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Byzantine Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits (7th–15th c.)

A Project in Progress at the University of Athens

Abstract: The project *Byzantine Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits (7th–15th c.)* began in the late 1990s at the Department of Archaeology and Art History of the University of Athens under the supervision of the author with the participation of post-graduate students. The main objective of the project is the collection and registration of foundation and dedicatory inscriptions as well as of donor portraits in Byzantine churches, primarily of mainland Greece and the islands and secondarily of other regions, with the declared aim of studying patronage and its different patterns. The collected material is organized in four interrelated databases, concerning the Monuments, the Inscriptions, the Portraits, and the Persons. In addition to the above mentioned main objective, the information registered in the databases offers abundant and multifarious evidence that allows comments, insights and interpretations on the political, ecclesiastical, ideological, social, demographic, cultural and art historical context.

THE INTERRELATED DATABASES. DESCRIPTION AND FUNCTION

Constructed with the help of the Filemaker application¹ the collected material is organized in four interrelated databases concerning the Monuments, the Inscriptions, the Portraits, and the Persons.

The Monuments' Database refers only to religious foundations and not to secular buildings, such as fortifications. Each monument is documented in a separate record containing multiple fields that cover a variety of information concerning its identity (name, place, geographical co-ordinates), documented or conjectural date, information from written sources, and bibliography with emphasis on the major publication. Of importance for the documentation of the monuments are the fields which include a short reference to the architectural type as well as brief information on the iconographic layout and the style of the mural paintings. Code numbers of the inscriptions and the portraits serve as links to the next databases.

The Inscriptions' Database includes separate records for each inscription; inscriptions belonging to the same monument are grouped together using common digits in their identification codes. This enables the user to examine the entirety of the inscriptions located within the same building. The records contain the following information: Identity and date, both interrelated to the Monuments' Database, category of context and function (dedicatory, invocative, supplicatory, funerary, independent inscription or accompanying a portrait, etc.), type of patronage as deduced from the content of the inscription (foundation, renovation, decoration), location within the church and state of preservation, relation to the iconographic programme, i.e. reference to the adjacent scenes, material (marble, stone, brick, plaster) and technique (incised, carved in relief, painted), measurements, bibliography with indication of the main publication. Palaeographic data includes the characterization of the letters as uncial or miniscule, the reference to accents, breathings, punctuation, ligatures, abbreviations, monograms, and symbols. Spelling errors are denoted analytically, recording all the words containing mistakes, and quantitatively based on the percentage of mistakes in the entirety of syllables of the inscription. There is also information on the language, whether scholarly, simplified, metrical, prose, or mixed. The number of lines / verses, of words and of syllables is also indicated. The documentation of each inscription is complemented with diplomatic editions and/or transcriptions, depending on bibliography and the availability of reliable images. The full text of the inscription is copied and accompanied by a photograph. The names of each person mentioned in an inscription are entered in separate fields connecting the Inscriptions' Database to the Persons' Database.

¹ Filemaker 4 was used initially; in the meantime it has been upgraded to 8,5 Advanced. The databases were constructed by Tasos Bellas.

The Portraits' Database is structured in a similar way. Moreover, the portraits are directly linked with their accompanying inscriptions, where applicable, while all portraits and inscriptions from the same monument are automatically grouped together and linked to the corresponding record in the Monuments' Database. Each portrait is documented with a separate record comprising information on the portraits depicted, which belong primarily to donors and supplicants and less frequently to emperors. Identity, date, state of preservation, location within the church or on its facades, the iconographic context, i. e. its possible relation to adjacent scenes, the scale of male or female donors and their children in relation to each other and to the holy persons they address, are among the data offered. The type of portrait, i. e. whether it represents an isolated person, a couple, a family, or a group, including interrelated persons, is stated. There is a detailed description of posture, gesture, garments and offering, and the holy person whom the donor or dedicator addresses is indicated. The portraits are also classified according to their content and function (portraits of patrons, supplicants, deceased etc.). Bibliography and a photograph complement the data.

The Database of the Persons gathers together information on all the persons mentioned in the inscriptions or depicted. Each person is documented in a single record listing name and functions, attributes, offices, titles and profession. They need not only be the patrons of the monument, of its painted decoration or of part of it, but also the painter(s) or other craftsmen. Moreover, they may be the Byzantine emperors or other rulers, patriarchs, bishops, abbots, etc. that are mentioned in the inscription or depicted on the walls of the church either to indicate the date or the relationship of the patrons to the political and ecclesiastical authorities.

Special fields containing identification numbers and codes assigned to the inscriptions, portraits, and persons provide multiple links between the four databases. The software employed enables multiple searches within all the fields of all four databases. A full list of the abbreviated bibliography complements the databases. The regions that have been studied so far are: Constantinople, Cappadocia, Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, Aitolokarnania, Thessaly, Attica and Boeotia, Peloponnese, Crete, the islands of the Aegean and the Ionian.

OBJECTIVES AND POSSIBILITIES

In addition to the main objective of the project, i. e. the collection of the foundation and dedicatory inscriptions and donor portraits in Byzantine churches, with the declared aim of studying patronage and its different patterns, the information registered in the databases offers abundant and multifarious evidence that allows insights and interpretations on a political, ecclesiastical, ideological, social, demographic, cultural and art historical level.

The Inscriptions' and the Portraits' Databases provide rich testimony to patronage schemes. Inscriptions of the Middle Byzantine period, for example, testify to the role of ecclesiastical and state officials in church patronage. Among the inscriptions in the database, we find, for instance, that of the bishop of Skyros Sabbas, who erected the episcopal church on the island of Skyros in 895.² An inscription of the year 1052 engraved on a marble cornice, re-used in the belfry tower of the church of the Virgin Protothroni in Chalki on Naxos, bears testimony to the collaboration of the ecclesiastical, administrative and military authorities of the island; namely, it records the renovation of what was probably the episcopal church, by Bishop Leon, the Tourmarches of Naxos Protospatharios Niketas and by *Comes* Stephanos Kamelares.³

A series of church inscriptions dating from the late 9th to the 11th century, preserved in towns and in the countryside of Greek provinces, and registered in the Inscriptions' Database show the role of eminent personalities bearing civic offices and titles who are related to imperial authority and obviously represent and promote it. For example, Basileios, a *basilikos kandidatos*, erected the church of St. Gregory the Theologian

² Ch. BOURAS, Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς Σκύρου. *DChAE* IV 2 (1960–1961) 66.

³ M. PANAYOTIDI, La peinture monumentale en Grèce de la fin de l'icônoclasme jusqu'à l'avènement des Comnènes (843–1081). *CahArch* 34 (1986) 100 and n. 128; N. ZIAS, Πρωτόθρονη στο Χαλκί, in: Βυζαντινὴ Τέχνη στην Ελλάδα. Νάξος (ed. M. CHATZIDAKIS). Athens 1989, 30–49; A. RHOBY, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein. Vienna 2014, 315–318.

in Thebes in 872.⁴ Leon, a *basilikos protospatharios* and *epi ton oikiakon*, probably a local landowner, is the patron of the church of the Virgin at Skripou, ancient Orchomenos, in the vicinity of Thebes (873–874).⁵ As has been analysed, the dedication of the eastern chapels to the leading apostles Peter and Paul and the mention of the Patriarch Ignatios, the opponent of Photios, in one of the inscriptions imply the Boeotian patron's standpoint in favor of the imperial ecclesiastical policy concerning relations with the Pope.⁶

Similar patronage schemes are found in the 11th century as recorded in church inscriptions. Thus, the *Basilikos Protospatharios* and *Katepano Lagoubardias* (governor of Southern Italy) Christophoros built the church of the Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessalonike as his mortuary church in 1028⁷ and the *Spatharokandidatos* Nikolaos Kalomalos renovated the church of Sts Theodore in Athens, probably in the first half of the 11th century.⁸ Thus, the prominent role of state and ecclesiastical officers in patronage in the middle Byzantine period reflects state policy in the Greek provinces.

