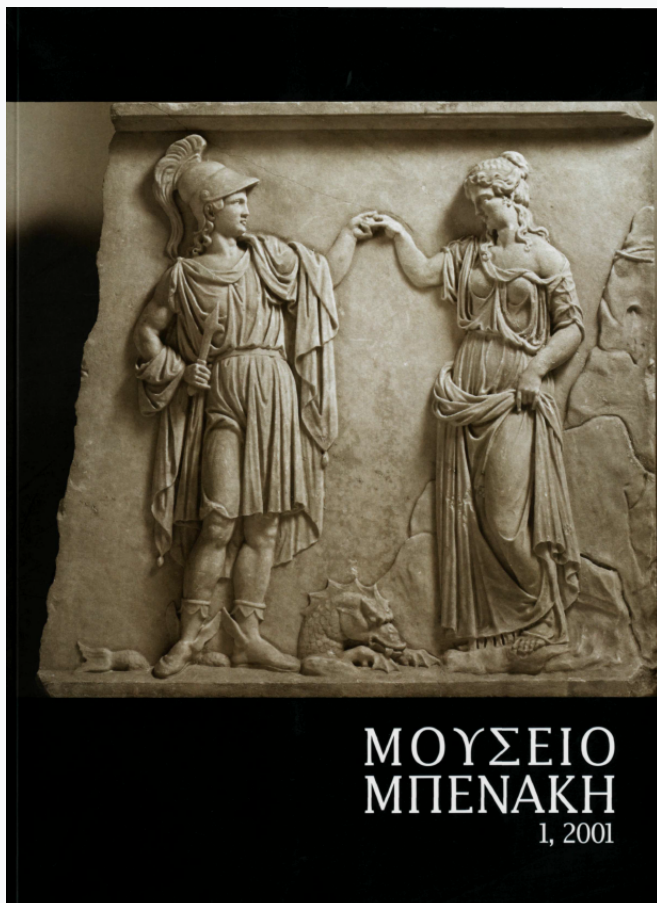


## Μουσείο Μπενάκη

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### Αφιερωματικές επιγραφές και δωρητές στα εκκλησιαστικά ασημικά 17ου-19ου αιώνα

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## Dedications and donors of 17th to 19th century church silver

A CHARACTERISTIC FEATURE of church silver of the 17th to 19th centuries is the dedicatory inscription. These inscriptions are usually lengthy, but even when more concise, they provide us with a wealth of information concerning donors and places of dedication, the mechanisms of donation and the motivating factors underlying it. The typology of the inscriptions and the attitudes which they reflect are comparable to their counterparts in late antiquity and the Byzantine middle ages. However the variations in the sphere of language, ecclesiastical and political geography, and the terminology of rank display evidence of an evolution which results from the historical conditions of the era which produced them.

This discussion is based mainly on material in the Benaki Museum, a major part of which consists of relics brought by refugees from Asia Minor, the Pontos and Eastern Thrace. The inscriptions, a large number of which were published in 1959 by Eugenia Chatzidaki and Eugène Dalleggio, are in Greek or Karamanli – i.e. in Turkish or a mixture of Turkish and Greek, but written in Greek characters.<sup>1</sup> However, silverware from churches or monasteries in Greece displays similar types of inscription, which can indeed be found in all form of religious objects dedicated by Greek Orthodox Christians throughout the Ottoman empire, both in the Balkans and in Asia Minor.<sup>2</sup>

A religious dedication commemorates both the act of a pious donation and the donor, with the explicit or implicit intention of receiving a spiritual reward. While the key elements in the inscriptions are based on this

requirement, they are often extended to include a wider, though related, range of information. In their fullest form they can be classified into six main categories: 1) the dedicated object, 2) the donor or contributor, 3) the place of dedication, 4) the motivation, 5) the date and 6) the craftsman. Thus the inscription on the flabella from the Pontos (fig. 1) gives us nearly all the possible information:

Object: ΤΑ ΠΑΡΟΝΤΑ ΕΞ ΑΠΤΕΡΥΓΑ ΑΦΙΕΡΩΘΗΣΑΝ  
(The present flabella were dedicated).

Donor: ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙ-  
ΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΧΑΛΔΙΑΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΥ (By the  
most holy Archbishop of Chaldia Lord Ignatios).

Place: ΕΝ ΤΩ ΝΑΩ ΤΗΣ ΥΠΕΡΑΓΙΑΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ  
ΤΗΣ ΚΑΝΗΩΤΗΣΑΣ (In the church of the supremely  
holy Virgin of Kaniotissa).

Motivation: ΥΠΕΡ ΨΥΧΗΚΙΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΓΟ-  
ΝΕΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΤΟΥ ΚΕ  
ΕΥΤΕΝΙΑΣ (For the salvation of the souls of his parents  
Demetrios the pilgrim and Eugenia).

Date: ΕΝ ΕΤΙ ΣΟΤΙΡΙΩ ΑΨΜΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΙΝΑ ΜΑΡΤΙΟΝ  
(In the year of our Saviour 1745, in the month of  
March).

Craftsman: ΠΙΟΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΤΑ.  
ΓΕΟΡΓΙΟΥ<sup>3</sup> (The work of Ioannis the son of Constata.  
Of Georgios).

In their shorter form they mention only the date and/or the donor: ΣΑΒΑ ΣΟΥΛΤΑΝ 1801 (Sava Sultan 1801).<sup>4</sup> In the case of the *diskos* or ecclesiastical dish (fig. 2)









Fig. 1. Parcel-gilt silver flabellum inscribed on the handle. From the church of the Virgin in Argypolis, Pontos, 1745. Athens, Benaki Museum 33892 (photo: K. Manolis).

Fig. 2. Silver dish with the dedication inscribed in cartouches on the rim. From the church of the Five Martyrs of Sevastea in Bor, Asia Minor, 1752. Athens, Benaki Museum 34328 (photo: M. Skiadaresis).





Fig. 3. Parcel-gilt silver dish inscribed around the rim and the omphalos. From the church of the Virgin Kolykarya in Adrianoupolis, 1668. Athens, Benaki Museum 34326 (photo: M. Skiadaresis).



the inscription, although lengthy, omits one class of information and gives emphasis to another:

Object: ΔΙΣΚΟΣ ΑΡΓΗΡΟΥΣ ΠΕΦΥΚΑ (I am the silver dish).

Donors: ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΙΑ ΔΑΠΑΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΝ (Made at the expense of the monastery of the pious Christians).

Place: ΕΝ ΤΗ ΜΟΝΗ ΤΟΝ ΕΝΔΟΞΟΝ ΜΑΡΤΗΡΟΝ ΕΥΣΤΡΑΤΗΟΥ ΑΥΞΕΝΤΗΟΥ ΕΥΓΕΝΗΟΥ ΜΑΡΔΑΡΗΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΕΣΤΟΥ ΕΠΑΡΧΙΑ ΥΚΟΝΗΟΥ ΗΣ ΠΟΡ (In the monastery of the glorious martyrs, Eustratios, Auxentios, Eugenios, Mardarios and Orestis in the province of Iconion in Bor).

Contributor: ΕΠΗΣΤΑΣΙΑ ΓΕΟΡΓΙΟΥ (With the supervision of Georgios).

Date: ΑΨΝΒ ΔΕΚΕΒΡΗΟΥ (December 1752).<sup>5</sup>

Omission or emphasis of a particular category of information can be very informative as it guides us to the intentions and attitudes that underlie the specific act of donation.

The formulas of the inscriptions reproduce the standard Byzantine dedicatory patterns: *ὑπὲρ ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας* (For the salvation of the soul) or *δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ* (The supplication of the servant of God) or *διὰ συνδρομῆς καὶ δαπάνης τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ* (Through the contribution and expenditure of the servant of God) or *Μνήσθητι Κύριε* (Remember O Lord) are stereotyped devotional phrases met on Byzantine silverware or in founders' inscriptions.<sup>6</sup> It was basically the same spiritual need which motivated the act of a religious donation, be it in the 7th or the 17th century. The salvation of the donor's soul, the forgiveness of his sins and his commemoration on the day of Judgement were the critical issues.

The purpose of donation was to act as a visible proof of repentance and to create a moral obligation between the giver and the recipient. The symbolic and extended nature of transactions as interpreted in a traditional society seems to be at the core of this religious behaviour. All forms of philanthropic activity, whether expressed in money, lands or goods, were in fact offered in exchange for spiritual benefits. God, the ultimate recipient, was bound to remember the giver when the time came and to reciprocate with equal generosity.<sup>7</sup> Dedicatory



Fig. 4. Detail of a parcel-gilt silver dish showing the inscription around the omphalos. From the monastery of St John the Forerunner near Caesarea, mid 18th century. Athens, Benaki Museum 34035 (photo: M. Skiadaresis).

inscriptions strengthened the ties between the two parties and constituted the eternal reminder of a moral obligation. This is apparent in Metropolitan Neophytos' inscription on the rim of his dish where, with poetic eloquence, he reminded his King-God to write in his sacred books the names of all the pious donors who contributed to the manufacture of the gift: ΔΙΣΚΟΝ ΕΜΕ ΧΡΥΣΕΟΝ ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΟΣ ΕΝ ΚΑΙΡΟΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΕΥΞΑΝ ΕΗΣ ΔΑΠΑΝΗΣ ΣΟΙΣ ΙΕΡΟΙΣ ΑΝΑΞ ΓΡΑΨΟΝ ΚΑΛΟΝ ΟΥΝΟΜΑ ΒΙΒΛΟΙΣ ΥΨΙΜΕΛΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΑΡΟΙ ΕΝ ΕΤΗ ΑΠΟ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ 1668 (I the golden dish created in the times of the arch-priest Neophytos by all people at his expense. O King write in your sacred books his beautiful name, the most illustrious of all pious [Christians]. May all be blessed. In the year of our Saviour 1668) (fig. 3).<sup>8</sup>

Midway between the donor and God or the Saints



stood the Church. It bridged the gap by undertaking intercession for the salvation of the soul of believers through prayer. The presumed efficacy of monks' or priests' prayers sprang from the belief that holy men were closer and more akin to an angelic state, and thus better suited to intervene with God.<sup>9</sup> Commemoration services were part of the Eastern ritual and constituted a source of revenue for the Church. They were purchased by believers as a means of obtaining the forgiveness of their sins and the improvement of the state of their souls after death. The formulas used in the dedicatory inscriptions are *εἰς μνημόσυνον* (in memory) or *νά μνημονεύεται* (to be remembered). Commemoration services could be held for the salvation of the soul of a deceased person, ΑΦΙΕΡΩΘΕΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡ ΜΑΝΟΛΗ ΕΙΣ ΜΝΗΜΟΣΥΝΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΣΑΙΟΥ 1865 (Dedicated by Kyr Manolis to the memory of his son Isaiah 1865)<sup>10</sup> or *εἰς τὰ ζωντανά* (to the living)<sup>11</sup> for people expecting to be commemorated before and after their death, ΑΦΗΕΡΟΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΣΝΑΦΗ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥΑΚΕΡΗΔΩΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΜΝΗΜΟΣΗΝΟΝ (Dedication of the guild of masons for the memorial service).<sup>12</sup>

The Church and religious writers encouraged and institutionalized philanthropic activity, which took on the attribute of a highly regarded act of social behaviour.<sup>13</sup> Bequests and donations were channeled and administered by the Church which was the immediate beneficiary.

