THE NEWLY DISCOVERED EPITAPHIOS DESIGNED BY CHRISTOPHER ZEFAROVIC

By Lùba Gurdus

EMBROIDERY, like other decorative arts, depends largely on an atmosphere of wealthy patronage if it is to thrive. Such conditions prevailed in the Viennese capital of the Habsburgs at the time of Empress Maria Theresa who succeeded her father, Emperor Charles IV, in 1740. During her reign the reputation of Vienna as an Eastern European center of the arts greatly increased. Favored above all styles was the seventeenth-century baroque which seems best to embody the most significant period in the history of the city. The Austrian Empire, although repressive of speech and worship, was far from absolute. For the provincial states, including Serbia, an efficient centralized bureaucracy was created. The Austrian nobles were attracted to this type of service but their power as a class had weakened while the bourgeoisie emerged as a new force which asserted its growing importance and prosperity by generally encouraging the rapidly expanding decorative arts.

In such a cultivated and affluent society in the early 1740's Christopher Zefarovic appeared, a Serbian artist born at the turn of the century in Dojran, Macedonia. Zefarovic (Zefar, Zefarov: late seventeenth century—1753) was brought up during a period of political instability and social unrest. His native Serbia, deprived of national independence, was divided between Austria and Turkey. The South, dominated by the Turks, remained in deplorable condition while the North enjoyed relative freedom under the sovereignty of the Habsburgs. The treaty of Pozarevac (1718) converted Belgrade and Northern Serbia (Sumadija) into an Austrian province and thus turned the hopes of the Serbian people toward Vienna. Among the provinces which profited from the contact with the West was Pannonia, where several flourishing centers such as Novi Sad, Kikinda and Karlovci soon developed.

In the 1730's, Zefarovic, an already established artist, went to work under the auspices of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Karlovci. Ambitious and dynamic, he was largely influential in its efforts to keep the national spirit alive. His artistic activity was highly diversified. He painted icons and frescoes, produced engravings, designed patterns for ecclesiastical embroideries and even published books.[1] Chronologically,

PLATE I
Last Supper. Fresco by Christopher Zefarovic, 1737. Church of Bodan, Backa.

his first important work was a cycle of frescoes for the Church of Bodan, in Backa (1737). Another series of frescoes for the Church of Siklus (1739) has since disappeared. The surviving Bodan frescoes illustrate his early style. The ambitious compositions from the life of Christ (Plate I), disclose his narrative powers and his talent for rendering his figures in convincing action against landscape or architectural backgrounds. On the other hand they reveal his inability to free himself from the medieval tradition still persisting in Serbian art. The frescoes are conceived in monumental fashion but their pictorial appeal is obscured by their ambiguous aerial perspective and distorted anatomy. Obviously disturbed by unresolved stylistic and technical problems and a craving for new pictorial means, Zefarovic took a decisive step and moved in the early 1740's to the capital of the Austrian Empire.

In Vienna the artist's innate talent received a powerful stimulus from the dominant trends in art. He mastered the graphic media in vogue in the Austrian capital and gained a new political and religious propaganda weapon for the Serbian church. Together with Thomas Mesmer, an Austrian graphic artist, he published in Vienna the *Stematographie* (1741), an illustrated compendium of Yugoslavian coats of arms. The contemporary political and cultural importance of this book was enormous.

In his graphic works, Zefarovic developed a new style marked by sinuous lineation and complexity. He succeeded in translating the spiritual attitudes of the Austrian Baroque into an aesthetic expression by utilizing its spontaneity and exuberance for purely formal ends. These characteristics appear in his powerful prints of the 1740's, illustrating the lives of the Serbian saints (Plate II).[2] They are partly carried over to his embroideries also. Attracted by the decorative possibilities of the craft, the artist produced a considerable number of embroidery designs. They constitute a remarkable addition to his impressive *oeuvre* and illustrate his ties with the Byzantine tradition persisting in Serbian art of the period. Serbia, more exposed to Western influence than the rest of the Byzantine Empire, was attached to the Orthodox tradition in church art. The latter, transmitted through Salonica and Ochrid, was particularly strong in Macedonia. Zefarovic grew up in the vicinity of two famous Macedonian churches, St. Clement in Ochrid and St. Nicolas in Prilep, each of which had a notable cycle of Serbo-Byzantine frescoes. There seems to be no doubt that our artist was familiar with these national treasures and demonstrated his indebtedness to them in his own frescoes.

PLATE II
SS. Teodor Tiron and Stratilat. Print by Christopher Zefarovic, 1741.

