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. 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.

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 ΕΞΑΠΤΕΡΥΓΑ ΑΦΙΕΡΩΘΗΣΑΝ (The present flabella were dedicated).

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

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

Motivation: ΥΠΕΡ ΨΥΧΗΚΙΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΓΟΝΕΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΓΕΝΙΑΣ (For the salvation of the souls of his parents Demetrios the pilgrim and Eugenia).

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

Craftsman: ΠΟΝΟΣ ΔΕ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΥΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ (The work of Ioannis the son of Constata. Of Georgios).

In their shorter form they mention only the date and/or the donor: ΣΑΒΑΣΟΥΛΤΑΝ 1801 (Sava Sultan 1801).
Fig. 1. Parcel-gilt silver flabellum inscribed on the handle. From the church of the Virgin in Argyroupolis, 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: EN ΤΗ ΜΟΝΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΝΔΟΞΟΝ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝ ΕΥΣΤΡΑΤΗΟΥ ΑΥΞΕΝΤΗΟΥ ΕΥΓΕΝΗΟΥ ΜΑΡΔΑΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΕΣΤΟΥ ΕΠΑΡΧΙΑ ΗΣ ΠΟΡ (In the monastery of the glorious martyrs, Eustratios, Auxentios, Eugenios, Mardarios and Orestis in the province of Iconion in Bor).
Contributor: ΕΠΗΣΤΑΣΙΑ ΓΕΩΡΠΟΥ (With the supervision of Georgios).
Date: ΑΨΝΒ ΔΕΚΕΒΡΗΟΥ (December 1752).

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: 'Υπέρ ψυχικής σωτηρίας (For the salvation of the soul) or Δέησις τον δούλου του Θεού (The supplication of the servant of God) or Διά συνδρομής καί δαπάνης του δούλου τού Θεού (Through the contribution and expenditure of the servant of God) or Μνήσιμα Κύριε (Remember O Lord) are stereotyped devotional phrases met on Byzantine silverware or in founders’ inscriptions. 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. Dedication 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 ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΚΑΙΡΟΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΕΥΞΑΝ ΕΝ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΞΕΡΟΙΣ ΑΝΑΔΡΑΣΑΝ ΟΥΝΟΜΑ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΙΣ ΥΨΙΜΕΔΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΩΝ 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).
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. 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 εις μνημόσυνον (in memory) or να 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 ΥΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΣΑΙΟΥ 1865 (Dedicated by Kyr Manolis to the memory of his son Isaiah 1865). Commemoration services could be held for the salvation of the soul of a deceased person, ΑΦΙΕΡΩΘΕΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡ ΜΑΝΟΛΗ ΕΙΣ ΜΝΗΜΟΣΥΝΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΥΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΣΑΙΟΥ 1865 (Dedicated by Kyr Manolis to the memory of his son Isaiah 1865) or εις τα ζωντανά (to the living) for people expecting to be commemorated before and after their death, ΑΦΗΕΡΟΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΣΝΑΦΗ ΤΟΝ ΤΟΥΑΚΕΡΗΔΩΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΜΝΗΜΟΣΗΝΟΝ (Dedication of the guild of masons for the memorial service).

The Church and religious writers encouraged and institutionalized philanthropic activity, which took on the attribute of a highly regarded act of social behaviour. 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.

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 ΚΙΡΙΕ ΣΗΝΧΟΡΕΣΟΝ ΚΕ ΣΟΣΟΝ ΚΕ ΔΗΑΘΙΛΑΣΟΝ ΔΕΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΝΗΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΧΗΝΗΤΙΟΥ ΚΕ ΤΟΝ ΓΟΝΕΟΝ ΚΕ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ 1788 (Remember O Lord your pious servants, Nikolakis the pilgrim and his parents and children 1788). On another chalice the motivation is completely lacking: ΣΙΝΔΡΟΜΙ ΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΜΙΧΑΛΑΚΗ ΠΩΝ ΠΑΝΙ (The contribution of the churchwardens Mihalakis and Yannis). 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 αφιέρωμα or αφιερώδη. The remainder stress ownership by a church or person, for example the formula κτήμα τον (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: ΑΙΑ ΔΑΠΑΝΗ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΖΑΦΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΧΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΥ (At the expense of Christodoulos the son of Tzafos in the church of St Ignatios in Kios).

