

The frescoes of Ayios Nikolaos at Vevi¹: a landmark in the monumental painting of 15th century in Western Macedonia²

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The modern village Vevi, known as Banitsa from documents of 1481 until 1926, belonged in a dense network of post Byzantine settlements in the basin of south Lyncestide in the vicinity of Florina³. From the recorded post Byzantine settlements nearby Florina, Banitsa kept the fourth place in population with 151 households⁴. Although the ancient name Vevi is been testified in literary sources from the roman period and in Banitsa's broader area there are traces of a settlement and a stronghold close to Via Egnatia⁵, we lack any documentary evidence from a settlement named either Vevi

or Banitsa during the Byzantine era.

Six churches existed in Banitsa up to the end of 19th century, when the population of the village reached 400 households⁶.

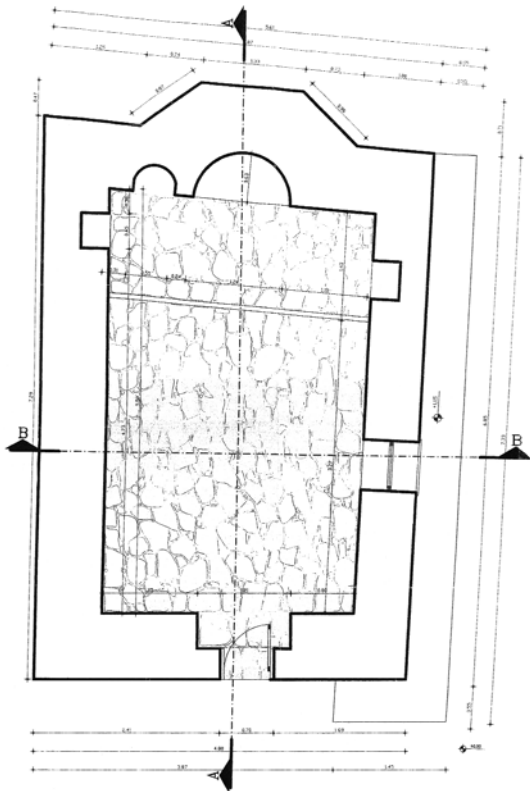
Its oldest preserved church has been built and decorated with frescoes in 1460, with the donation of the priest Ducas and his wife Kali, according to the dedicatory inscription⁷. The church was monastic and dedicated to Saint Nicholas, whose name bore the son of the donors, the priest Nikolaos.

The building is a single nave timber-roof, a very common type in Macedonia, during 14th-15th

1. In addition to those described in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1985, 759-764, the following abbreviations are used here:
- Georgitsoyanni 1993 E. Georgitsoyanni, *Les peintures murales du Vieux Catholicon du monastère de la Transfiguration aux Méteores (1483)*, Athènes 1993.
- Garidis 1989 M. Garidis, *La peinture murale dans le monde orthodoxe après la chute de Byzance (1450-1600) et dans les pays sous domination étrangère*, Athens 1989.
- Millet 1927 G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos, I. Les peintures*, Paris 1927.
- Millet – Frolow 1957 G. Millet – A. Frolow, *La peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macédoine et Monténégro) II*, Paris 1957.
- Millet – Frolow 1962 G. Millet – A. Frolow, *La peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macédoine et Monténégro) III*, Paris 1962.
- Millet – Velmans 1969 G. Millet – T. Velmans, *La peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macédoine et Monténégro) IV*, Paris 1969.
- Pelekanidis 1953 S. Pelekanidis, *Καστοριά I. Βυζαντινά τοιχογραφία, Πίνακες*. Thessaloniki 1953.
- Petković – Bošković 1941 V. Petković – Dj. Bošković, *Manastir Dečani*, Beograd 1941.
- PLP 1978 *Prosopographisches Lexicon der Palaiologenzeit* 3, Wien 1978.
- PLP 1983 *Prosopographisches Lexicon der Palaiologenzeit 1-6: Faszikel und Addenda*, Wien 1983.
- Subotić 1980 G. Subotić, *Ohridska slikarska škola XV veka*, Beograd 1980.
- Tsigaridas 1999 E. Tsigaridas, *Τοιχογραφίες της περιόδου των Παλαιολόγων σε ναούς της Μακεδονίας*, Thessaloniki 1999.
2. This paper constituted a communication in the XXIst International Congress of Byzantine Studies. An abstract is published in: M. Paissidou, «The frescoes of Ayios Nikolaos at Vevi. A landmark in the monumental painting of 15th century in Western Macedonia», *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London 21-26 August 2006*, III, London 2006, 299-300. All photographs in this text are by the author.
3. V. Kravari, *Villes et villages de Macédoine occidentale*, Paris 1989, 233-234.
4. In the second half of 15th century Florina (Chlerenon) numbers 243 households, Melite (Vostarani) 198 and Armenohori 167 (Kravari, *op. cit.*, 232, 247, 349).
5. K. Trandalidou, *Αρχαιολογική τοπογραφία του Νομού Φλώρινας*, Florina 1985, 20-23. F. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine*, Paris 1988, 273. D. Samsaris, *Ιστορική γεωγραφία της ρωμαϊκής επαρχίας Μακεδονίας. Το τμήμα της σημερινής Δυτικής Μακεδονίας*, Thessaloniki 1989, 28-29, 56-57, 185-186 des. XXXI.
6. S. A. Triandafyllidi, *Ιστορικά Βεύης κατά τον Μακεδονικό Αγώνα*, Florina 1958, 5.
7. N. K. Moutsopoulos, *Εκκλησίες του Νομού Φλωρίνης*, Thessaloniki 1964, 46-50 (where the date is wrongly read). Subotić 1980, 86-87 (where the date is properly read).



Fig. 1. Ayios Nikolaos. View from SE.



Des. 1. Ayios Nikolaos. Ground plan (by Maria Kouli).

century⁸. Its depiction in the model reveals strong similarities with the original. The considerable use of stone and mortar, the rarity of bricks and the existence of the two arches in the south wall are to be noticed (fig. 1, des. 1-2). The building stands within a cemetery enclosure, where the abundance of the post-Byzantine monolithic stone crosses among the modern graves is noticeable⁹.