He must have also been aware of the existence of the so-called St. Clement Epitaphios (ca. 1295, present whereabouts unknown) in the St. Clement Church in Ochrid, which according to tradition was executed in Constantinople at the time of Emperor Andronicus II, Palaeologus (1282-1328), to whom it was dedicated (see Plate 93 in Johnstone). It is an established fact that the presence of this epitaphios has influenced the Serbian embroideries of later centuries, among them the famous epitaphios embroidered for Milutin Ures (ca. 1300, Museum of the Orthodox Church, Belgrade) and that produced for Euphemia and Eupraxia (late fourteenth century, Monastery of Putna) (Plates XIII and XIV).

The victories of the Turks at Maritsa and Kossovo at the end of the fourteenth century caused the suspension of all Serbian artistic activity. Whatever survived was driven by necessity to the local monasteries where embroidery, practiced by monks, was resumed after a short interval. Among the epitaphioi created during the following centuries, many are anonymous; only very few are embroidered with the names of the donors or embroiderers. One such outstanding example is the epitaphios of the Annunciation with the Great Feasts (Museum of Art, Belgrade), embroidered with the name of a certain Nun Agni, so far unidentified. The problem of dating these examples is also complicated, as most of them, regardless of origin, display the very distinctive range of stylistic and technical features resulting from their dependence on the Serbo-Byzantine embroidery formula. All demonstrate that the pictorial motifs favored by the Serb embroiderers were highly conventionalized. Changes in conception and execution were slow, and stylistic adaptations rather superficial. In the eighteenth century, Serbian embroidery still displays a close connection with its Byzantine inheritance; baroque trends hardly affected it at all. Even Zefarovic found it difficult to reconcile his baroque tendencies with the particular exigencies of the craft. In his epitaphioi, which are among the finest of his embroideries, the artist shows a rather limited success in his effort to modify the generally accepted Serbo-Byzantine tradition.

An epitaphios belongs to the liturgical vestments of the Orthodox Church used on Good Friday. Known in Greek as *Bereich Epitaphios thrinos* (Lamentation shroud) and in Slavonic as *Bereich Plashtanica* (Body shroud), the epitaphios is carried on Good Friday before the Iconostasis to the church nave. It remains there until Easter as a symbol of the Holy Sepulchre. During the Easter night prayers it is carried

PLATE III

Epitaphios thought to have been designed by Christopher Zefarovic, ca. 1753. French & Company, Inc., New York.

PLATE IV

Detail of Pl. III.

back to the sacristy where it rests until Christ's Ascension Day. During this period it is used in liturgical prayers. The mass or aria chanted during the Easter night services describes how Joseph of Arimathea removed Christ's body from the cross, covered it with clean linen and ointment and placed it in the grave. The epitaphios developed from the sacristy shroud, used in the fourteenth century to cover the Evangelium; later it grew into a baldachin carried by four clergymen. It was adopted in Russia in the fifteenth century, and a century later it became popular in the Balkans. Known as the *epitaphios thrinos,* it is still used by the Orthodox Church in the Good Friday ceremonies.

The epitaphios, considered one of the most holy vestments of the Orthodox Church, became an important vehicle for church embroidery. Usually large in size, it encouraged an extensive iconography based on the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus. The earliest interpretation of the gospel by George of Nicodemia can be traced in the paintings of Duccio and Giotto in the West and in the early epitaphioi of Byzantine and Serbo-Byzantine origin. The later recension by St. Bonaventura was first confined to the regions of Moldavia and Russia but by the sixteenth century replaced the original version in all epitaphioi.[3] At first the subject matter of the early epitaphioi was inspired by the Great Aer, which portrayed the body of Christ guarded by angels and laid for embalming on the Red Stone of Ephesus.[4] In the epitaphioi the stone was replaced by a bier and the nimbed Christ was covered by a loin cloth provided by Joseph. The more detailed description of the event resulted in the gradual introduction of numerous attendants at Christ's crucifixion; the angels were soon accompanied by Evangelists, saints and martyrs. In the sixteenth century the background of the scene was enriched by the gradual addition of celestial elements, as well as Instruments of the Passion and spice vessels. A century later the background included architectural fragments symbolizing the site of Christ's martyrdom. In the eighteenth century, the scene became mostly overloaded with elements derived from the iconographies of Byzantium, the Slavs, the Christians of the Orient and the Latins.[5]