It seems that the donor was less anxious for spiritual reward than for recognition of his civic benevolence. 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. 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.
Dedications and Donors of 17th to 19th century church silver

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: ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ 1682 (Georgios the pilgrim, the son of Kyriazis, dedicated to the church of St George in Ankara 1682) and elsewhere on the handle ΧΟΥΡΜΟΥΖΙΟΣ ΧΡΥΣΟΧΟΣ (Hormouzis the goldsmith). Less often the donation is actually offered directly to a saint, in the same way as property might be transferred to an individual: ΔΕΙΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΝΗΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑ ΣΤΟ ΜΙΧΑΙΛ ΑΡΧΑΝΚΕΛΟ ΕΙΣ ΤΙΝ ΚΕΣΑΡΙΑ 1820 (The supplication of your servant Nikolaos, a dedication to the Archangel Michael in Caesarea 1820).

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. 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: ΕΙΣ ΧΟΡΙΟΝ ΚΟΥΡΤΟΓΛΟΥ (In the village of Kourtoglou), ΕΙΣ ΠΑΛΟΥΚ ΠΑΖΑΡΙ (In Balk Pazar, the fish market of Adrianople), ΣΕ ΤΗΝ ΚΟΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΥΑΣ ΗΣ ΤΟ ΚΕΡΜΗΡΝ (In Kermira near the town of Caesarea in (fig, 4), or ΠΛΗΣΙΟΝ ΣΕΡΡΑΣ (Near Serres). Sometimes the province was also specified, either by geographical/eclesiastical designation ΕΙΣ ΧΟΡΙΟΝ ΜΕΣΟΠΟΤΑΜΗΑΝ ΟΝ ΗΝΟΝΟΜΑΖΕ ΤΗΡΠΕΚΙΡΗ (In the province of Mesopotamia, called Tiyarbekir), or strictly ecclesiastically ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗΣ ΧΑΛΔΙΑΣ (Of the see of Chaldia), or even following the Ottoman administrative division ΕΠΑΡΧΙΑ ΥΚΩΝΟΥ (The province of Iconion).

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, ΚΕΡΜΙΡΛΙ ΝΑΡΙΝΟΓΛΟΥ ΑΝΑΝΙΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΚΟΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΥΑΣ ΗΣ ΤΟ ΚΕΡΜΗΡ (Donated by Ananias Nardinoglou from Kermir to the monastery of St John); the Karamanli Ananias Narinoglu from Kermira made a donation to the monastery of St John the Forerunner in the village of Zincidere near Caesarea.
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 Bafra: ΟΥΤΟΣ Ο ΔΙΣΚΟΣ ΑΦΙΕΡΩΘΙ ΑΠΙ ΤΝΙ ΠΑΦΡΑ ΗΣ ΚΕΣΑΡΙΑΝ ΣΤΟΝ ΤΙΜΙΟΝ ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟ ΔΙΑ ΧΙΡΟΣ ΧΑΤΖΗ ΣΙΝΑΝ (This dish was donated by [the Christians of] Bafra to Caesarea to the venerable [monastery of the] Forerunner. [Made] by the hand of Hatzi-Sinan) (fig. 4).27

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.28

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
Dedications and Donors of 17th to 19th century church silver
ΔΙΣΚΟΣ, ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΑ ΘΕΙΑ Κ(αι) ΙΕΡΑ ΕΞΑΠΤΕΡΙ(Γ)Α, Ο ΠΑΡΩΝ ΑΡΤΥΡΟΧΡΥΣΟΣ ΔΙΣΚΟΣ (This dish, these sacred and holy flabella, the present silver-gilt dish). 29

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(αχζη) ΚΟΣΤΑΝΤΗΣ (Hatzi-Konstantis dedicated this). 30 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. 31

What impelled the authorities of a church to compile a codex Eίς πλείονα ασφάλεια και φύλαξιν των τοιούτων κτιμάτων (For the greater security and protection of such possessions and offerings) 33 and εν’ ασφαλεία κρείττονι... παραδίδομεν ταῖς χερσί...τῶν ἐπιτρόπων δι’ ἐγγραφού καταστίκον ἐπί τῷ φυλάττειν αὐτά ἐν ασφαλείᾳ (For greater security...given into the hands...of the churchwardens through a written register to keep them in safety). 34