During the 12th century, particularly towards its end, inscriptions and donor portraits testify to a shift in patronage from officials representing central authority to the regional aristocratic class. Now it was the local aristocracy that played a predominant role as patron of religious foundations, both in towns and in the country. Characteristic examples are found in two churches of Kastoria. A noble couple, Nikephoros Kasnitzes and his wife Anna, are depicted in the narthex of the church of Hagios Nikolaos tou Kasnitze (ca. 1170).⁹ Theodoros Lemniotes and his noble wife Anna Radene are represented in the north aisle of the church of the Holy Anargyroi (1180–90).¹⁰ Radene's extravagant garments, jewellery and hair-style, the scholarly language of the inscriptions, and the quality of the frescoes bear testimony to the wealth and taste of these local aristocrats.

The dissemination of imperial policy and ideology in the provinces through local ecclesiastical or administrative and military authorities also becomes evident in the late Byzantine period. Portraits of the first Palaiologan emperors in restored monastic churches along the Egnatia, such as the Panagia Mavriotissa near Kastoria¹¹ and the katholikon of the Virgin in Apollonia,¹² in conjunction with portraits of the abbots of the aforementioned monasteries, testify to the imperial policy of restoring crucial parts of the newly recovered regions across the northern border of the Empire. Imperial effigies of Andronikos II Palaiologos, Michael IX, and Andronikos III in the narthex of the church of Hagia Triada in the Byzantine castle of Berat, in south-

⁴ G. SOTIRIOU, Ὁ ἐν Θήβαις βυζαντινὸς ναὸς Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου. *Archaiologike Ephemeris* 1924, 1–26; RHOBY, op. cit. 366–368.

⁵ N. OIKONOMIDÈS, Pour une nouvelle lecture des inscriptions de Skripou en Béotie. *TM* 12 (1994) 479–493; A. PAPALEXANDROU, Text in Context: eloquent monuments and the Byzantine beholder. *Word and Image* 17/3 (2001) 259–283; O. PRIETO-DOMÍNGUEZ, On the Founder of the Skripou Church: Literary Trends in the Milieu of Photios. *GRBS* 53 (2013) 166–191; RHOBY, op. cit. 319–324.

⁶ OIKONOMIDÈS, Pour une nouvelle lecture 492–493.

⁷ K. PAPADOPOULOS, Die Wandmalereien des XI. Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων in Thessaloniki. Graz – Köln 1966, 12.

⁸ Ch. BOURAS, Βυζαντινὴ Ἀθήνα, 10^{ος}–12^{ος} αἰ. Athens 2010, 173–184, esp. 179. On the inscriptions and the date, see A. H. S. MEGAW, The Date of H. Theodoroi at Athens. *ABSA* 33 (1932–33) 163–169; A. XYNGOPOULOS, Αἱ ἐπιγραφαὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν Ἁγίων Θεοδώρων ἐν Ἀθήναις. *EEBS* 10 (1933) 494–497; V. LAURENT, Nicolas Kalomalos et l'église des Saints Théodore à Athènes. *Hell* 7 (1934) 72–82.

⁹ St. PELEKANIDIS – M. CHATZIDAKIS, Καστοριά. Athens 1984, 50–65; E. DRAKOPOULOU, Η πόλη της Καστοριάς τη βυζαντινὴ και μεταβυζαντινὴ ἐποχὴ (12^{ος}–16^{ος} αἰ.). *Ιστορία, Τέχνη, Επιγραφές*. Athens 1997, 31–32, 41–44; M. PANAYOTIDI, Η προσωπικότητα δύο ἀρχόντων της Καστοριάς και ο χαρακτήρας της πόλης στο δεύτερο μισό του 12^{ου} αιώνα, in: Δώρον. Τιμητικός τόμος στον καθηγητὴ Νίκο Νικονάνο. Thessaloniki 2006, 157–167, esp. 157–159.

¹⁰ DRAKOPOULOU, Η πόλη της Καστοριάς 32–34, 44–53; E. KYRIAKOUDIS, Ὁ κτίτορας τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀναργύρων Καστοριάς Θεόδωρος (Θεόφιλος) Λημνιώτης. *Balkanika Symmeikta* 1 (1981) 3–23; PELEKANIDIS – CHATZIDAKIS, Καστοριά 22–49, esp. 38–43; M. PANAYOTIDI, Donor personality traits in 12th century painting. Some examples, in: Byzantium matures. Choices, sensitivities, and modes of expression (eleventh to fifteenth centuries) (ed. Ch. ANGELIDI). Athens 2004, 158–165; EADEM, Η προσωπικότητα δύο ἀρχόντων 159–160.

¹¹ T. PAPAMASTORAKIS, Ἐνα εἰκαστικὸ ἐγκώμιο του Μιχαὴλ Η΄ Παλαιολόγου: οἱ ἐξωτερικὲς τοιχογραφίες στο καθολικὸ της μονῆς της Μαυριώτισσας στην Καστοριά. *DChAE* IV15 (1989–1990) 221–240.

¹² H. and H. BUSCHHAUSEN, Die Marienkirche von Apollonia in Albanien: Byzantiner, Normannen und Serben im Kampf um die Via Egnatia. Vienna 1976, 141–182.

ern Albania, together with the portrait of the Byzantine governor of the castle in the early 14th century reveal the implementation of imperial strategy with the help of local military authorities.¹³

In addition, information on the language of the inscriptions documented in the Inscriptions' Database – scholarly or simple, metrical or prose – allows conclusions concerning the level of education of commissioners and audience. The existence of local scholars capable of writing scholarly verses in certain regions, for example in Epiros,¹⁴ is verified. In addition, the spelling mistakes registered give an idea of the level of literacy of the painters who copied the inscriptions.¹⁵

The descriptions and photographs of the effigies of persons (donors, emperors etc.) contained in the Portraits' and Persons' Databases allow, among other things, remarks on fashion, hairstyle, relationships between man, wife, and children as well as between secular and holy persons. Moreover, the registration of iconographic scenes and holy figures adjacent to the inscriptions and portraits may lead to a discussion of the possible relationships between them and to the investigation of the preferences and choices of the patrons.

The Persons' Database, by recording all the names mentioned in the inscriptions – founders, supplicants, emperors, patriarchs, bishops, painters etc. – many of which are unknown from other sources, offers a rich thesaurus of persons, broadens our knowledge on the microhistory of each region and enriches the prosopographical data of the Byzantine period. In addition, the mention of the Byzantine emperor in certain 13th- and 14th-century churches in regions that did not belong to the Byzantine Empire at the time, such as the Venetian-held Crete or Seljuk-ruled Cappadocia,¹⁶ reveal the local population's ideological loyalty and adherence to the Emperor and the Orthodox tradition. The occasional recording of the name of a patriarch also shows the involvement of patrons in the ecclesiastical matters and controversies of the time.¹⁷

Painters' names are recorded in only few dedicatory inscriptions, primarily in village churches.¹⁸ Sometimes their place of origin is also mentioned. Combining the information drawn from the inscriptions with the stylistic features of the mural paintings, we are able to gain an insight into the painters' methods, the models they used, their way of working – alone, with an apprentice or organized in workshops – as well as the geographical range of their activities.

CASE STUDIES: CAPPADOCIA AND THE PELOPONNESE

The region of Cappadocia was the object of a separate research programme entitled "Patronage Patterns in Byzantine Cappadocia". It was financed by the Foundation of the Hellenic World, was technically supported by Tasos Bellas and was carried out during 1997–1999. Three, in that time postgraduate students, Georgia Foukaneli, Konstantina Tsiourou, and Anastasia Vasileiou, participated in the research, documentation and final presentation of the results. Based on extant bibliography, research focused on published religious foundations. Eighty-one monuments were documented, dating from the 6th to the 13th centuries, preserving evidence of patronage and involving 170 persons cited by name or anonymously.

¹³ A. CHRISTIDOU, Ερευνώντας την ιστορία μέσα από άγνωστα βυζαντινά αυτοκρατορικά πορτρέτα σε εκκλησίες της Αλβανίας, in: Ανταπόδοση. Μελέτες Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης προς τιμήν της καθηγήτριας Ελένης Δελιγιάννη-Δωρή. Athens 2010, 547–556.

¹⁴ V. KATSAROS, Λίγα λόγια στην επιγραφική του "Δεσποτάτου". Λόγιοι και διανοούμενοι κατά τον 13^ο αιώνα στην Ήπειρο με βάση τις έμμετρες επιγραφές του χώρου, in: Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου, Άρτα 27–31 Μαΐου 1990. Άρτα 1992, 517–544.

