

**KTETOR:
Practices of Ecclesiastic Foundation, Sponsorship,
and Patronage in Late Byzantium and Balkan
Slavic Countries**

By

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To my family, for their endless love and support

**Jer svi mi umiremo samo jednom a veliki ljudi po dva puta:
jednom kad ih nestane sa zemlje, a drugi put kad propadne
njihova zadužbina.**

(Ivo Andrić, *Na Drini ćuprija*)

[For all of us die only once, whereas great men die twice, once
when they leave this world and a second time when their
foundation perishes]

(Ivo Andrić, *The Bridge On the Drina*)

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List of Abbreviations¹

BZ - *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*

BF - *Byzantinische Forschungen*

ZRVI - *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog instituta*

BMFD - Thomas, John and Constantinides Hero, Angela, eds. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, 5 vols. (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2000).

PLP - Erich Trapp et al., eds. *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit I, 1–12, Add. 1–2, CD-ROM Version* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001)

JÖB - *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*

CSHB - **Corpus** Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae

DChAE - *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaialogikes Hetaireias* [Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας].

TLG - Thesaurus **Linguae** Graecae Canon of Greek Authors and Works. www.tlg.uci.edu

ODB – Kazhdan, Alexander et al., eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 Vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

VV - *Vizantijskij Vremennik* [Византийский Временник]

ZLU - *Zbornik za Likovne Umetnosti*. Matica Srpska (Novi Sad, Serbia)

DOP - *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

REB - *Revue des études byzantines*

PG - Migne, Jacques-Paul, comp., ed. *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, 161 vols. (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1857-1866).

OCP - *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*

SSA - *Stari Srpski Arhiv*

IRAIK - *Izvestija russkago archeologiceskago Instituta v Konstantinopole* [Известия Русского археологического института в Константинополе]

GOTR - *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*

TM - *Travaux et Mémoires*

¹ For the rest of abbreviated titles see the bibliography.

1. Introduction

1.1. Definition of the Research Topic: Phenomenon of Ktectoria

In the lines taken as an epigraph to this work, a Yugoslav novelist Ivo Andrić summarized history of a bridge across Drina built by Mehmed-paša Sokolović: the bridge stands as a silent witness of historical changes taking place on both sides of the river and preserves the memory of its founder. In 1566, haunted by an image of the traumatic family separation in his distant past, the rich Ottoman aristocrat erected the structure uniting people, surrounded by legends, and used for various public purposes, and this structure extended his social presence until the autumn of 1914 when Mehmed-paša Sokolović dies for the second time, together with the destruction of his foundation.

This story, though set in realities of the Ottoman Bosnia, is an example of a private foundation and its public memory-keeping function. The story and the lines of the epigraph receive additional profound meaning in the original language as the foundation or the act of public charity is called *zadužbina* in Serbian signifying a donation given for the sake of somebody's soul, the *pro anima*. Thus, the material properties which a founder left behind to the community for the sake of his/her soul have a unique social quality to preserve the patron's public life and remembrance far beyond of his/her physical being. This word and the concept behind it came to the Balkans commonwealth together with Christian ethics and the spread of the *ktetoria* as a *total social phenomenon*.²

The *ktetoria* (κτητορία) or ktetorship, as some Balkan scholars anglicized the term,³ is a Byzantine concept which does not have a complete analogy in modern languages. It can be vaguely translated as patronage, foundation establishment, or even acts of charity toward the ecclesiastic institutions. However, the Byzantines themselves used this noun rarely, and preferred the words *ktetor* (a noun, the denomination of a patron) or *ktetorikon/ktetorika* (an adjective, something having a quality related to patronage or foundation).⁴ Moreover, the Slavic languages borrowed the term *ktetor* in its Greek form (кѣторъ),⁵ packed with a complexity of interrelated meanings, though Medieval Serbian society developed the term *zadužbina/ zadušnica/zadušije* to denote the phenomenon of

² The *Total Social Phenomenon* is a concept developed by Marcel Mauss for description of a practice present in various social domains simultaneously, a certain whole which manifests itself in different activities of people. For Marcel Mauss' study it was the gift-giving, see: Marcel Mauss, "Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques", in: Marcel Mauss, *Sociologie et Anthropologie* (Paris: Quadrige, 1950 [1993]): 145-283, esp. p. 147.

³ See, for example: Erdeljan, Jelena. "A note on the ktetorship and contribution of women from the Branković dynasty to cross-cultural connections in late medieval and early modern Balkans," *ZLU* 44 (2016): 61-71.

⁴ Chitwood, Zachary. "Stiftung – Mittelalterlicher Sprachgebrauch und moderner Begriff. 1.5. Griechisch-orthodoxe Christen," in: *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften, Vol. 1. Grundlagen*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014): 61-62.

⁵ Šuica, Marko. "Ktitor," in: *Leksikon Srpskog Srednjeg veka*, eds. S. Ćirković R. Mihaljčić (Belgrade: Znanje, 1999): 336-339.

ktetoria.⁶ The main reasons for such uncertain nature and inaccuracy in the definition of the pious patronage and foundation activities were underlined by Z. Chitwood, so: (1) The foundations appeared in Byzantium as the social practice and their forms were changing continuously; (2) In the Middle Ages, a founder and his/her duties and privileges received a greater emphasis than the Foundation itself and the general concept of patronage.⁷

Thus, my work is dedicated to the understanding this elusive but omnipresent in the orthodox medieval societies phenomenon which I am going to approach from the regarding the actors (patrons, founders, sponsors, benefactors), their motives, actions, and objectives, and their recipients, the ecclesiastic institutions and communities of believers. This approach would allow me to look at the patronage through the eyes of the medieval practitioners of the *ktetoria*, and to understand the ways the practice functioned in the Medieval Balkan societies. For the practitioners, this pious patronage encompassed three forms of benefactions: a foundation of an ecclesiastic or philanthropic institution; endowment of land, land income, or other goods; and donation of precious objects. Consequently, I will regard them not as separate phenomena but as components of one tradition of pious giving to ecclesiastic institutions.

The phenomenon of charity expressed through the establishment of public institutions was not an invention of the Medieval Period.⁸ However, Christianity developed the concept of a public investment into the deeds of patronage for the sake of future salvation;⁹ a religious foundation started to be understood as a gift to God himself through the mediation of the beneficiaries, i.e. monks, a

⁶ Popović, Radomir. "Zadužbine," in: *Leksikon Srpskog Srednjeg veka*, eds. S. Ćirković R. Mihaljčić (Belgrade: Znanje, 1999): 204.

⁷ Chitwood, Zachary. "Stiftung – Mittelalterlicher Sprachgebrauch und moderner Begriff. 1.5. Griechisch-orthodoxe Christen," in: *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften, Vol. 1. Grundlagen*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014): 57.

⁸ For the general overview of the foundation practice in the Antiquity and relations between the founders and the city/state, see: Laum, Bernhard. *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike. Ein Beitrag zur antiken Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig-Berlin: 1914); For the discussion of the moral evaluation of charity in the Antique world, see: Ferguson, John. *Moral Values in the Ancient World* (London: Methuen, 1958): 102-117; for the concept of public *evergetism* as the means of self-promotion and politics, see: Veyne, Paul. *Bread and Circuses: Historical. Sociology and Political Pluralism* [tr. Brian Pearce] (London: The Penguin Press, 1992).

⁹ Jobert, Philippe. *La notion de donation: Convergences 630-750* (Paris: Le Belles lettres, 1977); Bacci, Michele. "Pro remedio animae." *Immagini sacre e pratiche devozionali in Italia centrale (secoli XIII e XIV)* (Pisa: Gisem-ETS, 2000); Bacci, Michele. *Investimenti per l'aldilà. Arte e raccomandazione dell'anima nel Medioevo* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2003); Magnani, Eliana. "Du don aux églises au don pour le salut de l'âme en Occident (IVe-XIe siècle): le paradigme eucharistique", in: *Pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (Antiquité et Moyen Âge)*, eds. N. Bériou, B. Caseau, D. Rigaux (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2009): 1021-1042; Angenendt, Arnold. "Donations pro anima: Gift and Countergift in the Early Medieval Liturgy," in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, eds. J. Davis and M. McCormick (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008): 131-154. Magnani, Eliana. "Almsgiving, Donatio Pro Anima and Eucharistic Offering in the Early Middle Ages of Western Europe (4th–9th century)," in: *Charity and Giving in Monotheistic Religions*, eds. M. Frenkel and Y. Lev (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009): 111-121; Magnani, Eliana. "Transforming Things and Persons: The Gift pro anima in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in: *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-modern Figurations of Exchange*, eds. G. Algazi V. Groebner, B. Jussen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003): 269-284.

community of believers, ill, old, poor, etc. , and this gift could assist in the salvation of the benefactor's soul.

Already in the Old Testament one can find the prototypes of the Christian concept of gift when the faithful brought their offerings to the altar of the Divinity. The Leviticus, chapters 1–7, presents detailed instructions for the offering sacrifices. These chapters describe types, occasions, and modes of bringing the offering. The majority of other offerings to the Divinity discussed in the historical chapters of the Old Testament fall into the categories defined in the Leviticus (the Burnt Offering, the Grain offering, the Guilt offering etc.) which were carefully expounded in details.

However, the New Testament suggested a different understanding of a gift to the Divinity. First of all, it brought forth the concept of charity as a way to salvation: “Sell that ye have, and give alms... For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also” (Luke 12: 33-34 cf. Matthew 6: 19-21). Moreover, ideally, this charity should have been done secretly: “Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them: otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven. Therefore when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee ... But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth. That thine alms may be in secret” (Matthew 6: 1-4). Thus, an ideal act of charity is not a publicly-acclaimed work, but rather a deed seen only by God. This act, according to the Christian teaching should be disinterested, deprived of the vain public glory, and made from the pure heart.

The most exemplary image of the Christian giving is the Lesson of the Widow's Mite (Mark 12: 41-44; Luke 21:1-4) which was often referred in charters and dedicatory inscriptions of the Byzantine donors such as in the Testament of Nymphidora, the Epigram of Jefimija's *katapetasma*¹⁰ or the Donation deed by Arsenios Tzamlakon.¹¹ This story of a secret and full-hearted donation to God represents a situation when one gives of his/her “penury... all the living that” she/he has. It became a paradigm for the salvation through giving to the Divinity and, in the Byzantine and Medieval Balkan Slavic texts, it was often said that the widow “bought” the place in the Paradise with her deed. Therefore, the ideal offering enabling the salvation should be secret, pure, disinterested and made to the one's best ability and even beyond it. It can be performed in forms of the alms and the donation to an ecclesiastic institution (in case of the Gospels, it is the Temple) which are equally relevant and important for a Christian.

Further definition of the Christian offering was made in the writings of the Church fathers which described the concept of giving to god through the proxy of pious, poor, and ill people as the

¹⁰ See the Subchapter 9.1.3. of the present dissertation for the analysis of the allusion and other examples of its use.

¹¹ See the Subchapter 7.2.4. of the present dissertation.

fundamental behavioral strategy in the Christian society. In his Homily XVIII on the Acts of the Apostles,¹² John Chrysostomos draws an idyllic image of a rural foundation which he considers to be a greater gift to the Divinity than the alms: “If you have something for spending on the poor, spend it here. Better this way, than [for the poor], hire a teacher, hire a deacon, and hire a group of priests.”¹³ He sets forth various benefits of a foundation for the village as well as for the founder including the assistance in the salvation. Moreover, John Chrysostomos foresaw the possibility of a communal endowment when one person builds the naos, another adds the narthex, a third one completes the works etc.¹⁴ Thus, in the church built by the founder, the community would perform the prayers, the hymnody, and the “bloodless sacrifice” on Sundays (i.e. the liturgy) for the sake of the patron, and these rituals would have taken the intercessory effect until the Second Coming. Thus, the following idea entered the Christian concept of the pious gift: the clergy and community of believers as the recipients of a pious gift (a foundation) should be committed to the remembrance of the founder through rituals as the soul of the founder would eventually benefit from these rites until the Last Day. More precisely, the concept of memory-keeping as an expression of the community’s gratitude to the founder entered the medieval mentality through the development of Eucharistic sacrifice. The Eucharist, regarded as a daily offering of the humanity to God, included the anaphora part when a priest commemorated the founder and some other community members by reading their names in the prayer “Remember, Lord, your servant...”¹⁵ Thus, through commemoration the community pleaded Christ, as a recipient of the liturgical offering, for the salvation of the founder and forgiveness of his/her sins.

On the other hand, during the same period such theologians as Basil the Great and Gregory the Theologian developed the idea of donation for the sake of soul which would receive a standardize denomination *psychikon*,¹⁶ a charitable donation to religious institutions. Thus, in his *Oration about Love of Poverty*, Gregory the Theologian sees the way to salvation through the charitable giving to poor “for the souls” and considers that these donations are, in fact, the offerings to God: “we will redeem our souls by alms, we will give to the poor from our possessions, in order to gain the riches of heaven. Give a part for the soul, not everything for the flesh only; give a part to God, not only everything to the world only.”¹⁷

¹² Thomas, *Private Foundations*, pp. 29-30; PG, Vol. LX, col. 147-150

¹³ Εἴ τι ἔχεις εἰς πένητας ἀναλῶσαι, ἐκεῖ ἀνάλωσον. Βέλτιον ἐκεῖ ἢ ἐνταῦθα, θρέψον διδάσκαλον, θρέψον διάκονον καὶ ἱερατικὸν σύστημα - PG, Vol. LX, col. 147.

¹⁴ PG, Vol. LX, col. 148.

¹⁵ Taft, *Diptychs*, pp. 41-46.

¹⁶ Evangelatou-Notara, Florentia. “Ἀδελφῶτον. Ψυχικόν. Evidence from Notes on Manuscripts,” *Byzantion* 75 (2005): 164–170; Zepos, Panagiotes [Ζέπος, Παναγιώτης] “«Ψυχάριον», «Ψυχικά», «Ψυχοπαίδυ»,” *DChAE* 10 (1980-1981): 20-22.

¹⁷ κτησώμεθα τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς ἐν ἐλεημοσύναις μεταδῶμεν τῶν ὄντων τοῖς πένησιν, ἵνα τὰ ἐκεῖθεν πλουτήσωμεν. δὸς μερίδα καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ, μὴ τῇ σαρκὶ μόνον δὸς μερίδα καὶ τῷ Θεῷ, μὴ τῷ κόσμῳ μόνον - PG, Vol. XXXV, col. 885.

Thus an obligation of a Christian is to perform a pious offering which would meet several important conditions. Namely, it should be (1) dedication of property, (2) with pure heart and without interest, (3) to the Divinity (4) through the reception by the community of believers (5) for the use in the church services, (6) which would be commemorated in course of the liturgy (7) by asking God (8) for the salvation and the pardon of sins of the giver. Consequently, the offering could be of different types, a constructed church, a founded monastery, an icon or a liturgical vessel, landed gift for the sustenance of monks, or even a sum of money. Equally, the recipient community can be a village church, an urban chapel, or a great hermitic foundation; essentially, they played the same role performing the Eucharistic offering to Christ and being committed to the remembrance of the benefactor.

1.2. Research Questions, Objectives, and Working Hypothesis

The present research aims to define the ktetoria as a total social phenomenon manifesting itself in various aspects of life of Medieval Balkan Societies, such as religious beliefs and rituals; flows of capital and land accumulation; political alliances and conflicts; formation of state ideology and propaganda; development of rhetoric, literacy, and archival techniques; visual artistic expression; self-consciousness and self-representation of individuals; evolution of ecclesiastic institutions, and many others. For this reason, I am going to analyze two main components of this complex social system, namely, the foundation of church institutions and the gift-giving to these institutions. This analysis would enable me to realize how an idea of “charity for salvation” introduced by the Christian teaching turned in a very sophisticated conceptual structure which encompassed the following steps: (1) the provision of material support to an ecclesiastic institution allowing its operation (2) the operation of the recipient institution commemorating of and petitioning for the patron (3) the possibility of the final salvation or improvement of the patron’s soul position in the Afterlife through God’s benevolence to the petitions of the recipients of the donations.

For this purpose I am going to regard several problems associated with the influence of ktetorial practices on the religious and social life of the Medieval Balkan people. Initially, I am going to regard the types of foundations and the modes of their operation on the founder’s behalf. Given the lack of monastic orders in the Orthodox countries and an incredible diversity of the forms and operational modes of the ecclesiastic institutions, any categorization seems to be impeded by the nature of the studied material itself. However, since the Byzantine legal principle of the foundation establishment, adopted, later, by the Balkan Slavs, suggested a Typikon, authored by the founder, to become the constituent instrument of an ecclesiastic institution, I am going to determine the institutions on the

basis of the founder's / patron's ability to influence the development of the institution and the social status of the founder/patron him(her)self.¹⁸

As a further step I am going to define the founder(s) and his/her/their role in the establishment of an ecclesiastic institution. The most challenging issue in this regard is a discrepancy between the legal terminology, foreseeing one person as the founder, and the actual practice in which various people in different time assisted to a foundation by diverse means. Some of them received the status of the *ktetor*, others only some extra benefits, but the continuous existence of a foundation in a long period was impossible without this multitude of people. Therefore, I see a need to establish the types of founders / sponsors / donors, and to discuss the measure of their participation, expressed in the portraits and the textual sources. In addition, in case of simultaneous participation of several sponsors in one endowment, I am going to look at the schemes of collaboration between various groups of founders / benefactors. This way, I am going to examine how the concept of *ktetor* was formed in course of negotiations between the benefactors and the recipients of gifts and what were the rights reserved only for the founders.

On the other hand, the assistance, provided by a high number of sponsors to some great ecclesiastic foundations such as monasteries of Mount Athos, poses a question about the relations between these institutions, hermitic in their nature, and the laic patrons exercising influence on the policies and rituals of these foundations through the means of economic endowments. Moreover, regarding the donations, one may pose a question in which measure the hermitic foundations were ready to allot the *ktetorial* rights to such donors and if or when these benefactors would start to be considered among the *ktetors* of these monasteries.

In addition, the differences in the statuses and economic possibilities of the donors affected their motivations driving the acts of gift-giving. Therefore, I am going to explore the differences between royal and private donations and their rhetoric in order to see how endowment of monasteries as a private deed of piety differentiated from them royal endowment policies, necessary for the rulers from the point of view of the medieval mentality. So, I will regard the association of the royal patronage with the contemporary politics and private with the land accumulation and development of institutional independence of monasteries.

As a response in the reciprocal relations of patronage, the ecclesiastic institutions undertook obligation of continuous commemoration of benefactors in form of liturgical rituals, various private

¹⁸ The initial typology of the foundations in this work and its principles are based on the definition, proposed in Galatariotou, "Ktetorika Typika" ; However, in the difference with the author, I do not divide the foundations into "monastic" and "aristocratic," but rather into "private" and "hermitic", thus including into the latter group a greater number of institutions. The reasons for the rethinking of the division proposed by K. Galatariotou are the overview of a greater number of source having various nature (legal, narrative, statutory, visual) in the comparison with only *Typika* used by K. Galatariotou.

services, and distributions to poor etc. These rituals passed through a number of changes, and I would like to examine the role of patrons in the diversification of rituals and their organization. More precisely, I am going to address the issues of the formation of private services and politically motivated readings for the Feast of the Triumph of Orthodoxy.

On the other hand, the ecclesiastic donations and foundations were meant to preserve the image of a founder or sponsor for the future generation and, ideally, for eternity, the portraits, the epigrams, or the rhetoric *prooimia* became the means for expressing the patrons' self. The benefactors wishing to be remembered in the desirable political, gendered, or religious status used a full range of the presentation means, building personal narratives, exhibiting their dignities and offices, alluding to the relations with the higher authorities, or transmitting a socially-approved personal image. Thus, the documents and images attesting the pious deeds turned to be the tools of self-promotion and political propaganda, and I see a need to explain how devotional and public components coexisted and complimented each other in the display of the benefactors' selves.

Thus, the present thesis will address a wide range of problems connected with the practices of ecclesiastic patronage in Byzantium and Serbia during the late 13th to the 15th century. More precisely it tries to answer, among many others, two important questions:

How did people establish and sponsor ecclesiastic foundations in these countries?

and

Why did they do so?

To answer these simple questions I am going to look at various economic, ritual, social, political and ideological activities which were necessary for the establishment and support of ecclesiastic institutions. I will investigate these relations in the framework of the reciprocal relations by which the ecclesiastic institutions attracted the founders and sponsors. In other words, taking as the basis the theory of the gift economy, I am going to investigate the agencies of two parties, the donors and the recipients, and the reasons which affected their mutual satisfaction with the results of donation.

If, in case of an ecclesiastic institution, the benefits seems obvious, as they received the economic profit, material and political support, enlarged their possessions and established a higher degree of authority, than the question of the patron's interest remains open. Therefore, what I try to find in this work is the motives which encouraged people to establish ecclesiastic institutions and to make endowments and rich gifts to them.

As a partial answer to this question, I can propose a hypothesis regarding foundations and gifts, in a broad sense, as agents and representations of the patrons, which possessing some aspects of patrons' selves could preserve memories about the benefactors and could perform several important acts on patrons' behalf in their absence. So, portraits could preserve the desirable image of patrons as pious and socially important; a burial arranged in a church could become a place for personal

remembrance and performance of commemorative rituals; dedicatory inscriptions could witness about the patrons' loyalty to certain rulers mentioned in texts; foundations' dedications could attract spiritual help of chosen patron saints or could imitate, and thus share, the miraculous power of a worshipped place for the donor's protection; a donation charter could express the patron's spiritual concerns or his/her ideological settings, whereas a material gift could play a role in the rites in which a patron his/herself was prohibited to participate.

Also, I would like to propose considering the gifts and the church establishments as the ways of self-representation, the promotion of certain ideas and the means of propaganda on the side of the patrons. In other words, the walls and surfaces of established/reconstructed churches could bear the group portraits expressing the concepts of legitimacy and inheritance within the family, the inscriptions reflected the donors' offices and occupations, the charters spread the images of benevolent rulers, whereas the church objects reminded about patron's piety during the church services. Thus, the term 'agency'¹⁹ in all these cases suggests that objects represented a patron in that location or time in which he/she was not present. The strongest means of agency were portraits and texts (charters, inscriptions) since they imitated the images and voices of the distant commissioners and could pass his/her representation not only to distances, but also through time. In this sense, they not only reflected the images of the patrons, but also kept the memories about these individuals.

Memory-keeping was also one of the forms of reciprocal services which the foundations could propose to their founders/sponsors. More precisely, the ecclesiastic foundations being communities including many members of several generations and ensuring the continuity of activities could offer to a grantor a range of various practices helping to avoid oblivion and to receive long-lasting assistance in the Afterlife.

Though the present dissertation is divided into two main parts devoted to the establishment and the sponsorship of the ecclesiastic institutions, this division is rather a tool of convenience for the research than a reflection of the state of affairs. From the point of view of the gift-and-response relations, the difference between a founder and a donor is minimal. Moreover, I would like to prove in my work that the foundation and gift-giving *de facto* were not two different practices, but rather a wide range of various strategies and different measures of making benefactions to churches and monasteries. In accordance with the extent of participation, the patrons received certain measure of the institution's gratitude in return; they could be buried, commemorated privately, publically, jointly or separately with various prayers and rituals and in different frequency.

Being fitted within the economic human practices, the gift-giving/receiving often had a form of deal contracted between the parties, which implied that the terms and conditions of the deal were

¹⁹ For a similar treatment of the agency concept, see: Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*.

accorded and agreed in advance. In my work I will try to show that the calculative way in which medieval people approached the spiritual matters turned the religious practices into the commodities which had their agreed “price” at the market of religious services.²⁰ This attitude could help to understand how it happened, that some quite pragmatic personalities were able to leave fortunes to endow a monastery. Questions like this often pushed even some clear-sighted scholars like A. Laiou²¹ to look for complicated hidden economic reasoning, but if one takes into consideration that the assistance at the Last Judgment can be also perceived as merchandise and a spiritual consultancy can be considered as a service, one can find the actions of medieval personages more logical and consequent.

1.3. Critical Literature Overview and Methodology

What, exactly, does the term *ktetor* mean? Although there is not much doubt which meanings are included into the core of the term, it, nevertheless, is used conventionally to cover a wide range of meanings, such as a donor, commissioner, patron, founder, gift-giver, renewer etc.²² Similarly, in a conventional way, it embraces a wide range of actions such as dedication, donation, foundation, endowment, presentation, gift-giving, commission. Our commonly used terms ‘dedication’ and ‘donation’ do not form an exact equivalent of the Byzantine usage. However, appearing on the crossroad of such activities as gift-giving, foundation establishment, politics of piety, and self-representation of patron, the *ktetoria* seems to be a very complex phenomenon which can be approached from various perspectives.

1.3.1. Literature Overview: Foundation

The social practice of building of monasteries by the laics, endowing them with necessary funds (lands, properties, etc.), and granting to them tax immunities (by state authorities)²³ was widely spread

²⁰ The concept of religious market was introduced by Champakalakshmi, Radha. *Religion, tradition and ideology : pre-colonial South India* (New Delhi: Oxford University, 2012) in connection with the religions’ competition in pre-colonial India.

²¹ Laiou, “The Peasant as Donor,” esp. pp. 111-116; similarly for the regard of donations in economic terms as made under pressure or masking the sale or exchange, see: Talbot, “Women and Mount Athos,” p. 75; Talbot, Alice-Mary. “The Monastic World,” in: *A Social History of Byzantium*, ed. J. Haldon, (Chichester-Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009): 269-272.

²² Grünbart, Michael. “Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft – Einleitung,” *Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft. Gabenpflege und Netzwerkpfege im europäischen Mittelalter. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums Münster, 19.–20. November 2009*, eds. M. Grünbart (Münster: Lit, 2011): xiv-xvi; Hilsdale, Cecily. “The Social Life of the Byzantine Gift: The Royal Crown of Hungary Re-Invented,” *Art History* 31/5 (2008): 602–631.

²³ Tax exemptions were granted on behalf of a person or an institution only by the state, see Ahrweiler, Hélène. “La concession des droits incorporels. Donations conditionnelles,” in: *Actes du XII Congrès International d’études byzantines*, Vol. II (Belgrade: SANU, 1964): 105-106.

during the Middle Ages in Byzantium, as well as in the countries belonging to so-called “Byzantine Commonwealth”.²⁴ Emperors and kings themselves, their relatives, aristocrats, noblemen, and even rich bourgeois and peasants founded churches and monasteries being prompted by various factors, some of which were related to their piety (to compensate for their sins, to gain eternal salvation, to repent), while others were practical and even political in their nature (to make a place for retirement, to create a family mausoleum, or to promote state or regional policies through the clerics etc.).²⁵

However, almost from the very beginning, many of these ecclesiastic institutions were established with the participation of more than one founder. Although the amount of literature dedicated to private patronage and religious foundations in medieval Orthodox countries is truly vast,²⁶ just a few works focus on the phenomenon of collaboration between several founders for building/renovating an ecclesiastic institution; even less works deal with the problem of secondary *ktetorship*.²⁷ The Byzantine laws in majority of cases refer to *ktetor* as the initial founder only,²⁸

²⁴ On the term “Byzantine Commonwealth” referring to the states of Southern and Eastern Europe as areas of Byzantine cultural influence, see Obolensky, Dimitri. *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe: 500–1453* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971).

²⁵ The most comprehensive work dedicated to the nature of private patronage and ownership of religious institutions in Byzantium is Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*. However, the problem of patronage reasoning is a very complex one, and its different aspects were studied by Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, Cutler, Anthony. “Art in Byzantine Society: Motive Forces of Byzantine Patronage,” *JÖB* 31/2 (1981): 759-787, and Talbot, “The Byzantine Family and the Monastery”. For the motivation of monastic founders, see Morris, Rosemary. “Monasteries and Their Patrons in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries,” *BF* 10 (1985): 185-231. On female piety and subsequent patronage, see Talbot, “Building Activity in Constantinople,” and the recently-published collection of studies *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond: An International Colloquium. September 23–25, 2008. Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Universität Wien*, eds. L. Theis, M. Mullett, M. Grunbart (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2013). For the participation of aristocracy in pious sponsorship and monastery-building, see Morris, Rosemary. “The Aristocracy and the Monasteries,” in: *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. M. Angold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985): 112–137.

²⁶ Except for those mentioned above, on Byzantine *ktetorship*, see the classical study of von Zhishman, *Das Stifterrecht*. For the Middle Byzantine period, one can add also the relevant works of Lemerle, Paul. “Un aspect du rôle des monastères à Byzance: les monastères donnés à des laïcs, les charistaires,” *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus des sciences de l'année 1967, janvier-mars* (1967): 9-28, and Kaplan, Michel. “Les monastères et le siècle à Byzance: les investissements des laïques au XI^e siècle,” *Actes du congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public. 14^e congrès* (Poitiers, 1983): 71-83, although the authors didn't distinguish between the *charistike* and *stauropegia* traditions. For the studying of royal patronage as a form of ideology in medieval Serbia, see: Milaš, Nikodim. *Pravoslavno kaluderstvo. Istorijsko-kanonička radnja sa dodatkom Hilandrskog ustava* (Mostar: Izdavačka knjižarnica Pahara i Kisića, 1902); Marković, Vasilije. “Ktitori, njihove dužnosti i prava,” *Prilozi za književnost i jezik, istoriju i folklor* 5 (1925): 100-124; Troicki, “Ktitorsko pravo” (the most up-to-date criticism of Troicki's work is the research aimed on ideological policies by Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologia*. Recently, two other authors turned their attention toward the issue of *ktetorship* on the basis of visual evidence: Kambourova, Tania. “Ktitor: Le sens du Don des panneaux votifs dans le monde byzantin,” *Byzantion* 78 (2008): 261-287, and Marinković, Čedomila. *Slika podignute crkve - predstave arhitekture na ktitorskim portretima u srpskoj i vizantijskoj umetnosti* (Belgrade: SANU, 2007).

²⁷ Some archeological aspects of second founders' burials are regarded in Popović, Marko. “Les funeraillles du Ktitor: Aspect archeologique,” in: *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, 21-26 August 2006*, eds. E. Jeffreys, F. K. Haarer, J. Ryder, Vol. I (Aldershot, Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2006): 99-130.

²⁸ Ktetorial rights are usually connected with an act of establishing or renovation of a monastery, they could be inherited or acquired as a privilege for a lifetime On the discussion of the term “ktetor” and its origin see: Krumbacher, “*Κτήτωρ*” and the review of the article by Heisenberg, August. *BZ* 19 (1910): 588-589; For a legal meaning of the term in the Byzantine law see: Stolte, Bernard. “Law for Founders,” in: *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries; Papers of the Fifth Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium 17-20 September 1998*, ed. M. Mullett (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007): 121–139. For description of the rights and obligations connected with the status of a ktetor see Troicki, “Ktitorsko pravo” and an overview by Kambourova, Tania. “Ktitor: Le sens du Don des panneaux votifs dans le monde byzantin,” *Byzantion* 78 (2008): 261-287. The obligations of a founder were further defined in a set of rulers of a monastery (*typika*) – Galatariotou, “Ktetorika Typika.” For the discussion of the changing legislation and historical circumstance of the ktitoria, see: Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*.

whereas the literary texts, charters and visual sources inform us about the foundations made by a group of people (such as famous foundations made by whole villages analyzed by Sophia Kalopissi-Verti)²⁹ and use this term to indicate a person or a group of people participating into the foundation, commission, endowment and beautification of an ecclesiastic institution.³⁰ The classical studies (by J. von Zhishman, S. Troicki and V. Marković), nevertheless, made a rough distinction between the rights of a ktetor and that of a sponsor.³¹ The primarily grounds for this division became the regulations established by Byzantine legal texts which tended to describe ktetorship in terms of Justinian's Law, even dealing with the realities of the 14th century. When these three scholars regarded their source material selected from the framework of the normative texts, their results appeared to be quite different and, sometimes, contradictory due to the nature of regarded texts. Thus, J. von Zhishman came to conclusions about the similarities between the ktetorial rights and rights of transmission of non-sacral property: this output was partially inspired by his main source, the Patriarchal Registers of Constantinople, which contains court judgements concerning property cases. Oppositely, the Serbian scholars saw a great role of the central authority into distribution and transfer of *ktetorial* rights, as well as in actual foundation and refoundation of ecclesiastic institutions. Their conclusions resulted from the use of Serbian medieval royal charters as primarily sources. Moreover, neither of Serbian scholars regarded the *ktetorial* rights over other ecclesiastic institutions than royal and noble monasteries.