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. 35 Thus it is not surprising to find the corresponding formula inscribed on a silver oil-lamp: ΤΟ ΠΑΡΩΝ ΚΑΝΔΙΛΙΟΝ ΥΠΑΡΧΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΥΡΟΥ Χ(ΡΙΣΤ)ΟΥ ΣΤΗ Θ(ΕΟΤΟΚ)ΩΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΖΟΜΕΝΟ ΖΑΠΟ(Ρ)ΔΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΙ ΤΗΣ ΒΟΥΛΗΘΗ ΑΠΟΞΕΝΟ(ΣΑΙ) ΑΥΤΑ ΝΑ ΕΧΗ ΤΑΣ ΑΡΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΤΙΗ (318) ΘΕΟΦΟΡΩΝ ΠΑΤΕΡ(ΩΝ) ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ ΛΑΙΤΟΣ ΣΩΦΡΟΝΙΟΥ ΥΕ(ΡΟΜΟΝΑ)Χ(ΟΥ) ΚΑΤΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΟΥ ΚΟΠΟΣ ΕΡΓΟ ΧΕΙΡΩΝ ΔΕ ΓΑΝΗ ΤΟΥ ΕΚ
Dedications and Donors of 17th to 19th century church silver

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

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.

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), place of origin ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΥΤΙΑΝΟΥ (Stephanos from Phytianna), surname ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΡΚΟΝΟΞΗ (Panagiotis son of Demetrios Karvonoglisi), nickname ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΡΟΤΟΡΙΟΥ ΚΟΥΤΤΟΥΚΟΥ (Kyr Gregorios kicük ust [the short master]), title ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡ Χ(ατζη) ΚΗΡΙΑΚΗ ΚΥΡ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΗ Κ(αι) ΚΗΡ Χ(ατζή) ΑΝΔΡΙΑΔΗ (from Kyr Hatzi-Kyriakis, Kyr Apostolis and Kyr Hatzi-Andriadis) or profession, such as with the money lender, sarraf, Mahales: ΤΑΦΕΡΩΜΑ ΕΚ ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗΣ ΤΟΥ Χ(ατζη) ΣΑΡΑΦ ΜΑΧΑΛΕΣ ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ 1856 ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 8 (Donated with the assistance of the money-lender Mahales, 8 March 1856). 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 χάτζης or the adjective προσκυνητής to the name of the pilgrim. Thus, on a silver chalice: ΚΤΗΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΥΣΑΑ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΗΧΑΗΛ ΥΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΙΩΣΗΦ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΤΟΥ ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑ ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΟΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΙΡΟΝΟΣ ΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΚΟΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΥΑΣ ΤΟΝ 1751 ΣΕΙΡΩΝΙΟΥ Α (1751) (The property of Isaak 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). 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 χάτζης 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). Lay donors with important social status are differentiated by their title, as is the case with the above mentioned ΑΡΧΟΝ ΧΑΤΖΗ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΗ (Lord Hatzi-Athanasis) or with ΚΥΡ ΛΑΜΠΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΥΟΥ ΧΑΡΙΤΟΝΟΣ (Kyr Lambrianos the son of Chariton) and ΚΙΡΙΤΖΙ ΛΑΣΚΑΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΙΡΙΤΖΙ ΜΑΥΡΟΥΔΗ (Kyritzis Laskaris and Kyritzis Mavroudis). Κιρ or the
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diminutive κνρίτση are a manner of polite or respectful address to a lay or clerical person, always accompanied by a name, office or profession. Both ἀρχων and κνρ 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.

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: ΤΑΦΕΡΩΜΑ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ (The offering of Demetrios the priest) or ΤΟ ΧΑΛΔΙΑΣ ΣΙΑΒΕΣΤΡΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΤΟ ΜΗΣΩΗΝΙΤΙ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΔΩΚΘ (1827) (Silvester [Metropolitan] of Chaldia donated this O Lord remember your servant 1827). 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 κτήμα του as in ΚΤΗΜΑ ΑΡΧΙΘΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΠΑΔΟΚΙΑΣ ΟΥ ΚΛΗΣΙΣ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΟς δ’ Ε ΑΓΙΑΣ ΜΑΡΙΝΗΣ ΕΝ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΝΤΙ ΜΑΡΤΙΟΣ 1871 (The property of the church of Agia Marina in Trebizond, March 1871).