¹⁵ M. PANAYOTIDI, Οι γραμματικές γνώσεις των ζωγράφων. Ένα παράδειγμα σχετικού προβληματισμού από τη Μάνη. *DChAE* IV 24 (2003) 185–194; EADEM, Le peintre autant que scribe des inscriptions d'un monument et la question du niveau de sa connaissance grammaticale et orthographique, in: *L'artista a Bisanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale* (ed. M. BACCI). Pisa 2007, 71–116.

¹⁶ A. LYMBEROPOULOU, The Church of the Archangel Michael at Kavalariana. *Art and Society on Fourteenth-Century Venetian-Dominated Crete*. London 2006, 195–198; G. KIOURTZIAN, Une nouvelle inscription de Cappadoce du règne de Théodore Ier Laskaris. *DChAE* IV 29 (2008) 131–138, esp. 133–134.

¹⁷ See, for example, the church at Skripou, above n. 6 and 7.

¹⁸ S. KALOPISSI-VERTI, Painters in Late Byzantine Society. The Evidence of Church Inscriptions. *CahArch* 42 (1994) 139–158; EADEM, Painters' Information on Themselves in Byzantine Inscriptions, in: *L'artista a Bizanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale* 55–70.

In the final presentation complementary synthetic chapters were added to the databases. Part I comprised a historical and geographical introduction, chapters on the settlements, the road system, the role of the Orthodox church, artistic developments in comparison to other provinces of the Byzantine Empire, and the history of the scholarly study of the Christian monuments of Cappadocia with special focus on the problem of dating, as proposed by different scholars.¹⁹ In Part II the monuments were presented in chronological order and matters of patronage in conjunction with the quality of each monument, its architectural type, the iconographic layout and style were discussed. A concluding chapter and two tables were attached to this part: the conclusions treated the geographical distribution of the monuments, as well as the developments in patronage over time. The Tables outlined part of the results. Table I surveys the geographical distribution and includes data concerning location, church name, patron and his functions (office and title) as well as code-numbers-links to the databases. Table II shows the chronological distribution and the concentration of monuments in the 10th and 11th centuries as well as a cluster of painted churches in the 13th century when Cappadocia was under Seljuk rule.

The results of the project – databases and synthetic chapters – are on line at the website of the Faculty of History and Archaeology of the University of Athens (<http://byzantium.arch.uoa.gr/kappadokia/>). The databases used for this programme served as a model of the developed project presented above which expanded over several regions of the Byzantine Empire mainly in Greece. The same principles and methodology were used, although the research team was broadened (see note 37) and several visits in situ were realized.

The second case study is the Peloponnese where 223 inscriptions and 29 donor portraits located in 115 churches have so far been documented. As illustrated in the first diagram (Fig. 1), 75% of these churches include inscriptions, 22% donor portraits and only 3% both. The diagram showing the distribution of inscriptions by century (Fig. 2) demonstrates a very small number of extant inscriptions dating to the 8th/9th (1%) and 10th (1%) centuries. An increase is observed in the 11th century (13%) while in the 12th century it decreases to 6%. In the late Byzantine period there is a more or less steady growth over 20%: 24% in the 13th, 27% in the 14th, and 21% in the 15th century. It should be noted that the overwhelming majority of the extant 13th-century inscriptions belong to the last decades of the century and that the registered 15th-century inscriptions date up to the Turkish occupation of the Despotate in 1460. These percentages correspond with the interest of the Palaiologan emperors in this region immediately after the recovery of Constantinople by Michael VIII in 1261, with the victorious campaigns against the Franks of the Principality of the Morea, the foundation of Mistra and the later development of the Despotate under the administration of the Kantakuzenoi and the Palaiologoi.

In terms of content, most of the inscriptions across time regard patronage (41%) or supplication (26%) (Fig. 3). Of the 59 documented inscriptions referring to patronage, 18 are related to donations of both the construction and the painted decoration of a church; 17 are connected to construction and 15 to painted decoration, while 9 are related to a renovation (Fig. 4). The percentages of the categories referring to chrysobulls (2%) and episcopal acts (4%) are very low (Fig. 3). These official documents written on walls or columns are all related to churches of Mistra. In fact, the chrysobulls are painted on the walls of the NW chapel of the church of the Hodegetria of the Brontochion monastery and list the property of the church granted or confirmed by the Emperors Andronikos II and Michael IX.²⁰ The 14th-century episcopal acts are engraved on the columns of the Metropolis and are also related to the property granted to the metropolitan church.²¹

The interrelated databases of Monuments, Inscriptions, Portraits and Persons give abundant and varied information on patronage patterns, on persons unknown from other sources, on financial and demographic circumstances, on the educational level of the persons involved in a foundation. A sample is illustrated in Figures 9, 10, and 11.

¹⁹ The programme followed the chronology proposed by French scholars.

²⁰ G. MILLET, *Inscriptions byzantines de Mistra*. *BCH* 23 (1899) 100–118; S.E.J. GERSTEL, *Mapping the Boundaries of Church and Village. Ecclesiastical and Rural Landscapes in the Late Byzantine Peloponnese*, in: *Viewing the Morea. Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese* (ed. S.E.J. GERSTEL). Washington, D.C. 2013, 337–348.

²¹ MILLET, *Inscriptions byzantines* 122–127; GERSTEL, *Mapping the Boundaries of Church and Village* 348–352.

One of the aspects investigated with regard to patronage, as surmised from the Inscriptions' Database, is the measure of central authorities' involvement and the reasons for it on the one hand and the extent of participation by the local population on the other. The Mani, a remote region of the Peloponnese, offers examples of both categories. Imperial interest can already be traced in the 10th century. A *Comes* Dakios whose name is inscribed on a marble cornice found in the excavations of Tegani was most likely related to an officer of the imperial fleet which was involved in the conflicts with the Arabs in the 9th/10th century.²² An inscription from the year 991/92 in the church of St. Panteleimon at Boularioi, mentioning a priest-monk as *ktetor*, dates a group of churches with stylistically related mural paintings to the end of the 10th century. These monuments have been connected to the teaching of Nikon Metanoieite and the efforts of the central government to re-organize the Greek provinces after the recapture of Crete in 961 and the expulsion of the Arabs from the Aegean.²³

Contrariwise, the rich epigraphic evidence from 11th-century Maniot churches shows an intensive activation of different strata of the local population.²⁴ In fact, a number of private individuals, probably landowners, and low ranking clerics, mostly with their families and sometimes collaborating with each other in small groups, constitute the usual patron structure. In parallel, a group of local craftsmen, mainly marble-workers, seem to play a decisive role in art production in rural society of 11th-century Mani. On the other hand, not a single administrative or military officer, representative of the central authorities, is recorded in any inscription, nor is there a single reference to an emperor, facts that show a loose connection of the region to the central government. The situation is similar in the 12th century.²⁵

Imperial interest is evident again in the 13th century after the recovery of Constantinople by the Byzantines. The renovation inscription in the church of Sts Theodore in Kaphiona in the Mani, dated to the 1260s, mentions, besides the patrons, the bishop of the nearby Veligosti and his *syngellos*, the imperial couple, Michael VIII Palaiologos and Theodora, and the emperor's brother *Sevastokrator* Konstantinos who led the Byzantine troops in expeditions against the Franks.²⁶ Iconography and style follow the central artistic developments and it is evident that the local bishop promotes imperial policy.

Most interesting conclusions may be drawn from the inscriptions and portraits registered in the Metropolis of Mistra, erected and decorated soon after the surrender of the Frankish castle (1262) to the Byzantines and the transfer of the Metropolis of Lacedaimonia from Sparta to the newly founded city of Mistra. The deliberately erased portrait of the Metropolitan Theodosios, once depicted in the apse, reveals the ecclesiastical controversies at the time of the first two Palaiologoi regarding Church Union.²⁷

²² N.B. DRANDAKIS – N. GIOLES – Ch. KONSTANTINIDI, Ἀνασκαφή στο Τηγάκι τῆς Μάνης. *Praktika tes en Athenais Archaïologikes Hetaireias* 1978, 190, no. 14; A. AVRAMEA, Le Magne byzantin: problèmes d'histoire et de topographie, in: *Εὐψυχία. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler*. Paris 1998, I 56. On the testimony of the inscriptions in the Byzantine Mani, see S. KALOPISSI-VERTI, Επιγραφικές μαρτυρίες από τη βυζαντινή Μάνη, in: *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη για τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη. Πρακτικά* (ed. E. ELEUTHERIOU and A. MEXIA). Sparta 2008–2009, 89–97.