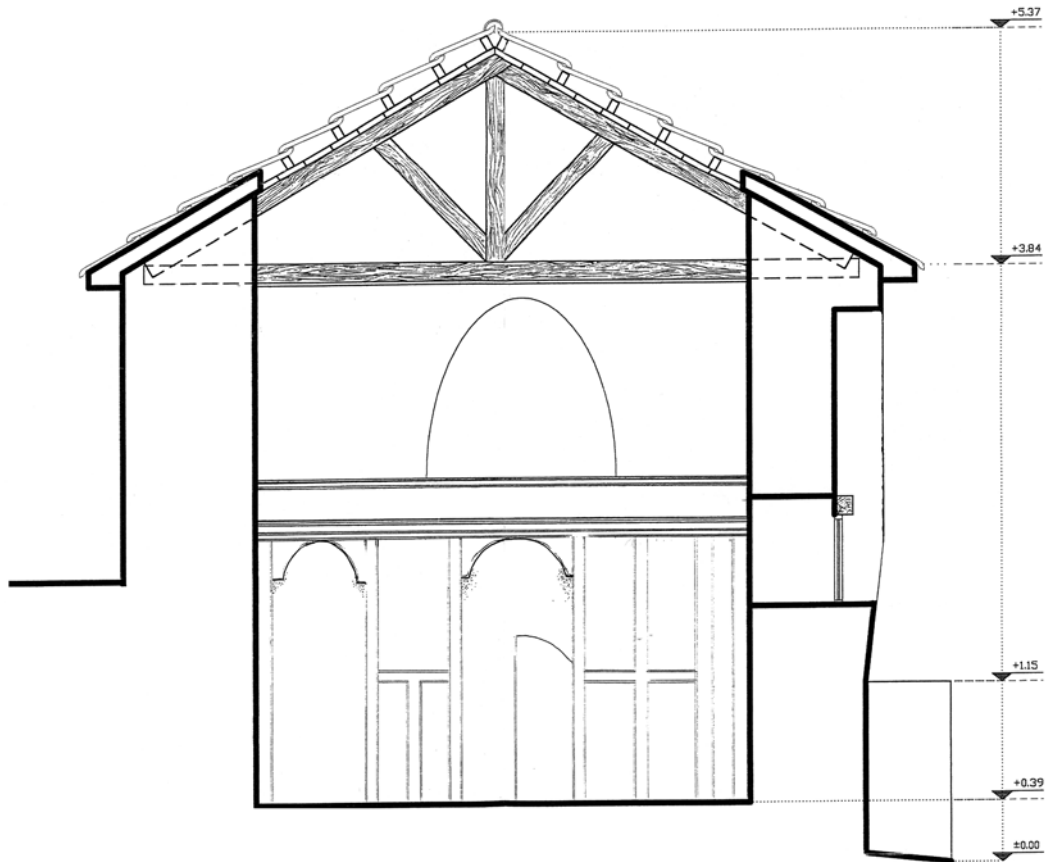
The humble building reveals in its interior a reach decoration of an artistic quality. The mural decoration has been attributed by Prof. Gojko Subotić to the artistic «school of Achris» of the 15th century¹⁰.

In this paper, however, we intend to show that the decoration of Ayios Nikolaos from the point of iconography, style and theology is mainly linked with the artistic environment of palaeologan Thessaloniki and Castoria of the middle and second half of 14th century and it precludes the flourishing of

8. Subotić 1980, 86-87. Ch. Bouras, *Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή αρχιτεκτονική στην Ελλάδα*, Athens 2001, 247, 248.

9. There will be a separate paper for the stone crosses of Vevi by the author.

10. Subotić 1980, 86-93.



Des. 2. Ayios Nikolaos. Section plan (by Maria Kouli).

the so-called «workshop of Castoria» in the last quarter of the fifteenth century¹¹.

Among the rich iconographical program of the church we choose the following subjects for their special characteristics:

The *mother of God – Platytera*, in the main apse is named «Η ΜΕΓΑΛΛΗ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ» («the Great Panagia»)¹² (fig. 2). This surname is originally found in a panagiario of 14th century in Xiropotamou monastery of the Holy Mountain, where the Virgin with Christos – Logos in a medallion is de-

pictured in prayer between two archangels and inside a circle which bears an incised inscription with the cherubic hymn¹³.

This title in the iconography of Theotokos will know a considerable but occasional spread in north and western Macedonia. In Ayios Constantinos and Eleni and in its south chapel in Achris (c. 1400) the Virgin «Μεγάλη Παναγία» is depicted in prayer; in the main church She is standing between two archangels but in the chapel She is represented in bust with Christos – Logos in a medallion¹⁴. We

11. Concerning the «Workshop of Castoria» see: E. N. Tsigaridas, «Σχέσεις βυζαντινής και δυτικής τέχνης στη Μακεδονία», in: *Εταιρεία Μακεδονικών Σπουδών – Εορταστικός Τόμος – 50 χρόνια (1939-1989)*, Thessaloniki 1992, 173-175. Georgitsouyanni 1993, 365-471. E. N. Tsigaridas, «Φορητές εικόνες του 15ου αι. του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου της Καστοριάς», in *Διεθνές Συμπόσιο: Βυζαντινή Μακεδονία 324-1430 μ.Χ., Θεσσαλονίκη 29-31 Οκτωβρίου 1992*, Thessaloniki 1995, 351-352, 353.

12. Further analysis of the type and its development in the Byzantine, post Byzantine and Slavic world is being elaborated by the author in collaboration with Dr. Emanuel Moutafov, archaeologist in the Institute for Art History of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

13. G. Millet – J. Pargoire – L. Petit, *Recueil des inscriptions de l' Athos I*, Paris 1904, no. 546, fig. 56. *Θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους* (ed. Ιερά Κοινότης Αγίου Όρους – Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού – Οργανισμός Πολιτιστικής Πρωτεύουσας της Ευρώπης: Θεσσαλονίκη 1997), Thessaloniki 1997, 292-293.

14. Cv. Grozdanov, *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo XIV veka*, Ohrid 1980, fig. 185, 197. In the main church the inscription «Μεγάλη Παναγία» is written in Greek, although in the chapel it is written in Slavic «Velika Presfeta».



Fig. 2. The Virgin Platytera («I Megali Panagia») and Melismos.

also find the surname «Μεγάλη Παναγία» in the type of Platytera of Vlachernes in the rock chapels of Prespa Lake¹⁵, in Vevi, in the chapel of Bolnica¹⁶ and in Kremikovci¹⁷. Then it will be propagated in

late Russian icons¹⁸. To be mentioned that with this surname are known a few post Byzantine monasteries, as in Samos¹⁹ and in Halkidiki²⁰.

This surname is mainly linked with the Virgin in prayer²¹ but doesn't seem to be combined to a specific iconographical type. A couple of Byzantine monastic establishments are dedicated to «Μεγάλη Παναγία», such as «Megali Panagia» in Athens dated after 10th century²², «Megali or Trani Panagia» of Ilarion Mastounis in Thessaloniki (c.1185)²³ and «Megali Panagia» in Yrtakion near Kyzicos²⁴. To be mentioned, also, the case of Panagia Acheiropoietos in Thessaloniki, which from 12th century onwards is known as «Μεγάλος Ναός της Θεοτόκου»²⁵ and in a document of 1320 is found as «Μεγάλη Παναγία»²⁶.