At the turn of the millennium, the boom in the field of patronage research led to the foundation of a series of publications entitled *Stiftungsgeschichten* (Foundation Histories) which set itself the task of comprehensively embracing this phenomenon in both terms, that of religious history and various territories.³² The project "Foundations in medieval societies – Cross-cultural comparisons" (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) headed by Michael Borgolte proposed to look at foundation of religious institutions as "totales soziales Phänomen" which appeared in many societies, independently from the legal norms they applied and even from their religious confessions. However, due to

²⁹ Kalopissi-Verti, "Collective Patterns of Patronage"; Kalopissi-Verti, "Church Foundations by Entire Villages".

³⁰ About the use of the term "ktetor" by the 14th century sources see Thomas, *Foundations*, 252-262; for application of the term to the commissioners of books Krumbacher, "*Κτήτωρ*", for its use toward a benefactor see Pavlikianov, *The Medieval Aristocracy*, p. 192; for the same term applied toward founders and reconstructors see Allison, "Founders and Refounders of Philotheou", for a case when the status of a ktetor was appointed (Theodore Metochites by Andronikos II) see Ševčenko, Ihor. "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of his Time," in: *The Kariye Djami*, ed. P. Underwood Vol. IV (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975): 29.

³¹ Especially, S. Toricki (Troicki, "Ktitorsko pravo," pp. 83-84) directly contrasts the rights of ktetors and that of sponsors considering them to be of different legal nature. J. von Zhishman doesn't specifically divide the rights of ktetors and sponsors, but rarely takes into consideration the cases of the ktetoreia acquired by gifts (Zhishman, *Das Stifterrecht*, pp. 95-98) and compares the Latin *Patronatrecht* with the ktetoria (Ibid., 12-13). Finally, V. Marković regards only cases of large-scale donations which provided for a person the set of rights of the second ktetor (Marković, Vasilije. "Ktitori, njihove dužnosti i prava," *Prilozi za književnost i jezik, istoriju i folklor* 5 (1925): 103-104).

³² The most recently appeared a volume *Stiftung und Staat im Mittelalter: Eine byzantinisch-lateineuropäische Quellenanthologie in komparatistischer Perspektive*, ed. T. Geelhaar, J. Thomas [*Stiftungsgeschichten* 6] (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011).

extremely broad focus of the editions published in the framework of the project,³³ I still see a need to re-evaluate the understanding of the term “ktetor” as referring to both, the financial sponsor of ecclesiastic foundation and/or patron of religious artistic project. Besides, the articles of the project written by Z. Chitwood³⁴ and dedicated to the patronage in the Greek Orthodox milieu deal only with the Byzantine sources and, predominantly, with the material before the Palaiologan period.

In order to get more subtle understanding of the patronage phenomenon, one may conduct analysis of the ways the term *ktetor* was applied. And if the legal use of the term was recently regarded and explained,³⁵ the practical relations between the benefactors/artistic patrons and their foundations will be examined here. Moreover, I propose to look at the *ktetoria* as a phenomenon covering various strategies of pious support provided to ecclesiastic institutions, foundation, endowment with gifts, provision of cash or landed funds, and building or reconstruction of premises. This wide application of the term is prompted by the logic of source material under examination; however, as a consequence, my conclusions can be applied with certainty only to historical situation observed in the Balkan commonwealth in the period from the late 13th to the middle of the 15th century.³⁶ Most probably, the term had also the same wide notion in the post-byzantine period, at least, precisely this broad coverage of the meaning was observed in respect of activities undertaken by the Wallachian and Moldavian patrons.³⁷

³³ The results of this project were published in a series of books and encyclopaedia of patronage. Here i refer only to thoses works which regard, among other traditions, the Byzantine ktetoria: *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften*, ed. M. Borgolte, Vol. 1. Grundlagen (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014); *Das soziale System Stiftung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015); *Stiftungen in Christentum, Judentum und Islam vor der Moderne. Auf der Suche nach ihren Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschieden in religiösen Grundlagen, praktischen Zwecken und historischen Transformationen*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005); *Stiftung und Memoria*, ed. T. Lohse (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).

³⁴ Chitwood, Zachary. “Griechisch-orthodoxe Christen,” in: *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften, Vol. I. Grundlagen*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014): 57-70, 131-144, 212-228, 299-312, 397-412; Chitwood, Zachary. “Griechisch-orthodoxe Christen,” in: *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften, Vol. II. Das soziale System Stiftung*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015): 61-72, 147-165, 242-257, 324-336, 407-420, 486-497, 554-567.

³⁵ The most recent study of the term, it legal application, the verbs associated with patronage activity, and the documents forming the legal basis, see: Chitwood, Zachary. “Griechisch-orthodoxe Christen,” in: *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften, Vol. II. Das soziale System Stiftung*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015): 407-420.

³⁶ Most probably, the same wide meaning the term had also in the post-byzantine period, in respect of this expansion of the meaning of the term *ktetor* which started to cover such concepts as a founder, a donator, a patron and a proprietor was noted by Mureșan, Dan Ioan, Năsturel, Petre. “Du καθολικὸς βασιλεὺς à l’αὐθεντὴς καθολικός. Notes sur les avatars d’une idée politique,” *Études byzantines et post-byzantines* 6 (2011): 279-280, footnote 125. However, the authors considered that this is a post-byzantine development of the term.

³⁷ The term ktetor (ctitor) as covering the meanings of a founder, a donator, a patron and a proprietor was noted by Mureșan, Dan Ioan, Năsturel, Petre. “Du καθολικὸς βασιλεὺς à l’αὐθεντὴς καθολικός. Notes sur les avatars d’une idée politique,” *Études byzantines et post-byzantines* 6 (2011): 279-280, footnote 125. As such it was always regarded by the scholars belonging to the Romanian Art historical and, partially, historical schools, see: Năsturel, *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains*; Năstase, Dumitru. “L’idée impériale dans les Pays Roumains et «le crypto-empire chrétien» sous la domination ottomane. État et importance du problème,” *Byzantina Symmeikta* 4 (1981): 201–251; Theodorescu, Răzvan. “Despre câțiva “oameni noi”, ctitori medievali” *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei. Seria artă plastică* 24 (1977): 67-124; Crăciun, Maria. “Semnificațiile ctitoririi în Moldova medievală – O istorie socială a religiei,” in: *Național și universal în istoria românilor: studii oferite prof. dr. Șerban Papacostea cu ocazia împlinirii a 70 de ani*, eds. V. Barbu et al. (Bucharest: 12

1.3.2. Literature Overview: Gift

The main questions addressed by any study dealing with the practice of gift-giving, in one or another way, are the following: *Are people able of truly selfless and disinterested acts of generosity? And if so, what motivates them to commit these acts?* The true gift shouldn't be reciprocated. It is a selfless act of sharing and expression of true feelings, such as love or faith. The true gift is the one which does not oblige the recipient. It may be given anonymously or secretly, but with the main purpose to endow the recipient and to express love. This is the concept of Christian non-reciprocal, disinterested gift being itself an act of charity leading to the salvation.³⁸ As non-reciprocal the Christian gift doesn't suggest the benefits for the giver except his or her own spiritual perfection which may lead to the final salvation. However, the salvation won't be granted upon the fact or the measure of the gift, but only on grounds of Lord's mercy, uncomprehendable for humans. Certainly, many gifts addressed by ecclesiastic sponsors and donors to god, were, in fact, motivated by other reasons (political standings, demonstrative piety, economic investment, proving of legitimacy etc.), but these gifts wanted to imitate the true gift, the disinterested and selfless expression of faith and love.

On the other hand, the majority of anthropological studies of the gift-giving practices prove that the disinterested gift is extremely rare; moreover, the notion of pure gift does not exist in many societies. In the concept introduced by the French sociologist Marcel Mauss in his *Essai sur le don*³⁹ the gift as the total social phenomenon is triple set of obligations (to give, to accept, to return) which creates communication system of relations between groups enabling social solidarity. Studying archaic societies Marcel Mauss demonstrated that every gift becomes a trigger of the reciprocity system in which honour of both, the giver and the recipient, are involved. In other words, the social circumstances and the status oblige the giver to give and the receiver to receive and to reciprocate. The recipient is given a social credit and he undertakes the obligation to reciprocate, usually, with an excess, the offering or, otherwise, to lose his spiritual authority and honour. This way, every gift must be paid back as it becomes a part of the circuit of reciprocity between social groups, creating the bonds of alliance and spiritual ties.

Editura Enciclopedică, 1998): 131-171; Pușcașu, Voica. *Actul de ctitorire ca fenomen istoric în Țara Românească și Moldova până la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea* (Bucharest: Vremea, 2001); Székely, Maria Magdalena. *Sfeticii lui Petru Rareș: studiu prosopografic* (Iași: Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza," 2002); Sinigalia, Tereza. "Ctitori și imagini votive în pictura murală din Moldova la sfârșitul secolului al XV-lea și în prima jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea – o ipoteză," in: *Arta istoriei, istoria artei: academicianul Răzvan Theodorescu la 65 de ani* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004): 59-65.

³⁸ Caner, Daniel F. "Alms, Blessings, Offerings: The Repertoire of Christian Gifts in Early Byzantium," in: *The Gift in Antiquity*, ed. M.L. Satlow (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013): 25–44; Canetti, Luigi "Christian Gift and Gift Exchange between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages," in: *Gift-giving and the 'embedded' Economy in the Ancient World*, eds. F. Carlà, M. Gori (Heidelberg: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014): 337-351.

³⁹ Marcel Mauss, "Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques", in Marcel Mauss, *Sociologie et Anthropologie* (Paris 1950, reprint Paris 1993).

Marcel Mauss introduced the principle of reciprocity as symmetrical and opposed rights and duties between gift-giving and gift-receiving parties.⁴⁰ Since Marcel Mauss' theory, reciprocity has been regarded as a mandatory component of the gift-giving practice and social relations surrounding the offerings. However, this system fails to explain two important components, namely, the mechanism underpinning the obligation to reciprocate and the framework of a disinterested offering which the gift-giving ritual takes. These two issues were addressed by Maurice Godelier, Stephan Gudeman, and Jonathan Parry.

Maurice Godelier in his "L'énigme du don"⁴¹ criticizes Mauss for overemphasizing the third property of the gift, to reciprocate, and overlooking the social components of the gift-giving practices.⁴² He suggests that the given artifacts are physical manifestation of the social acts and, thus, human need to establish relations before entering the gift-giving practices.⁴³ Gifts, being the man-made products are endowed with the meaning of gift only within the social relations, as, otherwise, the same artifacts can enter both, the word of gift and the word of commodities.⁴⁴ So, undertaking the obligation to reciprocate, an individual enters into the relations of solidarity and dependence, but also displays his status in these relations.⁴⁵ Thus, the obligation to reciprocate is built on the notion of social status of an individual inside of community. Maurice Godelier also turned attention to the type of gift, overlooked by Marcel Mauss, namely, the sacred gift. This gift is asymmetrical by its nature as the man cannot repay the gift of life already having been offered by the divinity; no sacrifice cancels the obligations this debt creates.⁴⁶ In addition, the divinity has a right not to accept the gift, whereas the man placing an object within the human-divine relations excludes it from the flow of commodities.

Stephan Gudeman⁴⁷ also insists that the gift shouldn't be opposed to the relations of the economic exchange of commodities, they coexist for different purposes. He considers that the initial gift extends the grounds of community but it is economically disinterested as the community is not certain that the gift would be recompensated.⁴⁸ The act of reciprocity cements the relations and extends the community,⁴⁹ which turns the gift into a material expression of personal bonds. However,

⁴⁰ Esp. p. 163.

⁴¹ Godelier, Maurice. *The Enigma of the Gift* (University of Chicago Press, 1999) [*L'énigme du don* (Paris: Fayard, 1996)].

⁴² Godelier, Maurice. *The Enigma of the Gift* (University of Chicago Press, 1999): 103-104.

⁴³ Godelier, Maurice. *The Enigma of the Gift* (University of Chicago Press, 1999): 13, 128.

⁴⁴ Godelier, Maurice. *The Enigma of the Gift* (University of Chicago Press, 1999): 71, 88.

⁴⁵ Godelier, Maurice. *The Enigma of the Gift* (University of Chicago Press, 1999): 101.

⁴⁶ Godelier, Maurice. *The Enigma of the Gift* (University of Chicago Press, 1999): 30, 179-189.

⁴⁷ Gudeman, Stephen. *The Anthropology of Economy Community, Market, and Culture* (Malden (Mass.): Blackwell, 2001)

⁴⁸ Gudeman, Stephen. *The Anthropology of Economy Community, Market, and Culture* (Malden (Mass.): Blackwell, 2001): 80-81.

⁴⁹ Gudeman, Stephen. *The Anthropology of Economy Community, Market, and Culture* (Malden (Mass.): Blackwell, 2001): 89-90.

the driving force behind the desire to reciprocate is a fear of losing prestige in the eyes of the community which initiated the gift⁵⁰ and, this way, the gift and counter-gift still preserve a part of their givers reporting the information about their social status. This way, both, Maurice Godelier and Stephan Gudeman, see the social bonds and the personal status as the reasons forcing men to reciprocate.

The groundbreaking approach to gift was developed by Jonathan Parry.⁵¹ He argues that in the societies having an advanced division of labour, developed commerce and state administration, gift loses its economic significance which it had for the archaic societies functioning in the framework of the resource scarcity. These advanced societies develop religious concepts which postpone the reward from the here and now to the afterlife, thus, creating the concept of salvation. These societies perceive gifts (in the form of charity and alms) as atonement for sin and a means to salvation and, therefore, they display no expectation of direct return from the recipient. These acts of charity, ideally given in secrecy and without expectation of any return in the present world,⁵² are social tools of the personal salvation. Thus, “Christianity... has developed a universalistic conception of purely disinterested giving”⁵³ which cannot be always achieved, but it creates an ideal framework for any act of gift-giving.

Ilana Silber tries to put the category of gift into the perspective of comparative historical sociology⁵⁴ and to represent religious giving as a triadic exchange relationship involving a divine or supernatural force, motivated by soteriological ‘self-interest’. Thus, the religious giving is non-reciprocal but not disinterested.⁵⁵ Moreover, Christianity knows two forms of giving, one can be broadly called philanthropy and encompasses various charitable offerings to the poor, ill, and needy and another is the gift to ecclesiastic institutions, which was denoted as the “sacerdotal giving.”⁵⁶ This giving to religious institutions or religious specialists involves the priestly mediation of access to salvation and initiates a distinctive form of spiritual relationship. In this communication, priests and monks are considered holier and more virtuous, and, therefore, closer to the divinity. However, their communal service makes them able to intercede for the living and, especially, for the dead. However, the endowment of monastic communities is produced with an expectation of this reciprocity from the receivers, in the form of prayers, and with an interest in the future salvation,

⁵⁰ Gudeman, Stephen. *The Anthropology of Economy Community, Market, and Culture* (Malden (Mass.): Blackwell, 2001): 93.

⁵¹ Parry, Jonathan. “The Gift, the Indian Gift and the 'Indian Gift,” *Man, New Series* 21/3 (Sep. 1986): 453-473.

⁵² Parry, Jonathan. “The Gift, the Indian Gift and the 'Indian Gift,” *Man, New Series* 21/3 (Sep. 1986): 467-469.

⁵³ Parry, Jonathan. “The Gift, the Indian Gift and the 'Indian Gift,” *Man, New Series* 21/3 (Sep. 1986): 468.

⁵⁴ Silber, Ilana. “Entre Marcel Mauss et Paul Veyne Pour une sociologie historique comparée du don,” *Sociologie et sociétés* 36 (2004): 189-205.

⁵⁵ Silber, Ilana. “Beyond Purity and Danger: Gift-Giving in the Monotheistic Traditions,” in: *Gifts and Interests*, ed. A. Vanderveelde (Leuven: , 2000): 121

⁵⁶ Silber, Ilana. “Echoes of Sacrifice? Repertoires of Giving in the Great Religions,” in: *Sacrifice in Religious Experience*, eds. A. Baumgartner (Leiden: Brill, 2002): 299.

which brings the sacerdotal giving closer to the reciprocal relations⁵⁷ but performed not within the dyadic exchange of offerings, but in a triad “person – institution – divinity.”

1.3.3. Literature Overview: The Relations of Power

The issue of the authority on the territory of the 14th century Balkans presents a real problem, as in the course of wars and civil conflicts, the real abilities of the Byzantine central power decreased whereas different local sovereigns insisted on their importance and managed the lands and regions subjected to their power. However, as it will be proved further in this study, the rhetoric of power mixed with the expression of piety became even more cemented and officious, representing the Byzantine ruler as the only possible leader of the Christian commonwealth.

In the war year of 1940, Franz Dölger published an article “Die ‘Familie der Könige’ im Mittelalter”⁵⁸ which ascribed the concept “symbolic kinship” to Byzantine ideology. Analyzing diplomatic language and books of ceremonies, F. Dölger came to the conclusion that the various degrees of “symbolic kinship” established between rulers of the Orthodox countries played a role of a real political institution regulating international relations and creating a legally-binding order. According to this ideology, the Byzantine emperor was the “father” and head and, in this order, the terms of kinship applied to foreign rulers, such as “brothers,” “sons,” “friends”, etc., became the legal titles (Rechtstitel).⁵⁹ According to F. Dölger, this hierarchical world order was voluntarily accepted by the other states of the Byzantine Oikumene, and regulated the relations between the rulers-relatives in accordance with the hierarchical principle.⁶⁰

However, as the detailed re-assessment of F. Dölger’s sources demonstrates,⁶¹ the “Family” was, in the best case, a row of ceremonial denominations, or even a series of interpersonal connections between particular Byzantine Emperors and occasional foreign rulers. Thus, being rather a social-political construct, the “Family of Kings” with all its legal and other implications came about as a reflexion of the 20th-century political theories. As Wolfram Brandes notes, Franz Dölger, being a close associate of the Nazi Party establishment and himself heading the Department for German-

⁵⁷ Silber, Ilana. “Gift-giving in the great traditions: the case of donations to monasteries in the medieval West,” *European Journal of Sociology* 36/02 (November 1995): 209-243, esp. p. 213.

⁵⁸ Dölger, Franz. “Die »Familie der Könige« im Mittelalter,” in: Dölger, Franz. *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal: 1953): 34–69 (re-published from: *Historisches Jahrbuch* 60 (1940): 397–420). See, detailed criticism of the concept in: Brandes, Wolfram. “Die »Familie der Könige« im Mittelalter. Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zur Kritik eines vermeintlichen Erkenntnismodells,” *Zeitschrift des Max-Planck-Instituts für europäische Rechtsgeschichte* 21 (2013): 262-284.

⁵⁹ Dölger, Franz. “Die »Familie der Könige« im Mittelalter,” in: Dölger, Franz. *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal: 1953): 36.

⁶⁰ Dölger, Franz. “Die »Familie der Könige« im Mittelalter,” in: Dölger, Franz. *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal: 1953): 59-60.

⁶¹ Brandes, Wolfram. “Die »Familie der Könige« im Mittelalter. Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zur Kritik eines vermeintlichen Erkenntnismodells,” *Zeitschrift des Max-Planck-Instituts für europäische Rechtsgeschichte* 21 (2013): 264-272.

Balkan Relations of the German Academy for Scientific Research and Care of Germanism (*Deutschen Akademie zur wissenschaftlichen Erforschung und Pflege des Deutschtum*),⁶² designed, as one might expect, a concept for German supremacy for the Balkans. Not mentioning explicitly the Nazi theories or leaders, the “transplantation” of F. Dölger’s concept to the realities of the 20th century gave the grounds for a new Nazi order on the Balkans, with Adolf Hitler as “father,” friendly regimes (Horthy in Hungary, Antonescu in Romania, etc.) as “brothers,” and then the rest of Nations in a subordinate position (not least, Greece, Serbia, or Albania).

The presented concept attracted a great deal of contemporary attention, but it seems that it was not able to offer a clear understanding of or explanation for the complex interstate relations of the Middle Ages. Later, being widely criticized,⁶³ it generally went out of fashion in the Western historiography.⁶⁴ However, in the case of Balkan scholarship, the theory of political hierarchy was based on the works not only created by Franz Dölger, but also by the pillar of the regional Byzantine school, George Ostrogorsky. This concept greatly influenced the discussion of the royal representations and still finds its way as a valid historical explanation for such royal group portraits as the one in the narthex of Hilandar *katholikon*⁶⁵ or in the lower church of Boyana.⁶⁶

George Ostrogorsky's research interests covered a broad range of topics, such as Byzantine tax system, the relations between state and church, ownership rights in Byzantium, prices and wages, hesychasm, agrarian system and Byzantine feudalism, ideology of power, Byzantine-Slavic relations, and Byzantine aristocracy.⁶⁷ However, the problem of Christian political universalism was a topic present in his works during his entire career.⁶⁸ G. Ostrogorsky’s view shifted from simple political and legal hierarchy toward religion authority, as he considered that the idea of the universal Empire – being borrowed by the Byzantine civilization from the Ancient Roman political theory – was

⁶² Brandes, Wolfram. “Die »Familie der Könige« im Mittelalter. Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zur Kritik eines vermeintlichen Erkenntnismodells,” *Zeitschrift des Max-Planck-Instituts für europäische Rechtsgeschichte* 21 (2013): 277.

⁶³ Chrysos, Evangelos. “Legal Concepts and Patterns for the Barbarians’ Settlement on Roman Soil,” in: *Das Reich und die Barbaren*, eds. E. Chrysos, A. Schwarcz (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1989): 13–23.

⁶⁴ Brandes, Wolfram. “Die »Familie der Könige« im Mittelalter. Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zur Kritik eines vermeintlichen Erkenntnismodells,” *Zeitschrift des Max-Planck-Instituts für europäische Rechtsgeschichte* 21 (2013): 278; Hose, Martin. “Franz Dölger (1891–1968). Ein Leben für die byzantinische Diplomatie,” in: *Denker, Forscher und Entdecker. Eine Geschichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in historischen Portraits*, ed. Willoweit, D. (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2009): 307–320.

⁶⁵ Đurić, Vojislav J. “Les portraits de souverains dans le narthex de Chilandar: l’histoire et la signification,” *Hilandarski Zbornik* 7 (1989): 105–124.

⁶⁶ Pirivatrić, Srđan. “The Boyana Church Portraits. A Contribution to the Prosopography of Sebastocrator Kaloyan,” *Боянската църква между Изтока и Запада в изкуството на християнска Европа*, ed. B. Pevkova (Sofia: Natsionalen Istoricheski muzej, 2011): 16–37.

⁶⁷ Ivanov, Igor [Иванов, Игорь]. “Судьбы русской византистики в Старом и Новом Свете: Г. Острогорский и А. Васильев. Предисловие к публикации,” *Russko-Vozantijki vestnik* (2018): 9–15; Ferjančih, Božidar. “Akademik Georgije Ostrogorski u svetskoj vizantologiji,” *ZRVI* 18 (1978): 269–274; Kerkić, Bariša. “George Ostrogorsky (1902–1976)” in: *Medieval Scholarship*, ed. H. Damico, J. Zavadil (New York-London: Routledge, 2014): 301–312.

⁶⁸ Ostrogosky, George. “Die byzantinische Staatenhierarchie,” *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 8 (1936): 41–61; Ostrogosky, George. “The Byzantine emperor and the Hierarchical world order,” *The Slavonic and East European review* 35 (1956/57): 1–14; Ostrogosky, George. *History of the Byzantine State* (Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1969): 26, 63–64.

reconsidered in the framework of Christianity. Now, the emperor became the Lord's appointee on earth, so the emperorship became "an emanation of divine power"⁶⁹ and the protector of the Christian world. In other words, as the successor of the Romans, Byzantium sought to remain the only empire and to maintain control over all countries that had previously entered the Roman *orbis*, in order for them to form a part of the Christian *oikoumene*. However, in the political reality, the absolute supremacy of the Empire was impossible, the territories which used to belong to the Roman world, now got independence and formed their own states. Therefore, the Byzantine political thought developed a theory of hierarchy of states being based on the understanding of Byzantium as "the sole legitimate empire on earth" and the ideal supremacy of the Byzantine emperor as the father of all Christian peoples and the head of the family of rulers. Thus, satellite princes held a higher or lower rank in the relations with the supreme authority, however, the highest title of sovereign was borne only by the Emperor of Constantinople as the elect of the Lord. From legal and ideological point of view, the Byzantine Empire distributed power to minor rulers and, thus, endowed them with a part of the authority received from God.

Numerous scholars followed Ostrogorsky-Dölger's concept which became increasingly popular in Balkan and Byzantine historiography. Such prominent scholars as Ihor Ševčenko⁷⁰ or Ivan Dujčev⁷¹ paid their homage to the principles of the "family of rulers", others⁷² were ready to regard it as a main research methodology of medieval international relations. Its extreme popularity can be explained in the context of the national ideological narratives of the Balkan countries as seeking to legitimize their statehood in the political realities of the 20th century.⁷³ G. Ostrogorsky considered that, being an empire "with great political traditions and a mature culture", Byzantium "radiated a powerful influence... attracting neighbouring peoples into its cultural and political orbit."⁷⁴ This ideological standing explicitly demonstrated the line of succession not only between Byzantine and Slavic cultures, but also between Byzantine and Slavic political systems and the royal realms of the

⁶⁹ Ostrogorsky, George. "The Byzantine emperor and the Hierarchical world order," *The Slavonic and East European review* 35 (1956/57): 4.

⁷⁰ See, for example, see: Ševčenko, Ihor. "Byzantium and the Slavs," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 8, No. 3/4 (December 1984): 289-303.

⁷¹ Dujčev, Ivan. "Relations entre les Slaves méridionaux et Byzance aux Xe-XIIe siècles," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 9 (1966): 533-556.

⁷² Kănev, Nikolai [Кънев, Николай]. "Византийският йерархичен модел от IX-XI в. (Общ вид на системата на средновизантийската рангова Иерархия и видове Иерархии във Византия през IX-XI в.)," *Antichnaya drevnost' i srednie veka* 39 (2009): 142-163.

⁷³ Ignjatović, Aleksandar. "Byzantium Evolutionized: Architectural History and National Identity in Turn-of-the-Century Serbia" in: *'Regimes of Historicity' in Southeastern and Northern Europe, 1890–1945*, eds. Mishkova, D., Trencsényi, B., Jalava M. (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014): 254-274; Mishkova, Diana. "The Afterlife of a Commonwealth: Narratives of Byzantium in the National Historiographies of Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Romania," in: *Entangled Histories of the Balkans: Shared Pasts, Disputed Legacies*, eds. R. Daskalov and A. Vezhenkov, 3rd vol. (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2015): 118-273 (esp. 119-122).

⁷⁴ Ostrogorsky, George. "Byzantium and the South Slavs," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 42, No. 98 (Dec., 1963): 1.

Serbians and Bulgarians. In difference with Franz Dölger's view, George Ostrogorsky's approach focused also on the moments when the Slavic states started their struggle for political supremacy which was "imbued with the same ideology" of the supreme divine power and the hierarchy of states.⁷⁵

The epistemological core of this position allowed to Balkan historiography to define Serbian or Bulgarian Empires as legitimate heirs of the Byzantine tradition. The historiography suggested that the Empires of Tsar Simeon (893-947)⁷⁶ and Stefan Dušan (1346-1355)⁷⁷ in particular were established on the same Byzantine ideological imperial principles. Namely, the divine mission of the ruler as the defender and promoter of Christianity, his God-elect position and royal authority as the outcome of Divine Power allowed to exalt the royal authority to the divine realm and to condition the hierarchical distribution of power.⁷⁸

This ideological setting found its further reflection in the research approaches applied to the royal portraiture and rhetoric on the Balkans. The concept of hierarchy appeared to be one of the main topics of studies, along with the iconography and poetic of divine investiture (that will be discussed further), dynastic sanctity, and the relations between donor and royal portraits. Consideration of Medieval Balkan realms as a brother-states and heirs of Byzantium allowed regarding Serbian and Bulgarian monuments and texts as created in accordance with the Byzantine patterns and concepts, and, consequently, it enabled applying the Byzantine sources for the interpretation of Balkan Slavic political institutions, literature, and art and *vice versa*. Thus, Serbian and Bulgarian despots were discussed in the framework of Pseudo-Kodinos' *Book of ceremonies*,⁷⁹ the insignia, rhetoric, and iconography of royal Balkan portraits were compared with "the marks of power of the Byzantine basileis... during the ceremonial occasions,"⁸⁰ whereas the visual and textual images of royal family

⁷⁵ Ostrogorsky, George. "The Byzantine emperor and the Hierarchical world order," *The Slavonic and East European review* 35 (1956/57): 8.

⁷⁶ Bozhilov, Ivan [Божиллов, Иван]. *Цар Симеон Велики (893—927): Златният век на Средновековна България* (Sofia: Otechestven Front, 1983): 115-116.

⁷⁷ Šarkić, Srđan. "Ideja Rima u misli i delu cara Dušana," *Zbornik radova Pravnog Fakulteta. Novi Sad* 40 (2006): 53-71; Maksimović, Ljubomir. "Grci i Romanija u srpskoj vladarskoj tituli," *ZRVI* 12(1970): 61-78; Blagojević, Miloš. "Vizantijska hijerarhija vladara u svetlosti srpskih izvora (XII-XV vek)," in: *България и Сърбия в контекста на византийската цивилизация / Бугарска и Србија у кругу византијске цивилизације* (Sofia: BAN, 2005): 47-80.

⁷⁸ On the topic of ideological inheritance of the Byzantine concepts, see also: Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija* and Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja. *Vladarske insignije i državna simbolika u Srbiji od XIII do XV veka* (Belgrade: SANU, 1994).

⁷⁹ Vojvodić, Dragan. "Vladarski portreti srpskih despota," in: *Manastir Resava: istorija i umetnost: naučni skup "Manastir Manasija i njego doba," Despotovac, 21-22.8.1994*, ed. V. J. Đurić (Despotovac: 1995): 65-98; Djordjević, Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele; Đurić, Vojislav. "Društvo, država i vladar u umetnosti u doba dinastije Lazarević-Branković," *Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti* 38 (2010): 35-78; Babić, Gordana. "Vladarske insignije kneza Lazara," in: *O knezu Lazaru: Naučni skup u Kruševcu*, 1971, eds. I. Božić and V. Đurić (Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet u Beogradu, 1975): 72-75.