Silverware gave splendour to the liturgical ceremonies of a church or monastery, a crucial factor in the Eastern rite, and constituted an important investment. This had the twofold function of increasing the prestige and influence of the church and of elevating the status of donors and contributors. However, the social and economic aspects of donation did not diminish the fundamental importance of religious and spiritual motivation. They rather pointed to a system of interconnected values and relationships, an exchange of services and obligations in return for goods or money.<sup>14</sup>

Dedicatory inscriptions may or may not express religious feeling and motivation. In the case of a silver chalice the supplication of the donor was clear and insistent. On the rim is inscribed: †ΜΝΗΣΤΙΤΙ ΚΗΠΙΕ ΤΟΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ ΣΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΝ ΣΟΥ ΝΗΚΟΛΑΚΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΚΗΝΗΤΙΣ 1788 (Remember O Lord your pious servants, Nikolakis the pilgrim

1788) and this is elaborated further on the base: ΜΝΗΣΤΙΤΙ ΚΗΠΙΕ ΣΗΝΧΟΡΕΣΟΝ ΚΕ ΣΟΣΟΝ ΚΕ ΔΗΑΦΙΛΑΞΟΝ ΔΕΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΝΗΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΚΗΝΙΤΟΥ ΚΕ ΤΟΝ ΓΟΝΕΟΝ ΚΕ ΤΕΚΝΟΝ 1788 (Remember O Lord, forgive and save and protect the God-praying Nikolakis the pilgrim and his parents and children 1788).<sup>15</sup> On another chalice the motivation is completely lacking: 1809 ΣΙΝΔΡΟΜΙ ΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΜΙΧΑΛΑΚΙ Κ(αί) ΓΙΑΝΙ (The contribution of the churchwardens Mihalakis and Yannis).<sup>16</sup> This omission is not at all unusual. From the 120 Greek and 66 Karamanli inscriptions published by E. Chatzidaki and E. Dalleggio, only 27 Greek and 9 Karamanli explicitly mention the reason for dedication. About half of the remaining inscriptions simply mention the act of the sacred donation or consecration by using the word *ἀφιέρωμα* or *ἀφιερῶθῃ*. The remainder stress ownership by a church or person, for example the formula *κτῆμα τοῦ* (the property of) or expound on the mechanism of donation - who precisely gave the money and who otherwise helped in the execution of the order ΔΙ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑΣ, ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΠΑΝΗΣ (with the care, contribution and expenditure).

Salvation of the soul was not the sole purpose of a gift to a church; donations were also practised for the sake of communal and local interests and pride. Sometimes the phraseology and formulas echo acts of munificence in antiquity or have a parallel in Byzantine founders' inscriptions. The most straightforward inscription is on a silver-gilt dish: †ΔΙΑ ΔΑΠΑΝΗ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΖΑΦΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΙ ΕΚΛΕΣΙΑ ΤΙΣ ΚΗΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΥ (At the expense of Christodoulos the son of Tzafos in the church of St Ignatius in Kios).<sup>17</sup> It seems that the donor was less anxious for spiritual reward than for recognition of his civic benevolence.<sup>18</sup> This inscription would have better suited a public fountain than a church dish.

In the Ottoman empire Christians were defined by their religion, and cultural survival was realised through religious affiliation. Communal integrity and regional distinctiveness were sustained by religion and were identified with it.<sup>19</sup> Christians were a second-class group of people identified in the macrocosm of the empire by their religion and in the microcosm of the Christian community by their regional diversity. Both religious identity and regional diversity were jealously safeguarded





Fig. 5. Detail of a parcel-gilt silver flabellum showing the inscription on the knob. From the church of St John of the Chians in Galata, Constantinople, 1690. Athens, Benaki Museum 33891 (photo: M. Skiadaresis).

by oral tradition and by written ecclesiastical records and they account for two attitudes that permeate the dedications. The first is a strong feeling of localism and the second a constant preoccupation with keeping records. Viewed from a distance, dedications without explicit spiritual motivation seem to aim at a meticulous documentation of significant or insignificant events of local ecclesiastical history.

The exact regional provenance of the gift is attested to by the origin of the donor or the place of dedication. The standard formula refers to the locality of the church where the gift was offered, as on a processional cross:  $\text{†ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΚΙΝΙΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΑΖΙ ΑΦΙΕΡΟ-}$   
 $\text{ΣΕ ΗΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΚΛ(Η)ΣΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΓΙΡΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ}$

$\text{ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ 1682}$  (Georgios the pilgrim, the son of Kyriazis, dedicated to the church of St George in Ankara 1682) and elsewhere on the handle  $\text{ΧΟΥΡΜΟΥΖΙΣ ΧΡΥΣΟΧΟΣ}$  (Hormouzis the goldsmith).<sup>20</sup> Less often the donation is actually offered directly to a saint, in the same way as property might be transferred to an individual:  $\text{ΔΕΙΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΝΗΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΑΦΙΕΡΟΜΑ ΣΤΟ ΜΙΧΑΙΛ ΑΡΧΑΝΓΕΛΟ ΕΙΣ ΤΙΝ ΚΕ-}$   
 $\text{ΣΑΡΙΑ 1820}$  (The supplication of your servant Nikolaos, a dedication to the Archangel Michael in Caesarea 1820).<sup>21</sup> The formula was also used in the Byzantine period when the saint was by law recognised as having the status of a legal person and thus the right to acquire property.<sup>22</sup> It is not clear whether this idea persisted in the post-Byzantine period or it simply expressed a more naive and fervent religious feeling. In most cases, however, the formula “to the church of the Saint” was preferred, and thus the interest smoothly shifted from the Saint to his church, the precise institution that represented him – and in which village, town or quarter of the town it was situated:  $\text{ΕΙΣ ΧΟΡΙΟΝ ΚΟΥΡΤΟΓΛΟΥ}$  (In the village of Kourtoglou),  $\text{ΕΙΣ ΠΑΛΟΥΚ ΠΙΑΖΑΡΙ}$  (In Balık Pazar, the fish market of Adrianople),  $\text{ΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΚΟΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΥΑΣ ΗΣ ΤΟ ΚΕΡΜΗΡΗΝ}$  (In Kermira near the town of Caesarea in (fig. 4), or  $\text{ΠΛΗΣΙΟΝ ΣΕΡΡΑΣ}$  (Near Serres).<sup>23</sup> Sometimes the province was also specified, either by geographical/ecclesiastical designation  $\text{ΕΙΣ ΧΟΡΑΝ ΜΕΣΟΠΟΤΑΜΗΑΝ ΟΝ ΗΝΟΝΟΜΑΖΕ ΤΙΑΡΠΕ-}$   
 $\text{ΚΗΡΗ}$  (In the province of Mesopotamia, called Tiarpékiri [Diyarbakir]),<sup>24</sup> or strictly ecclesiastically  $\text{ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗΣ ΧΑΛΔΙΑΣ}$  (Of the see of Chaldia), or even following the Ottoman administrative division  $\text{ΕΠΑΡΧΙΑ ΥΚΟΝΗΟΥ}$  (The province of Iconion).<sup>25</sup>

Strong localism is also expressed in the choice of the church where the gift was dedicated. Local patriotism directed the donor to give his gift to the church of his parish, home village or town. The effects of his act resounded on him and the rest of the community, enhancing both its property and its self-esteem. Thus,  $\text{ΚΕΡΜΙΡΑΙ ΝΑΡΙΝΟΓΛΟΥ ΑΝΑΝΙΑ ΒΕ ΙΩΑΝΙ ΜΑΝΑΣΤΗΡΑ ΒΑΚΙΦ ΕΙΛΑΜΙΣΤΙΡ (1)75(0)}$  (Donated by Ananias Narinoglou from Kermir to the monastery of [St] John);<sup>26</sup> the Karamanli Ananias Narinoglu from Kermira made a donation to the monastery of St John the Forerunner in the village of Zincidere near Caesarea.



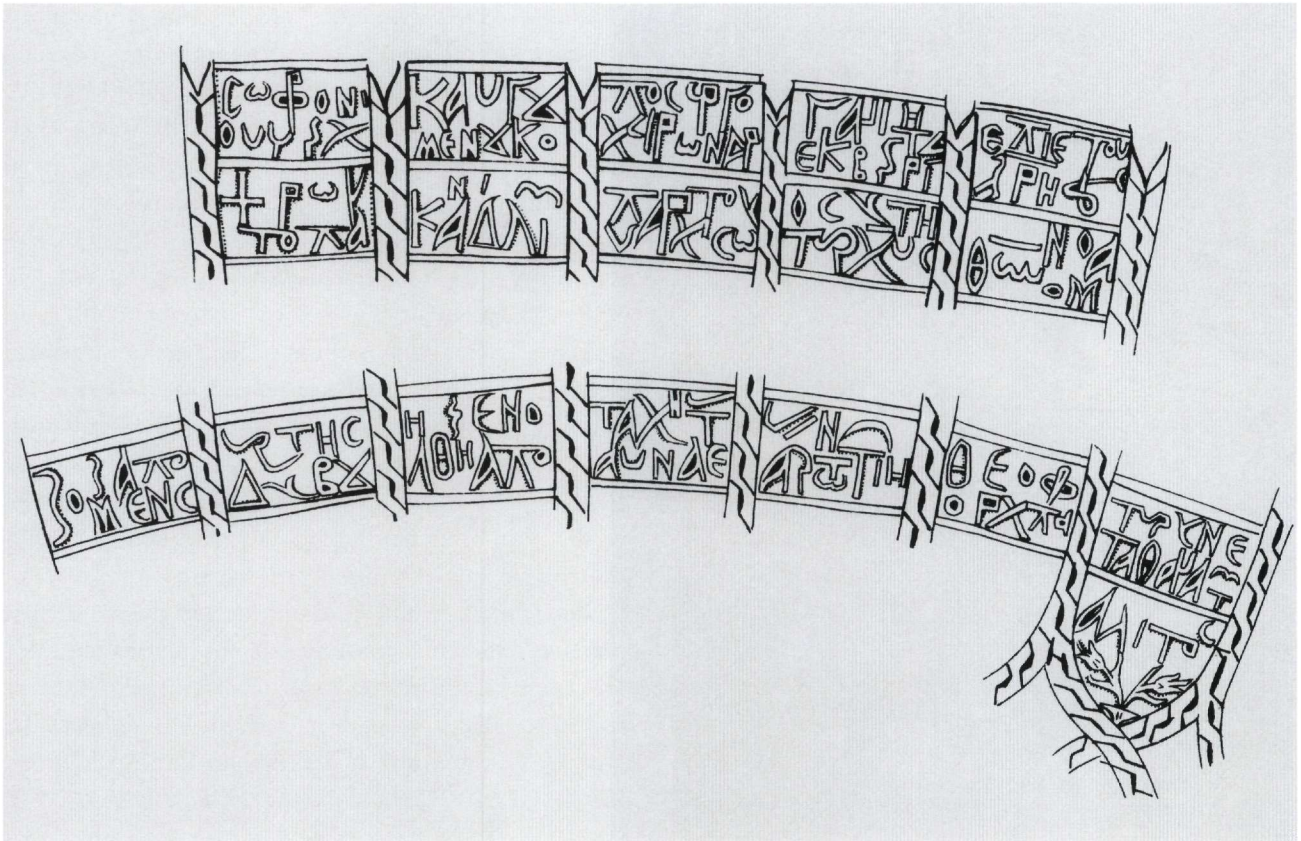


Fig. 6. Drawing of the inscription on a parcel-gilt silver oil-lamp. From the monastery of Christ the Saviour, called Zaborda, in Grevena, western Macedonia, 1600. Athens, Benaki Museum 13989 (drawing: K. Mavragani).