Though we lack any evidence of an equivalent in Constantinoupolis, we can assume the creation of this surname in eleventh or twelfth century, when a great emphasis was given in the cult of the Mother of God and a considerable number of new types and surnames had been created²⁷. The archetype could be a miraculous icon of a monastery or a church. The role of the hymnography must also be taken in account, given that in the Homily for the Dormition of the Virgin of Ioannis Archbishop of Thessaloniki there is a surname «Μεγάλη του παντός κόσμου Δέσποινα» (the Great Lady of the whole world)²⁸.

15. N. Moutsopoulos, «Βυζαντινά μνημεία της Μεγάλης Πρέσπας», in: *Χαριστήριον εις Αναστάσιον Κ. Ορλάνδον*, Β', Athens 1964, 140-141, pl. XV.
16. Subotić 1980, fig. 76 (where the inscription is in Greek).
17. In Kremikovci the inscription «Μεγάλη Παναγία» is also in Greek (the information about this representation was given to me by Dr. E. Moutafov).
18. *LCI* 3, Freiburg im Breisgau 1971, 168.
19. N. Passas, *Αι τοιχογραφίαι του καθολικού της μονής Μεγάλης Παναγίας Σάμου*, Athens 1982.
20. It is about a cell of Koutloumousiou monastery which was formerly known as Monastery of Gomatou (*Actes d'Iviron* II, Paris 1990, 137-138).
21. *LCI*, *op. cit.*
22. A. Xyngoroulos, «Μεγάλη Παναγία», *Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος* 8 (1923) 121-128. R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins*, Paris 1975, 301, 315.
23. Janin, *op. cit.*, 385, 396. S. Tambaki, *Η Θεσσαλονίκη στις περιγραφές των περιηγητών, 12ος-19ος αιώνας μ.Χ. Λατρευτικά μνημεία*, Thessaloniki 1998, 153-156.
24. Tambaki, *op. cit.*, 193-194, ft. 5.
25. Janin, *op. cit.*, 375-380. Th. Papazotos, «Ο μεγάλος ναός της Θεοτόκου», *Makedonika* 22 (1982) 112-132. Tambaki, *op. cit.*, 136-137.
26. J. Lefort – N. Oikonomides – D. Papatshryssanthou – V. Kravari, *Actes d'Iviron* III, Paris 1994, 253.
27. M. Bacci, «Με το χρωστήρα του Ευαγγελιστή Λουκά» in: *Μήτηρ Θεού, Απεικονίσεις της Παναγίας στη Βυζαντινή Τέχνη*, Αθήνα 2002, 82, 87. R. Cormack, «Η Παναγία στα ψηφιδωτά της Αγίας Σοφίας», *ibidem*, 107, 118-120. E. Tsigaridas, «Η Παναγία στη μνημειακή ζωγραφική», *ibidem*, 126-129. Chr. Baltoyiannis, «Η Παναγία στις φορητές εικόνες», *ibidem*, 144-151.
28. Ch. I. Kondakis, *Εις την Θεοτόκον συναγωγή πατερικών ωδών, προσηγοριών και επιθέτων*, Thessaloniki 1998, 190.



Fig. 3. The Communion of the Apostles (left wing).

«Megali Panagia» in Vevi is depicted with *Christos – Amnos (Melismos)*²⁹ within the same panel, forming a unique pattern, among the known examples (fig. 2). The representation bears the inscription «Ο ΜΕΛΙΣΜΟC» and it is placed in the same axis as the medallion with Christos – Logos. In this way the type of Platytera of Vlachernes, which symbolizes the dogma of the divine incarnation³⁰, combines the Incarnation with the Sacrifice, the Redemption with the Eucharistia. The intermediary role of Mother of God is emphasized and linked with the dogmatic value of the eternal Nativity – Sacrifice – Resurrection. The painter here emphasizes in a more tangible way the liturgical and dogmatic linking between Christos – Logos and Chris-

tos – Amnos, which has been known from 12th century, when the subject of Melismos was included in the program of the Bema³¹.

This double depiction refers to the symbolic meaning of the conch as the cave of the Nativity and as the tomb of Jesus, such as the Patriarch Germanos of Constantinoupolis has determined³², also to the interpretation of the altar as the throne of God, the Resurrection and the Holy Sepulcher as Symeon of Thessaloniki has defined³³ and to the combination between the altar and the Resurrection as Antonios of Larissa³⁴ and Grigorios Palamas have supported³⁵.

In the liturgical and eucharistic subject of the *Communion of the Apostles*, Christ is depicted as an

29. Ch. Konstantinidis, *Ο Μελισμός. Οι συλλειτουργούντες ιεράρχες μπροστά στην Αγία Τράπεζα με τα Τίμια Δώρα ή τον Ευχαριστιακό Χριστό*, Athens 1991.

30. M. Tatić-Djurić, «Type et signification de la Vierge des Blachernes», *Zbornik za Likovne Umetnosti* 8 (1972) 86-88.

31. M. Chatzidakis, «Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες στον Ωρωπό», *ΔΧΑΕ Α'* (1959) 96-98. S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises Byzantines de Mistra*, Paris 1970, 26-27.

32. PG. (ed. J.-P. Migne) 98, 388C.

33. PG. (ed. J.-P. Migne) 155, col. 704.

34. M. Tataγία, «Αντωνίου Αρχιεπισκόπου Λαρίσης, Λόγος εις την Αγίαν Κοίμησιν της Υπεραγίας Δεσποίνης υμών Θεοτόκου και Αειπαρθένου Μαρίας», *Byzantina* 20 (1999) 282-283: «Ω οίκημα άγιον και υπεράγιον όντως θυσιαστήριον του των όλων δημιουργού και δεσπότου».

35. «Ο μετά πίστεως βλέπων την μυστικήν Τράπεζαν και τον άρτον της ζωής επ' αυτής βλέπει τον λόγο του Θεού εν προσώπω γινόμενον σάρκα δι ημάς» (op. cit.).



Fig. 4. The Resurrection of Lazarus. The Entry to Jerusalem. Holy women.

archbishop, a type which firstly appears in Ayios Nikolaos Orphanos in Thessaloniki³⁶. This type of Jesus will be repeated in a few cases during 14th and 15th century³⁷ (fig. 3). Two particular motives like the withdrawal of Judas, who turns over his back, and the spitting of bread have been rarely depicted. Judas who turns his back over appears in a couple of monuments in Crete, Macedonia, and Serbia of the palaeologan era³⁸. The realistic detail of the ejected morsel of bread by Judas has already been appeared in Manasija³⁹ and it will be repeated alike in the church of the Transfiguration in Palae-

ochorio (Cyprus)⁴⁰ — in the beginning of 16th cent. — and in Veltsista (Epirus) in 1568⁴¹.

In the *Resurrection of Lazarus* and in the *Entry to Jerusalem* (fig. 4) there are close similarities with monuments of the «workshop of Castoria» like Ayios Nikolaos tou Magaleiou, Ayios Nikolaos tis monahis Eupraxias and Agios Nikolaos tis Theologinas⁴².