⁸⁰ Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja, Vojvodić, Dragan. "The Model of Empire – The Idea and Image of Authority in Serbia (1299-1371)," in: *Sacral art of the Serbian lands in the Middle Ages*, eds. D. Vojvodić, D. Popović (Belgrade: 2016): 299-315 (here p. 304). Similarly, Vojvodić, Dragan. "Ukrštena dijadima i „torakion“. Dve drevne i neuobičajene insignije srpskih vladara u XIV i XV veku," in: *Treća jugoslovenska konferencija vizantologa Kruševac 10-13. maj 2000*, eds. Lj. Maksimović, N. Radošević, E. Radulović (Belgrade- Kruševac: SANU, 2002); Cvetkovski, Sašo. "Portreti vizantijskih i

relations of the Balkan Slavs was considered as variations of the Byzantine paradigm.⁸¹ Moreover, the idea of hierarchy became the fundamental argument in the discussion of royal⁸² and dynastic⁸³ iconography. The Balkan aristocratic foundations expressed the idea of subordination to the sovereign through the placement of the donor portraits opposite or next to the images of rulers and through position, posture and gesture of the portrayed.⁸⁴ This way, Balkan political culture in general, and royal images in particular were contextualized in the epistemological framework of the Byzantine imperial ideology of Christian emperorship and the hierarchy of power, it was placed as if against the background views shared by one great Byzantine-Balkan ruling family. Therefore, it was rather George Ostrogorsky's than Franz Dölger's conceptual narrative which influenced and still influences the approaches to the political culture and royal representations in Serbian and Bulgarian scholarship. And, taking into consideration the recent desecularisation trends in the public national discourse of Serbia,⁸⁵ one could project a further strengthening and development of the Byzantine heritage narrative in the academic discourse of the Balkans.

1.3.4. Literature Overview: Representation

An attempt to build the history of ktetorial image in Byzantine and Balkan tradition is rather a complicated task, since the development of this phenomenon of Byzantine and post-Byzantine art remains insufficiently studied. The studies devoted to the Byzantine monuments, serving as a kind of a reference point for research on various local traditions, are disintegrated between what is considered the donor's portrait proper, the burial portrait, the votive images, and the royal representations, and not a single study exists which would either unify or make a clear distinction between these concepts as well as the artistic realities they implicate. Moreover, the studies dedicated to the issues of Byzantine portraits are heavily biased with national and political standing of their authors, and,

srpskih vladara u manastiru Treskavcu," *Zograf* 31 (2006-2007): 158-166; Đurić, Vojislav. "Portreti na poveljama vizantijskih i srpskih vladara," *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta* 8/1 (1963): 251-272.

⁸¹ Vojvodić, "Personalni sastav slike vlasti".

⁸² Grozdanov, Cvetan, Čornakov, Dimitar. "Istorijski portreti u Pološkom (I)," *Zograf* 14 (1983): 60-67; Grozdanov, Cvetan, Čornakov, Dimitar. "Istorijski portreti u Pološkom (II)," *Zograf* 15 (1984) 85-93; Grozdanov, Cvetan, Čornakov, Dimitar. "Istorijski portreti u Pološkom (III)," *Zograf* 18 (1987) 37-42; Đurić, Vojislav J. "L'art impérial serbe: marques du statut impérial et traits de prestige," in: *Bυζάντιο και Σερβία κατά τον ΙΔ' αιώνα / Byzantium and Serbia in the 14th century*, eds. E. Papadopoulou, D. Dialeti (Athens: Instituto Byzantinon Ereunon, 1996): 23-56.

⁸³ Vojvodić, Dragan. "Od horizontalne ka vertikalnoj genealoškoj slici Nemanjića," *ZRVI* 44 (2007): 295-312; Vojvodić, Dragan. "Portreti vladara, crkvenih dostojanstvenika i plemića u naosu i priprati," in: *Zidno slikarstvo manastira Dečana. Gradja i studije*, ed. V. J. Djurić (Belgrade: SANU, 1995): 265-297.

⁸⁴ Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja, Vojvodić, Dragan. "The Model of Empire: the Idea and Image of Authority in Serbia (1299-1371)," in *Byzantine heritage and Serbian art, Vol. II: Sacral art of the Serbian lands in the Middle Ages*, eds. D. Vojvodić, D. Popović (Belgrade: SANU, 2016): 314; Vojvodić, Dragan. "O živopisu Bele crkve karanske i suvremenom slikarstvu Raške," *Zograf* 31 (2006-2007): 135-151.

⁸⁵ Drezgić, Rada. "Religion, Politics and Gender in the Context of Nation-State Formation: the case of Serbia," *Third World Quarterly* 31 (2010): 955-970.

therefore, it seems necessary to deconstruct the existing ideological structures before starting my own discussion of royal and noble portraiture expressing the realities of patronage.

The discourse of Byzantine and Balkan donor portraits can't be complete without the discussion of the role of divine investiture and sanctity of rulers. The principles of sovereigns' representation were almost simultaneously described by Svetozar Radojčić⁸⁶ and André Grabar⁸⁷ on the basis of Medieval Serbian and Byzantine monuments, accordingly. These principles involved the range of ideas associated with the divine endorsement of royal power and representation of a ruler as the recipient of celestial grace and direct appointee of the Lord.

Thus, for André Grabar, the main function of Byzantine imperial portrait seems to magnify the persona of emperor. Referring to the mystic origins of imperial power, the scholar regarded a row of official images of the emperor as invested with authority by the divine grace through the sacred act of coronation.⁸⁸ The imperial ceremonies of investiture, gift-giving, or church visits were intentionally represented symbolically and timelessly in order to depict the ruler as a mediator between human and divine realms and represent divine agency in his actions.⁸⁹ Though imperial portraits manifested features allowing the development of historical, classical and biblical analogies,⁹⁰ the main point of comparison was established between the emperor and Christ himself.⁹¹

S. Radojčić' book focuses on the images of rulers in the monuments preserved on the Serbian territory, but the scholar himself underlines the genetic unity of this art with the Byzantine tradition. He insists that the influence of local and national circumstances on the royal portrait "shouldn't be overestimated" as "the development of the old Serbian art was (...) firmly connected with the fate of the painting of the entire Christian East, and the main changes in the style of Serbian portraits occurred at the same time with the [the changes in] Byzantine and Bulgarian art."⁹² S. Radojčić emphasized the explicit association between the concept of the royal power and Christianity in Serbian art: all portraits of medieval rulers which he regarded were placed in churches and depicted the acts of donation or investiture witnessing "imperial piety and royal glory" simultaneously. Motivating his disregard of the stylistic component of the portraits, the scholar explained that this art "always appreciated the religious and political ideas more than the power of a personal artistic expression."⁹³ On the portraits, "the relationship between the rulers and the divinity and the church are expressed clearly. The ideas on the holy origin of the sovereign authority become strengthened there."⁹⁴

⁸⁶ Radojčić, *Portreti srpskih vladara*.

⁸⁷ Grabar, André. *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris: Collège de France, 1936).

⁸⁸ Grabar, André. *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris: Collège de France, 1936): 112-122

⁸⁹ Grabar, André. *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris: Collège de France, 1936): 85-92; 98-122.

⁹⁰ Grabar, André. *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris: Collège de France, 1936): 31-84.

⁹¹ Grabar, André. *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris: Collège de France, 1936): 19-24.

⁹² Radojčić. *Portreti srpskih vladara*, p. 8.

⁹³ Radojčić. *Portreti srpskih vladara*, p. 88

⁹⁴ Radojčić. *Portreti srpskih vladara*, p. 9

The implicit similarity between books of A. Grabar and S. Radojčić can be explained through the influence of works by Hungarian historian András Alföldi about Roman court ceremonies which both scholars experienced.⁹⁵ However, the ideological resemblance in the interpretation of royal portrait as establishing the connection between royal and divine realms is even more expressive; using the words of Thomas Mathews, one may assert that “the need to interpret Christ as an Emperor tells us more about the historians involved than it does about Early Christian art.”⁹⁶

In the opening chapter of his much debated work *The Clash of Gods*, Th. Mathews elaborated the critique of what he calls “The Mistake of the Emperor Mystique.”⁹⁷ In his view, it was a group of three scholars, art historian André Grabar, medievalist Ernst Kantorowicz, and archaeologist András Alföldi, who became collectively responsible for the planting of the imperial-divine concept endowing image of Christ in the Early Byzantine art with royal features, and, oppositely, representing the emperor as the divine elect and intercessor between our and celestial worlds. These scholars coming themselves from Czarist Russia, Wilhelmine Germany, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, respectively, were overwhelmed by the nostalgia for the imperial past which they implanted into their historical writings. According to Th. Mathews, striving for the past royal grandeur, these scholars retroactively saw features of their vanished empires in the early Christian art they dealt with.

The extremes of *The Clash of Gods* were soon criticized by Th. Mathews’ colleagues,⁹⁸ but the deconstruction of the great imperial idea led the international Byzantine scholarship to the development of a more sublime approach to imperial imagery. Henry Maguire, on the basis of careful analysis of historical background and stylistic interpretation, proposed to apply much more specific explanation for every imperial image representing the relations between a sovereign and the Lord.⁹⁹

However, this interpretation of a sovereign as the Lord’s elect and mediator between the celestial and earthly worlds, though being charged with “latent memories” of imperial past, was widely-accepted and further developed by the Balkan art scholarships looking for the justification of their statehood in the imperial historical past.¹⁰⁰ This way, the topics of divine investiture and royal sanctity entered the historical and art historical scholarship of Serbia, Bulgaria, and Romania and stayed there up to nowadays.

⁹⁵ Vujnović, Andrej. *Doprinos Svetozara Radojčića metodologiji srpske istorije umetnosti*. Doktorska disertacija (Belgrade: Filozofskij fakultet, 2014): 171-172, 219.

⁹⁶ Mathews, Thomas. *The Clash of the Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993): 16.

⁹⁷ Mathews, Thomas. *The Clash of the Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993): 3-22.

⁹⁸ See, for example, Peter Brown. “Review of *The Clash of Gods* by Thomas F. Mathews,” *Art Bulletin* 77/3 (September 1995), 499-500.

⁹⁹ Maguire, Henry. “The Heavenly Court,” in: *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington, D.C, 1997): 247-258.

¹⁰⁰ Ignjatović, Aleksandar. “Byzantium's Apt Inheritors: Serbian Historiography, Nation-Building and Imperial Imagination, 1882–1941,” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 94/1 (January 2016): 57-92 (here pp. 59-60).

Medieval rulers are regarded as gaining their earthly power from the Divine origin, whereas the power itself is regarded as a service to God and the sovereigns as Christ's vicar on earth.¹⁰¹ The political power of the Byzantine Emperor is seen as derived from the absolute power of God and resembling it; the royal ceremonies through their liturgical symbolism are thought to explain the mystical origin of the rulers and to glorify the emperor.¹⁰² This concept was most commonly applied to the iconography of the sovereign's investiture which is considered to be borrowed by the Balkan rulers from the Byzantine artistic language.¹⁰³ In addition, rulers' portraits can be regarded among the propaganda images whose purpose was to display the relation of the monarchs with God who endowed them with earthly authority.¹⁰⁴

As a development of the discourse on the royal-divine connection, the Serbian historiographic tradition established a discussion of the royal sanctity of the Nemanjići dynasty. Regarding such topics as the holy ancestors and iconography of royal families and gift-giving, Serbian scholars composed a corpus of studies investigating the royal canonization processes and their artistic implications.¹⁰⁵ Looking for similar patterns of dynastic and royal sanctity in Wallachia and Moldavia, some researchers belonging to the Romanian Art Historical school as well turned their attention to the visual and literary sources of the sovereigns' cults.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Cvetković, Branislav. "Vladar kao slika Boga: Primer Resave," *Koreni* 5 (2007): 5-15;

¹⁰² Bakalova, Elka [Бакалова, Елка]. *Бачковската костница*. (Sofia: B'lgarski hudozhnik, 1977): 81-88; Đurić, Vojislav. "Novi Isus Navin," *Zograf* 14 (1983), 5-15; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija*, pp. 58-61, 247; Vojvodić, Dragan. "Ukrštena dijadima i „torakion“. Dve drevne i neuobičajene insignije srpskih vladara u XIV i XV veku," in: *Treća jugoslovenska konferencija vizantologa Kruševac 10-13. maj 2000*, eds. Lj. Maksimović, N. Radošević, E. Radulović (Belgrade- Kruševac: SANU, 2002): 250-276; Kambourova, Tania. "Du don surnaturel de la couronne: Images et interprétations," *Zograf* 32 (2008): 45-58.

¹⁰³ Walter, Christopher. "The iconographical sources for the coronation of Milutin and Simonida at Gračanica," in: *Vizantijska umetnost početkom XIV veka*, ed. Sreten Petković (Belgrade: Univerzitet u Beogradu, 1978): 186 – 200; Đurić, Vojislav. "Tri događaja u srpskoj državi i njihov odjek u slikarstvu," *ZLU* 4 (1968): 67-97; Babić, Gordana. "O portretima u Ramaći i jednom vidu investiture vladara," *ZLU* 15(1979): 151-178; Vojvodić, Dragan. "Vladarski portreti srpskih despota," in: *Manastir Resava. Istorija i umetnost*, ed. V. Đurić (Despotovac: Narodna biblioteka, 1995): 65-98.

¹⁰⁴ Babić, Gordana. "Les portraits de Dečani représentant ensemble Dečanski et Dušan," in: *Dečani i vizantijska umetnost sredinom XIV veka, zbornik radova*, ed. V. Đurić (Belgrade: SANU, 1989): 275-277; Negrău, Elisabeta. "The Ruler's Portrait in Byzantine Art. A Few Observations Regarding Its Functions," *European Journal of Science and Theology* 7/2 (June 2011): 63-75.

¹⁰⁵ Kostić, Drautin. "Učešće sv. Save u kanonizaciji sv. Simeona," in: *Svetosavski zbornik* (Belgrade: Kraljevska Akademija, 1936): 129-209; Ćurčić, Slobodan. "The Nemanjić family tree in the light of the ancestral cult in the Church of Joachim and Anna at Studenica," *ZRVI* 14-15 (1973), 191-196; Đorđević, Ivan. "Predstava Stefana Dečanskog uz oltarsku pregradu u Dečanima," *Saopštenja* 15 (1983): 35-43. Todić, Branislav. "Ktitorska kompozicija u naosu Bogorodičine crkve u Studenici," *Saopštenja* 29 (1997): 35-45; Gil, Dorota. "Između sakralizacije i politizacije istorije i tradicije – sveti vladar Stefan Nemanja," in: *Međunarodni naučni skup «Stefan Nemanja – Sveti Simeon Mirotočivi»* (Belgrade: SANU, 2000): 89-94; Todić, Branislav. "Predstave sv. Simeona Nemanje, nastavnika. prave vere i dobre vlade, u srednjovekovnom slikarstvu," in: *Međunarodni naučni skup «Stefan Nemanja – Sveti Simeon Mirotočivi»* (Belgrade: SANU, 2000): 295-304; Danica Popović, *Pod okriljem svetosti. Kult svetih vladara i relikvija u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade: SANU, 2006); Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja. *Sveti kralj: kult Stefana Dečanskog* (Belgrade: Clio, 2007).

¹⁰⁶ Negrău, Elisabeta. *Cultul suveranului sud-est european și cazul Țării Românești. O perspectivă artistică* (Iași: Lumen, 2011).

The latest attempt to produce encompassing study of what can be called the *Donor Portrait*¹⁰⁷ came to a very logical, but, in a way, very obvious conclusion: namely, that the portraits of the Byzantines depicted on the works of art commissioned or associated with them fall into two broad categories: with and without a votive gift. Consequently, these portraits can be classified as donor images and portrait images, and while the depictions included into the first group represent a symbolic moment of gift-giving, the second group embraces various images of the prayer and supplication. So, the former depicts a set of endowment and construction activities as a symbolic act of interaction between the human and divine, the latter distance itself “from the very subject of patronage,”¹⁰⁸ but rather manifests the pious impulses provoking a donor to initiate his/her deeds of sponsorship. The author of this theory, a British-American scholar Rico Franses, proposes to replace the conventionally accepted expression “Donor Portrait” with the term of “Contact portrait,”¹⁰⁹ as reflecting the moment of contact between the lay and holy, and, at the same time, he avoids (probably, unconsciously?) the very logical (in the present case) term “votive,” which is well-established in Continental scholarship.¹¹⁰

This discrepancy of terms and methods in art historical research seems to be a consequence of the multiplicity of approaches simultaneously applied by different national schools, as well as of the huge increase in the volume of the produced research texts.¹¹¹ The Globalisation of Byzantine scholarship being officially proclaimed during the 18th *International Congress of Byzantine Studies* taking place in Post-Communist Moscow in 1991¹¹² didn’t lead to the harmonization of research approaches. Though the rough difference between the Eastern and Western versions of scholarship – the former guided by the Marxist principles,¹¹³ and the latter by the post-modernist relativism¹¹⁴ – began to disappear, the new Byzantine studies are still divided, but, this time, in accordance with the

¹⁰⁷ Rico Franses. *Donor Portraits in Byzantine Art The Vicissitudes of Contact between Human and Divine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

¹⁰⁸ Rico Franses. *Donor Portraits in Byzantine Art The Vicissitudes of Contact between Human and Divine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018): 225.

¹⁰⁹ Rico Franses. *Donor Portraits in Byzantine Art The Vicissitudes of Contact between Human and Divine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018): 223-227.

¹¹⁰ See, for example, the application of the term “Votive portrait” in such works as: Bacci, Michele. “Images votives et portraits de donateurs au Levant au Moyen Âge Tardif” in: *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin; Actes du colloque international de l’Université de Fribourg (13–15 mars 2008)*, eds. J.-M. Spieser and E. Yota (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 2012): 293-305; Velden, van der, Hugo. *The Donor’s Image: Gérard Loyet and the Votive Portrait of Charles the Bold* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000); Sinigalia, Tereza. “L’église de l’Ascension du monastère de Neamț et le problème de l’espace funéraire en Moldavie aux XV-XVI siècles,” *RRHA* 35 (1998): 19-32 (esp. p. 27).

¹¹¹ Haldon, John. “Post-Millennial, but not Post-Modern, Novum Millenium,” in: *Studies on Byzantine history and culture dedicated to Paul Speck*, ed. C. Sode, S. Takacs (Aldershot: 2001): 1–11; Talbot, Alice-Mary. “Byzantine Studies at the Beginning of the Twenty-first Century,” *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 105/1 (2006): 25–43.

¹¹² М. В. Бибиков, С. П. Карпов, Н. М. Богданова, С. В. Близнюк, А. Р. [sic] Пономарев, Р. М. Шукуров. “XVIII Международный конгресс византистов,” *VV* 54 (1991): 207-219.

¹¹³ Zalejko, Gwidon. “Soviet Historiography as a Normal Science,” in: *Historiography between modernism and postmodernism: Contributions to the Methodology of the Historical Research*, ed. Jerzy Topolski (Rodopi: 1994): 179-190.

¹¹⁴ Ankersmit, Frank. “Historiography and Postmodernism” *History and Theory* 28/2 (May, 1989): 137-153.

principle of “Centre-Periphery,” perceiving the scholarship produced in the great English-speaking schools on the both shores of the Atlantic as the Centre, and appointing a variety of national Byzantine schools to take the back seats.¹¹⁵ In this situation, certain specific methodologies, approaches, or even topics get temporary supremacy and, after a while, grow out of fashion.

If one takes a closer look at the multitude of contemporary studies devoted to the problem of donor portrait and sponsorship, (s)he would notice certain group of topics appearing in the focus of patronage studies. The majority of works identifies sponsorship activities and particular acts of patronage as a reflexion of group identity which can be related to gender,¹¹⁶ family,¹¹⁷ town/village/region,¹¹⁸ class, or social stratum;¹¹⁹ whereas a minor number of books and articles are concerned with private voices of donors and their selfhood expressed by means of artistic production.¹²⁰ So, the question may follow, are these two research trends, i.e., inclination toward

¹¹⁵ Stanković, Vlada. “Srpska i svetska vizantologija u 21. veku ili o stalnom preispitivanju ustaljenih mišljenja”, *Vizantijski svet na Balkanu*, Vol. 2 (Belgrade: SANU, 2012): 647–651

¹¹⁶ The number of works dedicated to the interdependence of sponsorship activities and gender is truly vast. Here, I am abridging only few most important examples: Brubaker, Leslie. “Memories of Helena: Patterns in Imperial Female Matronage in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries,” in: *Women, Men and Eunuchs. Gender in Byzantium*, ed. L. James (London- New York: 1997): 52–75; Hill, Barbara. *Imperial Women in Byzantium 1025-1204: Power, Patronage and Ideology* (Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 1999); Talbot, “Building Activity in Constantinople”; Gavrilović, Zaga. “Women in Serbian politics, diplomacy and art at the beginning of the Ottoman rule,” in: *Byzantine style, Religion and Civilization In Honour of Sir Steven Runciman*, ed. E. Jeffreys (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 72–90; Brooks, Sarah T. “Poetry and Female Patronage in Late Byzantine Tomb Decoration: Two Epigrams by Manuel Philes,” *DOP* 60 (2006): 223–248; Cvetković, Branislav. “Iconography of Female Regency: An Issue of Methodology,” *Niš and Byzantium* 10 (2012): 405-414; Gerstel, Kalopissi-Verti, “the Agency of the Village Widow”; Bogevska, Saška. “Notes on Female Piety in Hermitages of the Ohrid and Prespa Region: The Case of Mali Grad,” in: *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. L. Theiss, M. Mullett and M. Grünbart (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014): 355-368; Stathakopoulos, Dionysios. “I seek not my own: Is There a Female Mode of Charity and Patronage?,” in: *Ibid.*, p. 383-398; Tomin, Svetlana. “Darodavna aktivnost u srpskom srednjem veku: vladarke i supruge vladara,” in: *Srednji vek u srpskoj nauci, istoriji, književnosti i umetnosti* 6, ed. G. Jovanović (Valjevo: Topalović, 2015): 129–142; Smolčić-Makuljević, Svetlana. “Žene priložnice svetogorskih manastira u srednjem veku,” in: *Deveta kazivanja o Svetoj Gori*, eds. A. Fotić, Z. Rakić (Belgrade: Prosveta, 2016): 171-206.

¹¹⁷ Popović, Marko. “Les funeraillles du Ktitor: Aspect archeologique,” in: *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, 21-26 August 2006*, eds. E. Jeffreys, F. K. Haarer, J. Ryder, Vol. I (Aldershot, Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2006): 99-130; Garland, “Till Death do us Part?”; Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia. “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: The Metropolitan Museum of Arts, 2006): 76-97; Cvetković, Branislav. “The Portraits in Lapušnja and Iconography of Joint Ktetorship,” *Niš and Byzantium* 11 (2013): 295-308; Kambourova, “Le don de l'église”.

¹¹⁸ Kalopissi-Verti, “Collective Patterns of Patronage”; Drakopoulou, Eugenia. “Kastoria: Art, Patronage and Society,” in: *Heaven and Earth: Cities and Countryside in Greece*, eds. J. Albani, E. Chalkia (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2012): 114-125.

¹¹⁹ Vojvodić, Dragan. “Personalni sastav slike vlasti u doba Paleologa. Vizantija — Srbija — Bugarska,” *ZRVI* 46 (2009): 426–442; Etzeoglou, Rodoniki. “Quelques remarques sur les portraits figures dans les eglises de Mistra,” *JÖB* 32/5 (1982): 513-521; Dimitropoulou, Vassiliki. “Giving Gifts to God: Aspects on Patronage in Byzantine Art,” in: *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. by Liz James (Chichester: 2010): 161–170; Smyrlis, Konstantinos. “Small Family Foundations in Byzantium, Eleventh to Fourteenth Century,” in: *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, ed. M. Mullett (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007): 107–120; Gerstel, *Rural Lives*.

¹²⁰ Carr, Annemarie Weyl. “Donors in the Frames of Icons: Living in the Borders of Byzantine Art,” *Gesta* 45 (2006): 189–198; Vassilaki, Maria. “Female Piety, Devotion and Patronage: Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina of Ioannina and Helena Uglješa of Serres,” in: *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin*, ed. J.-M. Spieser - E. Yota (Paris: 2012): 221-234; Marsengill, Katherine. *Portraits and Icons: Between Reality and Spirituality in Byzantine Art* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); Drpić, Ivan. “Jefimija the Nun: A Reappraisal,” in: *Proceeding of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies Belgrade, 22 – 27 August 2016. Round Tables*, eds. B. Krsmanović, Lj. Milanović (Belgrade: 2016):

social grouphood or to its opposition, the extreme selfhood, somehow connected? In my view, one may look for an explanation in the contemporary social policies and cultural narratives we exist in. On the one hand, our society experiences extreme politicising of identity which assumes powerful influence over public life.¹²¹ Browsing the marketplace of identities, one creates a public self on the crossroad of association with various groups on the basis of race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, class, political views, etc. On the other side of this narrative, there is a fragile individual who is abandoned by a consumerist society in an existential solitude with an autonomous set of his/her unique desires, fears, rights, and dignity.¹²² This way, making our approach to the images and personae of medieval donors, we regard them as we are accustomed to regard ourselves, as atomized and isolated individuals in search of a group identity. Dominating the landscape of Byzantine Studies, this identity trend, perhaps, provoked the interest in individual and royal patronage as simultaneous expression of selfhood and social grouphood.

Though regarding so critically the existing methodologies in dealing with the ktetoria on the territory of Balkans during the 13th to 15th century, I am quite conscious that I myself cannot avoid some biases and prejudices, especially, in the regard of political relations between states, the importance of royal authority and orthodoxy, gender-related issues, or affinities between the Byzantine and Balkan Slavic cultures. I am aware that my vision was distorted by a long coexistence with the Serbian and, later, Greek and Bulgarian historical scholarships, though I always try to measure my claims against more balanced ideologically international scholarship which, however, often lacks the profound knowledge of sources and complexities of local chronologies, geographies, and/or prosopographies.

In the present study, I am going to follow the methodological path established by the scholars dealing with the Western traditions of patronage in the framework of the gift-giving and memory-keeping practices. In recent years, medieval historical studies started to focus on the problem of memory and gift in their application to donation and patronage practices, commission of sacred images and spaces, votive portraits, memory books, private rituals, spatial organization of burials,

921-925; Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*; Drpić, Ivan. "The Patron's T: Art, Selfhood, and the Later Byzantine Dedicatory Epigram," *Speculum* 89/4 (October 2014): 895-935; Riehle, Alexander. "Καί σε προστάτιν ἐν αὐτοῖς τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπιγράφομεν σωτηρίας: Theodora Raulaina als Stifterin und Patronin," in: *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. L. Theis, M. Mullett, M. Grünbart (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014): 299-316; Effenberger, Arne. "Zur Restaurierungstätigkeit des Michael Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes im Pammakaristoskloster und zur Erbauungszeit des Parekklesion," *Zograf* 31 (2006–2007): 79–94.

¹²¹ Somers, Margaret. "The Narrative Constitution of Identity: A Relational and Network Approach," *Theory and Society* 23/5 (1994): 605–649; Nicholson, Linda and Seidman, Steven. "Introduction" in: *Social Postmodernism: Beyond Identity Politics*, ed. Linda Nicholson et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 1–38; Stryker, Sheldon, Timothy J. Owens, and Robert W. White, eds. *Self, Identity and Social Movements* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2000); Fukuyama, Francis. *Identity: The Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment* (Farrar: Straus and Giroux, 2018).

¹²² Moran, Marie. *Identity and Capitalism* (London: Sage, 2015): esp. pp. 127–154.

etc.¹²³ Both, the gift-giving and *memoria* have been understood as total *social phenomena*, meaning that both found their way in all aspects of the society's life. Moreover, the medieval practices of endowment of monasteries were seen as formed on the intersection of two concepts, gift-giving¹²⁴ and memory-keeping.¹²⁵

Being a form of reciprocity and exchange, gift-giving was regarded as a social integration practice, which functions as a tool of socialization, communication, and bounding. Whereas memory-keeping is an umbrella-term for a group of social and religious rituals, either private or collective, which preserve and transmit information about past events or persons. And the rituals of commemoration become thus the particular cases of memory-keeping, establishing the connection between the living and the dead. Such practices become vehicles of transmission of personal history, religious and social identity,¹²⁶ marking the closeness of a group through its affiliation to these events or persons.¹²⁷

¹²³ For applying memory-keeping to the problem of patronage, see: Borgolte, Michael. *Stiftung und Memoria* (Munich: Walter de Gruyter, 2012): 41-78; 337-384. The research focus of Geuenichm Dieter, Oexle, Otto Gerhard, eds. *Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 1994), is the image of rulers and rulers' burials in the late Middle Ages as agents. Horch, Caroline. *Der Memorialgedanke und das Spektrum seiner Funktionen in der Bildenden Kunst des Mittelalters* (Königstein im Taunus: Langeschiewe, 2001) deals with diverse image of monastic and cathedral founders of 12-15th centuries, whereas the collection of articles in E. Brenner et al., eds, *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture* (London-New York: Routledge, 2016 [2013]) explores the problem of commemoration and remembrance in Medieval Europe on a wide range of sources, such as illuminated manuscripts, burials, portraits, etc. The intersection of memory-keeping and gift-giving studies was applied to the study of medieval patronage in a collection of essays on donors in the Low Countries by A.-J. Bijsterveld (Bijsterveld, Arnoud-Jan. *Do ut des: Gift Giving, Memoria, and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries*, (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2007). The status of the religious images and spaces in the context of personal piety, primarily, ex-voto images and objects as well as artistic patronage for the salvation of soul, was regarded in: Bacci, Michele. *«Pro remedio animae». Immagini sacre e pratiche devozionali in Italia centrale (secoli XIII e XIV)* (Pisa: GISEM-Edizioni ETS, 2000). This and the next book of the same author (Bacci, Michele. *Investimenti per l'aldilà. Arte e raccomandazione dell'anima nel Medioevo* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2003) also put a stress on the development of artistic commissions (additional church spaces, chapels, "portraits," images of saints) by the provisions of testaments of Italian urban class. Some individual motivations of art donors belonging to different urban classes were explored in: Schleif, Corine. *Donatio et Memoria: Stifter, Stiftungen und Motivationen an Beispielen aus der Lorenzkirche in Nürnberg*. (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1990). The shift in the testamentary practices from more broad and anonymous bequeathing toward more targeted ecclesiastic patronage ensuring the perpetuation of testator's memory, caused by the plague of 1363 was regarded in: Cohn, Samuel K. *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

¹²⁴ For applying the exchange and reward theory to medieval material, see the collection of articles: Algazi, Gadi et al., eds, *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 2003), especially the essays: Magnani, Eliana. "Transforming Things and Persons: The Gift pro anima in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in: *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-modern Figurations of Exchange*, pp. 269-284; Jussen, Bernhard. "Religious Discourses of the Gift in the Middle Ages Semantic Evidences (Second to Twelfth Centuries)," in: *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-modern Figurations of Exchange*, pp. 173-192, and also: Magnani, Eliana. "Almsgiving, Donatio Pro Anima and Eucharistic Offering in the Early Middle Ages of Western Europe (4th–9th century)," in: *Charity and Giving in Monotheistic Religions*, eds. M. Frenkel and Y. Lev (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009): 111-121.

¹²⁵ Concerning the phenomenon of social memory see: Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989) and Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (1989): 7-24. For a criticism of too wide an application of memory studies, see: Berliner, David C. "The Abuses of Memory: Reflections on the Memory Boom in Anthropology," *Anthropological Quarterly* 78/1 (2005): 197–211.

¹²⁶ Assman, Jan. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 125-133.

¹²⁷ Crumley, Carole "Exploring Venues of Social Memory: Social Memory and Environmental Change," in: *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*, eds. J. Climo and M. Cattell (New York: 2002): 39–52.