Fig. 7. Blessing cross with carved wooden centre-piece, cast and gilt components, and corals. From the monastery of the Annunciation of the Virgin in Ano Soudena, Epiros, 1757. Athens, Benaki Museum 14030 (photo: K. Manolis).

His choice of the monastery of St John was dictated by the significance of the Prodromos monastery as the focus of worship and pilgrimage of all Greek Orthodox Christians of the Caesarea region, transcending the importance of Ananias' local church in Kermira. To Karamanlis, the monastery of St John embodied their sense of collective identity and local pride. The strong attachment to their place of origin was not weakened by time or distance, as with the Karamanli immigrants of Baфра: ΟΥΤΟΣ Ο ΔΙΣΚΟΣ ΑΦΙΕΡΟΘΙ ΑΠΕ ΤΝΙ ΠΑΦΡΑ ΗΣ ΚΕΣΑΡΙΑΝ ΣΤΟΝ ΤΙΜΙΟΝ ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟ ΔΙΑ ΧΙΡΟΣ ΧΑΤΖΗ ΣΙΝΑΝ (This dish was donated by [the Christians of] Baфра to Caesarea to the venerable [monastery of the ] Forerunner. [Made] by the hand of Hatzi-Sinan) (fig. 4).<sup>27</sup>

The most complete and detailed picture of religious

gifts and donations is provided by the codices of churches. The close correspondence between lists of gifts in codices and dedicatory inscriptions on gifts to the church seems to indicate that the latter were an abbreviated form of the former and that their functions were complementary. Donations were meticulously listed in the books kept by churches, together with the exact spiritual reward requested by the donors –the salvation of their souls, or the soul of one or more close relatives and their mention in the commemorative services of the Church.<sup>28</sup>

This spirit of inventorial entry, a kind of abridged official document, seems to permeate all dedicatory inscriptions. It is most apparent in the regular inclusion of the name of the vessel in the inscriptions, usually accompanied by a demonstrative pronoun: ΟΥΤΟΣ Ο









Fig. 8. Drawing of the inscribed cartouche on a silver gospel cover. From the church of St Demetrios in Adrianoupolis, 1721. Athens, Benaki Museum 34144 (drawing: K. Mavragani).

ΔΙΣΚΟΣ, ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΑ ΘΕΙΑ Κ(αί) ΙΕΡΑ ΕΞΑΠΤΕΡΙ(Γ)Α, Ο ΠΑΡΩΝ ΑΡΓΥΡΟΧΡΥΣΟΣ ΔΙΣΚΟΣ (This dish, these sacred and holy flabella, the present silver-gilt dish).<sup>29</sup> The information is obviously quite redundant when inscribed on the very vessel it concerns. In certain cases, lack of space made impossible the inclusion of the complete formula and a pronoun replaced it: ΤΑΦΙΕΡΟΝΗ Ο Χ(ατζη) ΚΟΣΤΑΝΤΗΣ (Hatzikonstantis dedicated this).<sup>30</sup> The stereotyped repetition of the name of the vessel seems to have resulted from legal practice. It gives the dedication the appearance of a legal document: a contract between the donor and the recipient which duly mentions what is given, by whom, where, when, to whom and for what reason.<sup>31</sup>

The legal value of a dedication becomes apparent when accounting terminology is used: ΕΓΙΝΑΝ ΤΑ ΠΑΡΟΝΤΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΣΙΝΑΞΕΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΝ (The present objects were made by the assembly of the Christians)<sup>32</sup> (fig. 5), a phrase which normally concludes a document and introduces the signatures of the witnesses. The moral and spiritual character of gift-giving was therefore enhanced and strengthened by legal ties and by written records. The reference to the actual vessel was the necessary evidence of the act of donation and was listed by all interested parties. The donor inscribed it on the vessel, God in His sacred books and the Church in the inventories and codices of local churches.

What impelled the authorities of a church to compile a codex *Εἰς πλείονα ἀσφάλεια καὶ φύλαξιν τῶν τοιοῦτων κτημάτων* (For the greater security and protection of such possessions and offerings)<sup>33</sup> and *ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ κρείττονι... παραδιδόμενα ταῖς χερσί... τῶν ἐπιτρόπων δι' ἐγγράφον καταστίχου ἐπὶ τῷ φυλάττειν αὐτά ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ* (for greater security... given into the hands... of the churchwardens through a written register to keep them in safety).<sup>34</sup> Safety, security and protection are the words consistently repeated throughout the codices. For the church it testified that its property was legitimately secured. On the other hand, the psychological and spiritual needs of the donors were satisfied by ensuring that their gifts and memory would be everlasting. The penalty for the abuser who would dare to appropriate a dedicated gift was excommunication: the soul of the sinner would never receive forgiveness and his body would never decompose. This heavy curse was the major restraining measure taken by the Church whenever discipline and lawfulness were required.<sup>35</sup> Thus it is not surprising to find the corresponding formula inscribed on a silver oil-lamp: ΤΟ ΠΑΡΩΝ ΚΑΝΔΙΛΙΟΝ ΥΠΙΑΧΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΥΡΟΣ Χ(ΡΙΣΤ)ΟΥ ΣΤΗ Θ(ΕΟΤΟΚ)ΩΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΖΟΜΕΝΟ ΖΑΠΟ(Ρ)Δ(Α) ΚΑΙ ΕΙ ΤΗΣ ΒΟΥΛΗΘΗ ΑΠΟΞΕΝΟ(ΣΑΙ) ΑΥΤΑ ΝΑ ΕΧΗ ΤΑΣ ΑΡΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΤΙΗ (318) ΘΕΟΦΟΡΩΝ ΠΑΤΕΡ(ΩΝ) ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ ΑΛΙΤΟΣ ΣΩΦΡΟΝΙΟΥ ΥΕ(ΡΟΜΟΝΑ)Χ(ΟΥ) ΚΑΥΤΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΟΥ ΚΟΠΟΣ ΕΡΓΟ ΧΕΙΡΟΝ ΔΕ ΓΑΝΗ ΤΟΥ ΕΚ



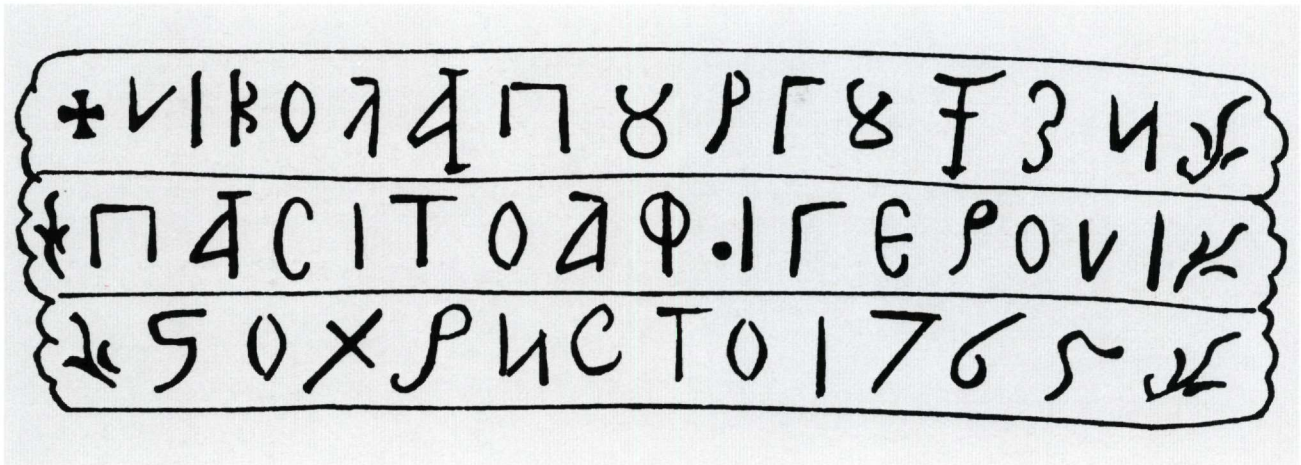


Fig. 9. Drawing of the inscription from the back of a silver paten, 1765. Athens, Benaki Museum 34557 (drawing: K. Mavragani).

ΒΕΡΡΟΙΑΣ ΕΠΙ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΖΨΗ (This oil-lamp belongs to Christ the Saviour [in the village] of the Virgin called Zaporda and if anyone wishes to misappropriate it he will bear the curse of the 318 divinely inspired fathers and even after his death he will remain undecayed [Donated] by Sophronios the priest-monk, though it was not his work but that of the hands of Yannis from Verroia in the year 7108 [7108 from the creation of the world, 1600 A.D.]) (fig. 6).<sup>36</sup>

The close correspondence between dedicatory inscriptions and lists of gifts in codices reflects the same urgent need to secure and safeguard the donated objects. The word *προσηλώματα* used to designate them is quite revealing: it literally means riveted to the Treasury of the church. Mere suspicions that donations were not adequately protected or that they were misappropriated directed donors to other more trustworthy religious institutions. This is clearly the case with the synodical letter of 1688 from Patriarch Kallinikos II, who refutes the charge that donations to the Patriarchal church in Constantinople were spent on the personal needs of Patriarchs and urges Christians to resume their donations by providing more guarantees for their security.<sup>37</sup>

#### Donors

The main purpose of the dedicatory inscription is to commemorate the donor. Details of donors are therefore

the best documented information inscribed on liturgical gifts to the church. They reflect the society which produced them and help to put religious donations in their appropriate historical context. Through donors we can classify donations as individual or collective.

Most of the gifts were offered by lay donors, normally single but in some cases two or three, usually related by family or professional ties. A lay donor is designated by his key identifying trait: father's name ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ (the contribution of Georgios the son of Demetrios),<sup>38</sup> place of origin ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΥΤΙΑΝΟΥ (Stephanos from Phytiana),<sup>39</sup> surname ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΡΒΟΝΟΓΛΗ (Panagiotis son of Demetrios Karvonoglis),<sup>40</sup> nickname ΚΥΡΟΥ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ΚΙΟΥΤΖΟΥΚ ΟΥΣΤΑ (Kyr Gregorios *küçük usta* [the short master]),<sup>41</sup> title ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡ Χ(ατζή) ΚΗΡΙΑΚΗ ΚΥΡ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΗ Κ(αί) ΚΗΡ Χ(ατζή) ΑΝΔΡΙΑΔΗ (from Kyr Hatzikyriakis, Kyr Apostolis and Kyr Hatz-Andriadis)<sup>42</sup> or profession, such as with the money lender, *sarraf*, Mahales: †ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑ ΕΚ ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗΣ ΤΟΥ Χ(ατζή) ΣΑΡΑΦ ΜΑΧΑΛΕΣ ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ 1856 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 8 (Donated with the assistance of the money-lender Mahales, 8 March 1856).<sup>43</sup> An overwhelming majority of donors, however, are categorised as pilgrims, *προσκυνητής* in its Greek form or *χατζής* in its Turkish form.