²³ M. PANAYOTIDI, Village Painting and the Question of Local "Workshops", in: *Les villages dans l'empire byzantin (IVe–XVe siècle)* (ed. J. LEFORT – C. MORRISON – J.-P. SODINI). Paris 2005, 196–199; EADEM, Σχολιάζοντας τους ζωγράφους. Μερικά παραδείγματα τοιχογραφιών από τη Μάνη, in: *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη* 223–225.

²⁴ S. KALOPISSI-VERTI, Epigraphic Evidence in Middle-Byzantine Churches of the Mani. Patronage and Art Production, in: *Λαμπηδών. Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη της Ντούλας Μουρίκη* (ed. M. ASPRA-VARDAVAKI). Athens 2003, I 339–346.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 346–349.

²⁶ N. B. DRANDAKIS, Les peintures murales des Saints-Théodores à Kaphiona (Magne du Peloponnèse). *CahArch* 32 (1984) 163–165; IDEM, Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες τῆς Μέσα Μάνης. Athens 1995, 74–77; S. KALOPISSI-VERTI, Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece, *Vienna* 1992, 66–67, no. 18; V. FOSKOLOU, "In the reign of the Emperor of Rome ..." Donor Inscriptions and Political Ideology in the Time of Michael VIII Paleologos". *DChAE* IV 27 (2006) 455–462. On the implementation of Michael VIII Palaiologos' policy as reflected in the monuments of the Peloponnese, S. KALOPISSI-VERTI, Aspects of Byzantine Art after the Recapture of Constantinople (1261 – c. 1300): Reflections of Imperial Policy, Reactions, Confrontation with the Latins, in: *Orient et Occident Méditerranéens au XIIIe siècle: les programmes picturaux* (ed. J.-P. CAILLET and F. JOUBERT). Paris 2012, 41–64.

²⁷ M. CHATZIDAKIS, Νεώτερα για τὴν ἱστορία καὶ τὴν τέχνη τῆς Μητρόπολης τοῦ Μυστρά. *DChAE* IV 9 (1977–1979) 143–179. On the church G. MARINOY, Ἅγιος Δημήτριος. Ἡ Μητρόπολις τοῦ Μυστρά. Athens 2002.

Other 13th-century inscriptions and donor portraits attest the role of local aristocrats in patronage, such as the couple depicted in the apse of the church of St. Kyriaki at Marathos, Mani, c. 1300,²⁸ and their involvement or interest in the developments of the central civic or ecclesiastical policies. For example the patron couple in the church of Panagia Chrysaphitissa (1291/92), by having the portrait of Patriarch Arsenios Autoreianos depicted in the sanctuary, expressed a pro-Arsenite attitude and their opposition to Michael VIII Palaiologos' policy.²⁹

A significant innovation in patronage schemes emerges in the late 13th century in the region of Mani as attested in a couple of foundation inscriptions. A shift from individual or cooperative patronage, based on collaboration between three or four lay donors or clerics or monks, to collective patronage³⁰ is observed, revealing the mass participation of the local rural population in the foundation or renovation of a village church. Although collective sponsorship seems to have already appeared in the Mani in the middle Byzantine period,³¹ it becomes a common practice in villages only in the last decades of the 13th century after the recovery of Constantinople by Michael VIII Palaiologos. This collectivity of the local rural population can be considered as an “answer” to imperial and aristocratic patronage. Characteristic examples are found in the churches of the Archangel Michael at Polemitas (1278),³² Hagios Nikolaos at Exo Nyphi (1284/85),³³ and Hagios Georgios at Kastania (1321),³⁴ where the collaboration of large numbers of the inhabitants of the local communities are attested. Moreover, the church of St. John the Forerunner in Kastania was founded, according to the inscription, by the *prokritoi*, i. e. the most prominent inhabitants of the village, and the common people (κοινὸς λαός).³⁵

Information on the typical offering of the *ktetors*, namely the model of the church they have founded or renovated, can be drawn from the Portraits' Database. These church models held by the donors or by persons who are depicted in their double function as living and deceased patrons, give a true image of the initial architectural type of the church so that one can recognize parts added later or missing today, such as annexes, belfries etc. The aforementioned dedicatory inscriptions of collective patronage, in which the offerings by each donor of very small fields and olive trees are enumerated, indicate the financial status of the agrarian population in the 13th-century rural communities in the Mani. Surprising testimony of the cultural level of an individual in the Mani, which is also unique in monumental painting, is the representation of a lay donor,

²⁸ KALOPISSI-VERTI, Dedicatory Inscriptions 101–102, figs. 95–97; EADEM, Patronage and Artistic Production in Byzantium during the Palaiologan Period, in: *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557). Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture* (ed. S. BROOKS). New York 2006, 85, fig. 52.

²⁹ J. ALBANI, Die byzantinischen Wandmalereien der Panagia Chrysaphitissa-Kirche in Chrysapha / Lakonien. Athens 2000; EADEM, Zu einem Patriarchenbildnis in der Kirche der Panagia Chrysaphitissa in Chrysapha auf der Peloponnes, in: *Byzantinische Malerei. Bildprogramme – Ikonographie – Stil* (ed. G. KOCH). Wiesbaden 2000, 9–23; A. KONTOGIANNOPOULOU, Το πορτρέτο του πατριάρχη Αρσενίου Αυτορειανού στην Παναγία Χρυσάφτισσα της Λακωνίας (1289/90). Μία προσπάθεια ιστορικής ερμηνείας. *Byzantiaka* 19 (1999) 223–238.

³⁰ S. KALOPISSI-VERTI, Collective Patterns of Patronage in the Late Byzantine Village: The Evidence of Church Inscriptions, in: *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin* (ed. J.-M. SPIESER – E. YOTA). Paris 2012, 125–140; EADEM, Church Foundations by Entire Villages (13th–16th c.). A short note. *ZRVI* 44 (2007) 333–340.

³¹ See an inscription carved on a marble *epistylon* from the village Pangeia mentioning the collaboration of two clerics, a layman and a group of anonymous faithful who contributed to the foundation of a church, N. B. DRANDAKIS, Βυζαντινά γλυπτά της Μάνης. Athens 2002, 42–43.

³² N. B. DRANDAKIS, Δύο ἐπιγραφές ναῶν τῆς Λακωνίας: τοῦ Μιχαὴλ Ἀρχαγγέλου (1278) στὸν Πολεμίτα τῆς Μάνης καὶ τῆς Χρυσάφτισσας (1290). *Lakonikai Spoudai* 6 (1982) 44–55 (= N. B. DRANDAKIS, Μάνη καὶ Λακωνία, I: Μάνη – Μελέται [ed. Ch. KONSTANTINIDI]. Athens 2009, 299–310); D. FEISSEL – A. PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT, Inventaire en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance, III. Inscriptions du Peloponnèse (à l'exception de Mistra). *TM* 9 (1985) 314–317, no. 57; KALOPISSI-VERTI, Dedicatory Inscriptions 71–75, no. 21.

³³ M. AGREVI, Άγιος Νικόλαος στο Έξω Νύφι της Κάτω Μάνης. Εικονογραφικές παρατηρήσεις σε ένα άγνωστο σύνολο τοιχογραφιών του 1284/85, in: *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη* 175–176.

³⁴ R. ETZEOGLOU – CH. KONSTANTINIDI, Ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου στὴν Κίττα τῆς Μέσσα Μάνης (1321). Μία πρώτη προσέγγιση, in: *Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο στη μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη* 216–219.

