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THE PORTRAITS IN LAPUŠNJA AND ICONOGRAPHY OF JOINT KTETORSHIP

Church building and founding of monasteries in the Middle Ages were not only sincere expression of one's religious need, but also a matter with strictly defined legal background.[1] Typika and charters are therefore primary sources on the earliest history of sites and on initial intentions of founders.[2] Such information is often reflected in dedicatory inscriptions, carved or painted above gates or upon the walls.[3] The content of these texts is usually corellated with donors' portraits.[4] The founders relied on specific iconographic patterns the structure of which in a clear and precise way provided information on who the ktetors were.[5] This was achieved by staging individual, group, or family portraits, whilst the painted image of foundation would prominently figure in hands of one, two, or even more persons forming the ktetorial focus.[6]

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[1] On this, see В. Марковић, *Ктитори, њихове дужности и права*, ПКЈИФ V (1925) 100-125; С. Троицки, *Ктиторско право у Византији и немањићкој Србији*, Глас СКА CLXVIII (1935) 57-68. Also, see И. М. Ђорђевић, *Зидно сликарство српске властеле у доба Немањића*, Београд 1994, 13-47.

[2] C. Galatariotou, *Byzantine Ktetorika Typica. A comparative Study*, REB 45 (1987) 77-138; *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 35, Washington D.C. 2000.

[3] Cf. S. Kalopissi Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece*, Vienna 1992; ead, *Church Inscriptions as Documents. Chrysobulls – Ecclesiastical Acts – Inventories – Donations – Wills*, Deltion ChAE 24/4 (2003) 79-88.

[4] For basic information, see A. Kazhdan, *Ktetor*, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* II, ed. A. P. Kazhdan, New York – Oxford 1991, 1160; M. Шуица, *Ктитор*, Лексикон српског средњег века, ур. С. Ћирковић, Р. Михаљчић, Београд 1999, 336-339.

[5] T. Kambourova, *Ktitor: le sens du don des panneaux votifs dans le monde byzantin*, Byzantion LXXVIII (2008) 261-287; ead, *Le don de l'église – une affaire du couple?*, International Conference Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond, eds. L. Theis, M. Mullett, M Grünbart, Vienna 2008, www.univie.ac.at/femalefounders; ead, *Du sens du geste dans l'image du don*, From the Holy Girdle of the Theotokos to the Fertility Belt. Studies in Art History and Cultural Anthropology in Honour of Prof. Elka Bakalova, eds. M. Santova et all., Sofia, 2010, 237-252.

[6] For a very useful survey on images of foundations, see Ч. Маринковић, *Слика подигнуте цркве. Представе архитектуре на ктиторским портретима у српској и*

Fig. 1 Portraits of ktetors, Lapušnja (copy, Gallery of frescoes, Belgrade)

Сл. 1 Ктиторски портрети, Лапушња (копија, Галерија фресака, Београд)

It is expected that the image of the foundation would be indispens-able feature of any donor's portrait, but there are instances when for different reasons it does not exist with figure of a ktetor. It mostly happens with new or second ktetors who make refurbishment, renewal, or repainting of an already existing foundation. But there are instances of medieval portraiture that pose serious problems, especially when comprising several figures. It appears that due to technical matters it was not always possible to render each ktetor holding together the church image. However, a special category of donor imagery has been created in Serbian scholarship, regarding the portraits in the monastery churches in Kalenić and Rudenice, where the ruler is shown holding image of the foundation but is not admitted role of ktetor.[7] In both cases there is no infor-mation on their earliest history due to loss of charters, typika and of dedicatory inscriptions as well.

византијској уметности, Београд 2007 (some well known examples are missing from this study, such as Voulgarelli and Sisojevac, while the two illustrations are erroneous, the one for Udabno (sl. 38), actually showing Lavra of St David in Gareji and the one for *Zatrupanata crkva* in the Russenski lom canyon (sl. 70), in fact renders the main Ivanovo church). Also, see ead, *Ктиторски модел – слика макете или цркве? О неким терминолошким пи-тањима у вези са представом архитектуре на ктиторским портретима*, Зборник ра-дова Филозофског факултета у Приштини XXXVI/2006 (2007) 119-131; ead, *Founder's Model – Representation of a Maquette or the Church?*, ЗРВИ XLIV (2007) 145-153.