The *Betrayal of Judas* follows the conservative forms applied in provincial palaeologan parallels with archaistic tendencies of Macedonia and Serbia⁴³ (fig. 5). The crowd of soldiers with the chain -

36. A. Tsitouridou, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού στη Θεσσαλονίκη*, Thessaloniki 1986, 73-76, πίν. 12.

37. For the type of Jesus as the Great Arch-Priest and for relative recorded examples in Macedonia and Serbia see: T. Papamastorakis, «Η μορφή του Χριστού – Μεγάλου Αρχιερέα», *ΔΧΑΕ Δ' - IZ'* (1993-4) 67-78. For examples in Castoria see: Tsigaridas 1999, 254, 257. For examples during 15th century see: Subotić 1980, des. 78, 84, 108.

38. The first known example dates from 12th century in Panagia Asinou (A. J. Stylianou, *The painted churches of Cyprus*, London 1985, 117-118). Then follow a couple of palaeologan examples like in Bogorodica Ljeviška (B. Živković, *Bogorodica Ljeviska*, Beograd 1991, 26), in Agios Athanasios Mouzaki (Pelekanidis 1953, πίν. 144β) and in Crete (A.-G. Tourta, *Οι ναοί του Αγίου Νικολάου στη Βίτσα και του Αγίου Μηνά στο Μονοδένδρι. Προσέγγιση στο έργο των ζωγράφων από το Λινοσόπι*, Athens 1991, 60).

39. B. Živković, *Manasija*, Beograd 1983, 16.

40. Stylianou, *op. cit.*, 256, 269, fig. 169.

41. A. Stavropoulou-Makri, *Les peintures murales dans l'église de la Transfiguration à Veltsista et l'atelier des peintres Kondaris*, Ioannina 1989, 30-32, pl. 3a.

42. Pelekanidis 1953, pl. 184a. Garidis 1989, ph. 90.

43. About the development of the iconography see Ch.-Th. Papakyriakou, «Η Προδοσία του Ιούδα. Παρατηρήσεις στην μετεικονομαχική εικονογραφία της παράστασης», *Byzantina* 23 (2002-2003) 233-260. The same, *Η Προδοσία του Ιούδα στη βυζαντινή τέχνη*.



Fig. 5. The Betrayal of Judas.

helmets appears in the iconography from thirteenth century onwards, due to the influence of the crusaders⁴⁴. This feature is repeated in monuments of the «workshop of Castoria» such as in Old Catholicicon in Meteora⁴⁵ and in Poganovo⁴⁶. The chain-helmets are alike to those in Christos at Veroia⁴⁷, in Mateić⁴⁸ and in Mali Grad⁴⁹.

The *Penitence of Judas and his Hanging*, within a panel, forms two sequential subjects in two dra-

matic levels (fig. 6). The scene inspired from Matthew's Gospel (Matt., 27.5) and from Nicodemus apocrypha (Acta Pilati XI.2)⁵⁰, has been depicted in manuscript illuminations of 6th century⁵¹, yet it remained rare in the iconography. It appears during 14th century in the Balkans, as in Ivanovo⁵², in Boboševo (Saint-Theodore)⁵³, in Dečani⁵⁴ and during 15th-16th century in Macedonia and Epirus⁵⁵. The cave under Judas' feet will be repeated in

Η εικονογραφική εξέλιξη της παράστασης από τον 4ο αιώνα έως το 1400 μ.Χ. (unpublished Master Thesis), Thessaloniki 1999, 119-121. For similar examples see Prilep (V. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken in Jugoslawien*, Munich 1976, 169 fig 16), Dečani (Petković – Bošković 1941, pl. CCI), Taxiarchis Mitropoleos (Peleanidis 1953, pl. 123a).

44. A. J. Stylianou, «The militarization of the Betrayal and its examples in the painted churches of Cyprus», in: *Ευφρόσυνον. Αφιέρωμα στον Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη* 2, Athens 1992, 570-581.

45. Georgitsoyanni 1993, 134-137, pl. 45.

46. Garidis 1989, fig. 103.

47. St. Pelekanidis, *Καλλιέργης, όλης Θεσσαλίας άριστος ζωγράφος*, Athens 1973, pl. 24.

48. Millet – Velmans 1969, pl. 41.83.

49. D. Dharmo, *La peinture murale du Moyen Age en Albanie*, Tirana 1974, 33.

50. C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, Lipsiae 1853, XI.2.

51. In codex Rossano (N. Munoz, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*, Rome 1907, pl. XIII).

52. A. Boschkov, *Monumentale Wandmalerei Bulgariens*, Mainz 1969, pl. 65.

53. A. Boshkov, *Die bulgarische Malerei von den Anfängen bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, Recklinghausen 1969, fig. 65. D. Piguet-Panayotova, *Recherches sur la peinture en Bulgarie du bas moyen age*, Paris 1987, 48-50, fig. 17. Recently, however, it has been supported by scholars that the wall painting in Saint Theodores near Boboševo should be dated in the end of 15th - beginning of 16th century: L. Mavrodinova, *Stenata živopis v Balgarija do kraja na XIV v.*, Sofia 1995, 73.

54. Petković – Bošković 1941, pl. CCIX.

55. Stavropoulou-Makri, *op. cit.*, ft. 39, 76-78. Georbitsogianni 1993, 147-150. In Panagia Haviara in Veroia (1597/8) only the Hanging is depicted: I. Pesiridou, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του ναού της Παναγίας Χαβιαρά στη Βέροια 15ος-16ος αι.* (unpublished Master Thesis), Thessaloniki 2001, 51-53, pl. 32a-b.



Fig. 6. The Penitence of Judas and his Hanging. Saint Macarios and Saint David from Thessaloniki.

Ayios Nikolaos Magaleiou at Castoria and then in Epirus including the personification of Hades or Judas inside⁵⁶. Particular similarities are found with Leskoec (1461/2), Matka⁵⁷, Dragalevci⁵⁸ and the Old Catholicon in Meteora⁵⁹.

The position of the theme just opposite the Communion of the Apostles and beside the Betrayal completes the circle of Judas' contribution as an organ of the Holy Passion and Redemption.

The *Road to Calvary* includes also the cavalry of Pilate who declares his innocence⁶⁰ (fig. 7). The presence of the cavalymen is known either to the Italian Trecento or in Serbian examples of four-

56. Pelekanidis 1953, pl. 169β. Garidis 1989, 72-73, 176, 185, 332 ft. 1918. Stavropoulou-Makri, *op. cit.* 78.

57. Subotić 1980, des. 80, 111.

58. Boschkov, *op. cit.*, ft. 54, fig. 97.

59. Georgitsogianni 1993, pl. 51.

60. For Pilates' cavalry and his declaration see in detail in M. Paissidou, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του 17ου αιώνα στους ναούς της Καστοριάς*, Athens 2002, 91-92 and the same, «Ζητήματα μνημειακής ζωγραφικής του 16ου αιώνα από την περιοχή των Πρεσπών», in: *Ζητήματα Μεταβυζαντινής Ζωγραφικής στη μνήμη του Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη (Topics in Post Byzantine Painting in Memory of Manolis Chatzidakis)*, Πρακτικά επιστημονικού διημέρου 28-29 Μαΐου 1999, Athens 2002, 188.