³⁵ Ph. DROSOGIANNI, Σχόλια στὶς τοιχογραφίες τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου στὴ Μεγάλη Καστάνια Μάνης. Athens 1982, 5, 196–199, 216–224; KALOPISSI-VERTI, Dedicatory Inscriptions 65–66, no. 17.

who is depicted in the narthex of the church of the Metamorphosis at Gardenitsa / Mani (Fig. 5), offering five codices to Christ.³⁶

Other information drawn from the Inscriptions' Database regards the material on which inscriptions are painted or incised (Fig. 6) and the language used, which allows remarks on the literacy and educational level of the patrons and of the regional population. The diagrams show the preference for simple language (73%) as opposed to scholarly language (Fig. 7) and the predominance of prose (93%) over metrical inscriptions (Fig. 8).

The collection of church inscriptions has led to the study of much broader parameters than the initial objective of the project, which is still in progress.³⁷ By studying the content of the inscriptions and especially the persons named in them, information can be drawn as to the role of emperors, state officials, aristocrats and also of broad strata of the local population in matters of patronage. The implementation of official – imperial and ecclesiastical – policy and ideology or the expressions of local power can be traced. The patron's status in society, his financial means, his relation to central authority play a significant role in the size and quality of the donated church, the materials used, the choice of masons' or painters' workshops – local or summoned from a major artistic centre. His preferences can eventually be investigated in the iconographic layout of the church programme or the choice of certain iconographic scenes or saints' figures. The overall information registered in the databases offers a means of interpretation of the monument itself as a whole, its architecture, sculptural decoration and mural paintings. Another parameter is offered by the language of the inscriptions which provides an insight into the cultural and educational level of donors, painters and, to a certain extent, audience.

³⁶ K. P. DIAMANTI, Η παράσταση του δωρητή στο ναό του Σωτήρα στη Γαρδενίτσα της Μέσα Μάνης, in: Ανταπόδοση. Μελέτες Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης προς τιμήν της καθηγήτριας Ελένης Δεληγιάννη-Δωρή. Athens 2010, 129–140.

³⁷ Involved in the project in more recent years, were, besides those mentioned on page 138, Dr Nicholas Melvani and Ph.D. candidates Anna Takoumi and Kelly Tassogiannopoulou.

Painted Inscriptions and Donor Portraits

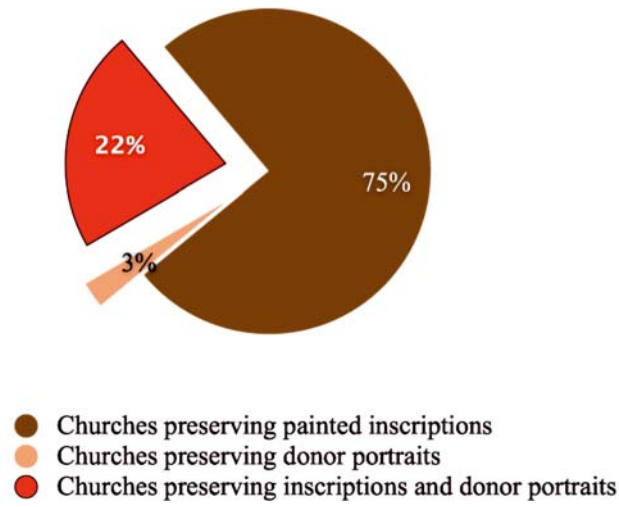


Fig. 1: Peloponnese, Percentages of inscriptions and portraits preserved in churches