1.4. Sources

1.4.1. Written Sources

It rather a difficult task to discuss the exact textual sources containing information about the ktetoria in Byzantium and Slavic Balkan countries. Practically all genres of Byzantine literature and documentation can be listed in this respect. Regarding sources for the patronage during the entire Byzantine period, Z. Chitwood proposed to divide them into three main categories, Legislative (normative), Documental, and Narrative,¹²⁸ however, this division does not take into consideration a great variety of epigraphic material and service texts (such as Memorials, Euchologia, liturgical scrolls, etc.). Due to imbalance of the chronological distribution of sources,¹²⁹ for the regarded period of the 13th to 15th centuries the following categories of written sources are the most important: donation documents, ecclesiastic court settlements, court protocols, monastic foundation documents (*typika*), service books (euchologia, memorials etc.), hagiographies, and epigraphic material.

- Among the Greek charters, preserved at the monasteries of Athos,¹³⁰ Meteora¹³¹ and St. John Prodromos on Mt. Menoikeion,¹³² and at Serbian¹³³ and Bulgarian¹³⁴ national monasteries, I will select those which represent the cases related to the foundation of an ecclesiastic institution, its secondary patronage, and sponsorship. By comparing the size of participation (gifts of lands, money, settlements, another ecclesiastic institution, tax or privilege, church equipment, books) in the endowment and the consequential benefits (economic, spiritual, political) received by sponsors of different statuses, I will make a list of concordance between benefits and type of participation. This will help one to understand the social positions of the *ktetors* belonging to different patronage groups and their financial abilities.

¹²⁸ Chitwood, Zachary. "Griechisch-orthodoxe Christen," in: *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften, Vol. 1. Grundlagen*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014): 397-412 (here, p. 397-398)

¹²⁹ Chitwood, Zachary. "Griechisch-orthodoxe Christen," in: *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften, Vol. 1. Grundlagen*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014): 398.

¹³⁰ The Athonite acts are systematically edited in the series "*Actes de l'Athos*," which currently consists of 22 vols. The last one, *Actes de Vatopédi*, de 1330 à 1376, was published in 2006. For the cases when the collection of charters for some monasteries have not yet been published in the modern edition, I suggest to use the old series started in *Vizantijski Vremennik* (for Hilandar and Zographou monasteries). Additionally, in some cases, I am going to address supplementary publications, such as Kravari, V., ed. "Nouveaux documents du monastère de Philothéou," *TM* 10 (1987): 323-332.

¹³¹ Beis, Nikolaos [Βέης, Νικόλαος]. "Σερβικά και βυζαντιακά γράμματα Μετεώρου," *Byzantis* 2 (1910-1911): 1-100.

¹³² Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrôme*; Bénou, *Le Codex B*.

¹³³ The main collections of Serbian diplomatic sources are the following: Micosich, Franz, ed. *Monumenta Serbica Spectantia Historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Ragusii* (Graz: Braumüller, 1858); Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*; *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*; Solovjev, Mošin. *Grčke povelje srpskih vladara*; Sindik, Dušan. "Srpska srednjovekovna akta u manastiru Hilandaru," *Hilandarski zbornik* 10 (1998): 9-134. The most recent editions of Serbian medieval charters are published in the periodical *Stari Srpski Arhiv*, which at the present moment consists of 13 volumes (2002-2014) and *Zbornik srednjovekovnih ćirilskih povelja*

¹³⁴ Daskalova, Angelina, Rajkova Maria [Даскалова, Ангелина, Райкова, Мария], eds. *Грамоти на българските царе* (Sofia: AI "Prof. Marin Drinov," 2005).

- The dedicatory inscriptions mentioning patrons and the affiliation with imperial power, painted/carved in Byzantine,¹³⁵ Serbian, and Bulgarian¹³⁶ medieval churches will provide information about the founders or the relations between sponsors within the founding group. Thus, I will examine the order of placing the founders' names, their titles and dignities, degrees of family relation, and the information given about their participation. As it seems to me, I can distinguish in this way a degree of honor assigned to the participants.
- In the extended commemoration sections of monastic *typika* (such as that of Kecharitomene,¹³⁷ Kosmosoteira,¹³⁸ Bebaia Elpis, and Lips¹³⁹ monasteries and some others¹⁴⁰), I will analyze the differences between commemorative rites prescribed for various groups of founders (main founders, their close and distant relatives, friends, and servants) and try to see the factors conditioning these differences (whether it was connected with the degree of relativity, sum or time of endowment). Other *typika*'s chapters dedicated to administration and management will allow me to see what kind of rights (appointing the *hegoumenos*, buying property etc.) were reserved only for the initial founder, for the secondary founder, for the patron and for sponsors.
- Some narrative hagiographic sources, such as Life of St. Theodosios of Tărnovo,¹⁴¹ Encomium to St. Leontios of Monembasia,¹⁴² a Greek Life of St. Romylos, written by his disciple Gregorios,¹⁴³ and its Slavic translation¹⁴⁴ as well as the Collection of Lives of Serbian King and Archbishops by Archbishop Danilo II¹⁴⁵ can shed some light on the organization and administration of the monasteries and historical circumstances of the regarded period. They also can help to analyze the relations between the monastery inhabitants and the patrons and sponsors. Primarily, on the basis

¹³⁵ The metrical inscriptions are collected by Rhoby, Andreas. *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009). The work of Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory inscriptions and Donor Portraits* is useful, but quite limited in geographical and chronological aspects. For other periods and regions, see Millet, "Inscriptions byzantines de Mistra"; Millet, Gabriel; Petit, Louis David; Pargoire, Jeanne Fourier, eds. *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de l'Athos*, Vol. I (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1904); Gerola, Giuseppe. *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, 4 Vols. (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1905-1932); Stylianou, Andreas and Judith. "Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions, Supplicants and Supplications in the Painted Churches of Cyprus," *JÖB* 9 (1960): 97-128; Feissel, Philippidis-Braat, "Inscriptions du Péloponnèse"; Feissel, Avraméa, "Inscriptions de Thessalie"; Spieser, "Les inscriptions de Thessalonique"; Feissel, Denis, and Spieser, Jean-Michel. "Inventaires en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance. II. Les inscriptions de Thessalonique. Supplément," *TM* 7 (1979), 303-348.

¹³⁶ For Serbian, Bulgarian, and Latin dedicatory inscriptions, see: Stojanović, *Zapisi i Natpisi*, 6 vols; Tomović, *Morfologija ćirilskih natpisa*; Smyadovki, Stefan [Смядовски, Стефан], ed. *Българска кирилска епиграфика IX-XV век* (Sofia: Agata-A, 1993).

¹³⁷ Gautier, Paul. "Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôméné," *REB* 43 (1985): 5-165.

¹³⁸ Petit, Louis. "Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d'Aenos (1152)," *IRAIK* 13 (1908): 17-77.

¹³⁹ Delehay, Hippolyte. *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels: Lamertin, 1921).

¹⁴⁰ The most complete edition of the Byzantine *Typika*, see: *BMFD*.

¹⁴¹ Zlatarki, "Житие и жизнь преподобнаго отца нашего Теодосия."

¹⁴² Lampros, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, Vol. II, pp. 161-168/

¹⁴³ Halkin, "Un ermite des Balkans."

¹⁴⁴ Syrku, Polichronij [Сырку, Полихроний], ed. *Монаха Григория житие преподобного Ромила* (Saint Petersburg: Tipografija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk, 1900).

¹⁴⁵ Daničić, Đure, ed. *Arhiepiskop Danilo i drugi: Životi kraljeva i Arhiepiskopa srpskih* (Zagreb: Svetozar Galac, 1886).

of these narrative hagiographic sources I am going to prove the differences between private and hermitic foundations.

- Finally, the Byzantine service books collected by A. Dmitrievskij¹⁴⁶ and various Slavic Memorials¹⁴⁷ may be useful for the analysis of the commemoration rites and ceremonies. The selection of sponsors included in the memorial lists can demonstrate the relations between the size of endowment and the assigned liturgical rites and frequency of commemorations.

1.4.2. Visual Sources

Hans Belting¹⁴⁸ once noted that the origins of portraiture as well as that of Christian icons lie in the funerary art and funerary practices. He defines the funerary portrait as “a memorial image for private use” and considers that people depicted in the late antique catacombs were “private individuals who were commemorated after their death.”¹⁴⁹ However, analyzing the 14th-century donor portrait of an unknown married couple in the lower church at Assisi, he observes that “it can no more be called a private image.... It is, to be sure, a wall painting in a public space, but it was indeed conceived as a private devotional image and served a private donor.”¹⁵⁰ Exactly, this ambiguity of the private use and public appearance characterizes the images of donors during the late medieval period in Byzantium, as well as in the West. The donors, whether they were still alive or already dead in the time of the creation of an image, wished to be depicted and remembered in a very certain way knowing that they will be posthumously viewed by visitors of their foundations.

It is precisely the idea of being seen and remembered by others that drew Isaak Komnenos' actions when he ordered his first votive portrait in Chora monastery which was the initial foundation of this Constantinopolitan prince and his first suggested place of burial.¹⁵¹ The same idea, however regarded in the framework of piety, humbleness and penitence of his later years, made Isaak to abandon the decision of being represented in his second foundation, Kosmosoteira monastery, where he prepared his own burial:

As for the portrait of myself, made in my youth, in the vanity of boyhood, I do not wish for it to be removed from Chora, but to stay where I set it up. For my wretched

¹⁴⁶ Dmitrievskij, *Описание литургических рукописей*, Vol. II: Euchologia

¹⁴⁷ Novaković, *Srpski Pomenici*; Stancheva, Magdalena, Stanchev, Stancho [Станчева, Магдалина, Станчев, Станчо], eds. *Боянският поменик* (Sofia: BAN, 1963); Ivanov, Jordan [Иванов, Йордан] ed. “Поменици на български царе и царици,” *Izvestija na istoričesko društvo v Sofija* 4 (1915): 219-229; [Bilyarski, Ivan [Билярски, Иван]. “Погановският поменик,” *Godishnik na Sofijskija universitet Sv. Kliment Ohridski* 84-85 (4) (1990-1991): 53-77.

¹⁴⁸ Belting, Hans. *Likeness and Presence. A History of the Image Before the Era of Art* (University of Chicago Press, 1994): 88.

¹⁴⁹ Belting, Hans. *Likeness and Presence. A History of the Image Before the Era of Art* (University of Chicago Press, 1994): 89.

¹⁵⁰ Belting, Hans. *Likeness and Presence. A History of the Image Before the Era of Art* (University of Chicago Press, 1994): 417.

¹⁵¹ About the 14th-century portrait of Isaak Komnenos at Chora monastery see Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, Vol. I, pp. 11–13, 45–48.

body, which worms will tear apart, will not need to be honored with a likeness (εἰκόνισμα), after its dissolution.¹⁵²

This passage as well gives to modern readers a couple of hints concerning the attitude of the Byzantines toward their portraits. First of all, this text reflects an interaction between a commissioner and a monastic community, since Isaak mentions many times the “wishes” he expressed to the monks and the “orders” he gave to them. Consequently, the relations between a commissioner and a religious community are based on directions given by a commissioner, including his/her wishes concerning the way of being depicted, and the execution of these directions by the religious communities’ members.

Moreover, the presence of a founder’s image itself becomes not only a matter of future commemoration, but as well that of honour (τιμή). According to the Patriarch Nikephoros, St. Gregory of Nazianzos “decided to honor” St. Basil with an image,¹⁵³ while John Mavropous considers “painting” to be the way to honor the emperor and the patriarch,¹⁵⁴ and Manuel Philes writing about the essence of the icon veneration considers that “an image endows the prototypes with honor.”¹⁵⁵ This sense of honor and dignity stood behind the aesthetic of a byzantine portrait, which was considered by the Byzantines themselves to be on one side a copy of nature, but at the same time an idealized copy.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, if one attempts to look at the phenomenon of the portraiture through the Byzantine eyes, (s)he, unavoidably, realizes the existence of three interdependent aspects, simultaneously manifested in images and contemporary texts dedicated to them: the private or pious, the visual or artistic, and the public or memorial. More precisely, these aspects reflect a set of complex relations established between the commissioner, the performer and the beholders, all of them being necessary for the very existence of the donor images. As it will be regarded in the following chapters, the images of ktetors functioned in different social spheres (pious, political, and memorial) and both realms (the earthly and celestial) simultaneously, and in order to continue operating this way, the images needed to be viewed, understood, properly treated and venerated by the communities preserving the memory of the ktetor. However, I would argue that these theoretical aspects and the historical realities they represent appear in the focus of art historical studies intermittently, being sometimes overrepresented or, oppositely, understudied by one or another generation of scholars. In the case of the present study, I am going to apply iconographic analysis to the images of founders and

¹⁵² For the Greek text see Petit, Louis. “Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira, près d'Aenos,” *IRAIK* 13 (1908): 63, for translation see: *BMFD*, p. 838. For discussion of Isaak Komnenos tomb in Kosmosoteira see: Ševčenko, Nancy P. “The Tomb of Isaak Komnenos at Pherrai,” *GOTR* 29/2 (1984): 135-140 and Sinos, Stefan. *Die Klosterkirche der Kosmosoteira in Bera (Vira)* (Munich: Beck, 1985): 54-58.

¹⁵³ *Refutatio Et Eversio Definitionis Synodalis Anni 815 01 by patriarcha Constantinopolitanus Nicephorus*, ed. J.M. Featherstone (Brepols: 1997): 104.2–6.

¹⁵⁴ Mango, Cyril. *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1972): 221.

¹⁵⁵ Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, Vol. I/ 2, p. 86, no. 177.

¹⁵⁶ On the relations between the prototype and the artistic image as based on the platonic notion of imitation (mimesis), see, for example, a popular homily on the 50th Psalm ascribed to John Chrysostom (*PG*, Vol. LV, col. 563).

donors¹⁵⁷ situated in the Byzantine and Balkan churches in order to extract the information related to the social status of the depicted, their family relations, and the measure of participation.

1.5. Geographic and Chronologic Framework

Finally, I would like to justify a geographic and chronologic framework for my study, namely, Byzantium and Balkan Slavic Countries (primarily, Serbia, but also Bulgaria) in the period between 1261 and 1453 (however, for the sake of comparison I may include examples dated with other periods or representing different regions of the Orthodox world). The main reason for this chronology is the scope of previous studies, namely the most recent overview of the Byzantine foundation practices by Z. Chitwood¹⁵⁸ leaves aside the Palaiologan period in the majority of studies. Moreover, the preceding study by J. Ph. Thomas¹⁵⁹ also dedicated only a short last chapter to the entire Palaiologan period. This means that the last comprehensive study of the Late Byzantine Patronage was made by J. von Zhishman.¹⁶⁰ On the other hand, active development of Serbian and Bulgarian scholarship introduced new sources and research perspectives on the relations between the three Balkan states in course of the regarded period. And some of the Slavic topics introduced by these scholarly communities, such as dedicatory inscriptions, family portraits, or donors' commemoration demands, can be understood better being placed against the "Commonwealth" background, i.e. regarded in comparison with the Byzantine practices.

Moreover, in the present-day scholarship, all three countries (Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria) consider the age between the late 13th century and the establishment of the Ottoman power as the period of shared history. Since 1993, when Greek and Serbian scholars organized a Colloquium "Βυζάντιο και Σερβία κατά τον ΙΔ' αιώνα," [Byzantium and Serbia in the 14th century] (Athens: Instituto Byzantinon Ereunon, 1996), the timeframe between the restoration of the Empire in 1261 and the Ottoman conquest was regarded as a common Balkan heritage established in the same

¹⁵⁷ Many of *ktetorial* compositions were collected and published, except for the works mentioned earlier; for the topic, the following studies are relevant: Radojčić, *Portreti srpskih vladara*; Velmans, Tania. "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues," *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues. Actes du Colloque organisé par l'association internationale des Etudes byzantines à Venise en sept. 1968*, (Venice: 1971), 93-148; Bakalova, Elka. "La société et l'art en Bulgarie au XIV^e siècle," *Actes du XIV^e Congrès international des études byzantines*, Vol. II (Bucharest: 1971-1975), 32-38; Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*; Rico Franses. *Donor Portraits in Byzantine Art The Vicissitudes of Contact between Human and Divine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

¹⁵⁸ Chitwood, Zachary. "Griechisch-orthodoxe Christen," in: *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften*, Vol. I. *Grundlagen*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014): 57-70, 131-144, 212-228, 299-312, 397-412; Chitwood, Zachary. "Griechisch-orthodoxe Christen," in: *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften*, Vol. II. *Das soziale System Stiftung*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015): 61-72, 147-165, 242-257, 324-336, 407-420, 486-497, 554-567.

¹⁵⁹ Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 244-269.

¹⁶⁰ Zhishman, *Das Stifterrecht*.

measure on conflicts, wars and occupations as on the common religious and cultural background, artistic and textual influences, bilingualism and interpersonal connections. The recent trend being evident in both, the Bulgarian and Serbian academic milieu, is to study the development of both countries in the context of the Byzantine civilization. Thus, the proceedings of joint Serbian and Bulgarian Conference of 2003 were entitled: *България и Сърбия в контекста на византийската цивилизация / Бугарска и Србија у кругу византијске цивилизације* [Bulgaria and Serbian in the context of Byzantine Civilization] (Sofia: BAN, 2005). It was followed by another joint academic edition, *Byzantine World in the Balkans*, eds. Bojana Krsmanović, Ljubomir Maksimović, Radivoj Radić (Belgrade: SANU, 2012). Another recent edition, *The Balkans and the Byzantine World before and after the Captures of Constantinople, 1204 and 1453*, ed. V. Stanković (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2012), published in English and intended for an international audience, also chooses a comparative approach to the Byzantine Legacy on the Balkans, though the methods applied by the participants are more innovative than in Balkan classical academic editions. Finally, the same view on the period under consideration as the time of shared values, active interactions and encounters was advanced in a three-volume collection of articles, *Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art*, eds. D. Popović, D. Vojvodić (Belgrade: SANU, 2016), published by the Institute for Byzantine Studies (Belgrade) and launched for the International Byzantine Congress of 2016.

This way, the chosen chronological and geographical framework would enable me to compare the Byzantine and the Balkan Slavic traditions of *ktetoria* easily as one may find a great conformity in sources and modes of expression (laws, rhetoric, artistic tradition, church services, saints' cults et.) between Byzantium and its Slavic neighbours during the late 13th – mid 15th centuries. Therefore, the present project is aimed on studying the practice of foundation and endowment of the ecclesiastic institutions in Byzantium and Balkan Slavic States during the above-mentioned period.

I. FOUNDERS

2. Typology of Private Ecclesiastic Institutions in Byzantium and Medieval Balkan Countries

Private ecclesiastic institutions, both, churches and monasteries, were the most common form of ecclesiastic foundations in the Balkans, especially, during the late centuries of the Byzantine Empire. However, the majority of studies dealing with this topic focuses either on the legal aspects of private foundations;¹⁶¹ the others – on the relations between the foundations and the Patriarchate;¹⁶² and only few works deal with the practices and social aspects of Balkan private churches and monasteries.¹⁶³ Therefore, this chapter is going to focus on several case studies reflecting the status and activities of a private (re-)founder, and to analyze the mechanisms of establishment, re-establishment and subsequent management of the foundations of various types (chapels, churches, subsidiary chapels, small and grand private monasteries). This approach may allow the understanding of the problems which the average founders were faced with, and the solutions they developed as a response. On the other hand, both, Byzantine and Slavic sources, demonstrate significant differences in methods of establishing, managing, supporting, and maintaining between the private foundations established by laymen or clerics¹⁶⁴ and the monastic institutions organized under the spiritual guidance and care of important monastic leaders (such as monasteries of Mount Athos or Meteora), who were once called “professional monks.”¹⁶⁵ As the future discussion will prove the institutions belonging to the first category were predominantly intended on serving the private pious needs of the

¹⁶¹ Zhishman, *Das Stifterrecht*; Herman, “Chiese private”; Herman, “Ricerche sulle istituzioni”; Herman, Emil. “The Secular Church,” in: *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4/2: Government, Church and Civilization, ed. Hussey J. M., Nicol D. M., and Cowan G. (Cambridge, 1967), 104-133 (esp. 116-125); Papagianni, Eletheria [Παπαγιάννη, Ελευθερία]. *Η νομολογία των εκκλησιαστικών δικαστηρίων της βυζαντινής και μεταβυζαντινής περιόδου σε θέματα περιουσιακού δικαίου*. Vol. 1 (Athens: Sakkoulas, 1992): 261-263. The studies of the private typika address the same area of the legal issues of private foundations, for instance, Galatariotou, “Ktetorika Typika”. More recently, the problem of the correlation between the canonic law and the private typika was studied by Stolte, Bernard. “Law for Founders,” in: *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, ed. M. Mullett (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007): 121–139. Some of the studies dealing with the legal aspect of the middle-Byzantine private churches were dedicated to the problem of *charistike* – donation of monasteries to the individuals who were not their initial founders, see: Charanis, “Monastic Properties,” esp. pp. 72–81; Lemerle, Paul. “Un aspect du rôle des monastères à Byzance: les monastères donnés à des laïcs, les charistika,” *Accadémie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1967, janvier-mars* (1967): 9-28; Ahrweiler, Hélène. “Charisticariat et autres formes d'attribution de fondations pieuses aux Xe-XIe siècles,” *ZRVI* 10 (1967): 1-27; Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, 166-168, 180-181.

¹⁶² Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, esp. pp. 244-269.

¹⁶³ Cutler, “Art in Byzantine Society,” esp. pp. 768-772; On some case studies of Byzantine patronage practices, see: Allison, “Founders and Refounders”; Smyrlis, “Small Family Foundations”.

¹⁶⁴ For the active role of the clerics into the establishment of monasteries in the Palaiologan Macedonia, see: Rautman, Marc. “Aspects of monastic patronage in Palaeologan Macedonia,” in: *The Twilight of Byzantium: aspects of cultural and religious history in the Late Byzantine Empire*, ed. S. Ćurčić and D. Mouriki (Princeton: Princeton University, 1991): 62-70. Though, the documents of Mount Athos and Menoikeion monastery published after 1991 prove that the noblemen were also involved into the establishment of ecclesiastic institutions in Macedonia, contrary to the main point of the article concerning the decline into the ecclesiastic patronage of nobility.

¹⁶⁵ This difference was noted by Smyrlis, “Small Family Foundations,” pp. 109–114 (quotation from p. 110).

founders, from the veneration of a particular saint or a feast to burials and commemorations. These institutions tended to have rather a short life, limited to the active generations of the patron families; they couldn't always overcome the periods of economic crises or wars, as they, in a great extent, continued to depend on the fortune of founders and their lasting support. Even being sufficiently endowed, the foundations of this type often turned into the *metochia* of greater monasteries (the foundations of the second type). Sometimes, not trusting sufficiently to their own heirs in the matters of non-alienation of church goods, the founders of rich private establishments transferred, consciously, their self-sufficient establishments as *metochia* to the Great monastic centres and, thus, they tried to secure the ecclesiastic status of the institutions and to assure the spiritual guidance for the settled monks.

The monastic centres, i.e. the foundations of the second type, seem to operate on quite different grounds. As it will be shown further, they were usually founded in distant, deserted locations, often without sufficient economic assets. The scarcity of economic means could be considered even beneficial by the monastic leaders, as they strove for the extreme *askesis* and the separation from the material world. These founders were prominent monks who gathered groups of students around them, and, usually, the students became the initial settlers of such monasteries. In their organization and administration, these monasteries often followed the examples of renowned communities, whether from the ancient monasteries of the Holy Land, Constantinople or Mount Athos. With the growth of these communities, their leaders started to seek external financial support from aristocrats and members of the royal house.¹⁶⁶ Often, those persons who were founders of private foundations of the first type were at the same time donors and benefactors of the greater foundations belonging to the second type.¹⁶⁷ Another important feature of these foundations was the personality of the founder, who exercised spiritual authority over his students as well as over aristocrats and royalties seeking his help and/or advice.¹⁶⁸ As a culmination of this spiritual authority, many of the "professional" monastic founders started to be glorified by their followers and venerated as holy men after (or even before) their death. As the result, exactly the importance, cult and miracles of the founder figure turned such monasteries into spiritual centres and places of pilgrimage.

Thus, in the following chapter, I analyze the institutional, administrative, and functional differences between two main types of the privately-established ecclesiastic institutions, the family foundations arranged by laymen or clerics and the spiritual centres established by spiritual leaders and their communities. For this reason, in the first part of this chapter I discuss a variety of types of

¹⁶⁶ The relations of such monastic communities with their benefactors are well analyzed by Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, esp. pp. 120-142 and 200-240; and Morris, "The Byzantine Aristocracy and the Monasteries."

¹⁶⁷ The modes of economic development of the Great Byzantine foundations, see: Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monastères*, esp. pp. 162-172 dealing with the private donations on behalf of the Great Monasteries.

¹⁶⁸ For the authority of the spiritual leaders in the Byzantine society, see: Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 90-119.

ecclesiastic institutions created and used by laymen/clergymen, whereas the second part is dedicated to a case study of a poorly-known Late Byzantine saint (St. Leontios of Monembasia), his monastery and his cult. By contrasting the two major groups of foundations I want to underline the main differences in their establishment, administration and later functioning. As it seems to me, here, the watershed passes in the economic aspect, if the founders of the institution of the first type were their main economic providers and supporters, the founders of the hermitic communities were usually recipients of the donations, and, by the means of their spiritual authority, they could attract the benefactions from the highest classes of society, the members of royal families and important aristocrats.

2.1. Family Ecclesiastic Institutions and their Legal Status

The Byzantine family ecclesiastic institutions varied in size and organizational structure, and could be both, merely small domestic chapels and rich and influential monasteries with numerous possessions.¹⁶⁹ Depending on their size, these foundations could have slightly different objectives. A monastery, no matter, whether small or great, exercised several socio-economic and pious functions. Its construction could be driven by personal piety, a desire to achieve salvation, as well as by an individual repentance act, but, at the same time, it could serve such communal purposes, as family reunification, a retirement place in old age, and a common burial and the commemoration of family members.¹⁷⁰ On the other hand, a chapel or a small church were established primarily to serve the immediate religious needs of the founders, to provide liturgical rites, to minister the feasts and family celebrations, and to perform the commemorations of deceased family members.

Nevertheless, the forms of the religious establishments were, in a way, quite fluid: a church being transferred to care of a monastery was turned into a *metochion* administered by monks, whereas a private house with a chapel could be declared a monastery by its owner.¹⁷¹ Issued in 996, the Novell of Basil II¹⁷² also describes the situation which continued to be common for Byzantine countryside, long after the 10th century. Namely, a peasant establishes a small chapel (*eukterion*) in a village and grants his lands to it, thus becoming a monk; later, he was joined by other poor peasants who, as well,

¹⁶⁹ On the initial typology of the Byzantine ecclesiastic foundations, see: Zhishman, *Das Stifterrecht*, pp. 15-17.

¹⁷⁰ For various motivations of the monastic founders, see: Laiou, "Observations on the Life," pp. 75-76; Talbot, "The Byzantine Family and the Monastery"; Galatariotou, "Byzantine Ktitorika Typika"; Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 123-130; Zachariadou, "A Safe and Holy Mountain"; Oikonomides, "Patronage in Palaiologan Mt. Athos"; Garland, "Till Death do us Part," pp. 32-37; *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften, Vol. 2: Das soziale System Stiftung*, ed. Michael Borgolte (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2016): 324-335, 486-496.

¹⁷¹ For discussion of these examples, see: Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 145-165, esp. 147-150; Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monastères*, p. 85.

¹⁷² Charanis, "Monastic Properties," pp. 62-64; Lemerle, Paul. *The Agrarian History of Byzantium from the Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Galway: Galway University Press, 1979): 103-105, 112-114; Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 160-163; Papagianni, "Legal Institutions," pp. 1059-1060.

decided to dedicate their life to God. As a result, these poor people lived in small monastic community in rural territories, and, according to the legislation of Basil II, after their death the church and its lands should stay in the possession of the village. As the Novell points out, some of these foundations can become more important monasteries and start to receive donations, even the imperial ones. Thus, as these examples show, the difference between a private chapel and a monastery was *de facto* not so significant from a practical point of view.

Perhaps, this flexibility of the status between churches and monasteries also found its reflexion in the indistinguishability of the terms church (*crkva*) and monastery (*manastir*) in the Balkan Slavic law. The Serbian Law Code by Tsar Stefan Dušan prescribes the freedom of the ecclesiastic property disposition to the private founders (*baštinici*), including their right to subject their foundations to a greater ecclesiastic institution,¹⁷³ however these family foundations as well as the greater institutions are both called *Churches*, while the distinction in status was expressed by the means of adjectives, “small” or “great.” Obviously, this law was aimed on the wide-spread cases of Serbian *ktitoreia* when noble founders donated their family foundations to the Great monasteries, usually situated on the Mount Athos.¹⁷⁴

On the other hand, the establishment of a monastery, at least in a legal sense, demanded that its founder would provide a statute (*Typikon*) describing the rules of monastery functioning in legal and everyday terms.¹⁷⁵ But it seems possible to compose such a statute already when the community was gathered. Probably, the most basic rules of a monastic coexistence such as diet, order of the day, works, certain cycle of services, and powers of the community head should have been established from the very beginning, but others would be added with the passage of time.¹⁷⁶

Thus, except for the laws prohibiting the alienation of the church property and obliging the founders to receive the blessing of the bishop,¹⁷⁷ which were widely discussed in connection with the

¹⁷³ *Dušanov Zakonik*, ed. Đ. Bubalo, p. 84, articles 43-45, 47.

¹⁷⁴ For example, in 1340, Stefan Dušan's noblemen Jovan Dragušin donated his sepuchral foundation of St. George in Pološko to Hilandar Monastery, see: Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja, Subotin-Golubović, Tatjana. “Povelja kralja Stefana Dušana o poklonu Hilandaru crkve Sv. Đorđa i sela Pološko,” *SSA* 6 (2007): 55-67; Đurić, Vojislav. “Pološko - Hilendarski metoh i Dragušinova grobnica,” *Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja* 8 (1975): 327-344. Similarly, *sebastokrator* Vlatko Paskačić donated his family monastery of St. Nicholas to Hilandar, before 1355 or 1358, see: Mišić, Siniša. “Hrisovulja cara Stefana Dušana o poklanjanju crkve Svetog Nikole u Psači manastiru Hilandaru,” *SSA* 4 (2005): 135-149. For other examples, see: Popović, Mihajlo. “Das Kloster Hilandar und seine Weidewirtschaft in der historischen Landschaft Mazedonien im 14. Jahrhundert,” in: *ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΣ – Mélanges offerts à Mirjana Živojinović*, eds. B. Miljković and D. Dželebdžić, Vol. I (Belgrade: SANU, 2015): 219-222; Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo*.

¹⁷⁵ Galatariotou, “Byzantine Ktetorika Typika,” esp. pp. 77-79 and 136 for definitions.

¹⁷⁶ For similar examples concerning the Typikon of Evergetis monastery, see: Thomas, John Philip. “Documentary evidence from the Byzantine monastic typika for the history of the Evergetine reform movement,” in: *The Theotokos Evergetis and eleventh-century monasticism*, ed. M. Mullet (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1994): 246-273; Jordan, Robert. “Founders and Second Founders: Paul and Timothy,” in: *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries: Papers of the Fifth Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium 17-20 September 1998*, ed. M. Mullett (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007): 412-442.