Fig. 7. The Road to Calvary.



Fig. 8. The Ascent to Cross.

teenth century as in Dečani and Lesnovo. However, Pilate presence has been firstly verified in the church of the Dormition at Zevgostasi near Castoria. Then it appears in Vevi and in a couple of Macedonian monuments of 15th century and of the «workshop of Castoria». The depiction of Simon behind Jesus is only testified by Lucas and it is known from examples in Cappadocia⁶¹ and from an icon of thessalonian palaeologan art in Vlatades monastery⁶².

The *Ascent to Cross* is similarly depicted in distinctive palaeologan examples of the artistic environment of Thessaloniki as in Protaton⁶³, in Perivleptos of Achris, in Prilep, in Staro Nagoričino⁶⁴, in Christos at Veroia⁶⁵, in Lesnovo⁶⁶, in Dečani⁶⁷ and

61. A. Wharton-Epstein, «The Frescoes Decoration of the Column Churches, Göreme Valley, Cappadocia», *CA* 29 (1980-81) 39-41, fig. 13.

62. *Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή τέχνη*, Athens 1985, ic. 85.

63. Millet 1927, pl. 24.3.

64. Millet – Frolow 1962, pl. 8.2-4, 25.1, 91.4, 92.2.

65. Pelekanidis, see ft. 47, 53-57, pl. 27.

66. Millet – Velmans IV, pl. 25.12.

67. Petković – Bošković 1941, pl. CLXXXIV. 2.



Fig. 9. The Deposition from the Cross.

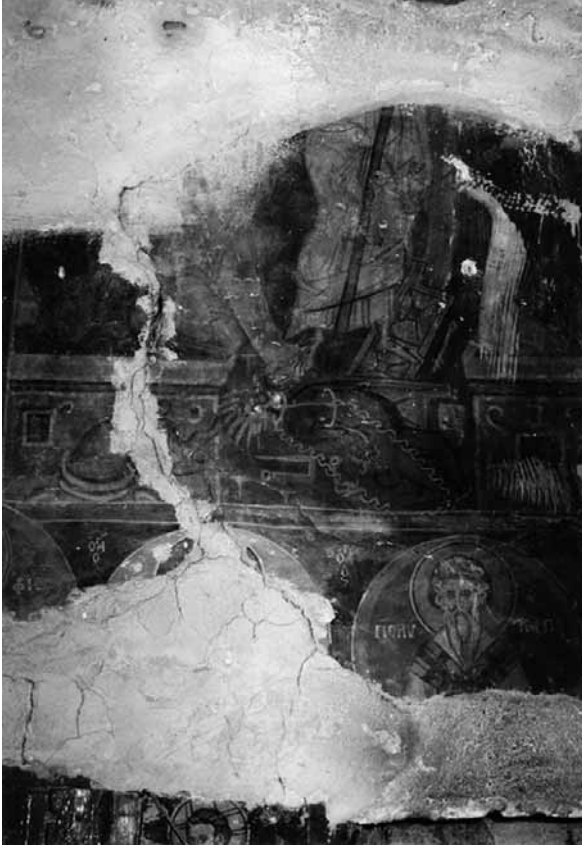


Fig. 10. The Descent to Hell.

on an icon of an iconostasis epistyle from Veroia⁶⁸ (fig. 8). The realistic detail of the man who prepares the beverage with the vinegar and the gall is inspired from the Apocrypha Acta Pilati⁶⁹ and hasn't any previous example in Byzantine art. Yet we know four rare variations in Staro Nagoričino⁷⁰, in Chilandari monastery⁷¹, in Gračanića⁷² and in Zemen⁷³. In Vevi has been created a prototype, which will be repeated in Leskoec, in Matka⁷⁴ and in Ayios Nikolaos Magaleiou at Castoria⁷⁵. It has been

68. Chr. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, «Βυζαντινό επιστόλιο με σκηνές του Δωδεκαόρτου και των Παθών του Χριστού», in: *Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Σωτήρη Κίτσα*, Thessaloniki 2001, 291-313. The same, *Βυζαντινές εικόνες από την καρδιά της Ελλάδος. Βυζαντινές και Μεταβυζαντινές εικόνες της Βέροιας*, Thessaloniki – Veroia 2003, 62-71.

69. «και ευθύς έδραμεν εις από των στρατιωτών και εγέμισεν αγγίον και λαβών όξους και θείς καλάμου επότιζεν αυτόν» (Tischendorf, see ft. 50, X.5).

70. Millet – Frolow 1962, pl. 92.1.

71. Millet 1927, pl. 69.2.

72. B. Živković, *Gračanica*, Beograd 1989, des. IV. 3.

73. A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie*, Paris 1928, 191, fig. 30.

74. Subotić 1980, des. 79, 111.

75. Pelekanidis 1953, pl. 168, 170b.



Fig. 11. The Dormition of the Virgin.

supported that this motive belongs to the pre-iconoclastic art and reappears in the palaeologan art of the Balkans⁷⁶.

In the *Deposition from the Cross* the painter repeats the type of Protaton⁷⁷, of Staro Nagoričino⁷⁸ and of two icons in Vatopedi (second half of 14th cent.)⁷⁹ and in Byzantine Museum of Castoria (1400)⁸⁰, namely works in the sphere of influence of palaeologan Thessaloniki (fig. 9).

The *Descent to Hell* reproduces the composition of Dečani in a condensed manner⁸¹ (fig. 10). The overwhelming of Satan below the smashed doors of Hell forms a motive inspired from the Apocrypha⁸² and penetrated in Macedonia and Serbia during 14th-15th century⁸³.

The *Dormition of the Virgin*⁸⁴ is depicted with its supplementary episodes, as the apostles in front of the empty tomb, the Assumption and the giving of the Holy Girdle to Apostle Thomas (fig. 11). These episodes known from two Latin scripts, and firstly spread in the West⁸⁵, and they were firstly depicted on the bronze door of the Cathedral in Suzdal (c. 1230)⁸⁶ and then in Staro Nagoricino⁸⁷, Gračanica⁸⁸, Ljuboten⁸⁹ and Dečani⁹⁰.

It seems that the painter was not only influenced from these prototypes but also from the doctrinal background of the epoch, given that during the 14th-15th century the doctrine of the corporeal Assumption of the Virgin was dominating as it is affirmed in the laudatory and panegyric orations⁹¹. The fourteenth century has been characterized as the «Mother of God century of the Orthodoxy», due to the numerous texts written for the Virgin from theologians like Grigorios Palamas and Antonios of Larissa⁹².