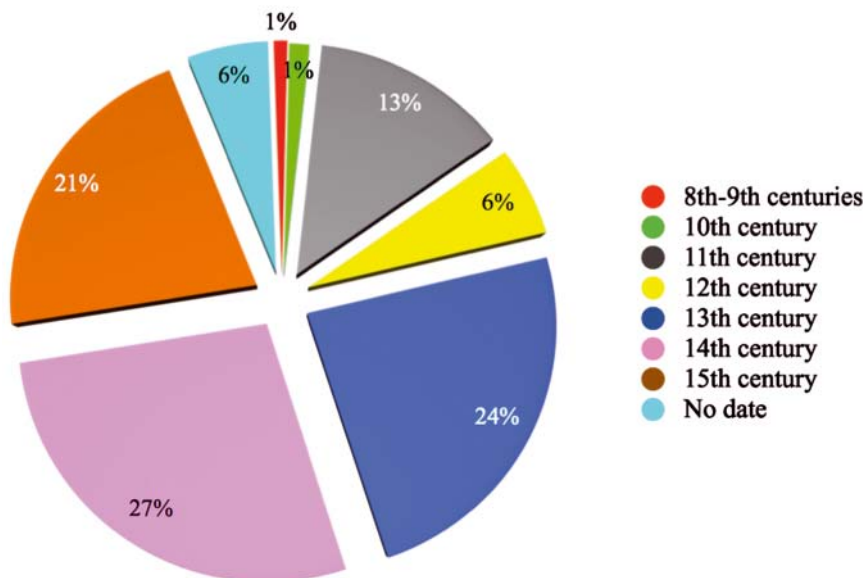


Fig. 2: Peloponnese, Distribution of inscriptions by century

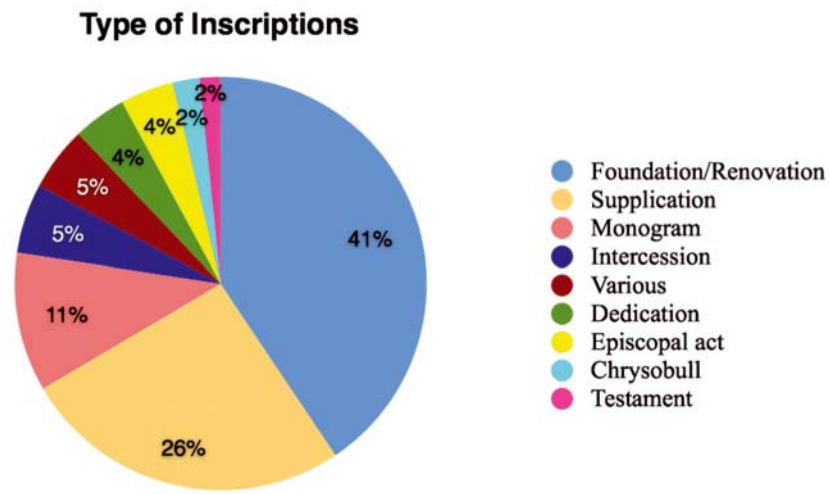


Fig. 3: Peloponnese, Type of Inscriptions by content

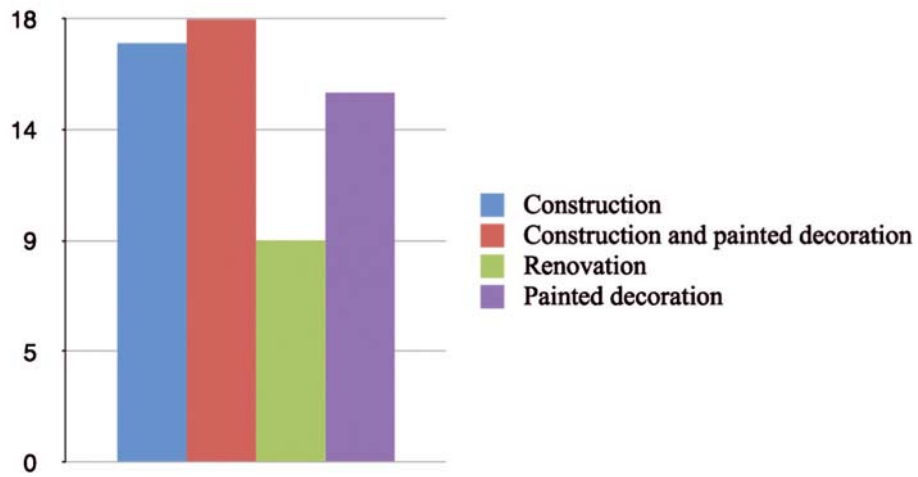


Fig. 4: Peloponnese, Type of patronage mentioned in the inscriptions



Fig. 5: Peloponnese, Gardenitsa / Mani, narthex, donor offering books

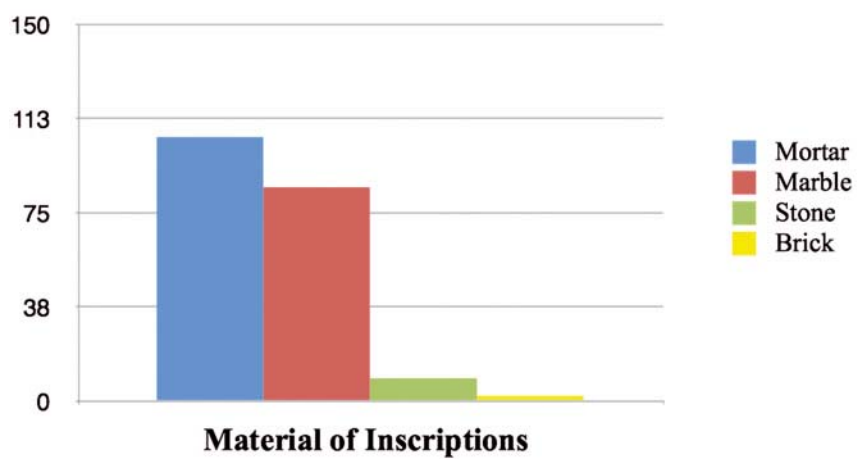


Fig. 6: Peloponnese, Material of inscriptions

Language of Inscriptions

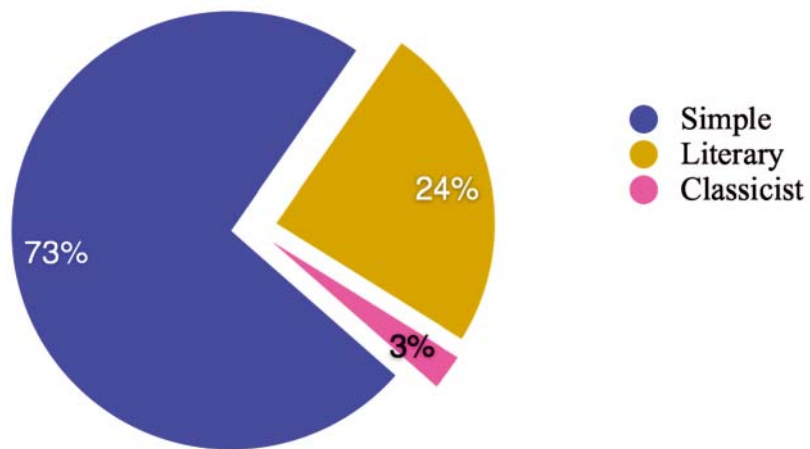


Fig. 7: Peloponnese, Language of inscriptions

Language of Inscriptions

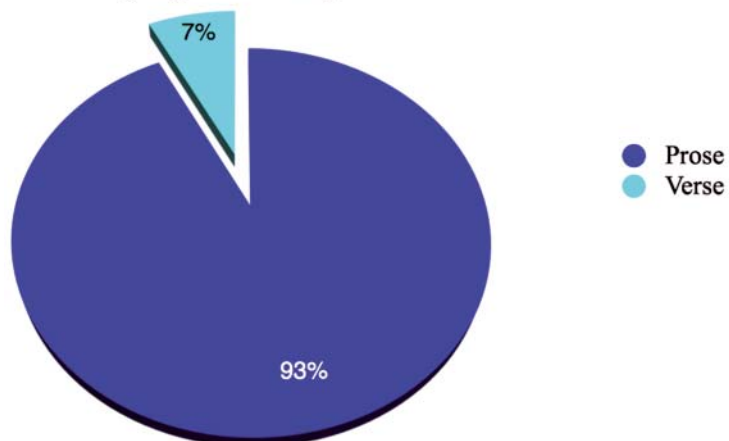


Fig. 8: Peloponnese, Inscriptions, style of language

ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΠΟΔΙΣΤΡΙΑΚΟ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ																	
Βυζαντινές Αφιερωτικές Επιγραφές και Προσωπογραφίες Δωρητών, 7^{ος} - 15^{ος} αι.																	
ΑΡΧΕΙΟ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΩΝ	ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΣ																
ΜΝΗΜΕΙΑ	ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΕΣ																
ΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΕΙΣ	ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ																
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Κάναβος																	
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Σχόλια επωνυμίας																	
Αφιέρωση	άρχων Μιχαήλ· η αφιέρωση στον αρχάγγελο Μιχαήλ εφόσον ο ναός																
Σημείο Τόπος	Μάνη, Πολεμίτας																
Σημ. Γεωγρ. Διαίρ.	νομός Λακωνίας, δήμος Οιτύλου																
Χώρα	Ελλάδα																
Μεσαιων. διοικ. διαίρ.																	
Αρχική χρήση	εκκλησία																
Μεταγ. χρήση																	
ΧΡΟΝΟΛΟΓΗΣΗ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΥ																	
Περίοδος	Υστεροβυζαντινή																
ΧΡΟΝΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΔΡΥΣΗΣ ΚΤΙΣΜΑΤΟΣ																	
	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Σύγχρονη</th> <th>Βυζαντινή</th> <th>Αλεξανδρινή</th> <th>Εγείρας</th> <th>Λατινική</th> <th></th> <th></th> <th></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>2 Μαΐου</td> <td>ψπ ' (=</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Σύγχρονη	Βυζαντινή	Αλεξανδρινή	Εγείρας	Λατινική				2 Μαΐου	ψπ ' (=						
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Χρονολ. αναγραφ.																	
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Χρονολ. αναγραφ.	1278																
Χρονολ. τεκμαρτή																	



ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΠΟΔΙΣΤΡΙΑΚΟ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ
Βυζαντινές Αφιερωτικές Επιγραφές
και Προσωπογραφίες Δωρητών, 7^{ος} - 15^{ος} αι.

ΑΡΧΕΙΟ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΩΝ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΣ 01

ΜΝΗΜΕΙΑ **ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΕΣ** ΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΕΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

νεότερο στρώμα στον β. τοίχο με παράσταση του αρχάγγελου Μιχαήλ

Σχόλια τεκμαρτής

ΛΟΙΠΕΣ ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΕΣ ΧΡΟΝΟΛΟΓΗΣΗΣ

Άλλες χρονολ.

ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΕΣ ΠΗΓΩΝ

Πληροφ. πηγών

ΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΟΝΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΥ

Τύπος ναού **μονόχωρος, καμαροσκέπαστος**

Εσωτερ. Διακόσμος **Ιερό βήμα: Αψίδα: Τεταρτοσφαιρίο: Θεοτόκος σε προτομή δεόμενη με τον Χριστό μετωπικό σε δίσκο μπροστά από τον στήθος στον τύπο της Βλαχερνίτισσας. Ημικύλινδρος: πέντε μετωπικοί ιεράρχες (άγιοι Αθανάσιος, Ιωάννης ο Χρυσόστομος, Βασίλειος, Θεράπων, Λέων της Κατάνης).
 Αν. τοίχος: αρχιδιάκονος Στέφανος. Β. τοίχος: άγιος Πολύκαρπος. Ν. τοίχος: άγιος μοναχός.
 Μέτωπο αψίδας: άγιο Μανδήλιο. Καμάρα: Ανάληψη.
 Τέμπλο: Χριστός ένθρονος (δεξιά), Παναγία ένθρονη βρεφοκρατούσα (αριστερά).
 Κυρίως ναός: Καμάρα: Αν. τμήμα: Γέννηση (β. πλευρά), Υπαπαντή (ν. πλευρά). Δ. τμήμα: Βαΐοφόρος (ν. πλευρά), Εμφάνιση του αρχάγγελου Μιχαήλ στον Ιησού του Ναυή (β. πλευρά).
 Δ. τοίχος: Τύμπανο: Σταύρωση. Β. τοίχος: Εις Άδου Κάθοδος, αγία. Αν. σφενδόνιο: Εσωράχιο: προφήτης (ν. τμήμα). Ν. τοίχος: αρχάγγελος.**


Νεότερο στρώμα

Σχόλια-Ιδιαιτερότητες **Το εικονογραφικό πρόγραμμα του ναού δεν αποκλίνει από τον κανόνα που ισχύει για τις επαρχιακές καμαροσκέπαστες εκκλησίες. Ο χριστολογικός κύκλος περιορίζεται στις βασικές σκηνές: Γέννηση, Υπαπαντή, Βαΐοφόρος, Σταύρωση, Εις Άδου Κάθοδος, Ανάληψη. Η επιλογή και η διάταξη των χριστολογικών σκηνών, αν εξαιρέσει κανείς την ιδιομορφία της παράστασης του Ιησού του Ναυή, απαντά και σε άλλους μικρούς μονοκάμαρους ναούς του 13ου αι. στη Μάνη.**