¹⁷⁷ On the canons of councils prohibiting to alienate church property and their future effects in the debates over charistike policies and their role into the rise of the great monasteries, see: Zhishman, *Das Stifterrecht*, pp. 1-12, 34-36; Charanis, “Monastic Properties”; Reicke, Siegfried. “Stiftungsbegriff und Stiftungsrecht im Mittelalter,” *Zeitschrift der Savigny-*

private ecclesiastic foundations, one also should regard the legal basis for the establishment of private chapels, namely, several canons prohibiting or allowing the performance of the liturgy and other services in such chapels. Thus, the 31 and 59 Canons of the Council in Trullo (691) concern the clerics officiating in the private chapels, namely the canons allow offering of the divine liturgy only with the consent of the bishop of the place and prohibit to administer the baptisms in the chapels.¹⁷⁸ The 10th Canon of the Second Council of Nicaea (787) was usually discussed¹⁷⁹ in connection with the prohibition of migrating clergy as the canon deals with the priests who “run to other parishes, especially into this God-protected royal city, and take up their abode with archontes, celebrating liturgies in their chapels.”¹⁸⁰ However, it also attests the spread of the practice of hiring priests for house chapels among the aristocrats (*archontes*) as well as the employment of the clergymen as *meizoteroi* (the *kouratores* or managers of households), which the Canon forbade. In the 12th century, John Zonaras and Theodore Balsamon interpreting this canon pointed out that such priests hired by a nobleman should not be involved into the matters of economic administration and audit,¹⁸¹ but the canon “prescribes that they would teach literacy and this way would earn for life there.”¹⁸² In other words, they also acknowledged the popularity of such practice and advised to combine the function of the household priest with that one of a private tutor, but not of a house manager or accountant.

The *Nomokanon* attributed to Patriarch Photios prescribes a detailed procedure for the dedication of a church or chapel in the Ch. 3 Title 14. Besides the agreement of a bishop, it demands the founder to provide certain funds for “the light-lightening, the holy liturgy, for the preservation of the place as uncorrupted [self-sustenance of the place], and the nourishment of those who serve”¹⁸³ and to invite the bishop for performing the consecration ceremony. Moreover, it states that those who built a church or a chapel on their lands or in their houses, but didn’t assure the ceremony of the consecration by the bishop for it, can still use their foundation for pious purposes with a limited scope:

Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Germanistische Abteilung 53 (1933): 253; Troicki, “Ktitorsko pravo,” pp. 82-92; Hunger, *Prooimion*, pp. 143-154; Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 36-38, 52, 56-57, 138, 196-197, 200, 236-237, 261-263, 267-268; Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 122, 145, 161-162, 244-247, 255; Borgolte, Michael. “Von der Geschichte des Stiftungsrechts zur Geschichte der Stiftungen,” in: *Stiftung und Memoria*, ed. T. Lohse and M. Borgolte (Munich: Walter de Gruyter, 2012): 347-356; Papagianni, “Legal Institutions and Practice,” pp. 1051-1061; Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monastères*, pp. 30, 104, 116; Laiou-Thomadakis, Angeliki E. *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977): 182, 185, 213-214.

¹⁷⁸ Ralles&Potles, vol. II, pp. 371-372 and 437-438.

¹⁷⁹ Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 126-127; Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 91-92.

¹⁸⁰ εἰς ἐτέρας παροικίας ἐκτρέχουσι, κατὰ πλεῖστον δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ θεοφυλάκτῳ καὶ βασιλίδι πόλει, καὶ εἰς ἄρχοντας προσεδρεύουσιν ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν εὐκτηρίοις τὰς λειτουργίας ποιοῦντες - Ralles&Potles, vol. II, p. 587.

¹⁸¹ μὴ...προνοητὰς γινομένους ἢ λογαριαστὰς - Ralles&Potles, vol. II, p. 588.

¹⁸² ὑποτιθέασιν αὐτοῖς διδάσκειν γράμματα, καὶ τὰ πρὸς ζωὴν ἐκεῖθεν πορίζεσθαι - Ralles&Potles, vol. II, p. 589.

¹⁸³ πρὸς τὴν λυχνοκαΐαν, καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν λειτουργίαν, καὶ τὴν ἀδιάφθορον τοῦ τόπου τήρησιν, καὶ τὴν ἀποτροφὴν τῶν προσεδρευόντων - Ralles&Potles, vol. I, p.117.

“It is lawful for those who have [chapels in their houses] to pray, but not to perform liturgy in accordance with the said above.”¹⁸⁴

The attitude toward the permission of the liturgies’ performance in the private churches has changed by two *Nearai* (nos. 4 and 15) by Emperor Leo VI¹⁸⁵ which explained that the ancient prohibition on the celebration of liturgies and other services in the private chapels was caused by the necessity to keep the safety of faith from the heretics; as there is no more this danger appearing, the 4th Neara establishes that “not only the priests of all public churches, but also the private priests of all houses, have the possibility to officiate and to celebrate the holy mysteries in all houses, if the master of a house calls them, and that they have access to the sacred chapels and the right to officiate there.”¹⁸⁶ In a similar way, the 15th Neara orders that those who want to perform the rite of baptism in private chapels have the right to do so.¹⁸⁷ As it will be discussed later these two *Nearai* stayed in effect in the later period and were employed by the Byzantine legal scholars and practitioners in their commentaries to the Canons of the Councils.

This equality of rights between private chapels and public churches together with the existing practice of the conversion of private houses or churches into monasteries by the means of taking the monastic vows by the founders became the reason for the mentioned fluidity of legal statuses of church institutions. By 11th century, Michel Attaleiates makes equal prescriptions for the foundation of all kind of ecclesiastic institutions. In its content, this text much reminds one of the laws issued by Justinian,¹⁸⁸ but in the difference with the ancient phrasing, not only a church and a hospital, but also a chapel and a monastery were included here on equal terms:

It is lawful for everyone finishing his(her) earthly business to bequeath to the holy churches and to command through them to found a chapel, a hostel, a hospital or a monastery, and to be administered in accordance with the instructions [left] by this person.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ ἔξεστι μὲν τοι τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις αὐτῶν εὐκτήρια, εὐχεσθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ λειτουργίας παρὰ τὰ εἰρημένα ποιεῖν - Ralles&Potles, vol. I, p.118

¹⁸⁵ Noailles, Pierre and Dain Alphonse, eds. *Les nouvelles de Léon VI le Sage: texte et traduction publiés*, eds. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1944): 22-25, 59.

¹⁸⁶ οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐκάστης καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἱερεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκάστης οἰκίας ἄδειαν ἔχειν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς οἰκίαις ἱεράσθαι τε καὶ μυσταγωγεῖν, οὓς ἂν προσκαλεῖν αἰροῖτο ὁ ἐκάστης δεσπότης οἰκίας, καὶ διδόναι τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐκτηρίοις πάροδον καὶ ἱερατείαν. - Ibid., p. 25.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 59.

¹⁸⁸ Krueger, Paul; Mommsen, Theodor, and Schoell, Rudolf, eds. *Corpus iuris civilis*, Vol. III (Berlin: Berolini, 1899): 307.

¹⁸⁹ Ἐξέστω ἐκάστῳ τελευτῶντι τὰ οἰκεῖα πράγματα καταλιμπάνειν ταῖς ἁγίαις ἐκκλησίαις, προστάττειν δὲ διὰ τούτων καὶ εὐκτήριον οἶκον καὶ ξενῶνα καὶ νοσοκομεῖον καὶ μοναστήριον κτίζεσθαι, καὶ διοικεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸ διατεταγμένον παρ’ αὐτοῦ. δικαιοῦμεν γὰρ φυλάττεσθαι ἀκινήτους τὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ γνώμας αὐτῶν - *Jus Graecoromanum*, Vol. VII: Prochiron auctum, p. 420 (Poem. 3 Title 17).

Quoting this passage of Michael Ataleiates' work, the 14th-century *Prochiron auctum*¹⁹⁰ (Title 28, Sections 61-63)¹⁹¹ proceeds further with two more canons describing the procedure of receiving the approval of the bishop, the church foundation rite and the necessity of an agreement with the heirs concerning the completion of the foundation in case of the founder's death.

Thus, during the Palaiologan period a founder could chose between several forms of religious institutions in order to conform his/her pious intentions with the financial possibilities and administrative resources. In the following subchapters I analyze the existing forms of family ecclesiastic institutions in Byzantine Empire and neighboring Balkan States in order to understand their functions and roles in the pious practices and to realize the challenges the founders of these institutions faced with when they tried to assure the survival of these churches and monasteries.

2.1.1. Household Chapels

A household chapel could be used for private prayers and small family celebrations, as the mentioned above 4th and 15th *Nearai* by Emperor Leo VI¹⁹² allowed the usage of such spaces for the baptisms and celebration of liturgies. Moreover, judging on the commentary by Theodore Balsamon made on the 31st Canon of the Troullo Council, some of these chapels could be merely architectural structures, not consecrated by bishops and not having holy relics inside of altars;¹⁹³ so, priests serving in the chapels would use antimensia during liturgical celebrations:

[for this purpose] the antimensia are used, which prepared by the archpriests of those lands during the time when they perform the consecration of churches, in order that these antimensia are laid down on the holy altars of chapels. And they are sufficient not only instead of the equipment of the holy altar, but also instead of the mentioned altar-tables of the altars, in other words, instead of the ritual of consecration or renovation, but for

¹⁹⁰ For dating of the *Prochiron auctum* collection with the 14th century, see: Burgmann, Ludwig. "Zur Entstehung des *Prochiron auctum*, I. Das «*Prochiron Stephani*»," *Fontes minores* 10 (1998): 387-444 the dating of the collection with the 14th century based on the author's discovery of a Codex no. 5 from the Monastery of St. Stephen of Meteora containing the *Prochiron auctum* and dated with the 14th century.

¹⁹¹ *Jus Graecoromanum*, Vol. VII: *Prochiron auctum*, p. 216.

¹⁹² Noailles, Pierre and Dain Alphonse, eds. *Les nouvelles de Léon VI le Sage: texte et traduction publiés*, eds. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1944): 23-25, 59.

¹⁹³ The presence of relics in the altars of the consecrated churches was stipulated by the Second Council of Nicaea (787): "Ὅσοι οὖν σεπτοὶ ναοὶ καθιερώθησαν ἐκτὸς ἁγίων λειψάνων μαρτύρων, ὀρίζομεν ἐν αὐτοῖς κατάθεσιν γίνεσθαι λειψάνων μετὰ τῆς συνήθους εὐχῆς. Ὁ δὲ ἄνευ ἁγίων λειψάνων καθιερῶν ναόν, καθαιρεῖσθω, ὡς παραβεβηκώς τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς παραδόσεις - We decree, therefore, that relics shall be placed with the accustomed prayers in as many of the sacred temples as have been consecrated without the relics of the Martyrs. And if any [bishop] from this time forward is found consecrating a temple without holy relics, he shall be deposed, as a transgressor of the ecclesiastical traditions, see: Ralles&Potles, Vol. II, pp. 581-582. For the discussion of this church custom, see: Grabar, André. *Martyrium: Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, Vol. I (Paris: Collège de France, 1943): 37- 44, 384-393; Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual*, pp. 28-30.

demonstrating that the liturgy in the chapel happens with the authorization of the bishop.¹⁹⁴

This way, a private person wishing to have a chapel inside or nearby his/her house didn't need always to acquire precious relics necessary for the altar-consecration. An authorization from a local bishop in form of giving an antimension to a priest officiating in this chapel was sufficient to perform services.

The private chapels could also be used for burials, and for family commemoration rituals. In the Byzantine capital of Morea, five standing buildings belong to this type: Ai Yannakis, St. Christopher, St. George, Palace chapel and Castle chapel.¹⁹⁵ Taking additionally into consideration the churches known only from the archeological remains or ruins, altogether there were at least 19 small foundations where the medieval burials were found during the expedition of 1951-1952.¹⁹⁶

Some small private churches, built inside of Byzantine house complexes, were attested by both, texts and archeology. The earliest household spaces intended for private religious Christian ceremonies can be dated in the late 4th century, and by the Middle-Byzantine period practically all large households incorporated chapels in the spaces of the residential complexes.¹⁹⁷ The Byzantines who lived in medium size and modest houses usually didn't have specific room or chamber functioning as a chapel, but rather limited their devotional space to a part of a room or a corner with an icon or icons placed on the walls.¹⁹⁸

Such house chapels can be accessed during any time of day and also be used for living spiritual life outside of a monastery. For example, St. Symeon the New Theologian who grew as a son of an aristocratic provincial couple in Galatia (Asia Minor)¹⁹⁹ had at his disposal a chapel with a small cell situated within the house of his parents:

And because the cell situated near the entrance to this chapel was small, entering it, he stayed there in absolute solitude. And then, closing himself the doors of the chapel during the night, he prayed until the third hour.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁴ ἐπενοήθησαν καὶ τὰ ἀντιμίσησια, καὶ γίνονται παρὰ τῶν κατὰ χώραν ἀρχιερέων καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ποιῶσιν ἐνθρονισμόν ἐκκλησίας, ἐφ' ᾧ τίθεσθαι αὐτὰ εἰς τὰς ἀγίας τραπέζας τῶν εὐκτηρίων. καὶ ἀρκεῖν οὐ μόνον ἀντὶ τῶν καταρτιζόντων τὸ ἅγιον θυσιαστήριον, καὶ λογιζομένων μίνσων τῆς ἀγίας τραπέζης, ἥγουν τοῦ ἐνθρονισμοῦ τῶν ἀνοιζίων καὶ τῶν ἐγκαινίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀναφαίνεσθαι τὸ κατ' ἐπιτροπὴν ἐπισκοπικὴν γίνεσθαι ἐν τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ τὴν ἱερουργίαν. – Ralles&Potles, vol. II, p. 372.

¹⁹⁵ Sinos, Stefan. "Mistras," in: *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, eds. K. Wessel and M. Restle vol. IV (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 2005): cols. 416-472, 501-517; Eugenidou, Despoina, Jenny Albani, Pari Kalamara, Angeliki Mexia, Anna Avramea et al. *The city of Mystras: [Exhibition catalogue] Mystras, August 2001-January 2002* (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2001): 74.

¹⁹⁶ Drandakis, Nikolaos [Δρανδάκης, Νικόλαος]. "Ανασκαφή παρεκκλησίων του Μυστρά," *Πρακτικά Αρχαιολογικής Ἑταιρείας* (1952 [1955]): 497-519;

¹⁹⁷ Ćurčić, "The House in the Byzantine World"

¹⁹⁸ Ćurčić, "The House in the Byzantine World," p. 234.

¹⁹⁹ Alfeev, Bishop Illarion [Алфеев, Епископ Иларион]. *Преподобный Симеон Новый Богослов и православное предание* (Moscow: Moscow Patriarchy, Russian Orthodox Church, 2017): 17-19.

²⁰⁰ τοῖνυν καὶ ἐπεὶ σμικρότατον ἦν κελλίον πρὸς τῇ εἰσόδῳ τοῦ ἐκεῖσε εὐκτηρίου, μονώτατος εἰσελθὼν ἔμενεν ἐν αὐτῷ· ὅθεν καὶ νυκτὸς μὲν τὰς θύρας αὐτῷ κλείων τοῦ εὐκτηρίου ἐπὶ τρισὶν ὥραις προσεύχετο - Hausherr, Irénée and Horn,

Moreover, this chapel, though being a small private foundation, had a shrine with saints' relics as Symeon spent many nights "in the chapel, in which a shrine of relics was."²⁰¹ Except for the relics, the owners of a house could consecrate some precious objects to their household sanctuaries: icons, vestments, books, vessels, etc., as the next example will demonstrate.

And though, S. Ćurčić suggested that the practice of the household churches incorporated within the residence complex had disappeared by the 13th century,²⁰² it is still attested by the letter of Constantine Akropolites²⁰³ addressed to his brother Melchisedek, after an earthquake of June 1, 1296. Here, Constantine, among other things, narrated about his change of mind concerning of the donation of enkolpia icons to their domestic chapel which was a part of the palace in the capital:

It came to my mind that I didn't want to consecrate the enkolpia icons, which I considered to be always the guardians on the way. I returned to the chapel where they were, and found its doors being closed. When the locks were opened, I entered, took back the things I wanted, and exited carrying [them] next to the heart. I passed the room where I am accustomed to perform the reading of books, passed through men's dining room and reached the corridor in front of it, from where I exited to the portico.²⁰⁴

As one can realize from this description, the chapel was situated inside of the living quarters of the house, next to the study room, which was placed behind men's dining room (*andron*), which in turn was separated by a corridor from the portico and the inner yard. Thus, the chapel was positioned in somewhat more private part of the house than the dining room and the cabinet, but, simultaneously, it was a part of the study and guest spaces situated on the ground floor of the house.

Theodore Metochites also added a chapel to the palace built on his estate; however, this one was a free-standing church surrounded by other buildings. He describes its appearance in the Poem XIX, regretting the demolition of the manor and the church in May of 1328 when Andronikos III took the capital in the course of the civil wars. According to Metochites' description, it was a luxurious building coated in marble, shining and having a forecourt.²⁰⁵

Gabriel, eds. *Un grand mystique byzantin. Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien par Nicétas Stéthatos* [Orientalia Christiana Analecta 45] (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1928): p. 15, ch. 6.

²⁰¹ ἔνδον τοῦ εὐκτηρίου ἐν ᾧ καὶ σορὸς ἦν σωμάτων – Ibid., ch. 7, p. 15.

²⁰² Ćurčić, "The House in the Byzantine World," p. 236-238.

²⁰³ For *megas logothetes* Constantine Akropolites and his brother Melchisedek, see: *PLP*, nos. 520 and 523, accordingly, and Nicol, Donald. "Akropolites, A Prosopographical Note," *DOP* 19 (1965): 249-256.

²⁰⁴ ἐβαλόμην εἰς νοῦν ὡς οὐκ ἐπιφέρομαι τὰς ἐγκολπίους εἰκόνας, ἃς ἐνοδίους ποιοῦμαι εἰσαεὶ φύλακας. πρὸς τὸ εὐκτήριον, ἐν ᾧ περ ἦσαν, ὑπέστρεψα, κεκλεισμένων τὰς πύλας αὐτῷ περιέτυχον· ἠνεψύχθησαν αἱ κλεῖδες, εἰσήειν αὐτός, ἀνελαβόμεν ὥσπερ ἐπόθουν. ἐξῆειν ἐνστερνισάμενος. παρήλθον τὸν οἰκίσκον, ἐν ᾧ τὰς τῶν βίβλων ἀνελίζεις ποιοῦμενος εἶωθα. τὸν ἀνδρῶνα διέδραμον, εἰς τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ διάδρομον ἔφθασα, ἐς αὐτὸ προέβην τὸ πρόσθρον. – Romano, Roberto, ed. *Costantino Acropolita Epistole. Saggio introduttivo, testo critico, indici* (Naples: D'Auria, 1991): no. 59, p. 155; Constantinides, Costas. *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries: (1204 - ca. 1310)* (Nicosia: Zavallis Press, 1982): 163-164; 141.

²⁰⁵ In it was a temple, a lovely sight, splendid to behold in the excellence of all its beauty, and sure to remain unshaken in its mighty structures and other well-polished stones: the columns within easily supporting the roof, and those without delightfully surrounding the forecourt, glittering most brightly as they wound about - a joy to see! With other marbles, brilliant in their supine position, multicoloured woven in variegated design, was all the floor, inside and out, embellished, along with the upright walls round about on every side as well. On my estate, then, was such a temple as

These two examples demonstrate that the custom to integrate a place of worship within the residences belonging to wealthy Byzantine aristocrats was still a common practice during the early Palaiologan period, at least in the capital. S. Ćurčić suggested²⁰⁶ that by the 13th century the household chapel was replaced by semi-private churches in the neighbourhoods, serving both, as private chapels and parish churches. This point of view can be partially supported subject to reservation that, perhaps, the neighbourhood churches became more widespread form of pious architecture which, nevertheless, didn't succeed to replace the inbuilt chapels completely. Moreover, many of such small-scale urban churches were the fruits of the joint efforts of the middle-class inhabitants of the towns, official, clerics, and merchants.²⁰⁷

2.1.2. Private Churches in Towns

The free-standing private chapels can be still found in the preserved Byzantine towns²⁰⁸ such as Mystras (fig. 2.1),²⁰⁹ Beroia (fig. 2.2),²¹⁰ Kastoria (fig. 2.3),²¹¹ Prilep (fig. 2.4),²¹² or Geraki (fig.

this – translation in: Featherstone, Jeffery Michael. *Theodore Metochites's poems "to himself": introduction, text and translation* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000): 121.

²⁰⁶ Ćurčić, "The House in the Byzantine World," pp. 236-238.

²⁰⁷ Kalopissi-Verti, "Collective Patterns of Patronage" and Kalopissi-Verti, "Church Foundations by Entire Villages", see also the chapters 3.4.3; 3.4.4. and 4.3.2 of this thesis concerning collective patronage and the chapter 7.3. in the relation to the middle-class donations..

²⁰⁸ For the discussion on the late Byzantine Town and its difference with the countryside and lesser settlement, see: Bryer, Anthony. "The Structure of the Late Byzantine Town: Dioikismos and the Mesoi," in: *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, eds. H. Lowry and A. Bryer (Birmingham/Washington: The University of Birmingham, Centre for Byzantine Studies, 1986): 263-279; Id. "The Late Byzantine Monastery in Town and Countryside," in: *The Church in Town and Countryside*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979): 219-241 (esp. pp. 221-223).

²⁰⁹ Concerning the chapels and ktetors in Mystra see: Sinos, Stefan. "Mistras," *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, vol. IV (Stuttgart, 2005), cols. 416-472, 501-517; Eugenidou, Despoina et al. *The city of Mystras: [exhibition] Mystras, August 2001-January 2002* (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2001): 70-77; Chatzidakis, Manolis. *Mystra. The Medieval City and the Castle* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1994): 108-110; Etzeoglou, "Quelques remarques." Concerning the burial character of these chapels, see: Ivison, *Mortuary Practices in Byzantium*, Vol. II, pp. 113-116.

²¹⁰ In Beroia, it was known 72 churches dated from 13th to 18th centuries, a part of which is nowadays destroyed. The majority of them was the monuments of relatively modest scale which became the centre of city quarters, some of them were mere parish churches, others – *katholikai* of small monasteries or private chapels of nobility. Their main commissioners were local noblemen, while the foundations often had burial functions. The development of the medieval town and of its monuments took shape between 1206 (the earthquake) and 1430s (the Turkish conquest of the city), see: Papazotos, *Η Βέροια και οι ναοί της*, esp. pp. 50-86 for the historical evidences, analysis of the town structure and the list of monuments.

²¹¹ In Kastoria, there are over 30 Byzantine churches dated from 10th to 15th centuries. Mainly, they were situated in the centers of the town neighborhoods and, thus, gave the names to these quarters. Their founders belonged to the local minor nobility, administration, and clergy. These churches are usually small in size and experienced many alternations throughout the periods of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine (Slavic, Albanian, Turkish) rule. Architecture and murals of the churches demonstrate a continuity of the local schools which development was not greatly affected by the changes of the political powers, see: Drakopoulou, *Η πόλη της Καστοριάς*, esp. pp. 13-27; Eadem. "Kastoria: Art, Patronage and Society," in: *Heaven and Earth: Cities and Countryside in Greece*, eds. J. Albani, E. Chalkia (2013): 114-125.

²¹² There are several private town foundations in Varoš district of Prilep, St. Athanasios, St. Nicholas, St. Demetrios, St. Peter, St. John, Holy Virgin. These small churches were built or re-built during the 13th and 14th centuries, i.e. during both, Byzantine and Serbian rule, and were used for burial purposes. Two of the chapels, St. Nicholas and St. Demetrios, preserve the extensive mural ensembles, accompanied by the dedicatory inscriptions and portraits of the founders (St. Demetrios), which allow to reconstruct the patronage patterns associated, possibly, with minor provincial nobility, see: Miljković-Peppek, Petar [Миљковић-Пепек, Петар]. "Црковна архитектура," in: *Прилеп и прилепско низ*

2.5), and some others. Among numerous small private churches of Mystra, one still preserve the image of the founder and several burials. A small, barrel-vaulted chapel, situated outside Mistra's walls near the Marmara Gate and south to the House of Laskaris, was dedicated to St. John (fig. 2.6).²¹³ The building obviously was constructed with the consideration of its burial function; in the western part of the main structure one can find a semi-underground vaulted grave accessible from the southern part of the church. Another communal vaulted burial was revealed from the outside, near the north-eastern corner of the church. The latter, except for the human remains, also preserved several copper objects including a plate and a lamp.²¹⁴ In the western part of the church, on the southern wall, there is a blind arch bearing the depiction of the Virgin with the Child (iconographic type of the Brephokratousa) and a group of portraits. The figure on the right side of the Virgin bears inscription²¹⁵ mentioning her laic name: *kyra Kale Kabalasea represented with her children* (ἡ [π]αρόμια κυρα καλή ἡ καβαλα[σέα] σύν τ[οῖς] τέκν[οις] αὐτῆς), whereas the depiction of a nun on the left side of the Virgin explains that it is the same lady, *who was renamed nun Kaleneke in the holy and angelic schema* (ἡ δη[ὰ] τοῦ θεῖου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήμ[α]τος μετον(ο)μασθῆσα καλη[ν]ηκὴ [μὲν]αχ[ῆ]). Next to Kale's lay portrait, the depiction of a girl labelled *Anna Laskarina* (ἄνν[α] λασκαρίνα) is placed, and, below the figure of the Virgin, a boy is depicted in the pose of prayer, *Theodore Hodegitrianos* ([θ]εόδωρος ὁδηγιτριανός). Both, Kale-Kaleneke and Anna Laskarina, stay with their hands crossed on the chest, while Theodore is turned to left and kneeling with his hands elevated in a gesture of prayer toward the Brephokratousa.

Dealing with this image several authors noted that one can't assure that the depicted individuals were the founders of the church,²¹⁶ especially since the figures don't hold the model of the foundation.

установљена, eds. Lj Lape, M. Sokolowski, vol. 1 (Prilep: Sojuzot na združenijata na borcite od NOV, 1971): 92-102; Babić, Boško. "Prilep, Crkva sv. Dimitrija — srednjevekovno naselje," *Arheološki pregled* 7 (1965): 173-174; Babić, Boško. "Prilep, Varoš, Crkva sv. Atanasa — srednjevekovno naselje," *Arheološki pregled* 7 (1965): 172. Babić, Boško. "Crkva sv. Dimitrija, Varoš, Prilep — srednjevekovno naselje, crkva, nekropola," *Arheološki pregled* 14 (1972): 125-127; Kostovska, Petruša [Костовска, Петруша]. "Програмата на живописот на црквата Св. Никола во Варош кај Прилеп и нејзината функција како гробна капела," *ZLU* 3 (2001): 50-71; Balabanov, Kosta, Nikolovski, Antonie, Kornakov, Dimitar [Балабанов, Коста, Николовски, Антоние, и Корнаков, Димитар]. *Споменици на културата на Македонија* (Skopje: Kalamus, 2010), 146-157; *Natpisi istorijske sadržine u zidnom slikarstvu*. Vol. I: XII–XIII vek, ed. G. Subotić, B. Miljković, I. Špadijer, I. Toth (Belgrade: 2015): pp. 70-75, 102-103.

²¹³ Millet, "Inscriptions byzantines de Mistra," pp. 131-132; Drandakis, "Ανασκαφή παρεκκλησίων του Μυστρά," p. 519; Dufrenne, Suzy. *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1970): 18-19; Etzeoglou, "Quelques remarques," p. 518; Drandakis, Nikolaos [Δρανδάκης, Νικόλαος], "Ο Αι-Γιαννάκης του Μυστρά," *DChAE* 32 (1989): 61-82; Ivison, *Mortuary Practices in Byzantium*, Vol. II, p. 116; Brooks, Sarah. "The Double Portrait of Kale Kavalasea from Mistra" In: *Byzantine Studies Conference Archives Twenty-First Annual Byzantine Studies Conference 9-12 November 1995 New York University and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Abstracts of papers* (New York: 1995): 79; Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead*, pp. 61, 90-91, 147-14, 344-349; Weissbrod, "Hier Liegt Der Knecht Gottes," p. 139; Sinos, Stefanos [Σίνος, Στέφανος]. "Τα παρεκκλήσια," in: *Τα μνημεία του Μυστρά: το έργο της Επιτροπής Αναστήλωσης μνημείων Μυστρά*, ed. S. Sinos (Athens: Tameioi Diacheiriseon Pistoseon gia ten Ektelese Archaiologikou Ergou, 2009): 230-232.

²¹⁴ Drandakis, "Ανασκαφή παρεκκλησίων," p. 519.

²¹⁵ Drandakis, Nikolaos [Δρανδάκης, Νικόλαος], "Ο Αι-Γιαννάκης του Μυστρά," *DChAE* 32 (1989): 78.

²¹⁶ Etzeoglou, "Quelques remarques," p. 518; Dufrenne, *Programmes iconographiques*, p. 18.

However, S. Brooks, suggested that the Theodore Hodegetrianos who is the only one depicted as an alive person could have been the commissioner of the composition.²¹⁷ Other problems associated with the portrait were connected with the different surnames of the personages and the absence of Kale's husband. Kale-Kalenike and Anna are depicted with their hands crossed on the torso which may be a sign marking a deceased person;²¹⁸ however, the absence of Kale's husband may suggest that he was either still alive, or had died earlier and was buried somewhere else. Two authors, S. Brooks and U. Weissbrod, proceeding from the idea that a lady being married always takes the surname of her husband, tried to find various explanations for the difference in the surname of the mother and her children. S. Brooks suggested that Kale was a single parent, and that a difference in surnames is caused by "divorce, remarriage and adoption,"²¹⁹ while U. Weissbrod assumed that Kale was either a widow or separated from husband by monastic vows.²²⁰ However the situation can be easily explained taking into consideration the aristocratic practices of surnames dissemination. Thus, women could either retain the family name or to accept the name of their husbands, or even to chose the mother's maiden name, all depending on the fact which of the surnames was more prestigious or appropriate to a situation.²²¹ Thus, one may suggest another possible explanation, namely, that Kale's husband may be a man bearing the surname of Hodegetrianos, while Kale's daughter could have been married to a Laskaris and Kale kept her maiden surname. Whatever the reason for different surnames may be, one can definitely state that St. John's chapel was intended for a family burial, and, perhaps for commemoration service. Taking into consideration the vaulted ossuary adjusted to the western wall of the church and another one, on the north-east of the building,²²² which both had multiple human remains, one may conclude that the church was used for burial practices for several generations. Moreover, the presence of various metal objects and coins in the graves witness about a continuous performance of commemorative ceremonies and other rituals connected with the care for

²¹⁷ Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead*, pp. 147-148.

²¹⁸ Cemeteries from different regions of the Byzantine Empire demonstrate that crossing hands on the abdomen or chest was the most common position of the hands for burial, see: Makropoulou, Despina. "Grave finds and burial practices in Thessaloniki (fourth – fifteenth century)," in: *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London 21–26 August, 2006* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006): Vol. 1 (Plenary papers), p. 63; Ivison, *Mortuary Practices in Byzantium*, pp. 8, 21, 86, 118, 282. Moreover, the Byzantines accused the Latins of improper burial practices, namely of putting the hands on sides instead of crossing them on the stomach or chest – Kolbaba, Tia. *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000): 58. For the use of the crossed arms gesture in the funerary portraits, see: Semoglou, Athanassios. "Contribution à l'étude du portrait funéraire dans le monde byzantin (14e-16e siècle)," *Zograf* 24 (1995): 4-11.

²¹⁹ Brooks, Sarah. "The Double Portrait of Kale Kavalasea from Mistra," p. 79.

²²⁰ Weissbrod, "Hier Liegt Der Knecht Gottes-", p.39.