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 ΤΕΟΝΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΥΣΑΙΟΙΤΩΝ 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 ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΜΑΝΑΣΤΙΡΙ Β(Α)ΓΙΕΛΙΣΤΡΙ 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 (fig. 7). The formulas ΚΤΗΜΑ + genitive or ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙ ΚΤΗΜΑ, ΠΕΦΥΚΕ, ΚΕΙΜΗΛΙΟΝ, are also used with church property: Τ ΚΤΗΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΜΑΡΙΝΗΣ ΕΝ ΝΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΝΤΙ ΜΑΡΤΙΟΣ 1871 (The property of the church of Agia Marina in Trebizond, March 1871).

The expression πέφνκα —I am or exist by natural laws—as in ΔΙΣΚΟΣ ΑΡΓΥΡΟΥ ΠΕΦΥΚΑ (I am a silver dish) 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 (Hatzi-Sinan 1782) and on a dish...
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 Κετσζή, 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 ΧΑΤΖΗΠΑΝΑΠΩΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΤΖΗΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΚΑΤΣΑΙΤΖΗ (Hatzi-Panayiotis and Hatzi-Theodoros Ketzetzi) and offered to the archiépiscopal church of the town.

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 ΑΠΙΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ. ΔΙΜΗΤΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΟΡΟΛΟΓΑΣ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΑ ΗΛΙΑΤΖΗΣ 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 ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΕΥΟΝΤΟΥ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙ ΛΙΝΑΡΑ ΖΑΦΙΡΙ ΜΠΑΚΑΛΙ ΚΟΣΑΝΤΙΝΗ ΝΗΓΙΟΛΑ ΠΟΥΡΓΟΤΖΗΠΑΣΙ ΣΤΟ ΧΡΗΣΤΟ 1765 (Nicholas the master screw-maker donates this to Christ 1765) (fig. 9).

The dedication at ΤΕΝΕΚ ΜΑΤΕΝΙ ΑΠΙΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΝΑΙΝΙΚΗΛΗ ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟ ΜΠΕΝΑΚΗ clearly refers to a madenci ustabaçi, a master miner by the name of Kostanti – who dedicated a gospel cover to the church of St George at Denek Maden. There are also professions associated with textiles and with items of costume such as the above mentioned ΧΑΤΖΗ or maker of felt (keçe), and the makers of the long robe of honour (kaftan) ΔΙ ΕΞΟΔΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΥΤΑΝΤΖΗΔΩΝ. There is a soap maker in Helenoupolis-Yalova, ΕΛΕΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΟΣ Ο ΣΑΠΑΝΤΖΗΣ Ο ΜΑΣΤΟΡΗΣ Ο ΠΑΠΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΕΤΟΣ 1815 (Papandreas the master soap-maker in Helenopolis, 1815), and the guild of makers of ceramic kitchen utensils, ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΗ ΚΥΡΙΕ Τ(ΩΝ) ΔΟΥΛΟΝ Τ(ΟΥ) ΡΟΥΦΕΤΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΤΖΟΥΚΑΛΑΔΩΝ 1780 (Remember, O Lord, your servants of the guild of tzoukalades). Familiar professions are often mentioned as surnames or father’s names: ΠΕΓΛΗΒΑΝΟΓΛΟΥ ΝΗΚΟΛΑΝΗΝ (Nicolas son of the wrestler). Quite unexpectedly, among these professions most appropriate to urban centers there is also a donation by shepherds: ΤΑΙΑ 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).