The journey to Jerusalem gave the pilgrim an especially respected status in the Christian community, the aura



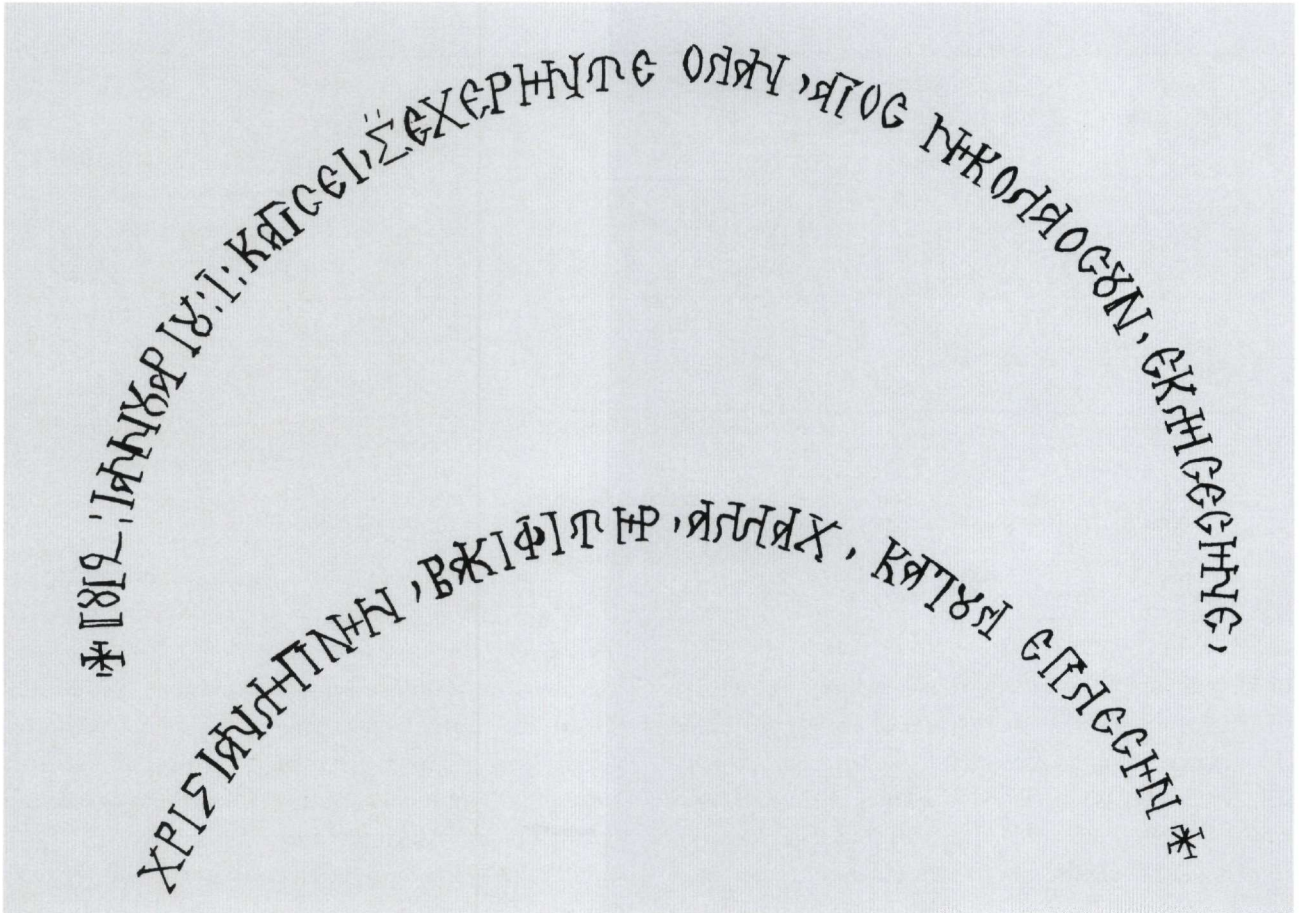


Fig. 10. Drawing of the inscription from the back of a silver paten. From the church of St Nicholas in Caesarea, 1812. Athens, Benaki Museum 34562 (drawing: K. Mavragani).

of having partaken of holiness. Although not strictly part of Christian teaching, pilgrimage was very popular among Christians throughout the ages. In the Ottoman period, however, the cultural borrowings from the Islamic *hajj* are obvious, especially in the addition of the prefix *κατ'ῆς* or the adjective *προσκυντήης* to the name of the pilgrim.<sup>44</sup> Thus, on a silver chalice: ΚΤΗΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΥΣΑΑΚ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΗΧΑΗΛ ΥΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΙΩΣΙΦ ΠΡΟΣΚΗΝΙΤΟΥ ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑ ΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΙΡΟΝΟΣ ΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΚΟΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΥΑΣ ΤΟ ΚΕΡΜΗΡΝ 1751 Σ[Ε]Φ[ΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ] Α (1) ΑΨΝΑ (1751) (The property of Isaac the pilgrim, the son of Mihail, the son of Joseph the pilgrim, an offering to the church of St Theodore Tiron in Kermira near the town of Caesarea, 1 September 1751).<sup>45</sup> Here the donor Isaac is designated by his

venerable status of a pilgrim, by his father's name and unusually by his grandfather's name, for no apparent reason other than that the grandfather too had been on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. As in Turkish, the prefix *xavzh̄s* becomes an integral part of the name. It is never omitted even when the donor has much higher credits to his account: ΠΑΡΑ ΣΗΝΔΡΟΜΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΟΝ ΧΑΤΖΗ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΗ (with assistance from the lord Hatzi-Athanasis).<sup>46</sup>

Lay donors with important social status are differentiated by their title, as is the case with the above mentioned APXON XATZH AΘANΑΣH (Lord Hatzi-Athanasis) or with KYP ΛΑΜΠΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΥΟΥ ΧΑΡΙΤΟΝΟΣ (Kyr Lambrianos the son of Chariton)<sup>47</sup> and KIPITZI ΛΑΣΚΑΡΙ ΚΑΙ KIPITZI ΜΑΥΡΟΥΔΗ (Kyritzis Laskaris and Kyritzis Mavroudis).<sup>48</sup> *Kύρ* or the



diminutive *κύριον* are a manner of polite or respectful address to a lay or clerical person, always accompanied by a name, office or profession.<sup>49</sup> Both *ἄρχων* and *κύριον* are not strictly speaking hereditary titles but rather distinctions acquired through wealth and prestige. The case is, however, different with ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ (Nikolaos lord of the monasteries) inscribed on a rosewater sprinkler. It is an ecclesiastical title bestowed upon clerical or lay officials by the Church, normally associated with the *officia* of the patriarchate of Constantinople but in the post-Byzantine period used also in the administration of Metropolitan sees.<sup>50</sup>

Most of the objects donated by title-bearers or other distinguished donors are of very fine quality and workmanship. The close association of patronage and style is particularly felt in gifts made by the higher clergy. Clerical donations may of course take a variety of forms. There are simple undistinguished gifts with inscriptions that follow the standard formulas, with the addition of the office of the donor: †ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ (The offering of Demetrios the priest) or †Ο ΧΑΛΔΙΑΣ ΣΙΛΒΕΣΤΡΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΤΟ ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΙ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΑΩΚΖ (1827) (Silvester [Metropolitan] of Chaldia donated this O Lord remember your servant 1827).<sup>51</sup> A special class of gifts however, made by Metropolitans or other-high ranking hierarchs, directly projects the social status, wealth and prestige of both the donor and the Church. These gifts were the personal property of hierarchs bequeathed after death to the treasury of a church or monastery: a crozier, a mitre, sacerdotal jewellery and various types of embroidered vestment, all accessories and insignia of religious rank and authority. The character of these gifts explains the absence of any spiritual motivation in the inscriptions. The standard formula is *κτημα του* as in ΚΤΗΜΑ ΑΡΧΙΕΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΠΑΔΟΚΙΑΣ ΟΥ ΚΛΗΣΙΣ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΟΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΣ Δ' Η ΣΑΝΤΟΡΙΝΗ ΑΩΛΗ (1735) (The property of the arch-sacrificer of Caesarea in Cappadocia, whose name is Parthenios and homeland Santorini, 1735).<sup>52</sup>

In this latter group of inscriptions the idea of ownership is emphatically stressed, and the donation was therefore essentially a gift of second-hand property. It was not however, considered as such. In church

codices the property of Metropolitans was specially valued and was naturally expected to end up in the treasury of the church.<sup>53</sup> One could of course argue that a Metropolitan's adornment arose from the generosity of his flock, but there are several instances where exactly the opposite occurred. The costly and bejewelled items donated by Parthenios of Caesarea or Dionysios ex-Patriarch of Constantinople were financed by their inherited family wealth; in Dionysios' case this property was accumulated through banking and money-lending to the Sultan and the Pashas.<sup>54</sup>

The relation between patronage and artistic style in gifts made by the prelate can be also be extended to the literary style of the inscriptions. They may be in archaic, ecclesiastical or less pedantic Greek, in verse or in prose, short or long, yet these inscriptions are in general the most erudite, correctly spelled and finely inscribed and chased.<sup>55</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that Parthenios of Caesarea seems to have commissioned the official orator of the Patriarchal court to write the epigram embroidered on his vestments.<sup>56</sup>

Property is referred to in several other cases, typically those of clerical owners or monks and in cases of hand crosses. Such inscriptions can be short †ΛΕΟΝΤΗΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥΤΑΦΙΤΙ ΕΤΟΣ 1673 (Of Leontios the priest-monk of the Holy Sepulchre, 1673) or long Ο Π(Α)Ρ(Ο)Ν Σ(ΤΑ)ΒΡΟ(Σ) ΙΝΕ ΚΑΛΙΝΙΚΟΥ ΙΕΡ(Ο)ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΜΑΝΑΣΤΙΡΙ Β(ΑΓ)ΓΕΛΙΣΤΡΙΑ ΑΝΟ ΣΟΥΔΕΝΑ 1757 (The present cross belongs to Kallinikos the priest-monk from the monastery of the Annunciation, Ano Soudena, 1757), but they clearly indicate ownership<sup>57</sup> (fig. 7). The formulas ΚΤΗΜΑ + genitive or ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙ ΚΤΗΜΑ, ΠΕΦΥΚΕ, ΚΕΙΜΗΛΙΟΝ, are also used with church property: †ΚΤΗΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΜΑΡΙΝΗΣ ΕΝ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΥΝΤΙ ΜΑΡΤΙΟΣ 1871 (The property of the church of Agia Marina in Trebizond, March 1871).<sup>58</sup> The expression *πέφυκα* –I am or exist by natural laws– as in ΔΙΣΚΟΣ ΑΡΓΥΡΟΥΣ ΠΕΦΥΚΑ (I am a silver dish)<sup>59</sup> (fig. 2) transforms a common, prosaic possession into one entrusted by God and protected by natural or rather supernatural laws.