Τεχνοτροπία **Κύριο μέσο έκφρασης στις τοιχογραφίες του Πολεμίτα είναι η γραμμή που εμπυχώνει τα πρόσωπα και περιγράφει τις λεπτομέρειες. Αν και ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Πολεμίτα διαπνέεται από έναν επαρχιακό συντηρητισμό με έντονα τα χαρακτηριστικά της γραμμικότητας και της απλοποίησης, διαφαίνονται ωστόσο κάποια στοιχεία που απηχούν τις προσδευτικές τάσεις της σύγχρονης τέχνης. όπως η πρεμία των μορφών, το εύρος των σωματών και**

ΜΕΛΕΤΗ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΥ

Δημοσιεύσεις



ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΠΟΔΙΣΤΡΙΑΚΟ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

**Βυζαντινές Αφιερωτικές Επιγραφές
και Προσωπογραφίες Δωρητών, 7^{ος} - 15^{ος} αι.**

ΑΡΧΕΙΟ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΩΝ
ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΣ
01

ΜΝΗΜΕΙΑ
ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΕΣ
ΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΕΙΣ
ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

Braat 1985, 314-317 • Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 26, 34-36, 71-75, 100 •
Καλοπίση-Βέρτη 1994 β

Βιβλιογραφία Δρανδάκης 1983, 126-127 [Δρανδάκης 2009, τ. Α', 317-318] • Kalopissi-Verti 1994, 145, 148 • Μπούρας 2001, 166 • Kalopissi-Verti 2003, 83, 86 • Panayotidi 2005, 204 • Safran 2005, 185-186 • Καλοπίση 2008-2009, 91-92 • Παναγιωτίδη 2008-2009, 227-228. Kalopissi-Verti 2012, 126-130

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΕΣ - ΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΕΙΣ

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΕΣ

M01.0094/Ε0	+ Οίκωδουηθει κ(αί) είστορίνθει ό θίος κ(αί) πάνσεπτος ναός τουῦ άουγ	»	▲
M01.0094/Ε0	+ ετ(ουc)	»	▲
M01.0094/Ε0	Η Καλοπίση-Βέρτη (Kalopissi-Verti 1992. 75. αρ. Α21c) διακρίνει τη	»	▲
M01.0094/Ε0	»	▲

ΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΕΙΣ

M01.0094/Ρ0	Δωρητής γονυπετής στα πόδια αγίου μοναχού, στα αριστερά.	»	▲

ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗΣΕΙΣ - ΣΧΟΛΙΑ

Παρατηρήσεις

Εκκρεμότητες

Συντάκτης **Αναστασία Βασιλείου**

Ημερ. εγγραφής **2-11-2001** Ημερ. τροποποίησης **20-12-2014**

Fig. 9: Peloponnese, Monuments Database, the example of the church of the Archangel Michael at Polemitas (1278)



ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΠΟΔΙΣΤΡΙΑΚΟ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

Βυζαντινές Αφιερωτικές Επιγραφές και Προσωπογραφίες Δωρητών, 7^{ος} - 15^{ος} αι.

ΑΡΧΕΙΟ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΩΝ

ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΣ

01

ΜΝΗΜΕΙΑ

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΕΣ

ΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΕΙΣ

ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ

ΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ

ΦΩΤΟΓΡΑΦΙΕΣ

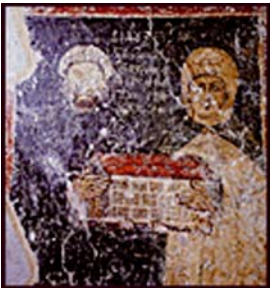
M01.0094/E01

Μνημείο Αρχάγγελος Μιχαήλ

Κείμενο επιγραφής

+ Οίκωδομηθει κ(αι) είστορινθει ό θίος κ(αι) πάνσεπτος ναός τουῦ άρχ(οντος) Μιχ(αήλ) δια συν
 εργίας κ(αι) κώπου και μόχθου πολλοῦ οικι(ον) κ(αι) κληρονόμον χω(ρας) του Πο
 λεμίτα: ήγου κύρ Γεωργ(ίου) του Πατέλη άπο τ(ής) Ανατωλης κάστρου Προῦσης · κ(αι)
 Νικολάου
 5 ιέρεος Βασ(ιλείου) ιερεο(ς)· και Δημήτριου ιερεο(ς)· κ(αι) Μιχ(αήλ) άναγνώστου · κ(αι)
 Νικολάου του Ρουμάνη
 και κτίτωρο(ς)· και Θεώδóρου του Χαλκέα· κ(αι) Ευστράτιο(ς) ο Κουλουμιάτης· κ(αι)
 Νικολάου του Σύν(α)
 κ(αι) Λαριγγα του Βολεύα κ(αι) Ηλία του ήου αυτού κ(αι) Βολεύα· και Γεωργ(ίου) του
 Πατζάτη · κ(αι) Νικήτα του Κακομέ
 ρουτου: Λε(ον) του Βλαχερνίτ(η)· Μιχ(αήλ) ο Ρομανός· κ(αι) Ηλια του Νικολέου· Ιω
 (άννου)
 του Πατζατη συν το γυνεκα
 δελ(φω) αυτοῦ κ(αι) Νικ(ο)λ(άου) του Κουλουμιάτη [rasura] κ(αι) Ηλία του
 Κακομερώτου
 Νικολε(ον) του Ρόμανοῦ · Νικολάου του Νικόλεου · η παιδδ(ες) Νικήτα του
 Κακομερότου·
 [[Νικόλαν του Νικολεου]] · Θερια
 10 νός ο Κακομέροτο(ς)· Λε(ον) ο Κουλουμιάτης · Ευστράτιο(ς) ο Συκολευας · Νικόλαο(ς) ο
 Κακομέρωτο(ς) άμα συμβί
 ον όλων(ον) τ(ον) κ(αι) κληρονομ(ον) και τ(ον) τέκνων αυτών · άμην. Ετελιόθη δαι μιν
 (i)
 Μαίω ης τ(έξ) β'
 ήμέρ(α) β' ετ(ους) ςψης' :: κ(αι) Καλινίκης μο(να)χ(ής). + Επέδοκ(αι) κύρ Γεωργ(ιος) ο






ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΠΟΔΙΣΤΡΙΑΚΟ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

**Βυζαντινές Αφιερωτικές Επιγραφές
και Προσωπογραφίες Δωρητών, 7^{ος} - 15^{ος} αι.**

ΑΡΧΕΙΟ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΩΝ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΣ 01

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ΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΕΙΣ
ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ
ΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ
ΦΩΤΟΓΡΑΦΙΕΣ



Μεταγραφή

Όνόματα

Γεώργιος Πατέλης	☑	δωρητής	λαϊκός	κάτοχος γης
Νικόλαος (Κακομέρωτος)	☑	δωρητής	ιερέας	
Βασίλειος	☑	δωρητής	ιερέας	κάτοχος γης
Δημήτριος	☑	δωρητής	ιερέας	κάτοχος γης
Μιχαήλ	☑	δωρητής	αναγνώστης	κάτοχος γης
Νικόλαος Ρουμάνης	☑	δωρητής	λαϊκός	κάτοχος γης
Θεόδωρος Χαλκέας	☑	δωρητής	λαϊκός	κάτοχος γης
Ευστράτιος Κουλουμιάτης	☑	δωρητής	λαϊκός	κάτοχος γης
Νικόλαος Σύνας	☑	δωρητής	λαϊκός	κάτοχος γης
Λαριγγάς Βολεύας	☑	δωρητής	λαϊκός	κάτοχος γης
Ηλίας Βολεύας	☑	δωρητής	λαϊκός	
Γεώργιος Πατζάτης	☑	δωρητής	λαϊκός	κάτοχος γης