7   Cf. Ч. Маринковић, *Ктитор са црквом као ликовна представа ктиторског*

Although this has been addressed elsewhere, it must be stressed that the portraits in Kalenić and Rudenice are far from being identical and therefore cannot constitute one single category. It is highly probable that in Kalenić the church image was originally shown being held by both despot Stefan and protovestiarios Bogdan, while in Rudenice only despot Stefan holds foundation image. Moreover, the way of interpreting ruler's portrait with a foundation image as of the sovereign whose role is to be the intermediary between God and founder does not rest on firm grounds.[8] It is not corroborated by the sources and the proposed variant is not only peculiar by itself but has no parallels whatsoever.[9] It means the portraits in both Kalenić and Rudenice should not be taken for granted. Their meaning and form can be successfully explained by the category of *joint ktetorship*.[10]

In research of this iconography, ktetors' portraits in the church of Lapušnja have held special place.[11] This much damaged building was partially restored and a number of preserved frescoes have been well documented and copied.[12] The one

Fig. 2 Portraits of ktetors, Dečani (copy, Gallery of frescoes, Belgrade)

Сл. 2 Ктиторски портрети, Дечани (копија, Галерија фресака, Београд)

права, Средњовековно право у Срба у огледалу историјских извора, ур. С. Ћирковић, К. Чавошки, Београд 2009, 321-336 (with bibliography).

8 For discussion on this problem and the full bibliography, see Б. Цветковић, *Руденице и Каленић: „двојна", групна или сукцесивна ктиторија?*, Саопштења XLI (2009) 79-98.

9 Also, see Б. Цветковић, *Герасимов запис и ктитори Каленића*, Саопштења XXIX (1997) 107-122.

10 Б. Цветковић, *Рељефна представа Богородице с Христом у Каленићу*, Гласник ДКС 32 (2008) 90-92; idem, *Петар, брат Богдана протовестијара*, Крушевачки зборник 13 (2008) 53-71; idem, *Imago leonis in Despot Stefan's Iconography*, IKON. Journal of Iconographic Studies 2 (2009) 137-145; idem, *Каленић: иконографија и политичка теорија*, Научни скуп Манастир Каленић. У сусрет шестој стогодишњици. Зборник радова, ур. Ј. Калић, Београд – Крагујевац 2009, 47-66.

11 Cf. Цветковић, *Герасимов запис и ктитори Каленића*, 119-120, сл.10.

12 For this well researched monument, see Б. Кнежевић, *Ктитори Лапушње*,

Fig. 3 Portraits of ktetors (detail), Ramaća

Сл. 3 Ктиторски портрети (детаљ), Рамаћа

still in place is complex ktetorial composition in the north-western corner of the west bay of the nave,[13] and it was also copied for obvious reasons (fig. 1).[14] The image is made up of four figures, and the two central ones hold the painted image of the church. What this sort of medival portraiture displays is fairly often found in similar cases of what must be called *joint ktetorship*, as in Dečani, where father and son, kings Stefan Uroš III Dečanski and Stefan Uroš IV Dušan stand frontally holding the representation of the church, their joint foundation (fig. 2).[15] But even in this church there is one more portrait which is not sustained by any independent data from a charter or a caption. Identity of this nobleman in the chapel of St George is still a matter of discussion among scholars, since it is not agreed whether the person belonged to the Pećpal family the members of which were buried in the very chapel, or was someone else, as

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ЗЛУМС 7 (1971) 37-52; eadem, *Натписи на камену из Лапушње*, ЗЛУМС 9 (1973) 243-252; eadem, *Манастири у источној Србији по турским пописима из XV и XVI века*, ЗЛУМС 21 (1985) 312-315; eadem, *Манастир Лапушња*, Саопштења XVIII (1986) 83-112.