Jesus' mandorla hasn't any known parallel. It is possibly an allusion to Palamas doctrine about the uncreated Trinitarian light.

To be noticed the place of the Dormition, where Jesus holds the soul of Virgin, just opposite Great Panagia, which holds Christos – Logos and Amnos. In this way a dogmatic cycle and relation are revealed between the eastern and western part of the church.

In the *Deesis*⁹³ Jesus is represented as a King and Archbishop and the Virgin as a Queen (fig. 12). The Royal Deesis⁹⁴ refers to a couple of examples of the monumental painting of 14th and 15th

76. D. Panayotova, *Die bulgarische Monumentmalerei im 14. Jahrhundert*, Sofia 1966, 138-140.

77. Millet 1927, pl. 27.2.

78. Millet – Frolov 1962, pl. 44.3-4, 93.1.

79. E. N. Tsigaridas, «Φορητές εικόνες», in: *Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου Β΄*, Agion Oros 1996, 386-391.

80. G. Kakavas, *Βυζαντινό Μουσείο Καστοριάς*, ic. no 12B, Athens 1996.

81. Petković – Bošković 1941, pl. CLXXIX.

82. Tischendorf, see ft. 50, 175-176.

83. In Vatopediou monastery (E. N. Tsigaridas, «Τα ψηφιδωτά και οι βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες», in: *Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου Α΄*, Agion Oros 1996, fig. 226). In Taxiarchis Mitropoleos, in Ayios Andreas Rousouli (Pelekanidis 1953, pl. 126b, 163b), in Sopotani (Millet – Frolov 1957, 14-15), in Studenića, in Staro Nagoricino (Millet – Frolov 1962, pl. 63.2, 126.3), in Dečani (Petković-Bošković 1941), in Leskoec (Subotić 1980, des. 70, 79). Also in Tomić and in Munich Psalters (A. Dzurova, *Tomić Psalter*, I, Sofia 1990, 101-102 pl. 55, op. cit. II, pl. 38b).

84. L. Wratislav-Mitrović – N. Okunev, «La Dormition de la Sainte Vierge dans la peinture medievale orthodoxe», *Byzantinoslavica* III.1 (1931) 134 sqq.

85. C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, Lipsiae 1866, 113-123. Wratislav-Mitrović, *op. cit.*, 154-155.

86. Wratislav-Mitrović, *op. cit.*, pl. V.1.

87. Millet – Frolov 1962, pl. 99.1-2.

88. Vl. Petković, *La peinture Serbe du Moyen Age*, Beograd 1934, 32, fig. 36.

89. Millet – Velmans 1969, pl. 5.12.

90. Petković – Bošković 1941, pl. CCIX.

91. M. Jugie, *La Mort et l'Assomption de la Vierge, Citta del Vaticano* 1944, 315-338. Tatayia, see ft. 34, 282-283.

92. Tatayia, *op. cit.*, 270, 271.

93. For the depiction of Deesis see Ch. Walter, «Two notes on the Deesis», *REB* 26 (1968) 311-336. *The same*, «Further notes on the Deesis», *REB* 28 (1970) 161-187. *The same*, «Bulletin on the Deesis and the Paraclesis», *REB* 38 (1980) 261-269. M. Kazamia-Tsernou, *Ιστορώντας τη «Δέηση» στις βυζαντινές εκκλησίες της Ελλάδος*, Thessaloniki 2003, passim.

94. For the Royal Deesis see: L. Grigoriadou, «L'image de la Deesis Royale dans une fresque du XIV siècle à Castoria», in: *Actes du XIVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines (Bucarest 1971)*, II, Bucuresti 1974, 46-52. For a different approach of the subject see: Papamastorakis, see ft. 37, 74-76.



Fig. 12. The Deesis.

century in Macedonia and Serbia and makes an allusion to a vision of Palamas, to a homily of his about the Dormition of the Virgin, to the Psalm n° 44 (45).10-12⁹⁵ and furthermore to the hymnography of the Virgin, where her characterization as a Queen is considerably spread⁹⁶.

The subject is spread in an area from Thessaloniki to Veroia and in regions within to the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Achris like Castoria, Florina and Skopje. We find similar iconography in Torniki⁹⁷, Dolgaec, Lešani, Boboševo⁹⁸ and in the monuments of the «workshop of Castoria»⁹⁹.

The place of the Deesis in the end of the north wall follows the standards of the small scale single-nave churches in western and north Macedonia, where the subject is placed just opposite the depiction of the saint patron¹⁰⁰. Especially in Vevi, opposite the Royal Deesis, another Deesis is depicted with the donors towards Saint-Nicholas, creating thus an opposite eschatological relation. The *vis-à-vis* position of the patron Saint-Nicholas and the Deesis has firstly appeared in Platsa of Mani¹⁰¹ and then in Castoria during 14th and 15th century¹⁰².

The very rare depiction of the dendrite *Saint-David of Thessaloniki*¹⁰³ is known only from a cou-

95. A. Xyngoroulos, «Άγιος Δημήτριος ο Μέγας Δουξ ο Απόκαυκος», *Ellinika* 15 (1957) 122-140. Th. Papazotos, *Βυζαντινές εικόνες της Βέροιας*, Athens 1995, 62-63, pl. 76. Tsigaridas 1999, 218. Kazamia-Tsernou, *op. cit.*, 197-202, 215-217.

96. «Βασίλισσα των κτισμάτων απάντων εκ δεξιών ισταμένη του παμβασιλέως», «Βασίλισσα μόνη εν βασιλίσσαις», «Βασίλισσα εν ιματισμω διαχρύσω περιβεβλημένη πεποικιλμένη», «Βασίλισσα, εκ δεξιών του παμβασιλέως μέλλουσα στήσασθαι εν τοις ουρανοίς»: in S. Eustratiadis, *Η Θεοτόκος εν τη Υμνογραφία*, Paris 1930, 11-12 and in Chr. Kondakis, *Εις την Θεοτόκον συναγωγή πατερικών ωδών, προσηγοριών και επιθέτων*, Thessaloniki 1998, 539.

97. S. Voyatzis, «Η μονή της Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου στο Τορνίκι Γρεβενών», *ΔΧΑΕ Δ' -ΙΕ'* (1989-1990) 241-256.

98. Subotić 1980.

99. See for all known examples in: Georgitsogianni 1993, 272-275.

100. Tsigaridas 1999, 218. Kazamia-Tsernou, *op. cit.*, 118-121 (with relative examples).

101. D. Mouriki, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου στην Πλάτσα Μάνης*, Athens 1975, 70-71.

102. About the special honor towards Saint Nicolas in Castoria and his intermediate role in the Deesis see Paissidou, *op. cit.*, 193-196.