Among the ecclesiastical embroideries by Zefarovic are epitaphioi, epitrachilioni, podei and sacci. Dobrila Stojanovic and Pauline Johnstone, mentioning these works, disagree on their actual count.[6] Fortunately, they concur on the number of his epitaphioi—only three. Therefore the emergence of a fourth so-far unrecorded epitaphios (Plates III, IV) is sufficiently noteworthy to merit publication. The purpose of this article is to

PLATE V

Epitaphios designed by Christopher Zefarovic, ca. 1753. Pravoslav Cerkiev, Budapest.

prove that this embroidery is a fully authentic Zefarovic and closely related to the artist's accepted examples.[7]

The earliest extant document mentioning Zefarovic as master embroiderer is a bill for forty gulden paid to him by Bishop Hopovski for a signed epitaphios now in the Pravoslav Cerkiev in Budapest (Plate V).[8] The second known epitaphios dated and signed by Zefarovic remains in the Monastery of Olympiotice (Plate VI). The third signed and dated epitaphios, in the Museum of Art in Bucharest (Plate VII), is embroidered with the name of the donor, Constantine Brancoveanu. The latter was among the wealthy patrons who in the 1740's turned to Zefarovic with their commissions. In fact, for Constantine Brancoveanu, the artist designed a katapetasma (curtain), a podea (holy cloth) and an epitaphios (holy shroud), mentioned above. All three, now in the Museum of Art, Bucharest, are signed and dated by the artist 1752. The podea represents the Coronation of the Virgin and the katapetasma, the Vision of Ezekiel (Plates VIII, IX). Both are conceived in a baroque illusionistic style. In the curtain, the interaction of light with extraordinarily voluminous forms is bold and seemingly based on an Italian prototype. In addition, the artist has surrounded his composition with a wide floral border, based on a Turkish motif, which detracts from the central scene. The complex pattern recalls the artist's exuberant baroque style as practiced in the engravings. A considerably more tempered mode of expression makes itself apparent in his Bucharest epitaphios. The distinct change of spirit may be connected with the established Serbo-Byzantine tradition of this holy shroud; it may, however, also be due to the artist's association with his patron, Brancoveanu. It is conceivable that through him, Zefarovic had the rare opportunity of studying the famous epitaphioi of the past century, notably those of the great Constantinopolitan embroideress, Argyris Despoineta, who was employed by the Wallachian Brancoveanu family at the turn of the century. The embroideress, active in Constantinople for over four decades (ca. 1682-1723), left a number of signed works as well as unsigned pieces from her workshop.[9] Impressed by Western techniques, she revitalized her art by the introduction of colored silks, kept in light hues and moderate contrasts to sustain the effect of gradually decreasing metal thread. In her early epitaphios (1682, Benaki Museum, Athens, Plate X), she unites the composition with a central ciborium emphasizing its symbolic importance. The entire scene is outlined against a plain background, relatively free from extraneous detail. The epitaphios, based on a Byzantine prototype, displays