Short inscriptions with just a name may indicate property or dedication or both. Thus we find inscribed on a container used for consecrated water ΧΑ(τζή) ΣΙΝΑΝ 1782 (Hatz-Sinan 1782) and on a dish



XATZH ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΑ ΧΑΤΖΗ ΝΙΚΟΛΑ 1821 (Hatzi-Paraskevas the son of Hatzi-Nikolas).<sup>60</sup> The history of a 14th-century manuscript of a Gospel reveals that both property and dedication may be meant. In the 16th century it was in the hands of the family of the *Κετσετζή*, a kind of palladium which they took with them when they moved from Trebizond to Argyroupolis. It was venerated both for its sacred content and for its value as a relic of the period of the Grand Komnenoi. In 1728 it was covered with a silver revetment, inscribed with the names of the owners †ΧΑΤΖΗΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΥ ΚΕ ΧΑΤΖΗΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΚΑ(Ι)ΤΖΑΙΤΖΗ (Hatzi-Panayiotis and Hatzi-Theodoros Ketzetzi) and offered to the archiepiscopal church of the town.<sup>61</sup>

A wealth of professions is mentioned in the dedications – fur-makers, grocers, oil-sellers, clock makers, flax-sellers, house painters and demolishers. Thus the inscription on a silver gospel cover from Adrianople reads ΕΠΗΜΕΛΕΙΑΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΗΝΔΡΟΜΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ. ΔΙΜΗΤΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΟΡΟΛΟΓΑΣ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ ΓΗΑΓΤΖΙΣ ΧΑΣΤΑΔΗΜΟΣ ΕΝ Ε(ΤΕΙ) 1721 (Under the care and with the assistance of the churchwardens of St Demetrios. Dimitra and the clockmaker Anastasis, the oil-merchant Hastadimos in the year 1721) (fig. 8); on a silver dish similarly from Adrianople Ο ΠΑΡΩΝ ΑΡΓΥΡΟΧΡΥΣΟΣ ΔΙΣΚΟΣ ΓΕΓΟΝΕ ΔΙ ΕΞΟΔΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΟΥ) ΒΑΡΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙ ΛΙΝΑΡΑ ΖΑΦΙΡΙ ΜΠΑΚΑΛΙ ΚΑΛΟΥΔΗ ΜΠΟΓΙΑΤΖΗ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙ ΜΠΟΖΜΑΤΖΗ ΑΠΕΛΙ ΓΟΥΝΑΡΙΑΨΨΑ (1791) (This silver-gilt dish was made at the expense of the church of St John Varin under the churchwardenship of Athanasios the linen-maker, Zafiris the grocer, Kaloudis the painter, Konstantis the demolisher, Apelis the furrier, 1791).<sup>62</sup> Many of the professions mentioned in the dedications refer to craftsmen and people who possessed a special skill or technique. It follows that silversmiths or jewellers are cited many times since they could be makers as well as donors: †ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΟΧΟΥ 1765 (Donation of the goldsmith).<sup>63</sup>

An important group of professions is related to building activities and more often than not mention is made of guilds or guild masters: ΚΑΙΠΕΣΤΕΤΖΙ ΕΣΝΑΦΙ (Guild of timber-builders),<sup>64</sup> ΡΑΦΑΙΛΟΓΛΟΥ ΤΟΓΡΑΜΑΤΖΗ ΟΥΣΤΑ (Master carpenter Rapha-

iloglou),<sup>65</sup> ΑΦΗΕΡΩΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΣΝΑΦΗ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥΛΚΕΡΗΔΩΝ (Donation of the guild of masons),<sup>66</sup> ΤΟΥΒΑΡΤΖΗΔΩΝ (Of the wall builders),<sup>67</sup> and ΝΙΚΟΛΑ ΠΟΥΡΓΟΥΤΖΗΠΑΣΙ ΤΟ ΑΦΙΕΡΩΝΙ ΣΤΟ ΧΡΗΣΤΟ 1765 (Nicholas the master screw-maker donates this to Christ 1765) (fig. 9).<sup>68</sup>

The dedication at ΤΕΝΕΚ ΜΑΤΕΝΙ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΕΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΙΝΑ by ΟΥΣΤΑΠΑ(ΟΙ)Ν(ΙΥ) ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΗΝ clearly refers to a *madenci ustabaşı*, a master miner by the name of Kostanti – who dedicated a gospel cover to the church of St George at Denek Maden.<sup>69</sup> There are also professions associated with textiles and with items of costume such as the above mentioned ΚΑ(Ι)ΤΣΕΤΖΗ<sup>70</sup> or maker of felt (*keçe*), and the makers of the long robe of honour (*kaftan*) ΔΙ ΕΞΟΔΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΥΤΑΝΤΖΗΔΩΝ.<sup>71</sup> There is a soap maker in Helenoupolis-Yalova, ΕΛΕΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΟΣ Ο ΣΑΠΑΝΤΖΗΣ Ο ΜΑΣΤΟΡΗΣ Ο ΠΑΠΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΕΤΟΣ 1815 (Papandreas the master soap-maker in Helenoupolis, 1815),<sup>72</sup> and the guild of makers of ceramic kitchen utensils, ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΗ ΚΥΡΙΕ Τ(ΩΝ) ΔΟΥΛΟΝ ΣΟΥ Τ(ΟΥ) ΡΟΥΦΕΤΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΤΖΟΥΚΑΛΑΔΩΝ 1780 (Remember, O Lord, your servants of the guild of tzoukalades).<sup>73</sup> Familiar professions are often mentioned as surnames or father's names: ΗΡΗΝΚΟΥ ΧΑΤΖΗ ΚΟΥΜΤΖΟΥ (Irene wife or daughter of the pilgrim silversmith), ΚΑΣΑΠΟΓΛΟΥ ΘΕΟΖΟΡΟΣΟΥΝ (Theodoros son of the butcher), and lastly ΠΕΓΛΗΒΑΝΟΓΛΟΥ ΝΗΚΟΛΑΝΗΝ (Nicolas son of the wrestler).<sup>74</sup> Quite unexpectedly, among these professions most appropriate to urban centers there is also a donation by shepherds: †ΔΙΑ ΣΟΙΝΔΡΟΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΠΑΝΗΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΟΙΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΖΑΝΑΚ ΚΑΛΕΣΙ (With the contribution and expenditure of the servants of God, the shepherds in Tzanak Kalesi).<sup>75</sup>

Lay or clerical donations described so far represent an individual and personal religious act. Collective donations involve a broader social range and evidence generic attitudes and motivations. In collective donations we can group gifts given by guilds and gifts given by the entire congregation of a parish or town. In a class by itself, however, are the Karamanli inscriptions that specify the Christian religion of the donors and thus point to the common practice of Karamanlis of identifying themselves as Christians: †ΤΑΞΙΑΡΧΗΤΕ





Fig. 11. Back cover of a gospel book with gilt plaquettes. From the church of St Stephen in Adrianoupolis, 1758. Athens, Benaki Museum 34194 (photo: K. Manolis).





Fig. 12. Silver dish inscribed on the bottom. From the church of the Annunciation of the Virgin in Sinopi, Pontos, 1743. Athens, Benaki Museum 34330 (photo: M. Skiadaresis).

ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣΑ ΒΑΚΟΥΦ ΕΤΕΝ ΚΕΡΜΗΡ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝ-  
ΛΑΡΙ 1799 (The Christians of Kermira dedicated this  
to the Archangel Taxiarchis) or †1812 ΙΑΝΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΥ  
1 ΚΑΓΙΣΕΡΙ ΣΕΧΕΡΗΝΤΕ ΟΛΑΝ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΝΗΚΟ-  
ΛΑΟΣΟΥΝ ΕΚΛΗΣΕΣΗΝΕ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΛΗΓΙΝΗΝ ΒΑ-  
ΚΙΦΙΤΗΡ ΑΛΛΑΧ ΚΑΠΟΥΛ ΕΓΙΛΕΣΗΝ (1 January

1812. Dedication of the Christians to the church of St  
Nicholas in the town of Caesarea. May God bless it)  
(fig. 10).<sup>76</sup>

Many of the various professions mentioned above  
relate to collective donations of guilds. Collective  
guild donations should be viewed in association with



the important economic, administrative and social role played by guilds in the Ottoman empire and in particular in the so-called Christian *millet*.<sup>77</sup> Guilds protected their co-religionists, financed the Church and founded pious and charitable institutions. Thus, by virtue of economic power and philanthropic activities, guilds played a leading part in the Christian community. This is especially true in Constantinople where masters of the guilds were among the important personages who elected the Patriarch, and in several instances guild interests were imposed on Patriarchal decisions.<sup>78</sup> Their power, however, never challenged the Church's prime authority; on the contrary guild activities and benefactions were channeled and directed by the Church.<sup>79</sup> One more example of a dedication by a guild – the influential guild of grocers – is found on both sides of a silver gospel cover from Adrianople: †ΑΦΗΡΟΘΙ ΤΟ Α(Γ)Ι(ΟΝ) Κ(ΑΙ) ΙΕΡΩΝ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΝΑΩ ΤΟΥ Α(Γ)ΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΤΩΜΑΡΤΥΡ(ΟΣ) ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ 1758 † ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΔΗΛΑ ΔΑΠΑΝ(ΗΣ) δε Κ(ΑΙ) ΕΞΩΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΗΜΗΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΡΟΥΦΕΤΙΟΥ ΜΠΑΚΑΛΗΔΩΝ (This holy and sacred gospel is dedicated to the church of the proto-martyr and archdeacon Stephen in the year 1780 at the expense and cost of the most honourable guild of grocers) (fig. 11).<sup>80</sup>

In collective donations there are often many people who contributed in various ways and the emphasis shifts from the act of the religious donation to the persons or groups of persons who made the expenditure, instigated and coordinated the donation. Such is the inscription on a dish: †ΑΝΕΚΕΝΙΣΘΗ Ο ΠΑΡΟΝ ΔΗΣΚΟΣ ΔΙ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΤΙΜΙΟΤΑΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΟΤΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡ Χ(ΑΤΖ)Η ΚΗΡΙΑΚΗ ΚΥΡ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΗ Κ(ΑΙ) ΚΗΡ Χ(ΑΤΖ)Η ΑΝΔΡΙΑΔΗ ΕΞΩΔΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΑΨΠΣΤ (1786) ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ ΚΕ (25) (This dish was restored under the supervision of the honourable wardens of the church of St Nicholas by Kyr Hatzi-Kiriakis and Kyr Apostolis and Kyr Hatzi-Andreadis at the expense of the church, 25 November 1786).<sup>81</sup> The amount of work and money spent to renovate a building might justify the detailed reference to supervisors, committees and sources of financing, but when used on a silver dish it strikes one as excessive.

The standard formulas express the various responsibilities and contribution of each person or group of

persons. Thus, *δι' ἐξόδου, ἐξόδων* or *δαπάνης* means the total grant of money. *Δι' ἐπιστάσις* or *ἐπιμελείας* normally refers to churchwardens who supervised and looked after the manufacture and consecration of the gift. *Διὰ συνδρομῆς* means with the assistance or contribution which, however, could have been either financial or moral: Ο ΠΑΡΩΝ ΑΡΓΥΡΟΧΡΥΣΟΣ ΔΙΣΚΟΣ ΓΕΓΟΝΕ ΔΙ ΕΞΩΔΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑΣ ΤΕ Κ(ΑΙ) ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΤΙΜΙΟΤΑΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΜΝΗΜΟΣΥΝΟΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ Κ(ΑΙ) ΕΝΟΡΙΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΕΤΗ 1778 (The present gilt dish was made at the expense of the church of St George under the supervision and with the assistance of the most honourable churchwardens to the memory of them and their parishioners in the year 1778).<sup>82</sup> It is probable that the churchwardens pointed out the needs of the church to their fellow parishioners and suggested the manufacture of the dish from the common budget of the church. In ΚΟΙΝΗ ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΜΠΑΦΡΑΣ (The joint contribution of the Christians, men and women, of the town of Bafra)<sup>83</sup> the collective contribution is evidently in money. Nevertheless, the meaning of the word is not always obvious as in ΣΙΝ(Δ)ΡΟΜΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΠΕ(Υ)ΗΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΚΙΝ(Η)ΤΟΥ 1816 (The contribution of the churchwarden Pegios the pilgrim 1816)<sup>84</sup> where the kind of contribution made by the churchwarden is not explained. Moreover, the same word may be confusingly used to mean the total or part of the expenditure instead of *δαπάνη*: †ΟΥΤΟΣ Ο ΔΙΣΚΟΣ ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙ (Τ)ΟΥ ΝΑΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΥΠΕΡΑΓΙΑΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΙΝΗΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΜΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΣΙΝΟΠΗ 1743 ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ 1743 ΕΝ ΜΗΝΙ ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 1 (This dish belongs to the church of the Annunciation of our supremely holy Lady in Sinopi 1743, and with the contribution of Georgios the son of Demetrios 1743, November 1) (fig. 12).<sup>85</sup>