13 On these portraits, see Кнежевић, *Ктитори Лапушње*, 47-49, сл. 5-6; eadem, *Манастир Лапушња*, 110-112, сл. 22.

14 The copy (3 x 2,15m) was painted by the conservators Vera Marković and Ivanka Živković in 1970, and is kept in the Gallery of frescoes of the National Museum, Belgrade. My gratitude for the photograph goes to Mr Bojan Popović, MA, the chief of the Gallery of frescoes, Belgrade.

15 Б. Тодић, М. Чанак-Медић, *Манастир Дечани*, Музеј у Приштини – Београд 2005, 439, сл. 358.

has recently been suggested by S. Gabelić.[16] The main issue here is what does the unidentified nobleman hold in his right hand, is it a bag of money or a reliquary he presents to the seated Christ. In Dečani there is one more figure of King Stefan Uroš III holding the church. Painted in front of templon beam its purpose was to incorporate a number of messages, from the King's newly established saintliness to his role of mediator for his son and heir.[17] Nevertheless, the image of the church prominently features in this image too, as the most important part of the whole.

The portraits of Kings Stefan Uroš III Dečanski and Stefan Uroš IV Dušan in Dečani reflect not only their *joint ktetorship* but also complex situation behind building of the church, since it was started by the former and finished by the latter. The *joint ktetorship*, whether the one of

Fig. 4 Portraits of ktetors (partial reconstruction), Kalenić

Сл. 4 Ктиторски портрети (делимична реконструкција), Каленић

simultaneous or successive members, could be represented in a simple way with both figures holding image of the church, as in Dečani, or each ktetor can be shown holding the image of the church himself, as at Oshki, in Georgia.[18] The families related by blood had also made joint foundations, as at Psača, where the two main male members are depicted holding image of the church under the floating icon of the patron, St Nicholas.[19] In a similar way, in Ramaća the church image is also held by the two figures, a priest and a noblemean who were possibly but not surely relatives, since all data on these men and their foundation

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[16] С. Габелић, *Слика властелина у Дечанима*, На траговима Војислава J. Ђурића, ур. Д. Медаковић, Ц. Грозданов, Београд 2011, 195-211.

[17] И. М. Ђорђевић, *Представа Стефана Дечанског уз олтарску преграду у Дечанима*, Саопштења XV (1983) 35-143.

[18] A. Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia*, The Pennsylvania State University 1998, 21-23, fig. 12-14.

[19] И. М. Ђорђевић, *Зидно сликарство српске властеле у доба Немањића*, 172-173, сл. 21.

Fig. 5 St John the Baptist and pair of nobles, Rudenice

Сл. 5 Св. Јован Претеча и племићки пар, Руденице

are lacking (fig. 3).[20] However, the very position of the image may cause uncertainty regarding the issue of ktetorship, especially in such cases as at Mateič, where it is held by Empress Jelena and her young son, while the Emperor is shown slightly apart from them, as if portrayed only in his sovereign capacity.[21] On the other hand, in Ravanica the church image is held by the reigning couple, though the endowment charters are signed by Prince Lazar only.[22]

According to recent findings, *successive ktetorship* has been detected in the portraits in the monastery Gradac. It is argued that the *joint ktetorship* expressed in the image as holding together the image of the foundation means that Queen Jelena finished the building of the church which her late husband had previously begun.[23] Conversely, when the ktetorship issue is concerned, one must not neglect data offered by the imagery itself. It is clear both with the portraits in Gradac and the portraits in Kalenić as well. Though it is not possible to ascertain whether protovestiarios Bogdan was originally shown holding the image together with Despot Stefan, the additional sources and the way Despot's right hand is lifted high while the scepter unusually rests in his left hand, point

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^20 Т. Стародубцев, *О времену живописања цркве у Рамаћи*, Пад српске Деспотовине 1459. године, ур. М. Спремић, Београд 2011, 147, сл. 2.

^21 Е. Димитрова, *Манастир Матејче*, Скопје 2002, 185-190, сл. XLI, XLII; ead, *Ктиторска композиција и ново датовање живописа у цркви Свете Богородице у Матеичу*, Зограф 29 (2002-2003) 181-190. For review of the book with some critical notes on the ktetorship issue, see М. Радујко, *Елизабета Димитрова, Манастир Матејче, Скопје 2002*, Зограф 29 (2002-2003) 232-235.