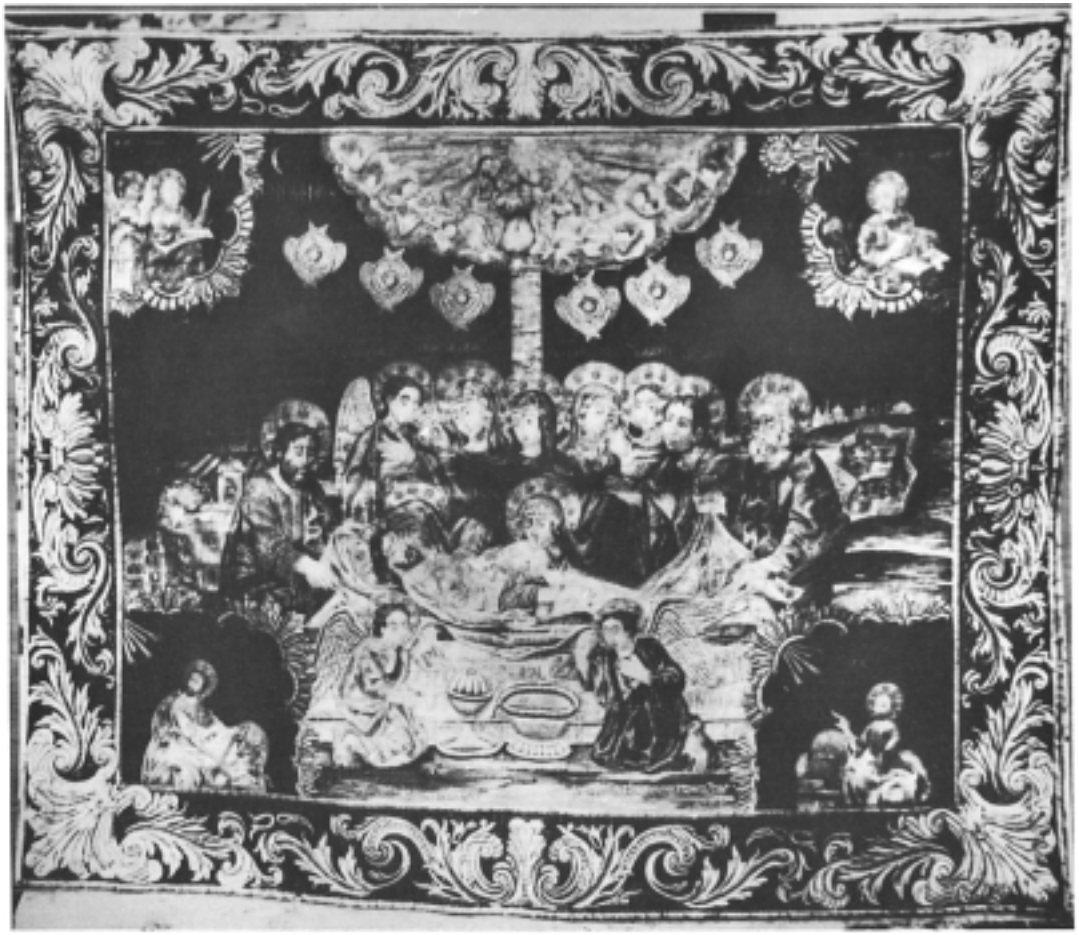

PLATE VI

Epitaphios designed by Christopher Zefarovic, 1752. Monastery of Olympiotice.

rare elegance and restraint (cf. epitaphios, ca. 1400?, Schloss Autenried, Günzburg/Donau).[10]

Despoineta left many pupils and followers. Among them, Theodosia Kasymbouri distinguished herself by her primitive but mostly individualized approach. In her epitaphios (1738, Benaki Museum, Athens, Plate XI), designed for the Monastery of Soumelia at Trebizond, she reverts to a crudely archaic style and iconography. She shows the Virgin leaning over the body of her Son with Mary Magdalene at her side. Flanking the bier are two guardian angels carrying liturgical vessels and sheltering with their huge wings the closely knit group of saints; the ciborium is replaced by a central cross.

Compared with the epitaphioi by Despoineta and Kasymbouri, the Bucharest epitaphios by Zefarovic (Plate VII), assumes special significance. Our artist seems to draw extensively from both sources; however, for reasons traditional or aesthetic, he favors the iconography of the Kasymbouri example. He, too, shows the Virgin leaning in archaic manner over the body of her Son, though her attitude is largely modified and humanized. He also accords the central cross its place of prominence and flanks it on both sides by seraphs. Finally he borrrows from Kasymbouri the scattered flowers and the vignettes with the Evangelists. In turn, he does not fail to include the evenly distributed ciborium lamps used by Despoineta and tries to enhance his own composition with the harmony and elegance which mark the Constantinopolitan example.

There seems to be no doubt that the above epitaphioi have turned the attention of our master to the technical innovations of the West. In his Bucharest epitaphios, Zefarovic drew freely from the resources of both traditions. A product of this eclectic style, it nevertheless attained a measurable degree of decorative appeal. The same may be said about the Olympiotice epitaphios (Plate VI), closely related to the above. Both epitaphioi are signed by Zefarovic and dated 1752; the third example, now in Budapest (Plate V), is not dated, and according to its inscription, it was executed in Vienna, in 1770, where the epitaphios now under consideration was embroidered a decade later. There is reason to believe that all embroidery patterns from the artist's last years have been carried out in Vienna; however, only those executed after 1753 bear a reference to their place of origin.

