натписа на њима. Са горенаведеним у вези, произилази сигуран закључак да је Митрополит Јован Зограф био протомајстор фресака у цркви Свете Тројице у Ресави деспота Стефана коју је осликао заједно са припадницима своје сликарске радионице. Овај закључак се поуздано може потврдити поређењем одређеног броја фресака Ресаве, са фрескама Андреаша и ватопедског параклиса Светих Бесребреника, које све као и ресавске фреске имају истоветну плаву позадину, што је њихова прва и лако уочљива заједничка особеност (сл. 2a–3c). Најзад, уз иконографију, и други веома важни елементи стила фресака у Андреашу су подударни ресавским, а у раду је закључено и да су српскословенски натписи на свицима архијереја у Ресави подударни српскословенским натписима у Андреашу (сл. 9a–10). Такође, примећено је да су и бројни закључци поводом живописа Ресаве, Андреаша и параклиса Светих Бесребреника у Ватопеду подударни. У светлос-

ти до сада изнетих закључака у раду, указано је да је мишљење Милана Кашанина који је сматрао да неговани, беспрекорно изведени српски натписи без језичких грешака уз ликове светитеља на сценама сведоче о српском пореклу ресавских мајстора оправдано и исправно.

У раду је подробно указано које је фреске у Ресави насликао Митрополит Јована Зограф. У питању су Часна трпеза, арханђели уз њу, као и одређен број ликова светих отаца у сцени Службе архијереја: са северне стране Светог Јована Златоустог, Светог Григорија Богослова, Светог Јакова Брата Божијег, Светог Јована Милостивог, а са јужне стране Светог Атанасија Александријског, Светог Силвестера Римског, Светог Спиридона Тримитунтског и део фигуре Светог Кирила Александријског (сл. 1a–b, 2a, 3c, 4, 5c–d, 11). Такође указано је да је натписе на свицима свих архијереја у сцени Службе отаца у олтару извео Митрополит, као и да је он такође извео и све златне натписе крај фигура архијереја са њиховим именима. Закључено је да су му у сликању ове сцене помогла тројица помоћника, од којих је један извео лик Светог Николе Мирликијског, други фигуру Светог Саве Српског, а трећи ликове Светог Василија Великог, Светог Григорија Ниског и део фигуре Светог Кирила Александријског.

У раду је указано на аргументе који са сигурношћу потврђују да је Митрополит Јован Зограф био протомајстор ресавског живописа. Неки од њих су карактеристичан начин сликања горње (сл. 6a–7) и доње шаке (сл. 3c, 7; 7–8d, 9b–d) којом архијереји у сцени Службе отаца придржавају свитке, а који су особени за рад Митрополита Јована Зографа. Посебна пажња указана је и једном од заштитних знакова овог изузетног сликара – специфичној пракси исписивања имена Светог Јована Златоустог у форми контракције са титлом и прва два слова имена у којем је сликар тајно забележио и своје сопствено име (сл. 1a, 7). Уз арханђеле приказане поред Часне трпезе посебно је указано на лик Светог Спиридона Тримитунтског који у погледу моделације инкарната и лепоте лика показује врхунско умеће Митрополита Јована Зографа (сл. 5c–d, 11).