^22 М. Беловић, *Раваница. Историја и сликарство*, Београд 1999, 50-51, пр. I, II.

^23 Б. Тодић, *Сопоћани и Градац. Узајамност фунерарних програма две цркве*, Зограф 31 (2006-07) 59-76.

Fig. 6 St John the Baptist, effaced area and portraits, Rudenice

Сл. 6 Св. Јован Претеча, уништена површина и портрети, Руденице

to conclusion that the image of the church was indeed held by both of them (fig. 4). Subsequently incised inscription into the Despot's suppedion which states that all of the represented figures were ktetors, corroborates what is said above since it most probably reflects data from destroyed documents of the monastery archive.[24] The political agenda, rooted in personal relationship of the two, had made possible this complex image in Kalenić. Appearance of Bogdan's brother in the fresco is certainly influenced by the fact that Bogdan was childless which is also corroborated by the newly found correspondence between the Ottoman Sultan and Bogdan, kept today in Xeropotamou.[25]

Something similar must have been the case in Rudenice too. There the childless noble couple and the two ruling brothers are shown joined in common donors' image (fig. 5).[26] The recently discovered inscription incised beside the St Paul's figure states that the church was regarded as "the desert", which fully accords with the eremitic accents of the murals, both the number of holy monks and hermits, and details such is prominently positioned fresco of the *Pentecost* above door of the nave. Moreover, special place given to St John the Baptist points to him as the original patron. Grouping of the nobles and rulers in the southwest angle of the nave has recently been put in appropriate context due to discovery of remnants of the caption with the white background that originally contained either text of the foundation charter or dedicatory inscription

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[24] On this, see Б. Цветковић, *Герасим Георгијевић у Каленићу*, Саопштења XL (2008) 237-254.

[25] I. Kolovos, *A Biti of 1439 from the Archives of the Monastery of Xeropotamou (Mount Athos)*, Хиландарски зборник 11 (2004) 295-305. Also, see Б. Цветковић, *Петар, брат Богдана протовестијара*, Крушевачки зборник 13 (2008) 53-71.

[26] Цветковић, *Руденице и Каленић: „двојна", групна или сукцесивна ктиторија?*, 84-92, сл. 3-8.

Fig. 7 King Giorgi III and Queen Tamar, Vardzia

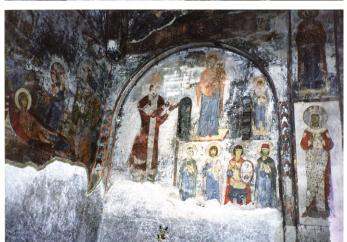Сл. 7 Краљ Георгије III и краљица Тамара, Вардзија

Fig. 8 Eristav Rati Surameli, Vardzia

Сл. 8 Еристав Рати Сурамели, Вардзија

Fig. 9 Portraits of ktetors, Lapušnja

Сл. 9 Ктиторски портрети, Лапушња

Fig. 10 Mara and Bogoje, Lapušnja

Сл. 10 Мара и Богоје, Лапушња

(fig. 6).[27] Taking into account the sheer size of the now lost area it most likely provided important data on the monastery at the same time explaining the joint position of the portraits, and especially the fact that the ruler holding image of the church is facing the area with the now lost text of the inscription. *Joint ktetorships* have not been rare, and rulers' participation in donations to eremitic shrines have also been common. Therefore, the image of the Rudenice church in Despot Stefan's hands should be understood in terms of his personal role in either founding or building of the monastery, which does not oppose the fact that the nobles are actually labeled as ktetors. The damaged captions beside the figure of the woman are the only information preserved, but the analogies in Mark's Monastery and in Vardzia do support conclusion that Rudenice was joint foundation too. The damaged donors' and royal portraits, painted in the western part of the northern wall of the narthex in Mark's Monastery, render King Mark along his parents who are shown holding image of their foundation, though it was only him who had the church frescoed.[28] In Vardzia there is a similar situation. The historical data display that the church was begun by King Giorgi III, and was finished by the ruling Queen Tamar, who is shown with the image of

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[27] Б. Цветковић, *Манастир Руденице: нови налази*, Жупски зборник 4 (2009) 59-74.