103. About the dendrites saints and especially Saint-David see: K. P. Charalambidis, *The Dendrites in Pre-Christian and Christian Historical-Literary Tradition and Iconography*, Rome 1995. The same, «Εικονογραφικές παραστάσεις του δενδρίτη οσίου Δαβίδ εν Θεσσαλονίκη», in: *Μνήμη Μανόλη Ανδρόνικου*, Thessaloniki 1997, 399-405.

ple of examples of Thessaloniki and its artistic environment¹⁰⁴ (fig. 6). Its representation is hardly spread during 15th century as we know from Dragalevci¹⁰⁵, the Old Catholicon in Meteora¹⁰⁶ and an icon from Vatopedi monastery, where the same Byzantine type is repeated¹⁰⁷. The depiction of the local dendrite Saint of Thessaloniki alludes to possible influences that the artist and the donor could have accepted.

Saint Mercury is depicted in the characteristic double-twisted movement, in a type which firstly appeared at Castoria, in Ayios Athanasios-tou-Mouzaki¹⁰⁸ and then in Ayios Andreas-tou-Rousouli¹⁰⁹ (fig. 13). Our example is identical to the later.

The warrior saints *Theodore Tiron* and *Stratilatēs* bear triangular and Norman shields respectively, alluding to western prototypes. These types of shields are also depicted in Ayios Athanasios-tou-Mouzaki and Ayios Georgios-tou-Vounou at Castoria¹¹⁰.

The iconographical program and the emphasis to the scenes of Passion, the special motives and details of the subjects we have noticed above and also the thematic and theological correlation of some depictions between them show close similarities mainly with the monumental painting of the second half of 14th and of the first half of 15th century in Castoria and secondarily with the artistic environment of Achris¹¹¹. Among the monuments of «the school of Achris» there are closer connections with the church of Ascension at Leskoec (1461/2) and the chapel of the Saint Apostles in the church of Saint Nicholas Bolnica¹¹² (post 1467).



Fig. 13. Saint Mercury.

Both examples, however, chronologically follow Vevi. The similarities among them show a ruling role of Ayios Nikolaos towards the two posterior monuments of Achris. Moreover, the comparisons with the monuments of «the school of Achris» show the artistic supremacy of Vevi, either in iconographical terms or in stylistic features. The use of innovative elements, the deep theological conception and some significant details and subjects, linked with the environment of Thessaloniki, point

104. On a marble icon from Thessaloniki, in Profitis Elias (A. Xyngopoulos, «Ανάγλυφον του Οσίου Δαβίδ του εν Θεσσαλονίκη», *Μακεδονικά* 2 [1941-1951] 1-24), in Agioi Anargyroi at Castoria (St. Pelekanidis – M. Chatzidakis, *Καστοριά*, Athens 174, 43), in Protaton (Millet, Athos, pl. 45.1), in Chora monastery (P. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami III*, New York 1966, pl. 506, 507), in Studenica (G. Millet – A. Frolov, *La peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macédoine et Monténégro) I*, Paris 1954, pl. 42.4), in the gallery of the narthex in Agia Sofia in Achris (Grozdanov, *Ohrid*, des. 15).

105. Subotić 1980, 127, des. 99.

106. Georgitsogianni 1993, 280-281.

107. E. N. Tsigaridas, *Φορητές εικόνες, Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου Β', Άγιον Όρος* 1996, 401, ph. 335.

108. Pelekanidis 1953, pl. 154a.

109. Pelekanidis, *op. cit.*, pl. 166b. Tsigaridas 1999, 304, 309, fig. 175.

110. Pelekanidis – Chatzidakis, *op. cit.*, 19, fig. 14. Tsigaridas, *op. cit.*, fig. 134.

111. About the monumental painting in Castoria during 14th and 15th century see: Tsigaridas 1999, 211-330, 336-340. About its development during 15th century see: Garidis 1989, 68-75.

112. Subotić 1980, 93-110.



Fig. 14. Sainte Anastasia.



Fig. 15. Saint Tryphon.



Fig. 16. The priest Dukas and his wife Kali.

to the artistic and theological background of the palaeologan Macedonia, originated mainly from Thessaloniki and Castoria. Prof. Euthymios Tsigaridas has supported that iconographical features combine this monument with the monumental painting of Castoria in the second half of 14th century, although stylistically and technically there is a close connection with the painting of Macedonia of the 15th century¹¹³. In addition to that, we have pointed to certain iconographical and theological links with the palaeologan Thessaloniki and the Holy Mountain and also features of the «workshop of Castoria» in their formation. The narrative style, the emphasis in dramatic and theatrical details, the searching for perspective, the avant-garde styling and colorization, the multi-chromatic scale, the taste of luxury in clothes, the suits of armor reflecting western prototypes, the prettified fleshy faces of the isolated figures with the well-painted unvarying characteristics (fig. 4, 14-15), which appear in Vevi, constitute elements that will be fully developed by the «workshop of Castoria» a couple of decades later¹¹⁴. Yet, these features in Vevi, are still trapped in the conservatism of the early post-Byzantine provincial style of Macedonia.

The semantic and liturgical connection between the themes, either in a horizontal, vertical or opposite meaning, reveals a deep theological aspect, obviously linked with the religious and social cycle of the priest and donor Ducas (fig. 16). His name alludes to a Byzantine and noble origin¹¹⁵. Moreover his wife's costume is comparable to those of the women that have been depicted in the south gallery of Taxiarches Mitropoleos at Castoria during the first half of 15th century¹¹⁶, forming thus a continuation of the costumes that wear the noble women in the Byzantine churches of Castoria as well¹¹⁷.

113. In E. N. Tsigaridas, «Monumental Painting in Greek Macedonia during the fifteenth Century», in: *Holy Image, Holy Space. Icons and Frescoes from Greece*, Athens 1988, 57.

114. Georgitsoyanni 1993, 306-362.

115. *PLP* 1978, 66-68. *PLP* 1-6: Faszikel und Addenda, Wien 1983, 15-16. M. Triantafyllidis, *Τα οικογενειακά μας ονόματα*, Thessaloniki 1982, 52, 202.

116. A. Orlandos, *ABME Δ'*, Athens 1938, 99-103.

117. M. Paissidou, «Η κτητορική παράσταση και η χρονολόγηση των εξωτερικών τοιχογραφιών του Αγίου Γεωργίου Ομορφοκλησίας», *ΔΧΑΕ Δ'-ΚΔ'* (2003) 223-225, 225 ft. 13-14 (with relative examples and bibliography).

The probable influence of the doctrine of Grigorios Palamas in some subjects and motives has to be connected with their propagation in Thessaloniki, Veroia and Castoria¹¹⁸ and with some special tendency of the priest and donor Ducas. Some depictions linked to eminent Byzantine types, relics or local saints like «Megali Panagia» and Saint David from Thessaloniki allude to the Byzantine past of the area. The emphasis of the cult of Theotokos, although the church is devoted to Saint Nicholas, is based on the doctrinal background of the 14th century. Given that Thessaloniki fell to the Ottomans 30 years earlier and Constantinoupolis only seven

years earlier the conservation of memory and the question of continuation are discernable in our church.