In his three generally accepted epitaphioi, Zefarovic mixes freely elements from both eastern and western iconography. His central motif

PLATE VII
Epitaphios designed by Christopher Zefarovic, 1752. Museum of Art, Bucharest.

is based on Italian replicas of the Byzantine type (cf. entombments by Duccio, Giotto, Taddeo di Bartolo). Christ is seen stretched on a bier covered with a white loin cloth. The nine saints and the archangel surrounding him are represented in typical Byzantine three-quarters view. Mary Magdalene with raised arms appears in the center of the group and is flanked on the right by SS. Joseph, John, Michael and Mary and on the left by SS. Mary Cleophas and Nicodemus; between them is the archangel Gabriel. Mary, the Mother of Christ, accompanied by St. Martha, leans against her Son in archaic Serbo-Byzantine manner[11], while the three Marys appear in the center of the composition in a purely Latin interpretation of the scene.[12] Such archaic features as the Virgin's attitude and St. Joseph's appearance at the foot of the bier may have been derived by Zefarovic from the cycles of Serbo-Byzantine frescoes in Ochrid and Prilep, which he undoubtedly studied in preparation for his own frescoes at Siklus and Bodan.[13] On the other hand, an artist active in Vienna must have also been exposed to marked western influences. He could have been familiar with Titian's dramatic *Entombment* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), which had remained in the Austrian capital since 1723.[14] His keen interest in western iconography is clearly expressed in his ecclesiastical compositions representing the *Coronation of the Virgin,* the *Vision of Ezekiel,* the *Antiminsion* (Monastery of Dragovic) (Plate XII).[15] In the latter he tried to reconcile the celestial in the liturgy with its terrestial counterpart by means of baroque illusionism. Traces of this conception reappear in his ambitious epitaphios from Olympiotice (Plate VI). It illustrates the celestial realm compressed into a semicircle holding the Trinity, the scene of Entombment, almost forced into a geometrically shaped entity, and the four Evangelists relegated to the corners of the well organized pattern. The harmony and balance achieved approach closely Despoineta's decorative conceptions and her eastern strain of mysticism; both imply their common attachment to and fascination with the Byzantine embroidery tradition (cf. the St. Clement Epitaphios).

Only in his third epitaphios, now in Budapest (Plate V), Zefarovic displays a clearly personal style and an increased feeling for naturalistic representation. Not dated, this epitaphios represents the complex iconography, closely knit composition and acanthus border seen in the two 1752 examples (Plates VI, VII). At the same time it demonstrates that the artist has partly sacrificed his purely decorative aims for the sake of a more pictorial approach. The upper realm personified by the Holy

PLATE VIII

The Vision of Ezekiel. Curtain designed by Christopher Zefarovic, 1752. Museum of Art, Bucharest.

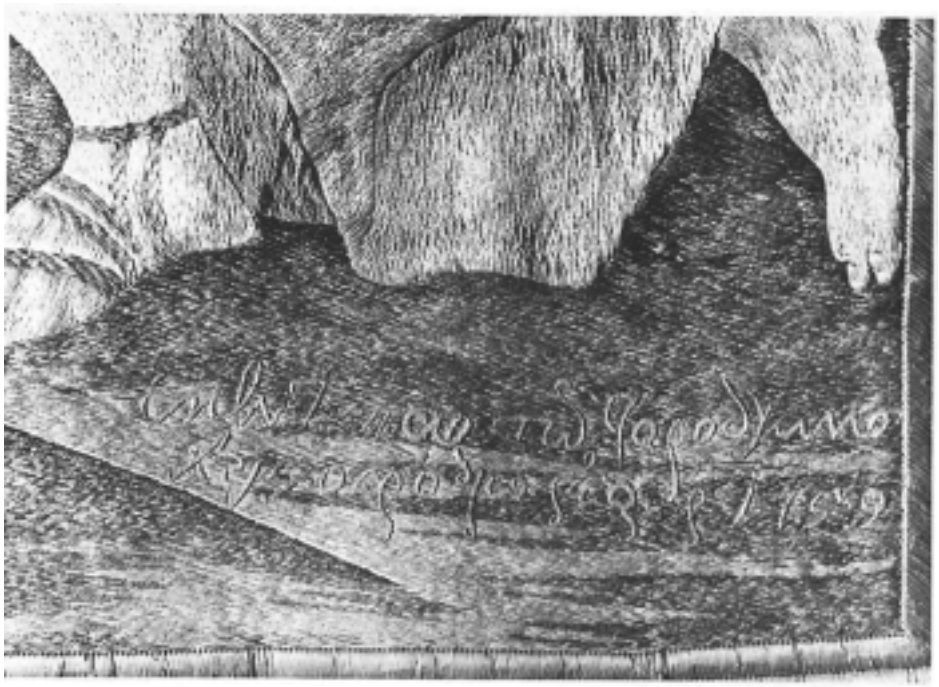

PLATE IX
Detail of Pl. VIII.

Trinity is here outlined against a naturalistic sky, separated from earth by the contours of mountains and architecture.[16] The pattern exhibits a freer, more flamboyant style, in keeping with the baroque stylistic features exhibited by our master in his late works.