The significance of this group of inscriptions is that it reveals the mechanism of donation and the various people involved. Most eloquent are the inscriptions on the silver dish of Metropolitan Neophytos (fig. 3). On the rim is the already mentioned inscription: ΔΙΣΚΟΝ ΕΜΕΧΡΥΣΕΟΝ ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΕΝ ΚΑΙΡΟΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΕΥΞΑΝ ΕΗΣ ΔΑΠΑΝΗΣ ΣΟΙΣ



ΙΕΡΟΙΣ ΑΝΑΞ ΓΡΑΨΟΝ ΚΑΛΟΝ ΟΥΝΟΜΑ ΒΙΒΛΟΙΣ  
ΥΨΙΜΕΔΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΑΡΟΙ ΕΝ  
ΕΘΗ ΑΠΟ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ 1668 (I the golden dish created  
in the times of the arch-priest Neophytos by all people  
at his expense. O King write in your sacred books  
his beautiful name, the most illustrious of all pious  
[Christians]. May all be blessed. In the year of our  
Saviour 1668). Around the *omphalos*: Ο ΔΗΣΚΟΣ  
ΤΟΥΤΟΣ ΥΝΕ ΤΙΣ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑΣ ΤΑ ΚΟΛΥΚΡΑΓΗ  
ΤΟΝ ΓΟΥΝΑΡΑΔΩΝ (This dish belongs to the [church  
of the] Virgin Kolykrya [donated] by the fur-makers).  
At the back coarsely engraved: *Ἐσκαψε τό δίσκο τοῦτο  
τόν κερό πού ἦταν επιτροπή ὁ Καραμανλῖς ὁ Καρατζᾶς  
τοῦ Ἀγγελί καί τοῦ Μίχου κέ τοῦ Κώνσταντα* (The  
Karamanli Karatzas engraved this dish at the time when  
Angelis, Mihos and Kostantis were churchwardens).<sup>86</sup>  
Four parties are thus involved, the Metropolitan of  
Adrianople Neophytos, the guild of fur-makers, the  
churchwardens Angelis, Mihos and Kostantis, and the  
Karamanli craftsman Karatzas. In other words, in the  
time of Neophytos and following his wish, the dish was  
made through the contribution of all the people. It is,  
however, specified that all the people meant the fur-  
makers, who had under their protection the church  
of the Panagia Kolykrya. They evidently paid the  
cash for the dish and had their patron saint, St Elias,  
engraved on the *omphalos*. The people who took the  
responsibility for and supervised the execution of the  
order were the three churchwardens; the craftsman  
Karatzas humbly engraves that he made the dish at the  
time of their churchwardenship. The dish was therefore  
made under the influence of Neophytos, whose strong  
personality is known from ecclesiastical sources.<sup>87</sup> The  
inscription referring to him, in archaic Greek and  
in verse, dominates the dish in the way he himself  
dominated his flock.

By contrast, in Ankara, where most probably a  
Metropolitan rarely resided, the role of advisor and  
coordinator of the donation was played by an important  
member of the community, the churchwarden: †ΑΥΤΩ  
ΤΩ ΕΒΑΝΚΕΛΙΩ ΕΦΘΙΑΣΘΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΕΡΟΝ Τ(ΟΥ)  
ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΗΜΕΟΝ Χ(ΑΤΖΗ) ΣΙΝΑΝ 1754  
ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ (This gospel book was made during  
the churchwardenship of Symeon Hatz-Sinan 1754).<sup>88</sup>  
The same applies to Constantinople where, although  
Metropolitans resided for long periods, it was mostly

for the affairs of the Holy Synod; the many parish  
churches had to rely on their own resources. Thus on the  
knob of a pair of silver flabella from Constantinople (fig.  
11) is inscribed: ΕΓΙΝΑΝ ΤΑ ΠΑΡΟΝΤΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ  
ΣΙΝΑΞΕΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗΣ  
ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΥΡΙΤΖΗ ΛΑΣΚΑΡΙ ΚΑΙ  
ΚΥΡΙΤΖΗ ΜΑΥΡΟΥΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΗ ΑΠΕΡΓΙ ΤΟΥ  
ΕΚ ΧΟΟΥ ΚΑΤ ΕΤΟΣ ΕΘΗ 1690 (These were made by  
the assembly of the Christians and with the help  
of the churchwardens Kyritsis Laskaris and Kyritsis  
Mavroudis and Alexandris Apergis from Chios in the  
year 1690).<sup>89</sup> The assembly of the Christians decided on  
the manufacture of a pair of flabella, and this decision  
was executed with the help of the churchwardens.

The importance of churchwardens was not accidental  
but it can be paralleled with the growing influence of lay  
officials and wealthy commoners in the administration  
of the Church and the Patriarchate. The tone was set by  
Patriarch Kallinikos II in his synodical letter of 1688,  
in which he laid down the duties of churchwardens.  
They were responsible for the administration of the  
church, the balance of its income and expenditure,  
the management of the grants, bequests and donations  
including the Treasury, e.g. the control, good use and  
conservation of all liturgical items. In the Great Church  
the wardens were elected from the assembly of the  
Patriarch, the Holy Synod, the priests and parishioners  
of the Patriarchal church, the nobles of the city of  
Constantinople and the chief masters of the guilds.  
They were to be chosen for their honesty, piety and  
usefulness in the community, and the penalty for any  
irregularity or violation of the laws would have been  
excommunication.<sup>90</sup>

The recurrent reference to churchwardens in the  
dedications results, therefore, from their prominent  
status in the community or parish. Gifts given to  
the church at their instigation or contribution added  
to the communal prestige, which they did their best  
to promote. Spiritual reward was submerged or only  
hinted at, and what comes to the fore is the civic  
importance of the wardens, a clearly discernible change  
of accent from the religious and spiritual to the  
communal and secular.

The oldest reference to churchwardens mentioned so  
far is concealed at the back of Metropolitan Neophytos'  
dish (fig. 3) and shows their still secondary role in 1668.



They depended on and were essentially in the service of the ecclesiastical authorities, and the same clearly applies to the fur-makers, despite their newly acquired wealth and social prestige. This situation had changed by 1785. Thus, the inscription on the rim of a dish says: †Ο ΠΑΡΟΝ ΔΙΣΚΟΣ ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΜΕΤΟΧΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΤΑΦΟΥ (Γ)ΕΓΟΝΕ ΔΕ ΔΙ ΕΞΟΔΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΥΤΑΝΤΖΗΔΩΝ ΔΙΑ ΔΕ ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΩΝ Χ(ατζή) ΧΡΙΣΤΟΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΑΚΗ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΚΗ ΠΑΝΑΚΗ ΤΖΑΝΤΗ ΛΑΣΚΑΡΑΚΗ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΜΗΧΑΛΑΚΗ ΕΤΕΙ ΑΠΟ Χ(ριστοῦ) ΑΨΠΕ (1785) ΙΑΝΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΥ (This dish belongs to the church of St George, the metochi of the Holy Sepulchre, and was made at the expense of the guild of kaftan-makers and with the help of the churchwardens Hatzi-Christodoulos, Georgakis, Nikolakis, Yannakis, Tzantis, Laskarakis, Dimitrakis, Vasili, Mihalakis in the year of Christ 1785, January). Around the *omphalos*: ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΟΣΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΘΙΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΤΑΦΟΥ (When the venerable lord Basil was in office as Prior of the Holy Sepulchre).<sup>91</sup> The help of the churchwardens ranks as equal with the grant given by the guild of *καυταντζήδες*, while the reference to the Prior of the Holy Sepulchre is an honorary addition at the end of the inscription.

By the 19th century, the office of the churchwarden was not solely of an ecclesiastical character but had gained in political importance. The trend can be traced in the earlier period but it took its definitive form with the municipal reforms of the Tanzimat era and the ensuing "General Ordinances", the new organic law of the Patriarchate, whereby the Church handed over to the laity part of its secular authority.<sup>92</sup> The reforms mobilized social forces which looked toward a different set of values cultivated by the national Greek state. The newly

founded local societies and in particular the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople were responsible for propagating the national ideology whose main objectives were philanthropic activities and the spread of Greek education freed from religious preconceptions.<sup>93</sup> The social role of the guilds slowly but surely diminished; they are no longer mentioned as donors in the inscriptions, and their communal activities were taken over by the educational and literary societies.

The change in the ideological framework is reflected in the content of dedicatory inscriptions. Churchwardens, along with the *δημογέροντες* and *ἔφοροι*, the three bodies of local autonomous administration, became responsible not only for the upkeep of churches but also for raising funds for schools and hospitals.<sup>94</sup> One of the responsibilities of churchwardens was to carry dishes around the congregation, in order to collect alms and contributions for the educational and charitable institutions of the community. The scope of gift-giving to the church had thus acquired a secular dimension and a different social and ideological content. This change is expressed most vividly on the dedicatory inscriptions of three dishes: ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΙΝΟΥ ΣΧΟΛΙΟΥ ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ 1850 ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΥ 5 (For the benefit of the communal school, 5 January 1850) or ΔΙΣΚΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΣΟΚΟΜΕΙΟΥ 1852 ΜΑΙΟΥ 15 (The dish of the hospital, 15 May 1852) or ΑΦΙΕΡΩΤΕ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΝΟΣΩΚΟΜΟΙΟΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ Χ(ατζή) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ Χ(ατζή) ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΜΟΥΤΑΦΙ 1854 (Dedicated to the hospital by Hatzi-Vasileios the son of Hatzi-Georgios Moutafi 1854).<sup>95</sup>

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## NOTES

\* An earlier version of this article formed part of my doctoral thesis, A. Ballian, *Patronage in Central Asia Minor and the Pontos during the Ottoman Period. The case of church silver 17th-19th centuries* (Birmingham University, Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, 1996).

1. E. Chatzidaki, Χριστιανικές επιγραφές Μ. Ασίας, και Πόντου στο Μουσείο Μπενάκη, offprint from *Mikrasiatika Chronika* 8 (1959) 1-48 (hereafter Chatzidaki). Eugène Dalleggio's reading of the Karamanli inscriptions is included in the second part of the article, 28-41.

2. Published collections of inscriptions mainly come from the large monasteries of Greece, see for example G. Millet, G. Pargoire, L. Petit, *Requiel des inscriptions chrétiennes de l'Athos* (Paris 1904); D. P. Paschalis, Μονή Ζωοδόχου Πηγής ή Αγίας, *Andriaka Chronika* 10 (1961); S. A. Papadopoulos, Επιγραφές Ι. Μονής Ιωάννου Θεολόγου, in: S. A. Papadopoulos, K. Ch. Fatourou, *Επιγραφές της Πάτμου* (Athens 1966) 1-107. Epigraphical evidence is also included in art historical works devoted to the treasures of the great monasteries: G. Iconomaki-Papadopoulos, Εκκλησιαστική αργυροχοΐα, in: A. Kominis (ed.), *Οι θησαυροί της Μονής Πάτμου* (Athens 1988) 221-73; G. Iconomaki-Papadopoulos, Εκκλησιαστική μεταλλοτεχνία, in: K. Manafis (ed.), *Σινά. Οι θησαυροί της Ι. Μονής Αγίας Αικατερίνης* (Athens 1990) 263-307; G. Iconomaki-Papadopoulos, Εκκλησιαστικά αργυρά, in: S. Papadopoulos (ed.), *Σιμωνόπετρα Άγιον Όρος* (Athens 1991) 163-87; A. Ballian, Post-Byzantine and other small art works, in: Vatopaidi monastery (ed.), *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi* II (Athens 1998) 500-34.