The painting in Ayios Nikolaos at Vevi is placed on the borderline of two eras, continuing the artistic trends of the palaeologan period in Macedonia and opening the way which will lead to the artistic explosion of the «workshop of Castoria». Such a process can be succeeded under the influence of a developed artistic environment, with an uninterrupted local tradition during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, such as Castoria is.

118. E. N. Tsigaridas, «Εικονιστικές μαρτυρίες του αγίου Γρηγορίου του Παλαμά σε ναούς της Καστοριάς και της Βέροιας. Συμβολή στην εικονογραφία του αγίου», in: *Πρακτικά Θεολογικού Συνεδρίου εις τιμήν και μνήμην του εν αγίοις πατρός ημών Γρηγορίου Αρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης του Παλαμά, 12-14 Νοεμβρίου 1984*, Thessaloniki 1986, 263 ff.

**Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου Βεύης:
ένας σταθμός στη μνημειακή ζωγραφική του 15ου αιώνα
στη Δυτική Μακεδονία**

Μελίνα Π. Παϊσίδου

Στο λεκανοπέδιο της νότιας Λυγκηστίδας, ανατολικά της Φλώρινας, αναπτύχθηκε η Βεύη, γνωστή από έγγραφα του 15ου αιώνα με το όνομα Μπάνιτσα. Η οχυρή θέση του οικισμού και η γειτνίασή του με την Εγνατία οδό συνέβαλαν στην κατοίκηση της περιοχής από τους αρχαίους χρόνους και στην επιβίωσή του έως σήμερα. Παρά την απουσία πληροφοριών για τη βυζαντινή περίοδο, ο οικισμός ανθεί στην εποχή της Τουρκοκρατίας, οπότε μαρτυρείται η ανέγερση έξι εκκλησιών.

Η αρχαιότερη σωζόμενη εκκλησία κτίστηκε και τοιχογραφήθηκε το 1460 με δαπάνες του ιερέα Δούκα και της συζύγου του Καλής ως μονύδριο τιμώμενο στον Άγιο Νικόλαο. Η ζωγραφική του έχει απασχολήσει την έρευνα από την σκοπιά της ένταξής του σε έναν κύκλο μνημείων της «σχολής της Αχρίδας του 15ου αιώνα». Πιστεύουμε, ωστόσο, ότι η ζωγραφική του Αγίου Νικολάου της Βεύης συνδέεται με την καλλιτεχνική παραγωγή της Καστοριάς του δεύτερου μισού του 14ου αιώνα και προοιωνίζει την άνθιση που θα γνωρίσει στην ευρύτερη περιοχή το λεγόμενο «καστοριανό εργαστήριο».

Το εικονογραφικό πρόγραμμα, τα επιμέρους μοτίβα και ο συσχετισμός ορισμένων παραστάσεων μεταξύ τους παρουσιάζουν ομοιότητες κυρίως με ναούς της Καστοριάς του δεύτερου μισού του 14ου και των αρχών του 15ου αιώνα, και δευτερευόντως με της Πρέσπας και της Αχρίδας. Σπάνια εικονογραφικά στοιχεία συνδέουν τη ζωγραφική του ναού με τη Θεσσαλονίκη και το Άγιον Όρος, όπως η παράσταση του οσίου Δαβίδ του εν Θεσσαλονίκη και της Πλατυτέρας με την επωνυμία «Μεγάλη Παναγία». Αντικριστά προς τον τιμώμενο άγιο απεικονίζεται η βασιλική Δέηση, όπως συμβαίνει σε καστοριανούς ναούς του 14ου και 15ου αιώνα. Η Μετάσταση της Θεοτόκου, η παράδοση της Ζώνης, το κενό μήμα της και η τρίλοβη δόξα του Ιησού στην Κοίμηση, καθώς επίσης η βασιλική Δέηση και η πληθώρα ασκητών αγίων συνδέονται με τη διδασκαλία του Παλαμά, που διαδόθηκε ιδιαίτερα στη Θεσσαλονίκη, τη Βέροια και την Καστοριά.

Πραγματολογικές λεπτομέρειες, όπως η έφιππη συνοδεία του Πιλάτου στον Ελκόμενο, η προετοιμασία του όζους και της χολής στην Ανάβαση στο Σταυρό, η αποβολή του άρτου από το στόμα του Ιούδα στην Κοινωνία των Αποστόλων, η αγωνία του Ιούδα στον Απαγχονισμό του, η δυσμορφία ατόμων που σχετίζονται με το Πάθος του Ιησού και ο ρόλος των Αποκρύφων Ευαγγελίων συνδέονται είτε με μνημεία καλλιτεχνικά εξαρτημένα από τη Θεσσαλονίκη του πρώτου μισού του 14ου αιώνα είτε της Καστοριάς του δεύτερου μισού του 14ου και ολόκληρου του 15ου αιώνα.

Τα προαναφερόμενα θεματικά δεδομένα και επιπροσθέτως η χρωματική πανδαισία, τα πολυτελή υφάσματα, οι στρατιωτικές πανοπλίες που παραπέμπουν σε δυτικά πρότυπα, η αναζήτηση προοπτικής και επιπέδων, τα ωραιοποιημένα εύσαρκα και στρογγυλεμένα πρόσωπα με τα καλογραμμένα ομοιόμορφα χαρακτηριστικά αποτελούν γνωρίσματα του λεγόμενου «καστοριανού εργαστηρίου» που θα ακολουθήσει.

Ας προστεθεί η νοηματική και λειτουργική σύνδεση των εικονιζόμενων θεμάτων με οριζόντια, κατακόρυφη και αντικριστή σχέση, που φανερώνει βαθιά θεολογική ματιά, σχετιζόμενη με τους κύκλους του δωρητή ιερέα Δούκα και του επίσης ιερέα γιου του Νικολάου. Άλλωστε το όνομα του δωρητή παραπέμπει σε βυζαντινή ευγενική καταγωγή, όπως άλλωστε και η ενδυματολογία της συζύγου του Καλής.

Θεωρούμε, συνεπώς, ότι η ζωγραφική του Αγίου Νικολάου Βεύης βρίσκεται στο μεταίχμιο δύο εποχών, στηρίζεται εκλεκτικά στην παλαιολόγεια παράδοση της Μακεδονίας και ανοίγει το δρόμο που θα οδηγήσει στην έκρηξη του «καστοριανού εργαστηρίου». Ανάλογες διεργασίες ευδοκίμουν στο περιβάλλον ενός αυτοδύναμου καλλιτεχνικού κέντρου με αδιάσπαστη πορεία στον 14ο και 15ο αιώνα, όπως είναι η Καστοριά.