[28] For these badly damaged portraits, see more recently B. Cvetković, *Sovereign Portraits at Mark's Monastery Revisited*, IKON. Journal of Iconographic Studies 5 (2012) 185-187, fig. 4.

Fig. 11 Ghergina (detail), Lapušnja

Сл. 11 Гергина (детаљ), Лапушња

the church (fig. 7). The captions beside the third portrait in Vardzia, of eristav Rati Surameli, inform us that it was him who provided finances for painting the church (fig. 8).[29] These examples prove that there have been various nuances in rendering ktetors, but that it could not be possible to represent a person holding the church image and who was not related to its building or decoration.

Variety of ktetorial portraits appears only subtler with such examples as those in the Bachkovo ossuary and Kokkini Ekklesia in Voulgarelli. In Voulgarelli, portraits of brothers Theodoros and Ioannes Tzimiskes are shown with their wives, but only the former is rendered with the church image in his hands, which accords well with data from dedicatory inscription where he features as the ktetor though, it must be said, this text is far from being completely preserved.[30] On the other hand, portraits of brothers Gregorios and Abasios Pakourianoi in the Bachkovo ossuary are much more clear since the monastery's Typikon reveals that Gregorios' brother Abasios had already been dead at the time of the monastery's foundation.[31] Moreover, the Pakourianos Typikon specifies modes of commemoration of the main ktetor's brother and provides data with 'prehistory' of the monastery's founding, explaining Abasios' presence not only in donor composition but in the endeavour as a whole.[32] It is also important to note that the editor of the last edition of the Typikon misinterprets the portraits in that he

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[29] Цветковић, *Руденице и Каленић*, 92-94, сл. 10-11.

[30] Kalopissi Verti, *op. cit.*, 32, 54-55, fig. 15, 87-88. For the site, see Β. Ν. Παπα-δοπούλου, *Η κόκκινη εκκλησία στο Βουλγαρέλι της Άρτας. Στοιχεία από τη νεότερη έρευνα*, Ηπειρώτικα χρονικά 42 (2008) 323-345.

[31] For portraits of the Pakourianoi, see E. Bakalova, V. Kolarova, P. Popov, V. Todorov, *The Ossuary of the Bachkovo Monastery*, ed. E. Bakalova, Plovdiv 2003, 122-123, fig. 10, Pl. 39.

[32] Cf. R. Jordan, *Pakourianos: Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos for the Monastery of the Mother of God Petritzonitissa in Bačkovo*, Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents, 507-563.

Fig. 12 Portraits of ktetors, Govora

Сл. 12 Ктиторски портрети, Говора

states that the Pakourianoi brothers hold together the image of their foundation, while only Gregorios does it and Abasios raises hands in prayer.[33] It is very significant to stress analogy between Vardzia and Bachkovo since the second ktetors of the ossuary, the monks George and Gabriel, though unknown from other sources, are regarded as those who had the building decorated.[34]

The portraits in Lapušnja obviously belong to the category of *joint ktetorship* with all the elements needed: joint holding of the church image, extended membership and connection between royalty and nobility (fig. 9).[35] But what most of all other examples lack, despite bad condition of the fresco in Lapušnja, is the exact information on ktetors provided by the text of the dedicatory inscription painted on the west wall of the nave above the entrance door.[36] This text states that the church of St Nicholas was built by Duke Radul the Great and Ghergina, the Duke's uncle and high court dignitary in 1501, and that it was painted much later by the local noble Bogoje and his wife Mara, only in 1510.[37] The portraits of Bogoje and Mara have been depicted on the north

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[33] Jordan, *op. cit.*, 509.

[34] For this assumption on portraits of the second ktetors, see Bakalova et all., *op. cit.*, 123, fig. 10, Pl. 40.

[35] The site was visited in June 2012. For the photos I am indebted to Prof. Dr Miodrag Marković.

[36] For reading, transliteration and photograph of the inscription, see G. Balş, *O biserică a lui Radul-cel-Mare în Serbia la Lopuşnia*, Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, anul IV (1911) 194-199, esp. 197, fig. 14; Кнежевић, *Ктитори Лапушње*, 38-39, сл. 2.