If we assume that Zefarovic executed the pattern of the epitaphios now under consideration (Plate III), and that he intended it for use in making embroidery, it is certainly akin to the Budapest example. For both these epitaphioi, we can find no stylistic reason to doubt a possible date of about 1753. The organization of the composition is closest to the Budapest epitaphios and, not unlike the latter, betrays marked affinities with the two earlier examples. Our design, from the characteristically knit group of saints surrounding the bier to the smallest iconographical

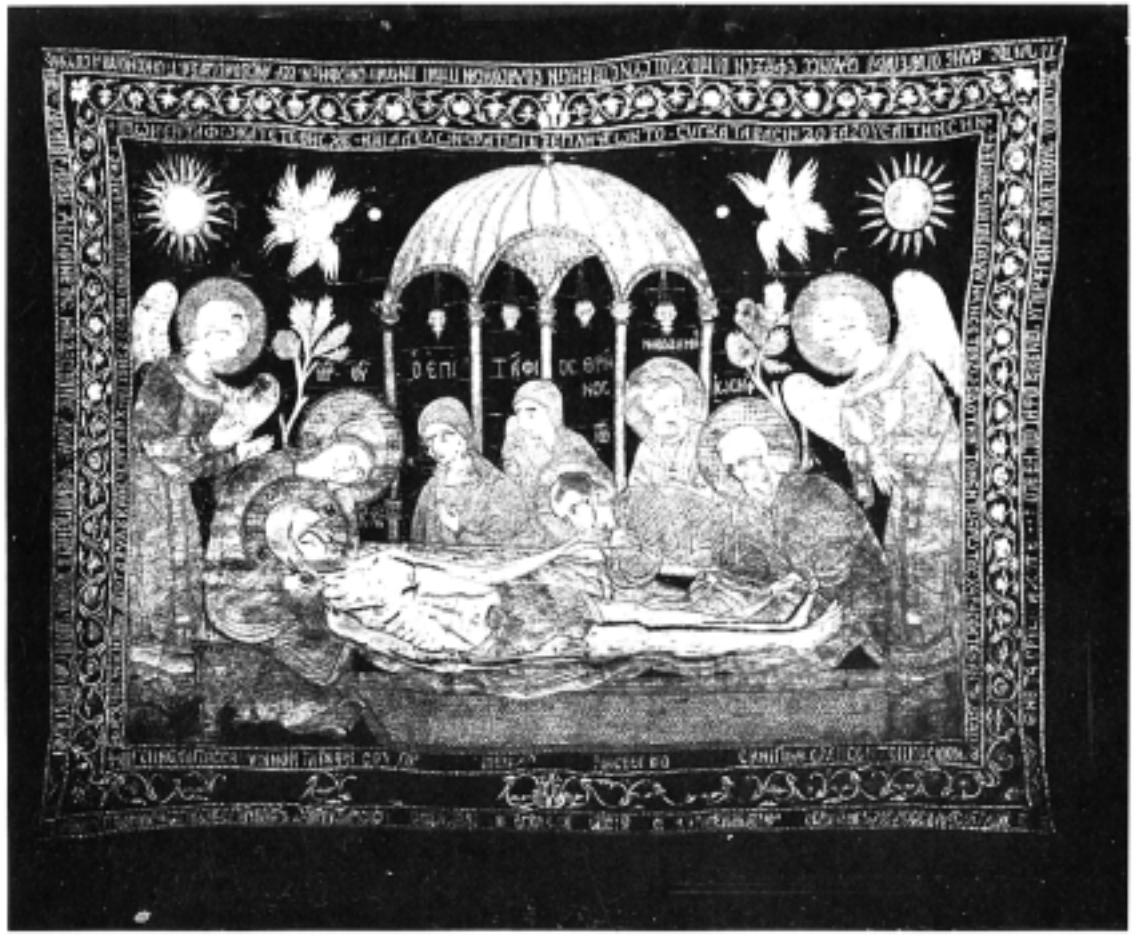

PLATE X
Epitaphios worked by Despoineta, 1682. Benaki Museum, Athens.