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		ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ	ΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ	ΦΩΤΟΓΡΑΦΙΕΣ
Νικήτας Κακομέρουτος	δωρητής	λαϊκός	κάτοχος γης	
Λέων Βλαχερνίτης	δωρητής	λαϊκός	κάτοχος γης	
Μιχαήλ Ρομανός	δωρητής	λαϊκός	κάτοχος γης	
Ηλίας Νικολέος	δωρητής	λαϊκός	κάτοχος γης	
Ιωάννης Πατζιάτης	δωρητής	λαϊκός	κάτοχος γης	
Νικόλαος Κουλουμιάτης	δωρητής	λαϊκός	κάτοχος γης	
Καλλινίκη	δωρήτρια	μοναχή		
Ηλίας Κακομέρωτος,	δωρητές		κάτοχοι γης	

Διαφορετικές αναγνώσεις

στ. 6: Λαρίωνα (Δρανδάκης)
 στ. 12: Βασιλείου (Δρανδάκης)
 στ. 14: κωνάφη (Δρανδάκης), Κιαφη (Philippidis-Braat)
 στ. 17: καλητιά (:;) (Δρανδάκης), Καληπά (Philippidis-Braat)
 στ. 21: ελε(α)ς Δ' (Δρανδάκης)
 στ. 22: μου, του (πρβλ. Philippidis-Braat)
 στ. 23: (ον) Νίκητα (Δρανδάκης). Η ανάγνωση της Philippidis-Braat ως «χώρα» είναι προτιμότερη καθώς με αυτόν τον τρόπο δεν χρειάζεται αλλαγή στίχου

Μετάφραση - Λεξιλογικές παρατηρήσεις

στ. 2-3: χώ(ρα)ς τοῦ Πολεμίτα: Η μνημόνευση του χωριού στην επιγραφή βεβαιώνει ότι ο Πολεμίτας ανάγεται στους βυζαντινούς χρόνους, τουλάχιστον στο β' μισό του 13ου αι.
 στ. 3: Γεωργ(ίου) τοῦ Πατέλη: Το επίθετο φαίνεται ότι προέρχεται από τη λέξη «πατέλλα» και «πατέλλιν». Στον Du Cange (Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis, tomus primus, Vratislavie 1891, στήλ. 1129) αναφέρεται: πατέλλα ... τὰς δὲ καλουμένας πατέλλας λεκανίδας ὀνομαστέον, εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἀργύρου εἶεν.
Ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς κάστρου Προύσης: Ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζουν οι σχέσεις μεταξύ των επαρχιών της αυτοκρατορίας γύρω από την πρωτεύουσα με τη Μάνη. Ο Γεώργιος Πατέλης, που φαίνεται ότι ήταν εξέχον μέλος της κοινότητας, καθώς είναι ο μόνος δωρητής που φέρει το προσαγορευτικό κυρ, καταγόταν από την Προύσα και για άγνωστους σε εμάς λόγους μετανάστευσε στη Μάνη.
 στ. 4: Νικολάου τοῦ Ρουμάνη: Το επίθετο απαντά ακόμη στη Λακωνία.
 στ. 5: Θεοδώρου τοῦ Χαλκέα: Το επίθετο απαντά και σήμερα στη Μεσσηνιακή



ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΠΟΔΙΣΤΡΙΑΚΟ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ
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ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ **ΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ** ΦΩΤΟΓΡΑΦΙΕΣ

Μάνη.
Εὐστράτιος ὁ Κουλουμιάτης: Το όνομα Κουλουμιάτης θα πρέπει να προέρχεται από τη λ. Κουλούμι, το μικρό χωριό της Μέσα Μάνης που υπάρχει μέχρι σήμερα. Κουλούμι (κουμούλι, κούμουλος, cymulus) σημαίνει κατά τον Βαγιακάκο (1962, 174)

Πραγματολογικές παρατηρήσεις

Τοπωνύμια
 Πολεμίτας, κάστρο Προύσης, Πυλορύχη, Αροί, Αζογύρι(ν), Βαθύ το Αρμάκι(ν), Σταυρός, Κήπος, Αρμάκι(ν), στου Καστρίτη, στου Στρατονίκου, Απορία, στου Σπύνη, Καψαλέα, στου Μπατρικίου, Έρημος, Αγία Θέκλα

Ονόματα11	Ηλίας Βολεύας
Ονόματα12	Γεώργιος Πατζάτης
Ονόματα13	Νικήτας Κακομέρουτος
Ονόματα14	Λέων Βλαχερνίτης
Ονόματα15	Μιχαήλ Ρομανός
Ονόματα16	Ηλίας Νικολέος
Ονόματα17	Ιωάννης Πατζιάτης
Ονόματα18	Νικόλαος Κουλουμιάτης
Ονόματα19	Καλλινίκη
Ονόματα20	Ηλίας Κακομέρωτος, Νικόλεος Ρομανός,

Fig. 10: Peloponnese, Inscriptions Database, the example of the church of the Archangel Michael at Polemitas (1278)

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ΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΕΙΣ	ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ
ΤΑΥΤΟΤΗΤΑ ΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΗΣ	
Αρ. Μνημείου	Αρ. Παράστασης
94	1
Κωδικός Παράστασης	
M01.0094/P01	
Αρχάγγελος Μιχαήλ	
Χρον. τεκμ.	1278
1278	
Σχόλια Χρονολ.	
Άλλες χρον/γήσεις	
Θέση	ιερό βήμα, ν. τοίχος
Θέση στο εικον. πρόγρ.	στο τεταρτοσφαίριο της αψίδας η Πλατυτέρα, στον ημικύλινδρο ιεράρχες, στο μέτωπο της αψίδας το άγιο Μανδήλιο, στον β. τοίχο του ιερού ο άγιος Πολύκαρπος
Σχετιζόμενες επιγραφές	
Χρον. σχέση επιγρ./παρ.	
ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ ΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΗΣ	
Περιγραφή	<p>Δωρητής γονυπετής στα πόδια αγίου μοναχού, στα αριστερά. Ο δωρητής αποδίδεται σε πολύ μικρή κλίμακα, έχει γένια και τείνει τα χέρια του σε δέηση. Φορά απλό, μονόχρωμο, χειριδωτό, ποδήρη χιτώνα, με μακριά φαρδιά μανίκια.</p> <p>Προβληματική είναι η ταύτιση της μορφής αφού δεν σώζεται συνοδευτική επιγραφή. Θα μπορούσε να υποθέσει κανείς ότι πρόκειται για τον κυρ Γεώργιο Πατέλη «από της Ανατολής κάστρου Προύσης», όπως μνημονεύει η κτητορική επιγραφή (M01.0094/E01). Ο Πατέλης, που η αναφορά της καταγωγής του από την Προύσα αποτελεί πολύτιμη γραπτή μαρτυρία για τις σχέσεις της Μάνης με τη Μικρά Ασία (για το θέμα αυτό βλ. Γκιολές 1984-1985), θα πρέπει να ήταν το πιο σημαντικό πρόσωπο από την ομάδα των</p>
Είδος	Μεμον. μορφή
Χαρακτήρας	Δεητική
	<input type="checkbox"/> Αυτόνομη
Ένταξη σε	



ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΠΟΔΙΣΤΡΙΑΚΟ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

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παράσταση

Σχετιζόμενη
παράστασηΑρ. ατόμων Άνδρες Γυναίκες Τέκνα Αδιάγνωστα Κλίμακα μικρότερη ελάχιστη ίση

Σχόλια

Προσφορά


Διατήρηση αρκετά απολεπισμένη

ΦΩΤΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ ΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΗΣ



ΜΕΛΕΤΗ ΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΗΣ

Δημοσιεύσεις Kalopissi-Verti 1984, 216, εικ. 9 • Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 100, αρ. Β7, εικ. 91 •
Καλοπίση-Βέρτη 1994 β, 456-457, εικ. 6



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Βιβλιογραφία

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Πρόσωπα:

Γεώργιος Πατέλης	«	δωρητής	λαϊκός	κάτοχος γης
	«			
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ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗΣΕΙΣ - ΣΧΟΛΙΑ

Γεν. Παρατ.

Εκκρεμότητες

Συντάκτης Αναστασία Βασιλείου
 Ημερ. εγγρ. 2-11-2001 Ημερ. τροποποίησης 20-12-2014

Fig. 11: Peloponnese, Portraits Database, the example of the church of the Archangel Michael at Polemitas (1278)