²²¹ Cheynet, Jean-Claude. "L'anthroponymie aristocratique à Byzance," in: *L'Anthroponymie. Document de l'histoire sociale des mondes méditerranéens médiévaux. Actes du Colloque international*, eds. M. Bourin, J.-M. Martin, and F. Menant (Rome: École française de Rome, 1996): 286-287; According to D. Kyritses (there was no strict rule for the formation of an appellation, there was a stock of family surnames from which an individual could draw several names. Though, the author suggests that women predominantly used the surnames of their husbands (Kyritses, *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, pp. 230-238, esp. 234 and 236).

²²² Drandakis, "Ανασκαφή παρεκκλησίων του Μυστρά," p. 519.

the dead.²²³ Finally, the deceased Kale was most probably buried inside the western ossuary, and so, even being a nun, she received the entombment with the members of her family and not in the graveyard of her nunnery.

In Geraki, six small private churches and monasteries are situated in the 13th-century castle (Zoodochos Pege, St. Paraskeve, Prophet Elijah, Taxiarches, St. George, and Epiphany, St. Demetrios) and several others in a village in 2 km from the castle and in its surroundings (St. John Chrysostomos, St. Nicholas, Sts. Theodores, est.).²²⁴ These small foundations were all dated with the 13-15th centuries, except for the village parochial church of Evangelistria, a cemetery church of St. Athanasios and a monastic *katholikon* (?) of St. Sozon, built during the 12th century.²²⁵ Many of them contain small arcosolia (fig. 2.7)²²⁶ (St. John Chrysostomos, St. Paraskeve, Prophet Elijah, Taxiarches, Zoodochos Pege, St. Demetrios), portraits of founders and dedicatory inscriptions (St. George, St. John Chrysostomos, St. Paraskeve, Zoodochos Pege, and partially in Taxiarches),²²⁷ thus indicating the private persons as commissioners and sponsors of these foundations. Among these founders one can find several priests (the priest and *chartophylax* Christophoros Kontoleos in St. John Chrysostomos (fig. 2.9);²²⁸ a pair of priests, Demetrios Boustechas and Rontakios Periodeutes, in Zoodochos Pege (fig.2.8)), the nun Ioustiniane, whose name is preserved near the image of St. Nicholas in St. Paraskeue,²²⁹ several laymen (six members of the founding family in St. Paraskeue; a couple of sponsors, commemorated in the prothesis of Zoodochos Pege; a couple of founders of Taxiarches and several other minor sponsors),²³⁰ the *sebastos tsaousios* Isaakios and a Spanish knight in St. George.²³¹ Thus, during the Palaiologan period, the social status of the founders in this provincial Laconian settlement was quite diverse. However, except for these preserved and partially

²²³ According to Ivison the presence of associated objects in or near the graves may witness about the status of the deceased, burial ceremonies, commemorative ceremonies or have apotropaic character (Ivison, *Mortuary Practices in Byzantium*, pp. 167-225).

²²⁴ Demetrokalles, *Γεράκι. Οι τοιχογραφίες*; Moutsopoulos and Demetrokalles, *Γεράκι*; Papageorgiou, *Τοιχογραφίες στο κάστρο Γερακίου*.

²²⁵ Moutsopoulos and Demetrokalles, *Γεράκι*, pp. 173-219; Loube-Kize, Aspasia [Λούβη-Κίζη, Ασπασία]. "Το γλυπτό "προσκυνητάρι" στο ναό του Αγίου Γεωργίου του κάστρου στο Γεράκι," *DChAE* 25 (2004): 111-125.

²²⁶ As it has been observed, the Byzantine arcosolia in the form of a niche had a function to give a space for celebrating the memory of the dead, housing sarcophagi or burial slabs and depicting the deceased or his/her spiritual patron – see: Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead*, esp. pp. 30-41, 207-223 and Loube-Kize, Aspasia [Λούβη-Κίζη, Ασπασία]. "Το γλυπτό "προσκυνητάρι" στο ναό του Αγίου Γεωργίου του κάστρου στο Γεράκι," *DChAE* 25 (2004): 123.

²²⁷ Moutsopoulos, Demetrokalles. *Γεράκι*, pp. 15, 26, 40, 44-45; Papageorgiou, *Τοιχογραφίες στο κάστρο Γερακίου*, pp. 39-46, 149-151; Loube-Kize, "Το γλυπτό "προσκυνητάρι"; Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead*, pp. 356-360.

²²⁸ PLP n. 13075. Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead*, pp. 356-360; Moutsopoulos and Demetrokalles, *Γεράκι*, pp. 44-45.

²²⁹ Demetrokalles, *Γεράκι*, p. 30 considered that the depicted persons were members of the same aristocratic family, with the couple of parents in the middle of the arcosolium flanked by four children on the sides. Tzoulia, *Τοιχογραφίες του 15 αιώνα στο κάστρο*, pp. 44-45.

²³⁰ Papageorgiou, *Τοιχογραφίες στο κάστρο Γερακίου*, pp. 44-46.

²³¹ Loube-Kize, Aspasia [Λούβη-Κίζη, Ασπασία]. "Το γλυπτό "προσκυνητάρι" στο ναό του Αγίου Γεωργίου του κάστρου στο Γεράκι," *DChAE* 25 (2004): p. 112; Demetrokalles, *Γεράκι*, p. 70.

published monuments, the neighbourhoods surrounding the castle also had several smaller chapels (nowadays ruined) inserted in spaces between the houses.²³²

The town of Prizren (fig. 2.10), one of few urban areas in the Serbian Kingdom, became a thriving economic centre during the 14th century. Situated on an important trade route connecting the seaside towns with Kosovo, Metochia, and Northern Macedonia (so-called *via Zente* passing also through Zeta and Skadar),²³³ Prizren was inhabited by a socially variegated community encompassing craftsmen, tradesmen, marketers, small and great nobility, officials, clerics, notaries, militaries, and bureaucrats of various ethnic backgrounds (Slavs, Greeks, Italians, Albanians, Saxons, the citizens of the Litoral free towns, etc.).²³⁴ The town was the seat of the Prizren Bishopric,²³⁵ whereas the royal summer residence, Ribnik, was built in some kilometers nearby.²³⁶ An annual fair was established in the town on September 8th (the Birth of the Virgin) when “anyone, whether a Greek or a Latin,... is free to come and to trade.”²³⁷

There were about 30 churches known in the town in the 20th century,²³⁸ many of which were either medieval or built on the medieval grounds. Among the preserved medieval foundations four are small or medium size private churches established by the members of town nobility of the 14th – 15th century (Holy Savior, St. Nicholas Tutić, St. Nicholas Rajkova, St. George Runović). These small churches and archeological sites were predominantly placed on the right bank of Bistrica river, in the historical quarters called Šadervan Mahala, Potkaljaja, Pantelija, Maraš, Potok and Terzi.

The Church of the Holy Savior (the Ascension) dated 1330s, is located below the Kaljaja fortress in the *mahala* of Potkaljaja.²³⁹ It was founded by a family of a nobleman Mladen Vladojević who, later, inherited the *ktetorial* rights over the institution. From the Tsar Stefan Dušan’ Charter for the monastery of the Holy Archangels one finds out that the ruler replaced the hereditary ecclesiastic possession (*baština*) of the Vladojevići family, including the Savior church, with the church of St. Andrew in Ohrid with its vineyards, villages, mills, and dependant people.²⁴⁰ Thus, the Holy Savior with its town possessions and dependant people became the *metochion* of the royal monastery.

²³² Simatou, Anna Maria and Rosalia Christodouloupoulou [Σιμάτου, Άννα-Μαρία, Ροζαλία Χριστοδουλοπούλου]. “Παρατηρήσεις στον μεσαιωνικό οικισμό του Γερακίου,” *DChAE* 15 (1989-1990 [1991]): 67-88 (esp. 68-71).

²³³ Škrivanić, Gavro. *Putevi u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade: Turistička štampa, 1974): 68-72.

²³⁴ Mišić, Siniša. “Društvena struktura Prizrena u 14. Veku,” *Zbornik radova u čast akademiku Desanki Kovačević Kojić* 1/10 (2015): 319-325; Shaferova, L.A. [Шаферова, Л.А.] “Город Призрен в XIV веке,” in: *Из истории древнего мира и средних веков*, ed. Boltinskaya, L.V. [Болтинская Л.В.] (Krasnoyarsk: Krasnoyarsky rabochij, 1967): 44-62.

²³⁵ Panić, Draga, Babić, Gordana. *Bogorodica Ljeviška* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1975): 11-13, 18-21, 66, 138-139; Janjić, Dragana. “Prizrenska episkopija: Istorijско-kanonski aspekti,” *Baština* 34 (2013): 157-170.

²³⁶ Jovanović, Vojislav. “Ribnik kod Prizrena,” *ZRVI* 34 (1995): 79-90.

²³⁷ Mišić, Siniša. “Hrisovulja kralja Stefana Uroša III Prizrenskoj episkopiji,” *SSA* 8(2009): 11-36 (here p. 17, l. 98-100).

²³⁸ Ivanović, “Crkveni spomenici XIII – XX vek,” 476-511.

²³⁹ Timotijević, Roksanda. “Crkva Sv. Spasa u Prizrenu,” *Starine Kosova* 6-7 (1972-1973): 65-80; Ivanović, “Crkveni spomenici XIII – XX vek,” pp. 505-506; Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, pp. 138, 157.

²⁴⁰ *Svetoarhandelovska hrisovulja*, p. 89, l. 148-160.

Judging on the involvement of local masters²⁴¹ into the construction and painting (the first fresco layer) of this medium-size (9,80x4,80m) foundation, the Vladojevići family invested moderate means for establishing a church serving their urban residence.

The same Prizren builders' workshop was also involved into the construction of a small burial church of certain Dragoslav Tutić in 1331/1332.²⁴² As a partially preserved inscription witnesses,²⁴³ Dragoslav and his wife Bela, not having children decided to establish a small monastery in the town in order that somebody would commemorate their souls. For this purpose, they bought some lands around the church with vineyards, fruit trees, and houses and endowed the foundation. The building of the small size (6.85x4.40 m) was inserted in the urban landscape and served, most probably, to the burial and commemorative functions. The church's dedication underlines the extremely personal connection between the founder and his establishment as Dragoslav Tutić chose *Nicholas* as his monastic name²⁴⁴ and appointed St. Nicholas as the patron of his burial church.

Another town foundation dedicated to St. Nicholas, so-called Rajkova, is preserved only as medieval grounds which were used for the building of a new church in 1857.²⁴⁵ This foundation, being in possession of several vineyards and dependant people with their *staseis*,²⁴⁶ became a dependacy of the royal monastery of the Holy Archangels.²⁴⁷ The *perihorismos*, given in the Holy Archangels' Charter, being common for the lands in Višegrad (the castle area of Prizren) and two churches, St. Nicholas' Rajkova and the Holy Savior,²⁴⁸ proves that the act of replacement of hereditary possessions initiated by Tsar Stefan Dušan in relation to the Vladojevići family was necessary for joining together the Prizren lands belonging to the royal monastery. Most probably, the church of St. Nicholas was given to the Holy Archangels by Rajko Kirizmić, rich Prizren merchant and the father of Bogdan Kirizmić (mentioned since 1368), later a *protobestiarios* of King Vukašin, and of a monk Nikodim Kirizma, mentioned in the Memorial of the Virgin Ljeviška Church (under 1361).²⁴⁹ The small church was inserted into the dense landscape of the Pantelija *mahala*, not far from

²⁴¹ Ćurčić, Slobodan. "Two Examples of Local Building Workshop in Fourteenth-Century Serbia," *Zograf* 7 (1977): 45-48; Timotijević, Roksanda. "Crkva Sv. Spasa u Prizrenu," *Starine Kosova* 6-7 (1972-1973): 74-75.

²⁴² Ćurčić, "Two Examples of Local Building Workshop," 43-45; Radovanović, Janko. "Tutićeva crkva Sv. Nikole u Prizrenu," in: Idem, *Ikonografska istraživanja srpskog slikarstva XIII i XIV veka* (Belgrade: SANU, 1988): 109-116; Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, 51-52. 62, 134; Ivanović, "Crkveni spomenici XIII – XX vek," pp. 510-511.

²⁴³ Tomović, *Morfologija ćirilskih natpisa*, pp. 52—53 no. 31;

²⁴⁴ Tomović, *Morfologija ćirilskih natpisa*, p. 53.

²⁴⁵ Ivanović, "Crkveni spomenici XIII – XX vek," p. 508.

²⁴⁶ For *stasis* as a land parcels of dependant population in Byzantium and Balkans, see: Laiou-Thomadakis, Angeliki E. *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977): 158-182.

²⁴⁷ *Svetoarhandelovska hrisovulja*, pp. 89-90, l. 176-188.

²⁴⁸ *Svetoarhandelovska hrisovulja*, p. 90, l. 189-197.

²⁴⁹ The identification of the Kirizmići family members and their association with the Rajkova Church in Prizren was proposed by Radojičić, Đorđe Sp. ("O pomeniku Sv. Bogorodice Ljeviške (Rukopis br. 227 Narodne biblioteke u Beogradu)," *Starinar* seria III, 15 (1942): 59) and supported by Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, pp. 185-186.

another medieval church of St. Panteleimon, renovated in 1937.²⁵⁰ Thus, probably, both small neighbouring churches served the needs of different families of founders such as weekly liturgies and commemorations.

The way of operation of medieval urban family foundations can be understood from the history of another, unpreserved, church dedicated to St. Nicholas, so-called Koraćeva. According to the 19th-century Serbian historian of Prizren,²⁵¹ the Koraći family used to own a 14th-century church situated in the Mamzi (Terzi) *mahala* of Prizren. They decided to destroy the church and to build a mosque and a *tekke* when the part of the family which own it chose to convert to Islam. Before the destruction, the family members transferred the books and manuscripts (including one Apostle of the 16th century)²⁵² belonging to their foundation to the church of St. George Runović.²⁵³ Thus, the church stayed in possession of the heirs through the entire Ottoman period and was endowed by books and church utensils until the family's conversion to Islam (as the books dated from 16th to 19th century seen by I. Yastrebov prove).

The explicit burial function of small urban foundations can be understood from the layout of a family church of St. Kyriake (Nedelja) located in Potkaljaja district, not far from the Holy Savior church. This ruin, now standing on the territory of private yards, can be dated with 14th century on the basis of three burial slabs in its floor.²⁵⁴ One of the slabs has an inscription commemorating the death of certain Struja, a wife of the *čelnik* Man(i)k, who took the name Marina as a nun and died on March 2, 1371.²⁵⁵ The inscription explicitly addressed the reader asking him/her to commemorate the deceased ("oh, the one who reads (it), say *eternal memory* to me"²⁵⁶). Probably, this small (7.45x4.75 m) church as well as other foundations of this type (St. Nicholas Tutić, for example) served for burials of family members and commemoration rituals. Moreover, the lady who took monastic vows (nun Marina) was buried not in her monastery, but here with another, male, relative as the second burial slab from the church bears badly damaged inscription where one can read only "раб Х(рист)оу" (masculine form for "the servant of Christ").²⁵⁷ Near the ruined church a slab with a carved dedicatory

²⁵⁰ Ivanović, "Crkveni spomenici X III – XX vek," p. 507.

²⁵¹ Kostić, Petar. *Crkveni život pravoslavni Srba u Prizrenu i njegovoj okolini u XIX veku* (Belgrade: Narodna misao, 1928): 91-92.

²⁵² This history of the manuscript transfer and the conversation of the Koraći to Islam was narrated by 19th-century Russian diplomat, traveler and amateur historian of the Balkans, Ivan Yastrebov, see: Jastrebov, Ivan S. "Podaci za istoriju srpske crkve u Staroj Srbiji po izvorima na srpskom i turskom jeziku," *Glasnik srpskog učenog društva* 40 (1874): 192.

²⁵³ Kašić, Dušan. "Unutrašnji crkveni život Stare Srbije u prvoj polovini XVI veka," *ZLU* 27-28 (1991-1992 [199]): 109-110.

²⁵⁴ Nenadović, Slobodan. Arhitektura crkve mladog kralja Marka (?) u Prizrenu," *ZLU* 15 (1979): 290-301 (esp. p. 295 and fig. 7);

²⁵⁵ Ivanović, Milan. "Natpis sa nadgrobne ploče monahinje Marine iz 1371. Godine," *ZLU* 10 (1974): 335-342; Tomović, *Morfologija ćirilskih natpisa*, pp. 76-77, no. 62.

²⁵⁶ Иже прочитаѣт(ѣ) рѣц(и)тѣ ми вѣчнаа памѣт(ь) - Tomović, *Morfologija ćirilskih natpisa*, p. 76, no. 62.

²⁵⁷ Nenadović, Slobodan. Arhitektura crkve mladog kralja Marka (?) u Prizrenu," *ZLU* 15 (1979): p. 299.

inscription by Marko as the *young king* was also found.²⁵⁸ Its text may indicate that the royal patron “bought” the ktetorial rights of the church from the initial founders (which, according to the inscription happened during the same year, 1371, i.e. exactly when Marina died). On the other hand, according to measurements conducted by S. Nenadović, the dedicatory inscription comes from another building, which location is unknown.²⁵⁹

Thus, judging on the preserved examples, the churches in Byzantine and Serbian provincial towns were situated within the town infrastructure, on small private plots, situated nearby family residences. These churches varied in size, from medium to very small, but, usually, had a simple structure with one apse and no additional chapels. This size and simplicity of construction can be motivated by the conditions of relatively dense urban fabric and the use of the foundation restricted to the ktetorial family and, possibly, dependant urban population, belonging to the church and leaving nearby. Commissioned by members of various social classes (noblemen, merchants, priests) and aimed on provision of burial places and commemoration services for the founders, these churches often had tombs in the interior or in the courtyard and arcosolia with the images of founders or their patron saints on the walls. Passed from one generation to another, these modest institutions played role, partially similar to the family monasteries of the great noblemen, i.e. becoming the places for group commemoration of family members.

2.1.3. Private Churches in Rural Territories

Not only households in the towns had private chapels, but also inhabitants of the Balkan countryside organized chapels and churches of various sizes on their lands.²⁶⁰ These chapels and churches seem to function in a way similar to those in towns; but, except for providing the spaces for burials and commemorations, they could also represent the landlord and his ownership over certain territories. Besides, the lands donated to these churches could function as an economic asset exploited by a founder. And if the symbolic presence of the ktetor and his(her) representations were expressed by means of inscriptions and portraits, the economic significance of a church as a legal person owning lands, but simultaneously being owned by a founder, usually not explicitly conveyed. Therefore, here I propose to look at a case study which hints about economic significance of a private village church.

Several donors affiliated with the monastery of St. John the Baptist at Menoikeon²⁶¹ donated their foundations, situated in the rural territories surrounding Serres, to the great monastery as future

²⁵⁸ Ivanović, Milan. “Natpis mladog kralja Marka sa crkve sv. Nedelje u Prizrenu,” *Zograf* 2 (1967): 20-21; Tomović, *Morfologija ćirilskih natpisa*, p. 77, no. 63

²⁵⁹ Nenadović, Slobodan. Arhitektura crkve mladog kralja Marka (?) u Prizrenu,” *ZLU* 15 (1979): 301-302.

²⁶⁰ For the discussion of the role of churches in the life of villages, see: Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, esp. pp. 10-43.

²⁶¹ The data about donation made to St. John Monastery at Menoikeion are preserved into two Cartularies, so-called Codex A and Codex B. The two cartularies were taken in 1914 by the Bulgarian Army from the monastery (Diehl, Charles. “Destructions commises par les Bulgares lors de l'évacuation de la Macédoine orientale,” *Comptes-rendus des séances*

metochia. Some of such donor families maintained their links with the Menoikeon for generations, as it was noted by Ch. Malatras.²⁶² Among them was the family of the Patrikioi,²⁶³ whose members presented the monastery with substantial gifts for three generations. Initially, the grandfather of Leon and Stephen Patrikioi gave 300 *modioi* of land in Pteleia for being buried in the Prodromos monastery. Possibly, this person can be identified with Manuel Angelos Patrikios who in 1306 received from Andronikos II a chrysobull which gave the status of untaxed lands (*eleutheron*) to his *zeugelateion* in Pteleia.²⁶⁴ Already after receiving this status, Manuel Angelos Patrikios could have passed the plot to the Menoikeion monastery. His sons exchanged this land with a territory of the same size situated at Boulgaritzo, and also added the Theotokos Eleousa church being in possession of two vineyards, of 100 and 20 *modioi* accordingly, and, thus, the second generation of the Patrikioi acquired “commemoration” in the Menoikeion foundation. According to the land survey, made by Manuel Koubaras upon the transfer of the Eleousa *monydrion* to the Menoikeion monastery, all the lands owned by John Angelos Patrikios and his brothers at Boulgaritzo were ascribed as possessions to the Eleousa church, and, in this status, they were unalienable from the foundation.²⁶⁵ The third generation of the family represented by brothers Leon and Stephen, in 1330, again exchanged the possessions and the church at Boulgaritzo with the church of St. Blasios and the land of 100 *modioi* at Pteleia in order to preserve “the commemoration” of their ancestors. In the same year Stephen Patrikios also donated the land he owned in Pteleia to the Monastery of Prodromos for “the salvation of the soul,” “commemoration,” and the burial at the monastery “as a brother.” Moreover, Stephen also established a condition that if once he enters the monastery as a monk, he would receive an *adelphaton* for his sustenance.²⁶⁶ This way, one may see that one noble family, as their members called themselves as servants (*douloi*)²⁶⁷ of the emperor, was able to establish at least two different foundations on their

de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 62/6 (1918): 485-486), and so-called codex A later appeared in the University Library in Prague (XXV C 9 (605)), and the codex B in the Dujčev Center in Sofia (Cod. Gr. 80). The first cartulary was published by Andre Guillou (Guillou, ed., *Les archives de Saint-Jean*) on the basis of copies, and later, after its re-discovery, by Ivan Dujčev (*Cartulary A of the Saint John Prodromos Monastery. Facsimile Edition with an Introduction by Ivan Dujčev*, London: Variorum Reprints 1972). The codex B was published by Lisa Bénou (Bénou, ed., *Le codex B*) and Paolo Odorico (Odorico, ed., *Le Codex B*). Containing some inaccuracies, the volume by L. Benou should be supplemented with Kresten, Otto, and Schaller, Martin. “Diplomatische, chronologische und textkritische Beobachtungen zu Urkunden des Chartulars B des Ioannes Prodromos-Klosters bei Serrhai,” in *Sylloge Diplomatico-Palaeographica* 1 (2010): 179-232 and with Schaller, Martin. *Prosopographische und diplomatische Ergänzungen zum Codex B des Ioannes Prodromos-Klosters bei Serrhai*. Diplomarbeit. Universität Wien, 2013.

²⁶² Malatras, *Social structure*, pp. 221-223.

²⁶³ Malatras, *Social structure*, p. 222; Bénou, ed. *Le codex B*, pp. 73-77 (nos. 27-31).

²⁶⁴ “Actes de Chilandar, Vol. I: Actes grec,” ed. L. Petit, *Vizantijskij Vremennik*. Prilozhenie 1, 17 (1911): 50-51, no. 23. This document was once considered a forgery by Mirjana Živojinović (“Od Ptelee do Patrika. Prilog vizantijskoj i srpskoj diplomatici” *ZRVI* 34 (1995): 63-68) on the basis of similar wording with another document addressed by Andronikos II to kyr Dragon concerning the village Melintzianis (*Actes de Chilandar: Actes grec*, p. 203-204, no. 96). However, more recently, Mark Bartusis (*Land and Privilege in Byzantium*, pp. 631-633) proved the opposite, namely that the chrysobull for Dragon was a forgery fashioned upon the chrysobull for Manuel Angelos Patrikios.

²⁶⁵ Bénou, ed. *Le codex B*, pp. 74-75, no. 29.

²⁶⁶ Bénou, ed. *Le codex B*, pp. 76-77, no. 31.

²⁶⁷ On the definition of this term, see: Malatras, *Social structure and relations*, pp. 151-152; Verpeaux, Jean. “Les oikeioi. Notes d’histoire institutionnelle et sociale,” *REB* 23 (1965): 89-99. According to J. Verpeaux, the terms *douloi* and *oikeioi*

rural territories,²⁶⁸ i.e. the churches of Eleousa and St. Blasios. They supplied both foundations with the dependant lands, including vineyards and orchards, in order to provide the churches with the means of self-sustenance. However, the constant exchange of the lands which every generation of the family performed with the Menoikeion monastery may witness about their changes of the economic interests and, simultaneously, about the perception of the churches with their unalienable possessions as economic means and assets. In other words, I assume that every new generation found the donated lands either more suitable for their immediate economic interests (for example, because of the proximity to other possessions or infrastructure) or less exploited by agriculture, and, therefore, they preferred to employ the legal instrument of exchange to receive back the lands they were interested in and to preserve the commemoration of their ancestors in the monastery. Thus, in its status of the legal person owning agricultural properties, the rural churches were valuable assets and could themselves become donations to greater foundations with the purpose to assure the commemorations and *adelphata*.

The burial and sepulchral and representative functions of such churches can be well illustrated by an example from the territory of the Bulgarian empire, more precisely in the Vidin despotate (fig. 2.11).²⁶⁹ Here, in the first half of the 14th century, one can find several very small private foundations commissioned by provincial noblemen on their estates such as St. Nicholas' Church in Staničenje

were related, as the *oikeios* was the way to address the members of imperial administrative system by others, the term *doulos* was the self-appellation of such people.

²⁶⁸ On the placement of Pteleia between two roads near the fortress of Zichne, see: Bénou, ed. *Le codex B*, p. 259 (no. 148).

²⁶⁹ Concerning the Despotate of Vidin and its role in the politics of the first half of the 14th century see: Bozhilov, Ivan, Gjuzele, Vasil [Божилов, Иван, Гюзелев Васил et al.], eds. *История на България. Vol I: История на Средновековна България VII-XIV век* (Sofia: Anubis, 1999): 562-582.

(1331–1332) (fig. 2.12-13),²⁷⁰ St. Nicholas' Church in Kalotina (1331–1334?) (fig. 2.14-15),²⁷¹ the Church of the Holy Virgin in Donja Kamenica (1320s?) (fig. 2.16-17),²⁷² and Sts. Peter and Paul

²⁷⁰ For the history, art and archeology of the monument, see: Ljubinković, Radivoje. "Crkva svetog Nikole u Staničenju," *Zograf* 15 (1984): 76-84; Popović, Gabelić, Cvetković, Popović. *Crkva svetog Nikole u Staničenju*. The monument can be certainly dated with 1331-1332 on the basis of its dedicatory inscription mentioning Tsar Ivan Alexander, Lord Belaur and the date of the completion of the murals: *By the will of the Father, and accomplishment of the Son, and assistance of the Holy Spirit, this holy church in the name of the holy father Nicholas was created and painted by the toils and expenses of Arsenije, Jefimija, and Konstantin ... and it was accomplished in the days of the faithful Tsar John Asen, under his lord Belaur and his spouse ... in the year 6840* ([ИЗ]ВОЛЕННЕМЪ Ѡ[ТЬ]ЦА И СЪВРЪШЕННЕМЪ СИНА. И СЪПОС[ПѢШ]ЕННЕМЪ [ПРѢ]СВѢТАГО ДОУХА. СЪЗДА СѦ И НАПИСА ХРАМЪ С[Ъ] ВЪ ИМЕ СВѢТАГО ѠТЬЦА НИКОЛАЕ СЪ ПОДВИГОМЪ И] СЪ ЕКСОДОМЪ АРСЕНИѢ И ЕФИМИѢ И КОСТАН[ДИНА... И... И СЪВРШ]И СѦ ВЪ ДНИ БЛ(А)ГОВѢРНА(ГО) Ц(А)РѢ ІѠ АНА АСѢНѢ. И ПРИ Г(ОСПО)Д(И)НЕ БѢ(ЛАΟΥРѢ И ПРИ Г(ОСПО)ЖДИ... ВЪ ЛѢТ(О) С[И]Ѡ И М...) - Popović, Gabelić, Cvetković, Popović. *Crkva svetog Nikole u Staničenju*, pp. 79-80. The church of small size (8.90 x 5.10 m) was built by a group of founders, who were, probably, connected by blood ties with each other. The main founder Constantine is depicted on the northern wall led by St. Nicholas toward the enthroned Virgin with the Child, he is accompanied by two female members of his family lifting their hands in the gesture of prayer. Behind the ladies stays a monk with crossed hands on his chest witnessing about the funeral character of the portrait. The second couple of founders, Arsenije and Efimija are depicted on the southern wall. They are represented as a monk and nun holding together the model of the church, and between them, under the church model one can find a figure of a child called Kruban. This pair of founders is accompanied by the images of three deceased persons, one young woman and two laymen. All the represented laics wear costumes witnessing about their high noble status. The sepulchral character of the church is witnessed by numerous (more than a hundred) burials inside and outside of the church. The oldest of them are dated with the 14th century and contain some precious objects, including medieval coins, jewelries, and fragments of clothes with the embroidered name of Ivan Alexander and bicephalous eagles.

²⁷¹ Gerov, Kirin, "St. Nikola in Kalotina" – The foundation is a small (8.60-8.80 x 4.40-4.70 m) village church established by several patrons depicted on the northern and, partially, western walls: a noble couple of main founders with two children (the husband offers the model of the church to St. Nicholas), a priest offering a book and accompanied by a child, and a noble lady, probably, a widow, with a child. Another boy, holding a candle and inscribed as *Shuvi, son of Radoslav* is represented on the western wall near female saints and labelled as *deceased*. The authors proposed to identify the main couple of donors as Dejan and Vladislava, later known as second founders of the Virgin's Church in Kučevište (1334-1337) and associated with Serbian tsar Stefan Dušan. On these grounds, as well as because of the mentioning of Ivan Alexander in the dedicatory inscription of the Kalotina Church (*this holy church of our holy father Nicholas was created and painted in the days of the great Tsar John - създа сѣ и изписа с[ѣ] сы стѣ храмъ ст[ѣ]го Ѡца нико[ла] ва дни великаг[а] ц[ар]а іѠ алекса[ндра]*) they proposed to date the foundation between 1331 and 1334.

²⁷² Ćorović - Ljubinković, Mirjana, Ljubinković, Radivoje. "Crkva u Donjoj Kamenici," *Starinar* n.s. 1 (1950): 53-85; Mavrodinova, Liljana. [Мавроудинова, Лиляна]. *Църквата в Долна Каменица. Стенописи от времето на Михаил Шишман* (Sofia: B'lgarski hudozhnik, 1969); Panayotova, Dora. "Les portraits des donateurs de Dolna Kamenica," *ZRVI* 12 (1970): 43-56; Bozhilov, *Фамилията на Асеневици*, pp. 144-148, no. 31; Kambourova, "Le don de l'église," pp. 217-218. The foundation is a small (7.5 x 6.7 m) church which has some unusual architectural features: two towers on the western façade and a two-storey narthex. It has altogether nine portraits of founders in three compositions. There are two depictions of founders with church models: one is situated on the western wall of the southern cross-arm, and the second one occupies the western wall of St. Nicholas chapel in the gallery above narthex. The one in the naos depicts two adult bearded men in luxury clothes and a boy between them. Next to this group, on the southern wall of the western arm, two monks (one of great schema and one of small schema), pray to the image of Christ Emmanuel. The second group of founders is placed on the western wall of second-floor gallery, in St. Nicholas' chapel. Here, richly dressed man and woman hold a model of the church between them. The female founder also holds an object which can be a sack of coins. Two children, a boy and a girl, accompany the couple. Another composition, situated on the western wall of narthex, depicts two figures, female and male, dressed in the court costumes and turned toward the segment of the heavens with blessing Christ. Inscription consisting of two lines written between the personages identifies one of them as despotes Michael (МИХАНЬ ДЕСПО(ТЬ) ВЪ Х(РИСТ)А Б(ОГ)А ВѢРЕНЬ СИНЬ МИХАНЛА Ц(А)РѢ), and yet another inscription, right from the female personage, (ЫНА ДЕСПОТНИЦА АН ... ДЬЩИ) suggests that she was a daughter or a wife of a *despotes*. Though Mirjana and Radivoje Ljubinkovići suggested that the painting was produced in the end of the 14th or the early 15th century, the proposition by L. Mavrodinova developed by D. Panayotova (who considered that the depicted despot Michael is a son Michael III Šišman (1323-1330) and the murals should be dated with this period) is the most widely accepted. All other theories concerning the personalities of depicted rulers were critically regarded in Bozhilov, *Фамилията на Асеневици*, pp. 144-145. During the archeological excavations, a medieval nekropol and foundations of a house were found nearby (Jovanović, S. "Donja Kamenica - srednjovekovna nekropola," *Arheološki pregled* 22 (1981): 159-162; Deljanin, Bojana. "Crkva Svete Bogorodice, Donja Kamenica, Knjaževac," *Arheološki pregled* 23 (1982): 153-155).