detail—the sun, moon (missing) and bird-like stars—typifies the artist's epitaphioi style and his artistic vocabulary. As usual, the group follows the movement around the bier terminated in the two kneeling angels flanking the symbolic vessels. Mary Magdalene, raising her arms in sorrow, takes her usual place in the center of the group, adding to the character of the scene a lively sense of drama. The Virgin Mary, accompanied by St. Martha, leans against her Son in the very same archaic manner seen in all epitaphioi by Zefarovic (Plate IV). Equally, the saints appear in unmistakable three-quarter view and in the specific order observed in all other examples. Their arbitrary gestures and facial expressions clearly recall the artist's style though not the fervor and expansiveness evident in the earlier examples. The cross with its appurtenances remains in the center of the scene, which is divided as before in two realms. Although Byzantine tradition is lessened, it still makes itself apparent in the iconographical detail, notably in the vignettes with the Evangelists now considerably reduced in size and prominence. Other innovations include the shape of the bier, seen at an angle, and the smaller haloes which now admit air within the group though partly disrupting its uniformity. The artist makes a marked effort toward natural definition of space and rhythmical order. He tries to introduce a feeling of plasticity and a consistent relationship of figures to background. Unfortunately the faulty perspective obstructs the new visual concept and the attempt to lead the eye into depth.

Our epitaphios is not signed by the artist. It carries, however, in the inner border a dedicatory inscription in Greek which discloses its place of origin and date. It also mentions two names—in a context less explicit than one could wish. The inscription reads as follows:

> "In everlasting memory, under the supervision of George and Constantine Thedorou, Vienna, January 20, 1780(?)"[17]

The text does not satisfactorily clarify the significance of the two names which may be those of the embroiderers under whose "supervision" the epitaphios has been carried out, or may also be the names of the donors who acted in the same capacity. Another Greek inscription appears on Christ's cruciferous nimbus marked on the three branches of the cross with the divine name revealed to Moses: O.W.V. (the Being [Exodus: iii-14]). The Tablet attached to the central cross is inscribed in Latin: INBI(!).[18] The westernized iconography includes in the background Golgotha with its three crosses and Gethsemane on the opposite side.

PLATE XI
Epitaphios worked by Theodosia Kasymbouri, 1738. Benaki Museum, Athens.

Close analysis reveals that the epitaphios has been westernized in a more conclusive manner than all previous epitaphioi by Zefarovic. In the Bucharest epitaphios, dated 1752, the artist still "ignoring (western) tradition, . . . has put Nicodemus at the head of the bier to balance Joseph of Arimathea at the foot."[19] In our example this order is reversed and Joseph is at long last reinstated in his rightful position of prominence at the Saviour's head. This has been learned from the names of the saints in their haloes. Outlined by a single metal thread, in Old Slavonic (Cyrillic) they are as follows: SS. Josif (Joseph of Arimathea), M. Kl. opa (Mary Cleophas), Maria Magdalena (Mary Magdalene), Maria (Mary), Mikhail (Michael), Ioanich (John) and Nikodim (Nicodemus).

The westernized iconography is complemented by the technique undoubtedly introduced by Viennese craftsmen. The epitaphios, effectively

PLATE XII
Antiminsion designed by Christopher Zefarovic. Monastery of Dragovic.

stitched in silk and metal thread, is worked in a variety of textures largely departing from the Byzantine patterns. The former exclusive use of metal thread is replaced by an array of colored silks. A silver or silver-gilt cord appears primarily in the haloes, wings and letters, worked in the traditional couched techniques. The vestments and faces of the saints are worked in the Italian manner of alternating short and long stitches. Their features, drawn in darker lines, do not display the Byzantine insistence on spiritual emphasis. Instead, they demonstrate a varied treatment characteristic for the newly awakened psychological awareness of individuality freely reacting to the tragic event. The background, worked in back and double running stitches, aims at perspective, and the crudely conceived architecture is carried out with an accent on three-dimensionality. A subtle color scheme, composed of soft creams, greens and browns adds to a general feeling of harmony and balance. The painterly effect

PLATE XIII

The epitaphios of Milutin Ures, ca. 1300. Museum of Serbian Orthodox Church, Belgrade.

PLATE XIV

The epitaphios of Euphemia and Eupraxia, late 14th century. Monastery of Putna.

is heightened by a discreet note of splendor, obtained by the silver-gilt metal thread. The latter is extensively used in the border design, which has been expanded by a prominent lotus palmette added to the usual acanthus foliage left in as an intertwining device. In conclusion, we have a pattern which reveals marked affinities to all three epitaphioi by Zefarovic but which at the same time preserves its own characteristics. One of them is a moderation possibly introduced by the embroiderer, sensitive to changing style, at the end of the century.