3. Chatzidaki 11-12 no 42; A. Ballian, Argyroupolis-Gümüşhane: mining capital of the Pontos, in: M. Koromila, *The Greeks in the Black Sea* (Athens 1991) 234.

4. Chatzidaki 17 no 75.

5. Chatzidaki 12 no 45; A. Ballian, Η Καππαδοκία μετά την κατάκτηση των Σελτζούκων και οι χριστιανικές κοινότητες από το 16ο έως το 18ο αι., in: *Καππαδοκία. Περιήγηση στη Χριστιανική Ανατολή* (texts A. Ballian, N. Panteleaki, I. Petropoulou, Photography L. Evert, D. Menaidi, M. Fakidi, Athens 1991) 35.

6. Dedicatory inscriptions on Byzantine silverware are found in various, mainly art historical, publications, and exhibition catalogues. Particularly useful are H. Hahnloser (ed.), *Il Tesoro di San Marco. II: Il Tesoro e il Museo* (Florence 1971); A. Frolov, *Les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix* (Paris 1985); M. Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium* (Baltimore 1986); S. A. Boyd, M. Mundell Mango (eds), *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (Washington, D.C. 1992); *Treasures of Mount Athos* (exhibition catalogue, Thessaloniki 1997, A. Karakatsanis ed.); *Byzance* (exhibition catalogue, Musée du Louvre, Paris 1992, J. Durand ed.); *The Glory of Byzantium* (exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1997, H. C. Evans, W. D. Wixom eds). Founders' inscriptions either for buildings or

for paintings are better documented, see A. and J. Stylianos, Donors and dedicatory inscriptions, supplicants and supplications in the painted churches of Cyprus, *JÖBG* 9 (1960) 97-128; A. Philippidis-Braat, Inscriptions du Peloponnèse. Inscriptions du IXème au XVème siècles, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 299-357; S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece* (Wien 1992); E. Drakopoulou, *Η πόλη της Καστοριάς τη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή εποχή (12ος-16ος αι.) Ιστορία – Τέχνη – Επιγραφές* (Athens 1997).

7. M. Mauss, Essai sur le Don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques, *Année Sociologique* 1 (1923-24), Greek translation of the original edition (Athens 1979); L. Mair, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology* (Oxford 1972) 179-94; D. J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick-New York 1968) 18-28.

8. Chatzidaki 2 no 2; A. Ballian, *Θησαυροί από τις ελληνικές κοινότητες της Μικράς Ασίας και Ανατολικής Θράκης. Συλλογές Μουσείου Μπενάκη* (exhibition catalogue, Centre of Popular Art and Tradition, Cultural Centre of the Municipality of Athens, Athens 1992) 28-29 no 2; D. Fotopoulos, A. Delivourias, *Greece at the Benaki Museum* (Athens 1997) 342 fig. 565.

9. C. Mango, *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome* (London 1980) 109; C. Galatariotou, Byzantine Ktitorika Typika: A Comparative Study, *REB* 45 (1987) 95.

10. Chatzidaki 25 no 16.

11. G. P. Georgiadis, *Ο εν Γαλατά Ιερός Ναός του Αγίου Ιωάννου των Χίων* (Constantinople 1898) 287.

12. Chatzidaki 17 no 73. For commemoration services see Symeon of Thessaloniki, De fine et exitu nostro et vita et de sacro ordine sepulturae et quae pro memoria defunctorum solent fieri, *PG* CLV, col. 693-93. For the guild of masons (ἐσνάφι τῶν τουλκέρηδων) see below.

13. Constantelos (n. 7) 65-87.

14. J. T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise. Gift Giving and the Aristocracy 1307-1485* (London 1972) 10; S. Petmézas, Serrés et sa région sous les Ottomans, in: P. Odorico (ed.), *Conseils et mémoires de Synadinos prêtre de Serrés en Macédoine (XVIIe siècle)* (Paris 1996) 518-19.

15. Chatzidaki 16 no 68.

16. Chatzidaki 18 no 84.

17. Chatzidaki 17 no 72; *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art* (exhibition catalogue, Old University, Athens 1986) 202-03 no 228 (A. Ballian).

18. For the function of donation in the antique city and the early Christian period see E. Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance 4ème-7ème siècles* (Paris 1977) 181-96.



19. Small slow-changing communities are defined by integrity, distinctiveness and homogeneity, see R. Redford, *The Little Community: Viewpoints for the Study of a Human Whole* (Chicago-London 1955) 4. In the case of the small Christian communities in the Ottoman empire, the ties of locality, religion and the institutions of the Church provided the defining traits.

20. Chatzidaki 3, no 8; G. Iconomaki-Papadopoulos, *Εκκλησιαστικά Αργυρά* (Athens 1980) 12 fig. 14

21. Chatzidaki 21 no 98.

22. Mango (n. 6) 5; R. Morris, Monasteries and their patrons in the tenth and eleventh centuries, *BF* 10 (1985) 217.

23. Chatzidaki 27 no 35, 26 no 128, 12 no 43, 2 no 3. For the purpose of brevity I have not always included the full text of the inscriptions.

24. Chatzidaki 4 no 10; A. Ballian, Argana on the Tigris and Vank on the Euphrates: Pontic Mining Expansion and Church Silver from Argyroupolis-Gümüşhane, in: *Θνύματα στη μνήμη της Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα* (Athens 1994) 18, pl. 73.

25. See nos 3, 5; For the persistence of regional identity among the Asia Minor Greek refugees see R. Hirschon, *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe* (Oxford 1989) 22-26.

26. Dalleggio, in: Chatzidaki 28 no 3.

27. Chatzidaki 27 no 139; Ballian (n. 8) 54 no 20. The monastery has been identified with the Byzantine monastery of Phlavianon.

28. S. Kadas, *Κώδιξ Ιεράς Μονής Διονυσίου Αγίου Όρους ιη' - ιθ' αι.* (Mount Athos 1994); P. Odorico, *Le codex B du monastère Saint-Jean – Prodrome Serrès XVe-XIXe siècles* (Paris 1998).

29. Chatzidaki 11 no 40, 8 no 29, 13 no 51.

30. Chatzidaki 17 no 71.

31. See the interpretation of Roman Law by Mauss (n. 7) 129-38.

32. Chatzidaki 4 no 12; A. Ballian, Christian Silverwork from Ottoman Trebizond, in: *Cultural and Commercial Exchanges between the Orient and the Greek World, Centre of Neohellenic Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens 25-28 October 1990* (Athens 1991) fig. 2. See also nos 32 and 48; Fotopoulos, Delivorrias (n. 8) 364 fig. 607.

33. A. A. Papadopoulos, Ιστορικά σημειώματα εκ του κώδικος της επαρχίας Χαλδίας, *Archeion Pontou* 8 (1938) 18.

34. M. I. Gedeon, *Χρονικά του Πατριαρχικού Οίκου και Ναού* (Constantinople 1884) 165.

35. A. Gerouki, Ο φόβος του αφορισμού, *Istorika* 8 (1988) 53-68; Gedeon (n. 34) 167; Odorico (n. 28) 24-25.

36. Unpublished inscription, inv. no 13989. For the monastery of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, called Zaporda

or Zavorda, founded by Hosios Nikanor in Grevena, see G. Th. Lyrizis, *Ο Όσιος Νικάνωρ και το μοναστήρι του* (Kozani 1962); S. Kokkinis, *Τα μοναστήρια της Ελλάδος* (Athens 1976) 47-48.

37. Gedeon (n. 34) 162-68.

38. Chatzidaki 11 no 40.

39. Chatzidaki 7 no 27; see Ballian (n. 3) 235.

40. Chatzidaki 19 no 90; see Ballian (n. 24) pl. 89.

41. Chatzidaki 16 no 69; see Ballian (n. 24) 17-18 pl. II<sub>1</sub>.

42. Chatzidaki 15, no 65.

43. Dalleggio in: Chatzidaki 39 no 57. Mahales instead of Mihalis betrays the Karamanli origin of the donor.

44. R. Ousterhout (ed.), *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Urbana and Chicago 1990); J. E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places* (Oxford 1993). See also for the tenacity of the tradition Hirschon (n. 25) 224-25.

45. Chatzidaki 12 no 43; see also n. 23.

46. Chatzidaki 4 no 10; see also n. 24.

47. Chatzidaki 16 no 69; see also n. 41.

48. Chatzidaki 4 no 12; see also n. 32.

49. See the similar use of the word *κύρ* in late Byzantine inscriptions, Drakopoulou (n. 2) 142.

50. Gedeon (n. 34) 39; T. Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents relating to the History of the Greek Church and People under Turkish Domination* (Brussels 1952) 74. For the object see Ballian (n. 3) 236 and Fotopoulos, Delivorrias (n. 8) 375 fig. 640.

51. Chatzidaki 19 no 87, 21 no 101.

52. Chatzidaki 10 nos 37 and 38; E. Georgoula (ed.), *Greek Jewellery from the Benaki Museum Collections* (Athens 1999) 446-49, no 159 (A. Ballian).

53. G. Iconomaki-Papadopoulou, Οι δρόμοι των εκκλησιαστικών κειμηλίων: το παράδειγμα των εκκλησιαστικών αργυρών, in: K. Nicolaou (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium Trends in Orthodox Monasticism, 9th to 20th centuries, Thessaloniki 28 September - 2 October 1994, Council of Europe, National Hellenic Research Foundation, Ministry of Culture* (Athens 1996) 228-29.

54. D. Denaxa, *Η ιερά μητρόπολις Θήρας και οι σεβάσμιοι επίσκοποι και παναγιώτατοι μητροπολίται αυτής 1592-1931* (Pireus 1933) 90; D. P. Paschalis, Ο Οικουμενικός Πατριάρχης Διονύσιος Γ' ο Βάρδαλης 1662-1665, in: *Εναίσιμα* (Athens 1931) 318-43.