Church in Berende (second quarter of the 14th century).²⁷³ All these churches appeared on the territory of the Vidin Despotate during the period of 1320s to 1330s, and they display a number of common features. First of all, they all are of modest size, not reaching 10 m. length, and situated at a distance from important urban centres, but not very far from each other. They have explicit sepulchral function, as the buildings housed the burials and were surrounded by cemeteries. The ktetors of at least three of these foundations (Staničenje, Kalotina, and Donja Kamenica) were Bulgarian noblemen, however they erected these churches with assistance of other persons, additional sponsors, who may be the members of the same extended families. These sponsors also received their portraits on the walls of the churches (richly dressed ladies and Konstantin in Staničenje; a priest and a widow in Kalotina; two monks and a second noblemen in Donja Kamenica). Thus, such establishments can be considered as communal foundations, to some degree. Moreover, in these three churches one can find not only portraits of the adult members of the founding family, but also portraits of children accompanying their parents and the deceased relatives. Dedicatory inscriptions or murals in all the foundations refer to the royal authority ruling over the region and/or the central royal authority (the Bulgarian Tsar). This way, one can clearly understand the main message of the ensembles and their functions. The family portraits point out to the connections between several generations of family members, their joint participation into the establishment, and the hierarchy between the actual or main ktetors (holding the model of the church or communicating with the saint to whom the church is dedicated) and secondary ktetors or sponsors. In other words, such portraits became the visual representation of the patronage relations, hierarchy within the family, and hereditary patronage rights of children. On the other hand, the references to the actual royal authorities appeared as the guarantees of legitimacy of power of the local noblemen (*ktetors*), assured the transmission of their properties to the foundations (probably, by means of issuing the approval documents) and enabled the legal succession in the ktetorial rights of ktetors' children. Such churches represented the founders in their qualities of family members, servants of royalty and legitimate landowners. They, as well, pointed out to the succession of generations within the family, and, thus, alluded on the succession in the property rights and titles between the members of the household, which passed from the deceased relatives to the actual founders and later, to their children. In this sense, the sepulchral function of the chapels was

²⁷³ Bakalova, Elka [Бакалова, Елка]. *Стенописите на църквата при село Беренде* (Sofia: B'lgarski hudozhnik, 1976): esp. pp. 86-87, 117-118 for the problems of dating and the portrait of Ivan Alexander; Nikolova, Bistra [Николова, Бистра]. *Православните църкви през Българското средновековие (IX-XIV в.)* (Sofia: AI "Profesor Marin Drinov," 2002): 79-82. The murals of this small church (5.5 x 4.5 m), though being well preserved, do not include a portrait of the founders, however, once on the western façade of the church, there was a portrait with a halo bearing inscription: *Ivan Asen in Christ God faithful Tsar and Sovereign of all Bulgarians* - "І ѡнь асѣнь въ Х(рист)ѧ Б(ог)ѧ вл(а)говѣрєнь ц(а)рь самодръжець [всѣмъ] вьлгѧ[ромъ]" which could date the church between 1331 and 1371. On the basis of stylistic analysis E. Bakalova dated the church to the second quarter of the 14th century (Bakalova, Elka [Бакалова, Елка]. *Стенописите на църквата при село Беренде* (Sofia: B'lgarski hudozhnik, 1976): 117). The church also had the sepulchral function as it was surrounded by a cemetery.

connected with these representative images of families, as the presence of the deceased members on the church territory was a prove of the legality of the properties and titles' transfer.

The small sizes of these churches as well as the presence of images of deceased and the arrangements of their burials witness about the religious rites which took place in there. As not many people could attend services in such narrow spaces, one may assume that they were intended for the members of the patron families, who would use these chapels for the commemoration services, celebration of other important events (baptisms, weddings etc.) and church feasts, and, possibly, for weekly liturgies.

Perhaps, small private chapels were not used as ordinary parochial churches by other villagers, as one example from medieval Serbian village Velika Hoča (fig. 2.18) suggests. The medieval village, which was renown for its wine production, commerce and wealth, had 13 or 14 churches,²⁷⁴ and the foundation of the majority of them can be traced back to the medieval period.²⁷⁵ Some of them are situated on the public pathways (like Sveta Prečista and Sveta Nedelja churches) whereas others stay private properties. One of the churches dedicated to St. Nicholas belongs to the former group, it was attested in the chrysobull of Tsar Stefan Dušan to Hilandar monastery of 1348,²⁷⁶ though its construction was started earlier, probably, during the rule of King Stefan of Dečani (1321-1331),²⁷⁷ whereas the fragments of the 14th– century murals can be dated with the 1340s-1350s (the rest of the frescoes belongs to the 1560-1570s).²⁷⁸ A tomb slab of nun Martha (nowadays broken into three pieces and kept in the narthex) attests that the church received rich gifts from a Serbian official, *čelnik* Gradislav Sušenica, in order to take care about the entombment of his mother, who even being a nun was buried in this small foundation and not in her convent:

The servant of God Nun Martha deceased on June ..., the mother of *čelnik* Gradislav Sušenica, who offered to St. Nicholas for the burial 100 ... and a holder [valued at] 30 perpyra.. and eight oxen... King Stefan, and Elijah Grbavac was an oikonomos.²⁷⁹

The fragments of the early murals may be connected with the activities of Gradislav Sušenica who became the sponsor of the foundation, though the church officially belonged to Hilandar Monastery as it is mentioned among its possessions in the chrysobull of 1348 discussed above. The

²⁷⁴ Ivanović, "Crkveni spomenici XIII – XX vek," pp. 411-412;

²⁷⁵ Zarković, Božidar et al. *Hotačka metohija: prvi hilendarski posed u Srbiji* (Belgrade: Institut za srpsku kulturu, 2002): 140-142; Pajkić, Predrag. "Crkve u Velikoj Hoči," *Starine Kosova i Metohije* 2-3 (1963): 157-196.

²⁷⁶ Korablev, B. ed., "Actes de Chilandar. Deuxième partie: Actes slaves," *Vizantijskij vremennik* 19 (1915), Priloženie, p. 1496, l. 108.

²⁷⁷ For the rule and cult of Stefan Dečanski, see: Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja. *Sveti kralj: Kult Stefana Dečanskog* (Belgrade: Clio, 2007).

²⁷⁸ Petrović, Radomir. "Freske XIV veka iz crkve sv. Nikole u Velikoj Hoci," *ZLU* 22 (1986): 61-82.

²⁷⁹ Прѣстави сѣ ра[ба] [бо]жия м(а)рта монахия м(ѣсе)ца иуна ... мати (гра)дислава сушен[ице] чельника и приложи с(ве)тому николаю за гробъ рѣ ... и поставьць л перьперъ ... и всмь в(о)лов[ь] ... [ст]ефан краль, илия гръб(а)вьць беше иконом[ь]... - Petrović, Radomir. "Kameni nadgrobni natpis iz crkve sv. Nikole u selu Velika Hoča," *ZLU* 16 (1980): 211-221 (here p. 221).

church of St. Nicholas is placed slightly on the outskirts of the village, to the west from its centre; besides, the tomb slab of Martha, it also has another tombstone with a cross of somewhat later date. These facts taken together may witness about the use of the foundation for the burials of local nobility, whereas the geographic placement of the building and the presence of other contemporary bigger churches in the centre of the village suggests that St. Nicholas' foundation may have had a sepulchral and not parochial function.

This way, the private foundations on the rural territories played a double role. On the one hand, they, similarly to the town chapels, were used for family rituals and burials and became the centres of extended cemeteries in the later times. However, one may assume that the dominance of the burial and, in addition, of the economic functions of the buildings affected their size and construction quality. As there are no archeological signs of family housing near many small rural churches, one may assume that their founders resided somewhere else. For example, the Patrikioi exchanging churches with the Menoikeion monastery, lived in Serres; whereas, in fact, the noblemen who founded chapels on the borders of the Vivdin Despotate should have stayed at the court at Vidin and even at Târnovo, or with the military units they headed. Consequently, the rural chapels were not visited very often: perhaps, for the commemoration days and during the tax collection from local peasants. Thus, the scale of these churches was motivated not by a dense landscape, but by modest means of the founders or even by their economic calculations: since just a few people use the building, it can be tiny. Possibly, the unsophisticated architecture, design and decoration of these foundations resulted from the absence of skilled artisans in the countryside and low investments made into their construction.

Simultaneously, these churches acquired explicit economic function, i.e. they were legal persons owning lands, peasants, and vineyards of significant size, but, in turn, were owned by a founder's family. Therefore, for the reasons of economic prosperity and inclusion of the production, provided by the church's lands, into a bigger circuit of rural noblemen's commercial and productive activities, the noblemen often conducted exchange operations, in case such a foundation was donated to a bigger monastery.

2.1.4. Subsidiary Chapels

In the Palaiologan period, another common architectural solution was an adjustment of a subsidiary private chapel to a greater foundation or monastic *katholikon*. Already during the Middle-Byzantine period, the lateral chapels were widely spread, used for the burials of monastic founders and prominent spiritual leaders as well as for the commemoration of saints and deceased members of

a brotherhood.²⁸⁰ Th. F. Mathews²⁸¹ saw the direct link between the appearance of the lateral chapels and “privatization” of the liturgy in case of both, private *eukteria* and monastic centres. Dealing with the development of narthex space at Mount Athos, N. Stanković²⁸² noted that the subsidiary spaces had several additional functions. They were meant for the performance of services taking place simultaneously with the main celebrations as well as for daily offices with smaller number of participants to avoid expenses “for lighting and heating.” However, he points out that the funerary and commemorative purposes were the main reasons for the appearance and development of these spaces.

The existing Byzantine monuments demonstrate that people sponsoring the construction of lateral chapels commissioned them for the variety of reasons. On the one hand, the burial and commemorative functions dominated their preferences, as it can be seen in the southern *parekklesion* of Chora monastery (fig. 2.19)²⁸³ or many subsidiary chapels of Mystras; on the other, the appearance of the lateral spaces not intended for burials, as it was the case with St. Euphymios’ chapel in St. Demetrios at Thessaloniki, points out that such small *eukteria* could be commissioned for the motives connected with the personal veneration of a certain saint.

In the 13-th century church of Sts. Theodores which was the initial *katholikon* of Brontocheion monastery,²⁸⁴ two lateral eastern chapels received burial and commemorative functions during the 15th century (fig. 2.20-21). The composition of kneeling Manuel Palaiologos addressing the enthroned Virgin²⁸⁵ is placed on the south wall of the north-east chapel, where also an underground burial was situated in front of the composition.

Judging on its iconography, the south-east chapel as well had sepulchral purpose. Here, the southern wall is occupied by a supplicatory group: petitioning two saint Theodores address the enthroned Virgin on behalf a dignitary wearing a conical hat, whose figure is placed between the

²⁸⁰ Babić, Gordana. *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines: Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques* (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1969): esp. pp. 47-57 and 162-173.

²⁸¹ Mathews, Thomas F. “«Private» Liturgy in Byzantine Architecture: Toward a Re-Appraisal,” *Cahiers Archéologiques* 30 (1982): esp. 135-137.

²⁸² Stanković, *At the Threshold of the Heavens*, pp. 407-433.

²⁸³ About the Southern *parekklesion* of Chora monastery and its burial function, see: Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, Vol.I, pp. 269- 309 (esp. pp. 270-272 for the burial place of Theodore Metochites); vol. III, pp. 533-553; Ousterhout, Robert. *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1987); Idem. “Temporal Structuring in the Chora Parekklesion,” *Gesta* 36/2 (1997): 63-76; Akyttrek, Engin. “Funeral Ritual in the Parekklesion of the Chora Church,” in: *Byzantine Constantinople. Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed N. Necipoğlu (Boston: Brill, 2001): 89-106; Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead*, pp. 22-27, 45-47, 299-311; Weissbrod, “*Hier Liegt Der Knecht Gottes*”, pp. 26-27, 32-34, 113, 136-149.

²⁸⁴ Papamastorakis, “Reflections of Constantinople,” pp. 372-373; Tantsis, Anastasios [Τάντσισ, Αναστάσιος], “Η χρονολόγηση του ναού της Οδηγήτριας στο Μυστρά,” *Byzantiaka* 31 (2014): 189-190; Sinos, Stefanos [Σίνος, Στέφανος]. “Οι εκκλησίες του Μυστρά,” in: *Τα μνημεία του Μυστρά: το έργο της Επιτροπής Αναστήλωσης μνημείων Μυστρά*, ed. S. Sinos (Athens: Tameioi Diacheiriseon Pistoseon gia ten Ektelese Archaialogikou Ergou, 2009): 136-141 (113-242).

²⁸⁵ Millet, “Inscriptions byzantines de Mystra,” p. 12; Papamastorakis, “Επιτύμβιες παραστάσεις,” p. 288; Chatzidakis, *Mystra*. p. 51 and Etzeoglou, “Quelques remarques,” pp. 514-515: all authors, considered that the depicted personage was not the Manuel II, since the inscription has no mention of his royal dignity and mentions 1423 as the year of Manuel’s death (while Emperor Manuel died in 1425), see *PLP*, no. 21508.

saints. The northern wall of the chapel bears another portrait: full-length figures of an Archangel and St. John the Baptist flank a smaller depiction of an individual wearing embroidered garments and a conical hat, whose name could be as well John.²⁸⁶

In the Hodegetria church of Brontocheion, it was the north-western chapel which was intended for burials and commemorative services;²⁸⁷ in addition, the southern *parekklesion* also contained some burials and could be utilized for the performance of memorial services as well as for celebrations of the feasts associated with the Constantinopolitan icons of the Virgin.²⁸⁸ The *katholikon* of St. Sophia in Mystras had two subsidiary chapels on the east, and if the north-eastern chapel having traces of a burial was “a sort of mausoleum for the despot Manuel Kantakuzenos,” the arrangement of the south-eastern chapel might have been commissioned by Manuel’s wife Isabelle de Lusignan in 1370s.²⁸⁹

On the basis of examples from the churches of Mystras and Constantinople, one may assume that burials and associated with them rituals were the only reasons for the development of private chapels in the subsidiary spaces of the greater foundations. However, the chapel of St. Euthymios (fig. 2.22) constructed in 1303 by protostrator Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes²⁹⁰ and his wife Maria in the south-western part of St. Demetrios cathedral in Thessaloniki represents a case of a space not intended for the placement of graves. The founding couple had already organized their tombs in the *Pammakaristos* Monastery in Constantinople by the moment when they commissioned to construct the chapel under consideration.²⁹¹ Usually, it was thought that the reasons for the building of St. Euthymios church were to be looked into the biography of the couple, namely that they became parents late in their life and as a sign of the gratitude they dedicated the chapel to the saint who was

²⁸⁶ These compositions were dated with the time c. 1400 on the stylistic grounds, see; Chatzidakis, *Mystra*, p. 51; Etzeoglou, “Quelques remarques,” pp. 515-516.

²⁸⁷ A bulk of literature is devoted to the problems associated with the burials, portraits and iconography of the chapel, see: Millet, “Inscriptions byzantines de Mystra,” pp. 119-120; Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques*, pp. 8-13; Etzeoglou, “Quelques remarques,” pp. 516-517; Papamastorakis, “Επιτύμβιες παραστάσεις,” pp. 290-293; Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead*, pp. 25, 39-40, 328-337; Etzeoglou, Rodoniki [Ετζεόγλου, Ροδονίκη]. *Ο Ναός της Οδηγήτριας του Βροντοχίου στον Μυστρά. Οι Τοιχογραφίες του Νάρθηκα και η Λειτουργική Χρήση του Χώρου* (Athens: Graphion Dimosieumaton tis Akademias Athenon, 2013): esp. 27-35. The majority of the authors agrees that the monk depicted in the west arcosolium is Abbot Pachomios, while the figure occupying the northern arcosolium is despot Theodore I Palaiologos, however A. Tantsis (Tantsis, Anastasios [Τάντσης, Αναστάσιος], “Η χρονολόγηση του ναού της Οδηγήτριας στο Μυστρά,” *Byzantiaka* 31 (2014): 192-193) proposed to identify the figure of the abbot as Cyprian.

²⁸⁸ Papamastorakis, “Reflections of Constantinople,” pp. 371-393.

²⁸⁹ Emmanuel, “Religious Imagery in Mystra,” p. 121.

²⁹⁰ *PLP*, no. 27504; Polemis, Demetrios. *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London: University of London, 1968): 121, No. 89.

²⁹¹ About the organization of space and burials in the Pammakaristos church, see: Belting Hans, Mango, Cyril, Mouriki Doula. *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St Mary Pammakaristos* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1979): esp. 5-22, 39-42, 55-58; Effenberger, Arne. “Zur Restaurierungstätigkeit des Michael Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes im Pammakaristokloster und zur Erbauungszeit des Parekklesions,” *Zograf* 31 (2006-2007): 79-94; Id. “Zu den Gräbern in der Pammakaristokirche,” *Byzantion* 78 (2007): 170-196.

himself a son of elderly parents.²⁹² More recently, Sh. Gerstel also noted that the iconography of the murals and an unusual dedication of the church can be chosen under the influence of monastic, and primarily Athonite, imaginary and piety in the 14th-century Thessaloniki.²⁹³

Michael and Maria were not unique in their intentions, the practice of the construction of the subsidiary chapels became so widespread in the city that it even turned to be a typical feature of the local architectural school, as the main core of the cross-in-square church was usually surrounded by an ambulatory terminating in two chapels at the east end of the building.²⁹⁴ Many of the chapels had their own dedications, and could be used for liturgical services with smaller number of participants. In this sense, the lateral spaces simultaneously served a variety of pious purposes, underlined by V. Marinis,²⁹⁵ namely they could preserve saints' relics functioning as architectural reliquaries,²⁹⁶ be used for the offices commemorating different saints, be perceived as a patron's gift to a certain saint and, at the same time, they usually housed patrons' tombs and provided spaces for the performance of funerary services.

The Typikon of Constantine Akropolites shows how the burial function could be combined with a commemoration of a saint and a deceased person. He states that after the death of his wife Maria Komnene Tornikina, he buried her body in a monastery, "purchased the chapel which is inserted near the large church, donating the gold pieces which the monks agreed to spend for its completion."²⁹⁷ The founder himself chose the dedication of the chapel, namely he offered it to St. Lazaros (possibly, St. Lazaros of Bethany) which would underline the funerary purpose of the foundation, as the celebration of the Rising of Lazarus was envisioned as a perfiguration of the resurrection of souls after in Christ.²⁹⁸ This chapel, in accordance with the founder's orders should have been used for his commemoration and that of the members of his family, his "children and their descendants." He also wanted some feast days to be celebrated there, namely every Sunday a liturgy should be offered to Christ Savior, "the second one, on Thursday, in commemoration of the memory

²⁹² Gouma-Peterson, Thalia. "The Parecclesion of St. Euthymios in Thessalonica: Art and Monastic Policy Under Andronikos II," *The Art Bulletin* 58/2 (1976): 168–183 (esp. p. 170); Eadem, "The Fresco Parekklesion of St. Euthymios in Thessaloniki: Patrons, Workshops, and Style," in: *The Twilight of Byzantium: aspects of cultural and religious history in the late Byzantine Empire*, ed. S. Ćurčić and D. Mouriki (Princeton: Princeton University, 1991): 111–129.

²⁹³ Gerstel, Sharon. "Civic and Monastic Influences on Church Decoration in Late Byzantine Thessalonike," *DOP* 57 (2003): 225–239.

²⁹⁴ For the typology of these *parekklesia*, see: Vokotopulos, Panagiotēs. "Church architecture in Thessaloniki in the 14th century: remarks on the typology," in: *L'art de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XIVe siècle*, ed. D. Davidov (Belgrade: SANU, 1987): 107–116.

²⁹⁵ Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual*, pp. 77–87; For similar conclusions concerning the development of subsidiary spaces in the monastic communities of Athos, see: Stanković, *At the Threshold of the Heavens*, pp. 407–425.

²⁹⁶ Marinis, Vasileios, Ousterhout, Robert. "«Grant Us to Share a Place and Lot with Them» Relics and the Byzantine Church Building (9th–15th Centuries)," in: *Saints and Sacred Matter: The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. C. Hahn and H. Klein (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2015): 153–172.

²⁹⁷ *BMFD*, p. 1379; Delehay, Hippolyte, "Constantini Acropolitae hagiographi byzantini epistularum manipulus," *Analecta Bollandiana* 51 (1933): 282.

²⁹⁸ Brubacker, Leslie. *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 79–81.

of St. Lazaros, after whom the church is named; and the third on Saturday,” for commemoration of his mother Eudokia, his wife Maria and for Constantine himself. He underlined that the services should be performed in the chapel “at the same time as the [services] in the large church, and for the hymns to be sung together in both places.”²⁹⁹ The founder welcomed the usage of the chapel for other commissioned or necessary ceremonies. This way, Constantine dedicate the chapel to a chosen saint, which is expressed into the offering of a liturgy on St. Lazaros’ behalf, but, simultaneously, Constantine insisted on the usage of the commissioned space for the commemoration ceremonies celebrated for the founder and his relatives, and by picking up of the saint associated with the resurrection of souls, he connects the memorial function of the chapel with its dedication as an offering to the saint into one theological and soterological concept.

The combination of commemorative function and the perception of a chapel as a gift to saint can be seen in the arrangement of the *parekklesion* dedicated to St. Nicholas and situated in the katholikon of St. John the Baptist at the Menoikeon monastery. The chapel is located above the exonarthex and can be accessed only through the tower (fig. 2.23).³⁰⁰ It consists of a naos covered with a dome resting on four arches and two side rooms to the north and the south which were added later.³⁰¹ It has been noted that the construction of the chapel’s dome reminded the works of the Thessaloniki builders,³⁰² and though the placement of the chapel on the floor of the exonarthex was radically different from the examples of the ambulatory compact placement, the function of such gallery chapel could be similar.³⁰³ The chapel’s construction was usually dated with 1358-1364 and associated with activities of Serbian noblemen Nikola Radonja whose wife and children are mentioned in the inscription located in the church.³⁰⁴ However, analyzing the architectural and structural features, N. Bakirtis came to the conclusion that both, the chapel and the exonarthex were associated with the ktetorial activities of Ioakeim (before 1300), and later, in 1340, they were re-enforced by additional wooden constructions.³⁰⁵ Nevertheless, Nikola Radonja or his associates were responsible for some structural amendments in the chapel and its murals, made before 1358-1364. During the renovation of Radonja’s time, a deep niche in the south-western corner of the *parekklesion*

²⁹⁹ *BMFD*, p. 1380; Delehaye, Hippolyte, “Constantini Acropolitae hagiographi byzantini epistularum manipulus,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 51 (1933): 283.

³⁰⁰ Hallensleben, Horst. “Das Katholikon des Johannes-Prodromos-Klosters bei Serrai,” *BF* 1 (1966): 158-173.

³⁰¹ Bakirtis, *Hagios Ioannis Prodromos monastery*, pp. 186-187.

³⁰² Ćurčić, Slobodan. “The Role of Late Byzantine Thessaloniki in Church Architecture in the Balkans,” *DOP* 57 (2003): 73.

³⁰³ Ćurčić, Slobodan. “Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches,” *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 36/2 (1977): 94-110 (esp. pp. 106-110).

³⁰⁴ Subotić, Kissas, “Nadgrobni natpis Jelene,” p. 171; Đorđević, Kyriakoudis, “The Frescoes in the Chapel of St. Nicholas,” pp. 183-186; Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, pp. 170-171.

³⁰⁵ Bakirtis, *Hagios Ioannis Prodromos monastery*, pp. 220-222.

was cut out and decorated with an image of the Virgin Eleousa (fig. 2.24).³⁰⁶ On the both sides of the niche, framing the image of the Theotokos, there are two inscriptions, one having historical and commemorative context, and another one of soterological and liturgical significance. The inscription of the western wall, to the right from the entrance, once, probably, recalled the date of death of Nikola Radonja's wife:

The most beloved sister of the most fortunate despot kyr Jovan Uglješa, kyra Jelena, the wife of the most noble kyr Nikola Radonja, passed away. Together with her two beloved daughters of hers were buried...³⁰⁷

The second inscription, placed on the southern wall, is written in the name of the Virgin petitioning her son on behalf of a deceased person. The final words of the inscription are badly preserved and their transcription caused some disagreement between the scholars,³⁰⁸ here I propose my own version of the inscription which differs in one word from that proposed by G. Subotić and S. Kissas:

If as a baby I hold you in my arms, oh, my God, but as being your mother, truly and lawfully, I bring you pleads, oh, merciful and compassioned, in order that you, who, because of your mercy descended from the heavens of your Father, would *tear apart*³⁰⁹ the record of human sinful mistakes...³¹⁰

Thus, this text seems to be composite in its nature rather than a quotation of a certain source. In its first part the prayer indirectly evokes some hymnographic texts addressed to the Virgin, such as “the original baby of Adam, how do you hold the son in your arms,”³¹¹ while its second part almost directly quotes from a prayer for those who were released from the *epitimia*: “Merciful and kind and human-loving Lord, who because of your mercy sent your only-begotten son to the world, in order that he would tear apart our record of sins.”³¹² This combination of different sources may hint to the real-life experience which the composer of the text had: namely, in order to write a new prayer,

³⁰⁶Xyngopoulos, Andreas. [Ξυγγόπουλος, Ανδρέας]. *Αι τοιχογραφίαι του Καθολικού της Μονής Προδρόμου παρά τὰς Σέρρας* (Thessaloniki: 1973): 67-72; Đorđević, Kyriakoudis, ‘The Frescoes in the Chapel of St. Nicholas,’ p. 180.

³⁰⁷ Έκοιμήθη ἡ περιπόθητος αὐταδέλφη τοῦ πανευτυχιστάτου δεσπότης κῦρ Ἰω(άνν)ου τοῦ Οὐγκλεση κυρὰ Ἑλένη, ἡ ὁμόζυγου τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου κῦρ Νικολάου τοῦ Ραδόχνα. Συνετάφησαν δὲ ταῦτη κ(αὶ) αἱ φίλτατοι αὐτῆς δύο θυγατέρες... – Subotić, Kissas. “Nadgrobni natpis Jelene,” p. 164.

³⁰⁸ The initial version of A. Xyngopoulos (*Αι τοιχογραφίαι του Καθολικού*, pp. 70-71) was corrected by G. Subotić and S. Kissas (“Nadgrobni natpis Jelene”, p. 164, footnote 9) who were able to extend further the recognition of some words.

³⁰⁹ Here I propose to replace the word *διαπράξης* proposed by G. Subotić and S. Kissas which the editors considered to be corrupted form of *διάπραξις* judging on their mark “sic” after the word, with the form *διάρρηξης* (Verb Aor Subj Act 2nd sg. of *διαρρήγνυμι*). I propose this change on the ground of two reasons: 1) as a subjunctive form it would be better fitted grammatically after the subordinating conjunction “ἵνα”; 2) The second part of this inscription closely echoes the wording of a prayer recorded in the euchologion: Εὐσπλαγχνε ἀγαθὲ καὶ φιλόανθρωπε Κύριε, ὁ διὰ τοὺς σοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς ἐξαποστείλας τὸν μονογενῆ σου υἱὸν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἵνα διάρρηξη τὸ καθ’ ἡμῶν τῶν πλημμελημάτων χειρόγραφον (A prayer for those who were released from the *epitimia* - Goar, *Euchologion*, p. 531).

³¹⁰ Εἰ καὶ ὥς βρέφος ἐν ἀγκάλαις μου φέρω σε, Θ(ε)έ μου, ἀλ[λ'] ὥς κυρίως κ(αὶ) ἀληθῶς σου μ(ή)τηρ οὖσα, λιτὰς φέρω σοι, εὐσπλαγχνε, πανοικτίρμον, ὁ διὰ τοὺς σοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς κατελθὼν τῶν π(α)τρικῶν ὑψωμάτων ἵνα τὸ τῶν ἀν(θ)ρωπίνων διαρρήξης* (instead of *διαπράξης*) χειρόγραφον τῶν πλημμε(λη)μάτων ἁμαρτιῶν... – Subotić, Kissas, “Nadgrobni natpis Jelene,” p. 164, footnote 9.

³¹¹ The Theotokion from the Service for the Sunday of Paralytic: ...βρέφος του Αδάμ αρχαιότερον, πῶς ἐν ἀγκάλαις φέρεις υἱόν... written by Joseph the Hymnographer (PG 105, col. 1389).

³¹² Goar, *Euchologion*, p. 531. See footnote 308.

possibly commissioned by a ktetor, on behalf of a deceased person, the author used small quotations from texts which he³¹³ had in the memory. I may only suppose, that taking into consideration the different nature of the sources (a prayer and hymnography), the author could employ his audio-memory (i.e. to recall suitable lines or metaphors, heard from different sources) for the creation of a new prayer.

The niche occupied by the image of the Virgin with the Child was called an *arcosolium* by all the scholars;³¹⁴ however, this construction has several specific features which may indicate it having a slightly different function. Usually, as an *arcosolium* one understands an arched niche designed to contain a sarcophagus or a tomb,³¹⁵ whereas, in St. Nicholas' chapel, the niche is too small for this purpose, it is placed in the corner, and the space below it is not sufficient for a tomb, burial slab or sarcophagus. Moreover, the niche is positioned higher than a usual *arcosolium*, and any kind of physical entombment of dead bodies wouldn't be possible in between the storeys, under the floor slabs of the chapel. On the other hand, the niche was directly associated with the performance of commemorative ceremonies as it is clearly evident from the accompanying inscriptions. Also, one can find a metal hook fixed in the intrados of the niche, while the ornamental frescoes of the intrados are darker in the upper part, these facts point out to the use of a hanging lamp in this part of the chapel. At the same time the frescoes with the texts flanking the niche are significantly worn out which can witness about the movement of people who once were leaning to the walls. Taking this data together, one may assume that the niche served for the lightening of a lamp on behalf of the commemorated individuals. Indeed, some typika and other documents indicate that the lightening as a part of commemoration rituals was prescribed by founders, no matter whether or not the persons in question were buried in the monasteries.³¹⁶

With the employment of a lightening device into this spatial and pictorial complex one can imagine how the niche might have functioned: the light in this dark architectural space would illuminate the image of the Virgin, the accompanying texts of Her prayer and the information about commemorated persons. This way, the performer of the memorial ritual would physically bring to

³¹³ I use here masculine gender as the monastery was male, see: *BMFD*, p. 1601. On the *abaton* at male monasteries, see: Talbot, Alice-Mary. "Women's Space in Byzantine Monasteries," *DOP* 52 (1998): 114-118.