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: ΤΑΞΙΑΡΗΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΠΑΝΗΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΔΟΥΛΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΟΙΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΖΑΝΑΚ ΚΑΛΕΣΙ...
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. Skiadas).
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the important economic, administrative and social role played by guilds in the Ottoman empire and in particular in the so-called Christian miller.77 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.78 Their power, however, never challenged the Church’s prime authority; on the contrary guild activities and benefactions were channeled and directed by the Church.79 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: ΤΑΦΗΡΟΘΙ ΤΟ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΙΕΡΩΝ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΟ ΝΑΩ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΤΩΜΑΡΤΥΡ(ΟΣ) ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ 1758 ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΔΗΑ ΔΑΠΑΝΗΣ δε Και ΕΞΩΔΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙΡΙΩΤΗΤΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΜΝΗΜΟΣΥΝΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ 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).80 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 ΣΥΝΑΡΩΜΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΝΔΡΩΝΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΜΠΑΦΡΑΣ (The joint contribution of the Christians, men and women, of the town of Bafra)81 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(γ)ΗΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΚΙΝΗΤΟΥ ΠΕ(γ)ΗΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΚΙΝΗΤΟΥ 1816 (The contribution of the churchwarden Pegios the pilgrim 1816)82 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: ΤΟΥΤΟΙ Ο ΔΙΣΚΟΣ ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙ (χ) ΟΥ ΝΑΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΥΠΕΡΑΓΙΑΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΙΝΗΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΖΜΟΥ 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).83

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: ΔΙΣΚΩΝ ΕΜΕ ΧΡΥΣΕΩΝ ΝΕΟΦΥΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΕΝ ΚΑΙΡΟΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΕΥΞΑΝ ΕΗΣ ΔΑΠΑΝΗΣ ΣΟΙΣ

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Four parties are thus involved, the Metropolitan of Adrianople Neophytos, the guild of fur-makers, the churchwardens Angelis, Mihos and Kostantas, 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 Kolykarya. 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.

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 ΕΦΘΑΣΘΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΕΡΟΝ Τ(ου) ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΗΜΕΟΝ Χ(αζή) ΣΙΝΑΝ 1754 ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ (This gospel book was made during the churchwardenship of Symeon Hatzi-Sinan 1754).

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 ΣΙΝΑΣΕΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΣΥΝΑΡΜΟΛΟΓΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΥΡΙΤΖΗ ΛΑΣΚΑΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΡΙΤΖΗ ΜΑΥΡΟΥΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΩΝΑΝΔΡΗ ΑΠΕΡΓΙΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΧΗΟΥ ΚΑΤ ΕΤΟΣ ΕΤΗ 1690 (These were made by the assembly of the Christians and with the help of the churchwardens Kyritis Laskaris and Kyritis Mavroudis and Alexandris Apergis from Chios in the year 1690). 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.

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 Neophyto's 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: ΠΑΡΟΝ ΔΙΣΚΟΣ ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΜΕΤΟΧΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΤΑΦΟΥ (Γ)ΕΓΟΝΕ ΔΕ ΔΙ ΕΞΟΛΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΥΤΑΝΤΖΙΔΩΝ ΔΙΑ ΔΕ ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΩΝ Χ(ατζή) ΧΡΙΣΤΟΔΟΥΛΗ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΚΗ ΓΙΑΝΑΚΗ ΤΖΑΝΤΗ ΛΑΣΚΑΡΑΚΗ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΗ ΜΗΧΑΛΑΚΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΕΤΕΙ Χ(ριστού) 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, Vasilis, Mihalakis in the year Christ 1785, January). Around the omphalos: ΚΑΙ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΟΣΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΘΙΓΟΥΜΕΝΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΤΑΦΟΥ (When the venerable lord Basil was in office as Prior of the Holy Sepulchre). The help of the churchwardens ranks as equal with the grant given by the guild of κανταντζέδες, 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. 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. 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 έφοροι, 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. 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 (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 ΝΟΣΩΤΟΡΕΙΟΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥΧ(ατζή) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ Χ(ατζή) ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΜΟΤΑΦΙ 1854 (Dedicated to the hospital by Hatzi-Vasileios the son of Hatzi-Georgios Moutafi 1854).

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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).


2. Published collections of inscriptions mainly come from the large monasteries of Greece, see for example G. Millet, G. Pargue, L. Petit, Requiel des inscriptions chrétiennes de l’Athos (Paris 1904); D. P. Paschalides, Moni Zoodochou Pigi (Athens 1959); A. Papadopoulos, Η Καππαδοκία μετά τη Χριστιανική Ανατολή (Athens 1990) 234.