[37] For reading, transliteration and calque of the inscription, see Кнежевић, *Манастир Лапушња*, 89-90, сл. 4.

part of the west wall (fig. 10). The figure of Duke Radul is undoubtedly the one with the royal crown, holding the church image together with local noble Bogoje who had the church frescoed.[38] The earlier scholarship on Lapušnja identified the figure standing behind the Duke as his wife, Duchess Katelina.[39] What makes this hypothesis dubious is that the figure is rendered bare-headed, while the ruler's consort must have been shown wearing a headdress or crown similar to the one worn by the Duke. On the other hand, Katelina is not mentioned in the dedicatory inscription and therefore her figure amongst the ktetors' portraits should not be expected, especially since Radul had already been dead by the time. Conversely, it is only Ghergina's likeness that complies with the persons represented and mentioned in the dedicatory inscription (fig. 11). His being bare-headed is in full accordance with the way the Rumanian *boyars* were usually represented.[40]

It was already noticed by Branka Knežević that the royal portraits in Lapušnja differ much from portraits of Radul and Katelina in the monastery church of Govora (fig. 12).[41] It is therefore beyond doubt that the Duchess must have had crown on her head on a royal portrait, as can be seen on the west wall in the narthex of Govora, where Katelina steps behind Duke Radul who is himself shown holding the image of the church together with the abbot Paisie.[42]

The relevance of portraits as related to written sources comes to the fore especially regarding direct pictorial analogies, as the ones drawn between Rudenice and Lapušnja. The position held by Despot Stefan's brother and co-ruler Vuk is identical to the one of Ghergina. What must be borne in mind is number of possibilities of the royal contributions to the newly founded monasteries, from direct founding to donations, as can be witnessed by dedicatory inscription in the monastery church in Lipovac. This important text is literally composed of excerpts from two separate documents, namely the act of establishing of the koinobion, and donation act by the ruling brothers, Stefan and Vuk of the Lazarević dynasty.[43]

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38   For Radul's likeness, cf. M. M. Mašnić, *The Icon of the Holy Virgin Vatopedini with a Portrait of Voevoda Ioan Radul*, ZRVI XL (2003) 313-320. For iconography of Rumanian royalty, see N. Iorga, *Domni români după portrete şi fresce contemporane*, Sibiu 1930; C. Nicolescu, *Costumul de curte în Ţările Române (Sec. XIV=XVIII)*, Buccureşti 1970; N. Dionysopoulos, *The Expression of the Imperial Idea of a Romanian Ruler in the Katholikon of the Great Lavra Monastery*, Zograf 29 (2002-2003) 207-217; L-C. Ştefănescu, *Gift-Giving, Memoria and Art Patronage in the Principalities of Walachia and Moldavia. The Function and Meaning of Princely Votive Portraits (14th – 17th Centuries)*, M.A. Thesis, Utrecht University 2010; E. Negrău, *Cultul suveranului sud-est european şi cazul Ţării Româneşti: o perspectivă artistică*, Iaşi 2011.

39   Кнежевић, *Ктитори Лапушње*, 47-48; eadem, *Манастир Лапушња*, 110-112.

40   Ştefănescu, *op. cit.*, 135-136, 140, figs. 1.3-1.6, 2.3, 5.8.

41   Кнежевић, *Манастир Лапушња*, 110-112.

42   For this portrait, see Ştefănescu, *op. cit.*, 76, 147, fig. 9.3. Also, see: C. Giurescu, *La 450 de ani de la moarte lui Radu cel Mare, domnul Ţării Romineşti (1495-1508)*, Biserica Orthodoxă Romînă 3-4 (1958) 367. For the monastery, see R. Floresco, *Le Monastère de Govora*, Bucarest 1965.