55. Chatzidaki 2 no 4; A. Ballian in: Georgoula (n. 52) 432-37 no 156.

56. E. Vei-Chatzidaki, *Εκκλησιαστικά Κεντήματα* (Athens 1953) 38.



57. Unpublished, inv. nos 14048, 14030. For the monastery, see, P. Vokotopoulos, Βυζαντινά και Μεταβυζαντινά Μνημεία Ηπείρου, *ArchDelt* 21 (1966) Chronika, B<sub>2</sub> 303-07; D. Kamaroulas, *Τα μοναστήρια της Ηπείρου* I (Athens 1996) 306-11.
58. Chatzidaki 26 no 129.
59. Chatzidaki 12 no 45. As in no 5.
60. Chatzidaki 15, no 62, 21, no 99.
61. Chatzidaki 8 no 28; G. Th. Kandilaptis, Η Αργυρόπολις του Πόντου, *Pontiaci Estia* 6 (1959) 2567.
62. Unpublished inscriptions, nos 34144 (*γναγτζίς*: gağci, dealer in oil) and 34354 (*μποζματζή*: bozmacı, dealer in old things, demolisher of buildings).
63. Chatzidaki 14 no 55.
64. Dalleggio in: Chatzidaki 29 no 4.
65. Dalleggio in: Chatzidaki 38 no 51.
66. Chatzidaki 17 no 73; see Ballian (n. 8) 32 no 4.
67. Chatzidaki 21 no 97.
68. Unpublished, no 34557.
69. Dalleggio in: Chatzidaki 39 no 54. Denek Maden or Keskin was a mining site near Ankara worked in the 19th century by Christian miners from Şebın Karahisar. The village is best known as the birthplace of papa-Euthym, the controversial figure active in the so-called Turkish-Orthodox Church.
70. As in n. 53.
71. Chatzidaki 15 no 64.
72. Chatzidaki 20 no 91.
73. Chatzidaki 15 no 61. Both words *ρονφετί* and *έσνάφι* designate the guilds.
74. Dalleggio in: Chatzidaki 29 no 7, 31 no 15, 41 no 66.
75. Chatzidaki 23, no 111. Shepherds may also mean shepherds of souls, i.e. priests.
76. Dalleggio in: Chatzidaki 32 no 19, 34 no 27. Of the 66 Karamanli inscriptions published by Chatzidaki, 11 include a specific reference to Christians.
77. G. Baer, The administrative, economic and social function of the Turkish guilds, *IJMES* 1/1 (1970) 28-50; for the term *millet* and its meaning, see B. Braude, Foundation Myths of the Millet System, in: B. Lewis, B. Braude (eds), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: the function of a plural society* (New York 1982) II 69-88; see also *EP* s.v. "Millet" (M. O. H. Ursinus).
78. In 1719 grocers and fish-sellers protested against the patriarchal decree to curtail the fasting period and thus reduce the sales of caviar- a main dish for Lent. The Patriarch and the Holy Synod were obliged to revoke their decision, see Athanasios Komnenos Ypsilantis, *Αθανασίου Κομνηνού Υψηλάντιου Εκκλησιαστικών και Πολιτικών των εις Δώδεκα Βιβλίων Η' Θ' Ι' ήτοι Τα Μετά την Άλωση (1453-1789)* (Constantinople 1870) 308.
79. E. Vourazeli-Marinakou, *Αι εν Θράκη συντεχνίαι των Ελλήνων κατά την Τουρκοκρατίαν* (Thessaloniki 1950); G. Papageorgiou, *Οι συντεχνίες στα Γιάννενα κατά τον 19ο και τις αρχές του 20ού αιώνα* (Ioannina 1988); S. I. Asdrahas, Οι συντεχνίες στην Τουρκοκρατία: οι οικονομικές λειτουργίες, in: S. I. Asdrahas, *Ζητήματα Ιστορίας* (Athens 1983) 97-115.
80. Chatzidaki 13 no 50 (only the first half of the inscription).
81. Chatzidaki 15 no 65. As in n. 42.
82. Chatzidaki 14 no 60.
83. Chatzidaki 22 no 104.
84. Chatzidaki 20 no 94.
85. Chatzidaki 11 no 40.
86. As in n. 8.
87. Germanos, Metropolitan of Sardis, Επισκοπικοί κατάλογοι των επαρχιών της Ανατολικής και Δυτικής Θράκης, *Thrakika* 6 (1935) 41.
88. Chatzidaki 12 no 47.
89. Chatzidaki 4 no 12; as in ns 32 and 48.
90. Gedeon (n. 34) 166.
91. Chatzidaki 15 no 64. As in n. 71.
92. R. H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1856-1876* (Princeton 1963); P. M. Kitromilides, 'Imagined Communities' and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans, in: M. Blinkhorn, Th. Veremis (eds), *Modern Greece: Nationalism and Nationality* (Athens 1990) 23-66; K. Kostis, Κοινότητες, Εκκλησία και μιλλέτ στις «ελληνικές» περιοχές της οθωμανικής αυτοκρατορίας κατά την περίοδο των μεταρρυθμίσεων, *Mnemon* 13 (1991) 57-75.
93. Ch. Exertzoglou, *Εθνική ταυτότητα στην Κωνσταντινούπολη τον 19ο αι. Ο Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως 1861-1912* (Αθήνα 1996) 9-29; S. Anagnostopoulou, *Μικρά Ασία 19ος-1919. Οι ελληνορθόδοξες κοινότητες από το μιλλέτ των Ρωμιών στο ελληνικό έθνος* (Athens 1997) 290-301.
94. K. Mamoni, Η ζωή και η δράση των υπόδουλων Ελλήνων 1833-1881. Θράκη, in: *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους* XIII 369, 375-76.
95. Chatzidaki 24 nos 117, 119 and 121.



## ANNA ΜΠΑΛΛΙΑΝ

Αφιερωματικές επιγραφές και δωρητές στα εκκλησιαστικά ασημικά 17ου-19ου αιώνα

Το άρθρο βασίζεται στη συλλογή εκκλησιαστικών ασημικών του Μουσείου Μπενάκη, ένα σημαντικό μέρος της οποίας προέρχεται από τα κειμήλια των προσφύγων της Μικράς Ασίας, του Πόντου και της Ανατολικής Θράκης. Οι επιγραφές έχουν δημοσιευθεί από την Ευγενία Χατζηδάκη και τον Eugène Dalleggio το 1959 και είναι ελληνικές ή караμανλίδικες, δηλ. στα τουρκικά ή σε ένα μείγμα τουρκικών και ελληνικών, γραμμένες όμως με ελληνική γραφή. Οι επιγραφές σε ασημικά από εκκλησίες του ελλαδικού χώρου παρουσιάζουν τον ίδιο τύπο επιγραφών που είναι γενικότερα κοινός στα αφιερώματα των χριστιανών της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας.

Οι επιγραφές σε θρησκευτικά αφιερώματα υπενθυμίζουν την πράξη της δωρεάς με τη ρητή ή λανθάνουσα πρόθεση να αποκομίσει ο αφιερωτής ως αντίδωρο, πνευματικά οφέλη. Πρόκειται για μια συμβολική ανταλλαγή όπου η σωτηρία της ψυχής του δωρητή, η άφεση αμαρτιών και η μνημόνευσή του την ημέρα της Κρίσεως είναι το ζητούμενο αντίτιμο. Η τυπολογία των επιγραφών αναπαράγει την φρασολογία των βυζαντινών κτητορικών επιγραφών: *Υπέρ ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας, Δέσεις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ, Μνήσθητι Κύριε*. Το δωρούμενο αντικείμενο λειτουργεί ως ορατή υπόμνηση και δημιουργεί την ηθική υποχρέωση στον παραλήπτη –το Θεό– να ανταποδώσει. Ανάμεσα στο Θεό και τον μετανοούντα δωρητή βρίσκεται η Εκκλησία η οποία έχει θεσμοθετήσει τις ποικίλες μορφές ευσέβειας και φιλανθρωπίας και η τοπική εκκλησία που είναι ο αποδέκτης και διαχειριστής των δωρεών.

Σε μία απλή μορφή αναγράφεται στις επιγραφές μόνο ένα όνομα με ή χωρίς χρονολογία. Σε πιο σύνθετη περιλαμβάνονται και άλλα στοιχεία που κατατάσσονται σε έξι κατηγορίες: α) το δωρούμενο αντικείμενο· β) ο δωρητής ή ο συμμετέχων στη δωρεά· γ) ο τόπος της δωρεάς· δ) η αιτία της δωρεάς· ε) η χρονολογία, και στ) ο τεχνίτης.

Στην Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία οι χριστιανοί ορίζονται από τη θρησκεία και τον τόπο καταγωγής τους, στοιχεία που προσδιορίζουν τις βασικές παραμέτρους της συλλογικής τους συνείδησης. Στο επίπεδο της ενορίας, του χωριού ή της ευρύτερης περιοχής, οι χρι-

στιανοί καταγράφονται με βάση την προέλευσή τους. Οι επιγραφές διακρίνονται από έντονο πνεύμα τοπικισμού. Η πράξη της δωρεάς στην τοπική εκκλησία ή στο μεγάλο μοναστήρι-προσκύνημα της περιοχής έχει θετικό αντίκτυπο, τόσο στον ίδιο τον αφιερωτή, όσο και στην τοπική κοινότητα της οποίας αυξάνει το κύρος και επιβεβαιώνει τη θέση.

Οι αφιερωματικές επιγραφές λειτουργούν και ως νομική πράξη κατοχύρωσης της δωρεάς. Για το λόγο αυτό, όπως τα συμβόλαια, περιλαμβάνουν συχνά και το όνομα του δωρούμενου αντικειμένου: *οὗτος ὁ δίσκος* ή *τά παρόντα ἐξαπτέρυγα*. Η πληροφορία αυτή είναι περιττή όταν γράφεται πάνω στο ίδιο το αντικείμενο, αλλά είναι σημαντική όταν καταγράφεται η δωρεά στους κώδικες –τα κατάστιχα– των εκκλησιών. Η αντιστοιχία ανάμεσα στις αφιερωματικές επιγραφές και στις καταγραφές των δωρεών στους κώδικες λειτουργούσε ως διπλότυπο απόδειξης, και εξασφάλιζε νομικά την ανταλλαγή για την εκκλησία και για τον αφιερωτή. Πιο σπάνια στις επιγραφές αναγράφεται και η ποινή για τυχόν αθέτηση της συναλλαγής ή κατάχρηση, δηλαδή ο αφορισμός, ο οποίος αποτελούσε το μοναδικό αλλά ισχυρότατο επιτίμιο στη διάθεση της Εκκλησίας.

Οι δωρητές προσδιορίζονται από το πατρώνυμο, το επίθετο, την καταγωγή, το παρτσούκλι, τον τιμητικό τίτλο –*άρχων*, *κύρ* ή *κυρίτση*– ή το επάγγελμά τους. Ο πλέον συνηθισμένος, όμως, χαρακτηρισμός είναι αυτός του προσκυνητή ή χατζή, αυτού δηλαδή που έχει εκπληρώσει το άγραφο καθήκον του προσκυνηματος στους Άγιους Τόπους. Τα αφιερώματα όσων επωνύμων έχουν ταυτιστεί ξεχωρίζουν για την ποιότητα της τέχνης τους. Αυτό ισχύει ιδιαίτερα για τις δωρέες των ιεραρχών, οι επιγραφές των οποίων διακρίνονται για τη γλωσσική επάρκεια και το συχνά αρχαϊζόν ποιητικό ύφος.

Μια πληθώρα επαγγελμάτων αναφέρεται στις επιγραφές: γουναράδες, μπακάληδες, λαδάδες, λιναράδες, μπογιατζήδες, ρολογάδες, χρυσοχόοι, υφασματέμποροι, ξυλουργοί, μεταλλορύχοι. Στις περισσότερες περιπτώσεις τα αφιερώματα είναι συλλογικά, προερχόμενα από τις συντεχνίες των οποίων ο οικονομικός και κοινωνικός ρόλος στην οργάνωση των χριστιανών



της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας υπήρξε καθοριστικός. Τα συλλογικά αφιερώματα, είτε των συντεχνιών είτε της τοπικής κοινότητας ή ενορίας, γίνονται συνήθως με τη συνδρομή των επιτρόπων της εκκλησίας που αναλαμβάνουν το συντονισμό και την επιμέλεια της δωρεάς. Ο ρόλος των επιτρόπων ήταν καταρχάς εκτελεστικός και διαχειριστικός, αλλά προοδευτικά απέκτησε ρυθμιστική και πολιτική ισχύ. Η συχνή αναγραφή των ονομάτων τους στις επιγραφές, από το β' μισό του 18ου αιώνα και μετά, υπογραμμίζει τις γενι-

κότερες αλλαγές που συντελούνται, και το σταδιακό μετασχηματισμό της δωρεάς από συμβολική και πνευματική ανταλλαγή σε κοινωνική και κοινοτική λειτουργία. Οι οθωμανικές μεταρρυθμίσεις του 19ου αιώνα θεσμοθετούν τις αλλαγές αυτές, αποδεσμεύουν τις κοινοτικές λειτουργίες από την προστασία της Εκκλησίας και επιτρέπουν τη διοχέυση των δωρεών για την ανέγερση νοσοκομείων ή σχολείων, σκοπούς, δηλαδή, με διαφορετικό ιδεολογικό πλαίσιο που καθορίζεται από το εθνικό κέντρο της Αθήνας.