4. Chatzidaki 17 no 75.


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.


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.


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.


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


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

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 1991* (Athens 1991) fig. 2. See also nos 32 and 48; Fotopoulos, Delivorrias (n. 8) 364 fig. 607.


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

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


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. 8g.

41. Chatzidaki 16 no 69; see Ballian (n. 24) 17-18 pl. ΙΙ.1.

42. Chatzidaki 15, no 65.

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


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 κυρ 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.


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


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 Αργυρόλις του Πόντου, Pontiaki Estia 6 (1959) 2567.
62. Unpublished inscriptions, nos 34144 μαγιάς, dealer in oil) and 34354 μποζμάτζη: (bozmaci, 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 Şebin 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 ρουφέτσι and εσνάφι 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 11/1 (1970) 28-50; for the term millet and its meaning, see B. Braude, Foundation Myths and Celt in the Ottoman Empire: the function of a plural society (New York 1982) II 69-88; see also EI² 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, Αθανάσιος Κομνηνός Υψιλάντος Εκκλησιαστικά και Πολιτικά των εις Δώδεκα Βιβλία Η' Θ΄ ποιο Τα Μετα την Αλωσιν (1453-1789) (Constantinople 1870) 308.
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, Thakika 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.
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.
ΑΝΝΑ ΜΠΑΛΛΙΑΝ
Αφιερωματικές επιγραφές και δωρητές στα εκκλησιαστικά ασημικά 17ου-19ου αιώνα

Λόγω της αρκετά δραματικής και ιστορικής σημασίας του θέματος, το ερώτημα θεωρείται παράγοντα της εκκλησίας και του παραπομπικού 

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 καραμανλίδικες, δηλ. στα τουρκικά ή σε μια μείγμα τουρκικών και ελληνικών γραμμών, γραμμένες ως ελληνική γραφή. Οι επιγραφές σε ασημικά από εκκλησιατικούς χώρους παρουσιάζουν τον ίδιο τύπο επιγραφών που είναι γενικότερα κοινός στα αφιερώματα των χριστιανών της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας.

Οι επιγραφές σε θρησκευτικά αφιερώματα υπονοούν την πράξη της δωρεάς με τη ρητή ή λανθανούσα πρόθεση να αποκομίσει ο αφιερωτής ως αντίδωρ, πνευματικά οφέλη. Πρόκειται για μια συμβολική ανταλλαγή όπου η σωτηρία της ψυχής του δωρητή, η άφεση αμαρτιών και η μνημόνευση την ημέρα της Κρίσεως είναι το ζητούμενο αντίτιμο. Η τυπολογία των επιγραφών αναπαράγει τη φρασεολογία των βυζαντινών κτητορικών επιγραφών: Υπέρ ψυχικής σωτηρίας, Δέησις τον δούλου τον Θεού, Μνήστη Κύριε.

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 χριστιανοί καταγράφονται με βάση την προέλευσή τους. Οι επιγραφές διακρίνονται από έντονο πνεύμα τοπικών επιγραφών: ούτος ό δίσκος ή το δονοτό για την εκκλησία και για τον αφιερωτή. Πιο σπάνια στις επιγραφές αναγράφεται και η ποινή για τυχόν αθέτηση της συναλλαγής ή καταχρήση, δηλαδή ο αφορισμός, ο οποίος αποτελούσε το μοναδικό αλλά ισχυρότατο επιτίμιο στη διάθεση της Εκκλησίας.
της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας υπήρξε καθοριστικός. Τα συλλογικά αφιερώματα, είτε των συντεχνών 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 γενικότερες αλλαγές που συντελούνται, και το σταδιακό μετασχηματισμό της δωρεάς από συμβολική και πνευματική ανταλλαγή σε κοινωνική και κοινωνική λειτουργία. Οι οθωμανικές μεταρρυθμίσεις του 19ου αιώνα θεσμοθετούν τις αλλαγές αυτές, αποδεσμεύουν τις κοινωνικές λειτουργίες από την προστασία της Εκκλησίας και επιτρέπουν τη διοχέτευση των δωρεών για την ανέγερση νοσοκομείων ή σχολείων, σκοπούς, δηλαδή, με διαφορετικό ιδεολογικό πλαίσιο που καθορίζεται από το εθνικό κέντρο της Αθήνας.