43   Б. Цветковић, *Манастир Липовац. Прилог проучавању*, Научни скуп

Compared to the portraits in Vardzia which have been differently conceived from the ones in Lapušnja, it is clear that to reach correct conclusion on ktetors' portraits, the crucial data are to be found in written sources. Though express almost identical situation with both joint and successive ktetorship, figures of ktetors in Vardzia and Lapušnja are distinct in the way the ktetorship is depicted. In Vardzia the image of the foundation is held only by Queen Tamar, though the sources say it was King Giorgi III who started its building. Following from behind, Rati Surameli is shown with arms raised in prayer, but the very caption informs us his figure is painted because he payed the frescoes. In Lapušnja the four joined figures around the image of the church reflect full content of the ktetorial inscription. Therefore, the portraits in Lapušnja are close to the figures in Rudenice, in that the aristocratic couple joins the rulers in the ktetorial act. Therefore, if looked at closely, the portraits of donors in the Middle Ages do stand for a reliable body of data. In that sense, to use modern categorization on the intricate but apparent language of art, its political immediacy and ideological structure these should not be taken without being aware that it were professionals who made them, that it was at all times 'politically correct', and that its audience was always massive. Therefore, to say that the image of the church may be shown being held by a non-ktetor is either misinterpretation or overinterpretation.

Бранислав Цветковић

ПОРТРЕТИ У ЛАПУШЊИ И ИКОНОГРАФИЈА ЗАЈЕДНИЧКОГ КТИТОРСТВА

У оквиру истраживања специфичних варијанти ктиторског портрета у уметности Средњег века које повезују више личности, могуће је установити различите подврсте са описним синтагмама: заједничко, групно, двојно или сукцесивно ктиторство. У случају када у ктиторском чину учествују два члана, обично блиско везана крвним сродством, ктиторска слика одражава то стање ликовима који су представљени како заједно носе слику задужбине. Такви ктиторски портрети, ако их не прате сачувани извори у виду типика, оснивачких повеља и натписа, понекад могу да садрже нијансе, јер су на исти начин приказивани и ктитори који заједно, у исто време, оснивају задужбину и они који су то чинили сукцесивно, по реду наслеђивања и у случајевима када први ктитор није довршио сложен и дуготрајан задатак подизања, опремања и украшавања задужбине, као у Дечанима или Градцу.

Посебно осетљиво питање ктиторства у средњовековној српској баштини јавља се у вези портретских целина у манастирским храмовима у Каленићу и Руденицама јер су у њима фигуре владара и племства спојене у једну композицију. У историографији је давно постигнута сагласност да је у ова два случаја реч о специфичној варијанти у којој властела као ктитори указују актуелном владару поштовање тиме што му је дата улога посредника између Бога и ктитора. Ипак, једна таква варијанта у средњовековној грађи нема паралела, нити извори за ова два случаја потврђују ову претпоставку. Напротив, сличне или исте композиције које прате писани извори (Вардзија, Лапушња) указују на друкчију могућност, да у владарској фигури која сама држи или придржава представу

задужбине с још неком фигуром треба пре видети још једног од ктитора или учесника донације. Обично је властела у тим случајевима заслужна само за довршавање започете градње, односно, осликавање храма.

Недавно откриће остатака оштећеног натписног поља наспрам фигуре деспота Стефана у Руденицама баца ново светло на необичан склоп ктиторских и владарских портрета. Аналогија с портретима у Лапушњи даје снажну основу да се ликови владара у Руденицама сагледају у контексту ктиторства, што је у пустињачком монаштву често, а на особен начин и новија испитивања извора о Каленићу из уништене манастирске архиве указују на исти закључак.

Пажљивије испитивање портрета у Лапушњи показује да се насликани ликови у потпуности подударају са подацима из ктиторског натписа и да уз војводу Радула стоји Гергина, његов ујак наведен у натпису као један од првих ктитора уз војводу Радула, а не војводина жена Кателина, која се у натпису и не спомиње. Чињеница да је реч о фигури која је приказана гологлава додатно указује на закључак да је реч о Гергини, с обзиром на то да су у влашком и молдавском сликарству племићи представљани на овај начин, без покривала за главу, док су жене владара неизоставно сликане са крунама које су аналогне оним које носе владари, као што је случај и на примеру Лапушње. Податке у ктиторском натпису да цркву Св. Николе у Лапушњи подижу 1501. године војвода Јован Радул и паркалаб Гергина, а осликава 1510. године локални кнез Богоје са женом Маром дословно преносе ктиторски портрети у којима су око сликане представе задужбине окупљене поменуте четири личности.