The close examination of the extant epitaphioi by Zefarovic makes one aware of the fact that those carried out during his lifetime differ considerably from those embroidered from his designs after his death, in 1753.[20] It seems that with time the meaningful baroque exaggerations introduced by him in his patterns had lost their original appeal and were ignored or arbitrarily interpreted by the embroiderers handling them later. This is already apparent in the Budapest epitaphios carried out in 1770, and even more so in the above-discussed example executed in 1780. In spite of these changes, it cannot be doubted that our epitaphios has been based on a genuine design left by Zefarovic. Its close conceptual and stylistic affinities with the accepted epitaphioi cannot be dismissed as purely accidental and merely a trend or fashion of the period.[21] I firmly believe that the epitaphios in question has been based on a pattern left by Zefarovic and should be included in the master's *oeuvre*. It is difficult to assess how far the artist's influence reached. His pupils and followers were confronted with a difficult task in trying to follow his eclectic style. There is no clear evidence of a specific pupil in charge of the artist's unfinished works or of one supervising the execution of his sketches and designs for embroideries. It seems, nevertheless, that the Zefarovic tradition has been consistently upheld by a Viennese workshop which has carried out the above-described Budapest epitaphios in 1770 and the one now under consideration in 1780. The changes introduced in these two patterns seem to be due to the fact that they have been arbitrarily interpreted by the craftsmen working without authoritative guidance.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Christopher Zefarovic, *Opisanje sviatogo Bozjagrada Jerusalima* (Description of God's town: Jerusalem), 1748.
2. His most vigorous prints are: *St. Lava with the Serbian Saints* (1741), *The Source of Life* (1744), *Our Lady of Eleusa* (1749) and *St. Stephen Stiljanovic* (1753).
3. Gabriel Millet, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Evangile aux XIV, XV et XVI siècles,* Paris, 1916, p. 489, ff.
4. *Byzantinische und Russische Stickereien,* Slavisches Institut, München, 1961, p. 6.
5. Gabriel Millet, *La Dalmatique du Vatican,* Bibliotèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes (Sciences Religieuses), vol. 60, p. IV.
6. Dobrila Stojanovic, "Embroideries of Hristofor Zefarovic," *Hristofor Zefarovic,* Galeria Matice, Novi Sad, 1961, p. 73. The author quotes the following embroideries by Zefarovic: 4 epitrachilioni (stoles), 2 podei (cloths), 2 sacci (tunics) and 3 epitaphioi (shrouds).
   Pauline Johnstone, *Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery,* Alec Tiranti, London, 1967. The author quotes the following embroideries by Zefarovic: 7 epitrachilioni, 2 podei, 2 katapetasma (curtains), 1 sacco and 3 epitaphioi.
7. Director Manolis Chatzidakis of the Benaki Museum in Athens has drawn my attention to Christopher Zefarovic as the probable designer of the epitaphios now under consideration. Without his generous inspiration and assistance this article could not have been written.
8. Stojanovic, *op. cit.,* p. 65.
9. E. Chatzidakis, *Ecclesiastical Embroidery,* Benaki Museum, Athens, 1953, pl. 19 (the latest epitaphios by Despoineta: 1723, Benaki Museum).
10. Slavisches Institut, *op. cit.,* pl. opp. p. 28.
11. Cf. the Cozia Epitaphios, 1396, Museum of Art, Bucharest.
12. *Recherches sur l'Iconographie, op. cit.,* p. 500.
13. Gabriel Millet, *La Peinture du Moyen Age en Yugoslavie* (Serbie, Macédoine et Monténégro), Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1962, Fascicule, III, pl. 9 (no. 3), pl. 26 (no. 1): North walls of naves.
14. *Titian,* Phaidon Press, Vienna, n.d., p. 547.
15. D. Medakovic, "Srbska umetnost u severnoi Dalmacii," *Muzei* 5, Belgrade, 1950, p. 186 *(Jerusalem Antiminsion* for Patriarch Malenti, 1733).
16. Zefarovic had visited Jerusalem in 1748 and compiled the above-mentioned survey (See Footnote 1.).
17. The damaged date has been deciphered by Director Manolis Chatzidakis of the Benaki Museum, Athens.
18. The misspelling is undoubtedly due to the illiteracy of the embroiderers and appears consistently on all epitaphioi by Zefarovic.
19. Johnstone, *op. cit.,* p. 127.
20. This excludes extant replicas of earlier examples.
21. Dobrila Stojanovic, Curator of Muzej Primenjene Umetnosci Belgrade, states (letter of April, 1968): "the (here discussed) epitaphios has characteristics of works done at the period in Vienna but cannot be connected with Zefarovic who died in Moscow in 1753."

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