³¹⁴ Xyngopoulos, *Αι τοιχογραφίαι του Καθολικού*, pp. 69-71; Subotić, Kissas, "Nadgrobni natpis Jelene", p. 164; Đorđević, Kyriakoudis, "The Frescoes in the Chapel of St. Nicholas," p. 180; Bakirtzis, *Hagios Ioannis Prodromos monastery*, pp. 185, 220.

³¹⁵ For *arcosolia* and their types see: Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead*.

³¹⁶ For example, the foundress of Bebaia Elpis demands to prepare six candelabra for the commemoration of her parents (*BMFD*, p. 1555); Michael VIII in the Auxentios typikon prescribes the use of "candelabra with twelve candleholders and two large tapers" for the day of his parents who have died as monk and nun and were buried somewhere else (*BMFD*, pp. 1228-1229); Jelena Dragaš asks the monks of Constantinopolitan monastery Hagia Petra to commemorate her Serbian father Konstantin Dejanović by lightening eight *manoualia* with candles (MM, Vol. II, pp. 260-261), while Serbian king Stefan of Dečani asks the bishop of Prizren to have a continuously burning lamp next to the miracle-working image of the Virgin for his commemoration (Mišić, Siniša. "Hrisovulja kralja Stefana Uroša III Prizrenskoj episkopiji," *SSA* 8 (2009): 17).

light the memories about the deceased (who may be buried somewhere else) and the actual and eternal petitioning of the Mother of God on their behalf.

As it was already discussed³¹⁷ the dedication of the chapel to St. Nicholas can be conditioned by the laic name of the founder, Nikola Radonja, which caused the foundation to be created not only as a place for commemoration of his family, but also as a gift to his patron saint assuring the assistance and care of the heavenly protector for the ktetor in the present and future life. These two functions, commemorative, rather than sepulchral, and dedication of a ritual space to a saint seem to me as the leading motivations for creating this ensemble by Nikola Radonja, which, in turn, confirm the suggestions of V. Marinis³¹⁸ concerning the foundation of subsidiary chapels adjusted to greater ecclesiastic institutions as created for the commemoration of both, the saints and deceased.

2.1.5. Small Monasteries. Foundation as a Place for Retirement

In order to analyze the mechanisms of establishment and maintenance of small monasteries I present here a series of such foundations established in late-Byzantine Constantinople, bearing some resemblance in their organizational matters. Though, in this work, I avoid dealing with Byzantine capital as the grand administrative centre which cultural and religious space was dominated by the imperial foundations and that of important courtiers and aristocrats, the regarded cases, attested in the Patriarchal registers, rather exemplifies the situation, typical for urban milieu of the late Byzantine period, as similar instances of small foundation having similar fate can be also found in Thessaloniki,³¹⁹ Serres,³²⁰ and other provincial towns of the Balkans. Under the term of small monastery, I imply here a foundation, often called *kellion*, *monydron* or *kellydrion*, which had just a few monks (less than 5), housed in a building next to a church. As it was often the case, such monasteries were *de facto* churches with a nearby house, and they received status of a monastery as their ktetors or owners decided to become monks and to lead solitary life. In a way, their legal situation was similar with the instances described in the *Peri ton dynaton* Law of Basil II³²¹ which was intended for the assertion of the independence of small monasteries inhabited by two or three monks settling near a church. A question concerning the existence of the practice of small-size rural

³¹⁷ Đorđević, Kyriakoudis, "The Frescoes in the Chapel of St. Nicholas," pp. 181-186.

³¹⁸ Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual*, pp. 77-87.

³¹⁹ Actes de Dionysiou, pp. 110-114 no. 19; Stavrou, *Socio-economic Conditions in 14th and 15th Century Thessalonike*, p. 160. This is a case of a *kellydrion* dedicated to the 40 Martyrs which, in 1420, was transferred to the Monastery of Dionysiou by Maria Hagioreitissa, who asked in exchange to inscribe her and her parent in the brebion. The small foundation was deserted and the small foundress didn't have sufficient financial means to reconstruct it.

³²⁰ Bénou, ed. *Le codex B*, pp. 282-283, no. 162; Smyrlis, "Small Family Foundations," p. 118. This is the case of Nun Hypomone Mourmouraina who, in 1339, donated her *monydron* of st. George Kryonerites to Menoikeion Monastery for a life-long *siteresion* in kind which after the death of the founder would be inherited by her children.

³²¹ Charanis, "Monastic Properties and the State," p. 62-64; Lemerle, Paul. *The Agrarian History of Byzantium from the Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Galway: Galway University Press, 1979): 103-105, 112-114.

nunneries and women living in their homes in a quasi-monastic life-style was rised by Sh. Gerstel and A.-M. Talbot³²² in connection with some evidences attesting independent social actions of nuns in Byzantine rural milieu.

This subchapter examines several foundations, but all of them had a number of common features: they were modest in size, re-established on earlier grounds (in place of ruined and abandoned institutions), had few possessions, and a small number of inhabitants (if any). Moreover, all the discussed institutions were somehow associated with the founding activities of two participants, Ignatios Theologites, who tried to establish a monastery for his retirement, and the Metropolitan of Medeia,³²³ who appeared to be a legal successor of a share in Theologites's establishment.

The operations of Ignatios Theologites and his wife Makrina are attested by five documents of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchal Court, dated c. 1400-1401.³²⁴ The first of them, without a date, evidences the setting up of several small foundations by the elderly couple. More precisely, it concerns some financial troubles which moved the founder to address the Patriarch and the solutions proposed by the court. Thus, Ignatios Theologites and his wife "as the result of a common decision and desire... chose to adopt the monastic habit, in the belief that life in this world was a useless tumult and veritable hell. Once their decision was firm, it did not seem expedient and profitable to them to delay and postpone, but they thought it necessary to carry out their purpose."³²⁵ Byzantine Church supported such separation of spouses for taking vows by both parties,³²⁶ but the indicator of true separation of the couple in this case was the return of the value of the wife's dowry to Makrina, as these means, indeed, could make her in a certain degree independent³²⁷ and could allow her to continue her monastic life at her discretion.

Ignatios, being short in cash after the return of the dowry, looked for undertakings which wouldn't demand much investments, and, for that reason, he restored a "completely ruined and demolished" (κεχλασμένον πάντα καὶ διεφθαρμένον) nunnery of St. Panteleimon, a small monastery (monydrion) where his wife "could reside and spend the rest of her life in a God-loving and holy

³²² Gerstel, Talbot, "Nuns in the Byzantine Countryside." See also the discussion on the rural monasteries in: Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, pp. 138-150.

³²³ *PLP*, no. 17336.

³²⁴ *MM*, Vol. II, pp. 407-410 (Darrouzes, Vol. VI, nos. 3127 and 3144), pp. 445-446 (Darrouzes, Vol. VI, no. 3171), pp. 468-469 (Darrouzes, Vol. VI, no. 3190) and pp. 551-556 (Darrouzes, vol. VI, no. 3239).

³²⁵ ἐκ κοινῆς βουλῆς καὶ ἀρεσκείας καὶ ἡρετήσαντο... γενέσθαι κατὰ μοναχούς, τὴν ἐν κόσμῳ διαγωγὴν τύρβην ματαίαν καὶ κόλασιν ἀληθῶς οὖσαν ἡγησάμενοι. τοῦτον οὖν ἔχοντες τὸν λογισμὸν βέβαιον, οὐ συμφέρον αὐτοῖς καὶ λυσιτελὲς ἐφάνη εἰς ἀναβολὰς τε καὶ ὑπερθέσεις χωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πέρας ἔχειν τὸν τοῦτον σκοπὸν δεῖν ᾧθήσαν – *MM*, Vol. II, p. 407, the translation is given after Talbot, "Late Byzantine Nuns," p. 108.

³²⁶ Talbot, "Late Byzantine Nuns", pp. 107-108, 113; Garland, "Till Death do us Part?," pp. 35-37.

³²⁷ Concerning the importance of the female dowry, the laws protecting female rights on it and the church's attitude see: Laiou, Angeliki. "The Role of Women in Byzantine Society," *JOB* 31/1 (1981): 237-241; Macrides, "Dowry and Inheritance in the Late Period."

manner,”³²⁸ while Ignatios himself decided to settle in a *kathisma*³²⁹ of St. John the Evangelist belonging to St. Sampson monastery and he gave the rest of his financial means for renting it.³³⁰ However, this separation didn’t stop the social relations between the spouses, who, according to the document, “supported each other peacefully for some time, helping each other in the need from the common means.”³³¹

After some time, Ignatios decided to change his monastic lifestyle and to replace the solitary life in the *kathisma* with a communal living in a small monastery, so he and two other persons, Stephan Attaleiotes and Andronikos Laloumas, jointly bought the land where the *kathisma* was situated, and established a monastery, dedicated to the Theotokos with the epithet the Hope for hopeless. The text specifically underlines that these people had been previously connected by social ties being “acquaintances and friends” (γνώριμοι καὶ φίλοι), and, therefore, their desire to settle together could involve the issues of mutual support, trust, and sharing the companionship of the like-minded people. Consequently, they established the matters of the participation with economic means and the inheritance of the title on the principles of the equal share:

Attaleiotes, Laloumas and, the monk bought out the place in which nowadays the *kathisma* of the monk is situated and established there, from the very grounds, that which one sees now and they constructed (it) to the glory of the Most holy my master Theotokos venerated there, the Hope of Hopeless, with an agreement that two are succeeded by one and, vice versa, the one is succeeded by the two.³³²

And indeed, soon one of the founders, Stephan Attaleiotes, died and the remaining friends addressed the Patriarch to certify (more precisely to issue the confirmation letter - τὸ προβὰν γράμμα) that Andronikos Laloumas can be confirmed as the owner of the half of the property. In the arrangement, these three friends set a small monastic community owning equal shares in the establishment, but, nevertheless, as the following facts will prove, this new institution was still legally bound with the convent of St. Panteleimon founded by Ignatios for his wife. Apparently, now, not

³²⁸ μονῳδριον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταύτην οἰκῆσαι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς θεοφιλῶς τε καὶ ὁσίως διανύσα εὐρεῖν ἐσπούδασεν - MM, Vol. II, p. 407; translation is after Talbot, “Late Byzantine Nuns,” p. 108.

³²⁹ In the modern monastic practice, *kathisma* is “a big house with a small garden let to some elder monk or a retired bishop. It has a chapel, kitchen and a small library. It is located nearby, outside the ruling monastery, although its inhabitants regularly go to the church services in the ruling monastery on Sundays and other feast days” (Gothóni, René. “Worldview and Mode of Life: Orthodox and Theravada Monastic Life Compared,” *Temenos* 27 (1991): 56), and the main difference of a *kathisma* from other solitary dwellings is its spatial proximity to the main foundation, see: Spyridon Heiromonk. “Mount Athos Today,” *Nea Skete. Orthodox Monasticism*. (<http://www.neaskiti.gr/14E2DE41.en.aspx>, last accessed on 28/04/2018).

³³⁰ The location of the monastery in Constantinople is unknown – See: Janin, Raymond. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin, Part I: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. Vol. III: Les églises et les monastères* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1969): 450-451.

³³¹ διηγον οὖν εἰρηνικῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους χρόνους τινὰς βοηθοῦντες ἀλλήλοις τὰ πρὸς χρεῖαν ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν – MM, Vol. II, p. 408.

³³² δὴ ἐξωνήσαντο κοινῶς ὃ τε Ἀτταλειώτης, ὁ Λαλουμάς καὶ ὁ μοναχὸς τὸν τόπον εἰς ὃν νῦν εὐρίσκεται τὸ κάθισμα τοῦ μοναχοῦ ἀνεκτίσαντο ἐκ βάθρων καὶ οἶον ὁράτα νῦν, κατεσκεῦασαν εἰς δόξαν τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ τιμωμένης πανυπεράγνου δεσποίνης μου θεοτόκου, τῆς ἐλπίδος τῶν ἀπελπισμένων, ἐπὶ συμφωνίᾳ ὡς ἂν κληρονομῇ ὁ εἰς τοὺς δύο καὶ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν οἱ δύο τὸν ἕνα – MM, Vol. II, p. 408.

Ignatios and Makrina as private persons, but the two monasteries (Theotokos the Hope for Hopeless and St. Panteleimon) as legal persons still owned the property in common, i.e. after the re-establishment of Ignatios' *kathisma* it became Makrina as one party, Ignatios and Andronikos as another party, and one may find the explanation for the following events in this fact.

Ignatios decided to invest some financial means into real estates and bought, among other things, two gardens, but he bought one of the gardens "not from its owner" and he lost both, the property and its price, as a result of the court proceedings:

The monk living in this cell bought, on his own, without the participation of others, two gardens, out of which the second one being sold off not from its owner, and by the court proceedings it was returned back to its owner, and the monk lost its price.³³³

And from that moment, the problems concerning the division of the common funds arose between the couple; Makrina "ceased helping to each other. And from that time on the nun started to neglect the monk and had the things destined for the need of both only for her and took no care of him."³³⁴ The document specifically states that before the unlucky purchase the couple had lived "peacefully" (εἰρηνικῶς) having all possession in common, but exactly this reluctance of the nun caused Ignatios to seek justice in the Patriarchal court and, at the same time, made some scholars³³⁵ to assume that the relations within the couple were difficult even before the taking of monastic vows. However, I consider that the cause of the nun's refusal should be seen not in the bad character of Makrina (although, this possibility never can be excluded), but in the structure of the property ownership.

Analyzing the organizational system of the double monasteries³³⁶ in the Palaiologan time E. Mitsiou included the case of Ignatios and Makrina into her investigation,³³⁷ as a typical example of such institution. The double monasteries, unifying the foundations inhabited by monks and nuns, were spatially separated from each other, but might have been subject to the same hegoumenos, and, except for obeying similar lifestyle prescriptions, they also shared common property.³³⁸ However, out of those features the foundations of Ignatios and Makrina were distinguished only by joint property ownership. As the document further indicates, after receiving Ignatios' complain the Synod decided

³³³ ἐν τούτῳ τοῖνυν τῷ κελλίῳ ὁ μοναχὸς εὗρισκόμενος, ἐξωνήσατο ἰδίως χωρὶς τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κοινότητος καὶ κήπους δύο, ἀφ' ὧν ὁ ἕτερος οὐ παρὰ δεσπότου διαπραθεὶς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπανήλθε νομίμῳ κρίσει πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον δεσπότην, ὁ δὲ μοναχὸς προσαπώλεσε καὶ τὴν τούτου τιμὴν – MM, Vol. II, p. 408.

³³⁴ τὸ βοηθεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἔπαυσεν, ἐντεύθεν ἔρξατο ἡ μοναχὴ ἀμελεῖν τοῦ μοναχοῦ καὶ τὰ πρὸς χρεῖαν ἀμφοτέρων ἀποταθέντα μόνῃ κατέχουσα, οὐδεμίαν πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐποιεῖτο. – MM, Vol. II, p. 408.

³³⁵ In her article dedicated to the Byzantine nuns A. Talbot exclaims, "one wonders about the relations between the couple before they separated and took monastic vows!" - Talbot, "Late Byzantine Nuns," p. 108.

³³⁶ For history of double monasteries (predominantly in the Latin West), see: Hilpisch, Stephanus. *Die Doppelklöster. Entstehung und Organisation* (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1928), esp. the introduction on pp. 5–25, for the bibliographic overview see: Mitsiou, "Das Doppelkloster," p. 87 (footnote 2).

³³⁷ Mitsiou, "Das Doppelkloster," p. 89 (footnote 11).

³³⁸ Mitsiou, "Das Doppelkloster," p. 99-106.

to separate these two small monasteries (Theotokos the Hope of Hopeless and St. Panteleimon) and to divide their assets, which means that the intuitions had joint assets in the first place.

...they somehow associated the two cells, and the holy churches, being present in the cells, were legally joined, so from some time ago and until now the cells had been united, so it is decreed and declared that now it is illegal (void) for them to become united, and, equally, let everything present in them and, in whatever way, procured for them be divided, and let the monk take his part and his cell, and let him make in them whatever he wants, except for the preserving the existing order and structure, and let the nun, as well, (hold) another part and her cell, and let her make in them whatever she wants.³³⁹

Taking these facts into consideration, one can suggest the reasons behind Makrina's refusal to provide funds for Ignatios. In this case, her convent would assist with investments to a male monastery where her ex-husband owned only a half; thus, the other party, Ignatios' co-founder Laloumas, who didn't lose money in the unsuccessful deal, would also enjoy the compensated funds. So, as it seems Makrina took purely economic decision which supported her own foundation, as she didn't want to deprive her own monastery of its moderate funds to pass them to a stranger (Laloumas).

As future events proved Makrina's decision and the separation of the two monasteries determined the future of the institutions. Sometime around 1401, Makrina died and bequeathed her monastery to the Patriarch who decided to pass the *monydrion* for the protectorate of another person (some kind of *charistike* or *ephoreia*, however, the document doesn't specify the technical term for this for of protectorate):³⁴⁰

...Leaving her monastery deprived of any care. Our Humbleness, thinking to establish a necessary care for the monastery, in order that it wouldn't collapse, then found the most venerable among the nuns, kyra Eleodora Tarchaneiotissa, being good and virtuous and capable enough to provide care for the souls and for the *monydrion*, and (Our Humbleness) passes it to her, by the virtue of the present letter to her, as from now on, in order that she would hold it untill the end of her entire life, and would take care about the order and maintenance and about its growth toward a better state, and she would bring in and accept in it, those whom she wants and would expel those who do not please her, taking thought about the holy sanctuary, in accordance with the abilities and strength she has.³⁴¹

³³⁹ ...ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δύο κελλία συνέστησαν ὡς πᾶσι, καὶ θεῖοι ναοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐρίσκονται, οἱ συνίστασθαι δίκαιον, εὐρίσκοντο δ' ὡς πᾶσι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τὰ κελλία ἡνωμένα, νῦν δὲ ἀδύνατον ἐστὶ ταῦτα εἰς ἑνωσιν ἐλθεῖν, διέγνω καὶ ἀπεφώνητο, ὡς ἂν μερισθῶσιν ἐπίσης ἅπαντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐρισκόμενα καὶ ἀπὸ οἰουδήτινος τρόπου κέκτηνται αὐτὰ, καὶ τὴν μὲν μίαν μερίδα λάβῃ ὁ μοναχὸς καὶ τὸ κελλίον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσῃ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὅπερ ἂν βουλευθεῖται, πλὴν μόνῃς τηρουμένης τῆς τούτου συστήσεως καὶ τάξεως, ὡσαύτως καὶ ἡ μοναχὴ τὴν ἑτέραν μερίδα καὶ τὸ κελλίον αὐτῆς, καὶ ποιήσῃ καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν τούτοις ὡς ἂν ἐθέλῃ. – MM, Vol. II, p. 409.

³⁴⁰ For the *ephoreia* as a life-long grant of a religious institution to a private person with the obligation to provide care and maintenance for the institution, see: Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 146-147, 150-151, 156-157; 218-220, 258-261; for some general forms of protectorate, see: *BMTD*, pp. 295-309; Ahrweiler, Hélène. "Charisticariat et autres formes d'attribution de fondations pieuses," *ZRVI* 10 (1967): 1-27 (esp. 3-4, 16, 23). For similarities between various forms of the granting of monasteries to private individuals for the lifetime, see: Bartusis, *Land and Privilege*, pp. 153-160.

³⁴¹ καταλιποῦσα τὸ ἑαυτῆς μονύδριον ἔρημον πάσης κηδεμονίας, ἡ μετριότης ἡμῶν, πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι τούτου ἀνάγκην ἔχουσα, ὡς ἂν μὴ διαφθαρῇ, ἐπεὶ εὗρεν τὴν τιμιωτάτην ἐν μοναχαῖς, κυρὰν Ἐλεοδώραν τὴν Ταρχανειώτισσαν καλὴν τε (καὶ) ἐνάρετον οὖσαν καὶ δυναμένην ἀρκούντως καὶ ψυχῶν προστασίαν καὶ μονυδρίου προστεῖναι, παραδίδωσι τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον διὰ τοῦ παρόντος αὐτῆς γράμματος, ὡς ἂν κατέχῃ τοῦτο ἐφ' ὅρῳ πάσης

As it seems, the patriarch's appointee, Eleodora Tarchaneiotissa,³⁴² had quite a wide range of powers: on the one hand, she could act as a *hegoumene* (to accept and to expel nuns), but, simultaneously, she had typically ktetorial rights (to hold, to maintain and to improve the foundation). Moreover, even after taking the vows Eleodora kept the epithet "kyra" and her surname which may suggest that she preserved connections with her aristocratic family and that her relatives exercised some influence at the Patriarchate. Indeed, Eleodora belonged to an old aristocratic family (originated in the 10th century) with a military background,³⁴³ whose ascent to power took place under the early Palaiologoi, when *megas domestikos* Nikephoros Tarchaneiotis married a sister of Michael VIII Palaiologos.³⁴⁴ As it was noted by M. Polykovskaya,³⁴⁵ during the Palaiologan time the clan had the most influence in the first half of the 14th century, while by the 15th century it partially lost its importance and connections with other aristocratic clans of the Empire. Nevertheless, several members of this family are still attested to have some importance in the church and state service.³⁴⁶ Thus, one may suggest that the concession of Makrina's foundation to Eleodora became a mutually beneficial situation for the Patriarchate and the female aristocrat: the Patriarchate assured a good administration for the monastery which was now consigned to a trustworthy person and it was taken off the balance of the Patriarchate, yet, in the same time, the lady who became a nun received her own place for refuge or, possibly, retirement³⁴⁷ without investing much funds into the establishment of a new foundation. Thus, the separation of the double-monastery was definitely advantageous for St. Panteleimon *monydrion* and, in combination with its transfer to the care of the Patriarchate, this solution provided a further maintenance and development of the foundation. The mentioned separation was once more underlined by the Patriarch during the transfer of the property to Eleodora as he ordered to maintain the monastery as independent "not bothered, especially, from monk Ignatios" (καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστος καὶ μάλιστα ἀπὸ τοῦ μοναχοῦ Ἰγνατίου) or some other parties who wanted to acquire *ktetoria* over the foundation. Eleodora as a new *hegoumene* was allowed to manage St. Panteleimon till the end of her life, but "it was illegal to transfer the above-said *monydrion*, either

τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς, καὶ τῆς τοῦτου ἐπιμελῆται τάξεώς τε καὶ συστάσεως καὶ ἐπὶ το κρεῖττον αὐξήσεως, εἰσάγη τε ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅς ἂν ἐθέλοι καὶ ἀποδέχεται, ἐξάγη τε αὐτὰς μὴ ἄρεσκούσας αὐτῇ, φροντίζη δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου, καθὼς δυνάμεώς τε καὶ εὐπορίας ἔχει. - MM, Vol. II, pp. 468-469.

³⁴² PLP, no. 27509.

³⁴³ Leontiades, Ioannes. *Die Tarchaneiotai: Eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie* (Thessaloniki: Kentro Byzantinon Ereunon, 1998): esp. pp. 83-89 – about the Tarchaneiotis during the late 14th and early 15th century.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 61-63.

³⁴⁵ Polyakovskaya, Margarita [Поляковская, Маргарита]. "Место семейного клана в структуре поздневизантийского общества: Тарханиоты," *Античная древность и средние века* 29 (1998): 153-164 (esp. p. 163-164).

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 161-162.

³⁴⁷ For the reason affecting decisions of aristocratic Byzantine women to enter monasteries, see: Talbot, "Late Byzantine Nuns," pp. 110-113, 117; Galatariotou, Catia. "Byzantine Women's Monastic Communities: The Evidence of the Typika," *JÖB* 38 (1988): 276-277; Garland, "Till Death do us Part?," esp. pp. 34-42.

during the life or after death, to another person” (ἄδειαν παρακελευόμεθα παραπέμπειν τὸ ῥηθὲν μονύδριον ἢ ζῶσα ἢ ἀποθνήσκουσα πρὸς ἕτερον πρόσωπον). Thus, the refusal of Makrina to share the common assets with Ignatios which, consequently, led to the separation of the foundations, assured the independence of her foundation, while her decision to appoint the patriarchate as a heir provided further development of the monastery under the guidance of a member of an aristocratic family.

The monastery of Ignatios seems to be left in greater troubles after the separation. During the same year 1400, his companion, Andronikos Laloumas, transferred his half in the foundation to the Metropolitan of Medeia.³⁴⁸ This decision might be caused by Ignatios’ unsuccessful financial arrangements which impoverished the foundation and endangered its properties. This assumption is supported by the account of the Metropolitan concerning the church of Sts. Theodores “at risk of dilapidation” (καταπεσεῖεν κινδυνεύων) which he discovered on the acquired territories after the acceptance of the transfer. The Metropolitan invested his own funds into the restoration and turned to the Patriarchal court for compensation, since it should have been the responsibility of the *ktetor* to maintain the holy building especially as the church had also adjusted properties:

This holy church also had a small farm (*choraphion*) which Theologites had exploited already for many years, while he completely neglected the church, and our humbleness ordered that from the taken fruits Theologites is punished with paying the fine, as much funds as the [Metropolitan] of Medeia spent on the renewal of the church, which he had renewed. He spent for this 20 hyperpyra.³⁴⁹

As for other expenses which the Metropolitan used for clothes for a monk who lived there, for improvement of the territory and making a pathway to a cistern, the court ordered to split them in half between the two owners, the Metropolitan and Theologites. This court decision brings to light some further details about the foundation of Theologites. First of all, the *monydrion* of the Hope of Hopeless apparently had a dependency (*metochion*) with the church of Sts. Theodores being in possession of the *choraphion*. This fact and also information from the separation case (two gardens bought by Theologites) demonstrate that one of typical strategies to ensure the future of an established private foundation was continuous acquisition of estates and dependencies. The income received from these gardens, farms, fields etc. normally should have been used for the maintenance of a foundation and the provision of means for monks or clerics living or serving in it. However, just one failed investment (as the garden bought by Theologites from a person who was not an owner of the property) could

³⁴⁸ MM, Vol. II, pp. 445-446; Darrouzes, Vol. VI, no. 3171.

³⁴⁹ ἐπεὶ δὲ γε χωράφιον ἴδιον εἶχεν ὁ τοιοῦτος θεῖος ναὸς, ὅπερ ἐκαρπίζετο μὲν ὁ Θεολογίτης χρόνους ἤδη πολλοὺς, τὸν δὲ ναὸν ἡμέλησε παντελῶς, διέκρινεν ἡ μετριότης ἡμῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν παρεληλυθυῶν ἐπικαρπιῶν καταδικασθῆναι τὸν Θεολογίτην ζημιωθῆναι, ὅσῃν ἂν ὁ Μήδειας ἔξοδον εἰς ἀνάκτισιν τοῦ ναοῦ καταβάλῃται, ὅς δὴ καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀνέκτισε μὲν αὐτὸν, ἐξωδίασε δὲ εἰς τοῦτο ὑπέρπυρα εἴκοσιν – MM, Vol. II, p. 445.

endanger the well-being and even the existence of an entire private monastic institution.³⁵⁰ So, Ignatios, instead of taking care about the *metochion* belonging to his *monydrion*, spent the funds received from the farm subjected to Sts. Theodores for his own maintenance. In addition, the deed informs about the presence of a third person in the monastery of Ignatios, a certain monk whose clothes were paid by the Metropolitan.

Finally, another court decision of 1401³⁵¹ also witnessed about financial problems of Theologites and the decaying condition of his prosperities. Long time before the court appeal certain Kabades and his wife had offered one of their houses to the *kathisma* of the Theologites, and agreed that in exchange for the offer, they both would be buried there and enjoy the right of commemoration in the liturgical services. Also as a part of the property they gave a great and venerable church of Sts. martyrs Christopher and Aquilina, as both, the houses and the church were situated in front of the *kathisma*. After the death of her husband, Kabadina and Theologites commonly agreed to sell the house, apart from an apartment and the church, to hieromonk Makarios, who demolished the buildings and planted a vineyard there. Around 1401 Kabadina “being pushed by the death-threatening illness” (ἀσθενεῖα περιπεσοῦσα θάνατον ἀπειλούση) turned to the Metropolitan of Medeia and passed to him the church and all its rights under the condition to receive her burial and commemoration in the church, and she repented of the selling of the properties which once belonged to the church. The Metropolitan addressed the Patriarch to confirm his rights, called to conduct an inspection in the church and agreed to bear the expenses, necessary for its reconstruction. The inspection found the church ruining and full of stones thrown there by Makarios while planting the vineyard, which seemed for the inspectors to be “a deed rather unworthy of a pious and greatly god-fearing man, and especially a hieromonk” (ἔργον λίαν ἀπᾶδον ἀνδρὶ εὐσεβεῖ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὅλως φοβουμένῳ, μήτοι γε δὴ καὶ ἱερομονάχῳ). Some traces still indicated that the building was once a holy place, as the clerics found there “two *maniakia*³⁵² around two sides of the church, toward east and toward west, having images of saints.”³⁵³ However, when the Metropolitan tried to find out about the territory belonging to the church, he couldn’t draw certain conclusions. All agreed that this, once splendid and great church had some territories, and the commission only learnt from “certain signs, namely, columns standing in

³⁵⁰ Smyrlis, “Small Family Foundations,” pp. 118-120, observed that usually small family foundations disappeared after one or two generations, as the founders were unable to supply them with the funds necessary for further development and neither could attract new monks to enter their monasteries.

³⁵¹ MM, Vol. II, pp. 551-556; Darrouzes, Vol. VI, no. 3239. The case is also regarded in Herman, “Chiese private,” p. 311.

³⁵² This word is normally translated as necklace or collar (see: Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones, and Roderick McKenzie. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996): 1079), however commenting this document Jean Darrouzes considered that this word meant “monuments funeraires” (Darrouzes, Vol. VI, no. 3239, p. 460). As it seems to me, in the present context the *manikia* could be understood as bands with images of saints painted on the walls of the church.

³⁵³ ἐπιστάσης τοίνυν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ναῷ τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος εὐρέθησαν τὰ δύο μανιάκια τὰ περὶ τὰ δύο πλευρὰ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ πρὸς δυσμὰς καὶ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἔχοντα καὶ εἰκόνας ἀγίων μετὰ ὕλης καὶ λιθοσωρίας, ἣν ἔβαλεν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ ῥηθεὶς ἱερομόναχος – MM, Vol. II, p. 552.

front of the church in this place” (τινῶν σημείων, κίωνων λέγω ἱσταμένων πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τοπίῳ), that the surrounding place once belonged to the ecclesiastic institution.

The use of columns to denote the borders of properties, as described in this passage, can be exemplified by some survived archaeological monuments such as the column from the Pikoulas Tower Museum in Areopolis, Mani, which mentions the donation of several farms and vineyards in exchange for commemorations during the liturgies in a church with the tomb of the saint.³⁵⁴ Other columns could denote the borders between the properties, such as the column attested in the church of St. Niketas in Aritsou,³⁵⁵ or mark the borders and warrant about the thread of excommunication in case of the alienation of properties.³⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the present document is one of the few which exemplify the way the border columns were used during the court trials to distinguished the borders. However, the evidences of the border columns were not sufficient to prove the matters of the church properties in case of Sts. Christopher and Aquilina, as the issue, regarded in length by the Synod, concerned the question whether “the church was adjusted to the buildings” (ὁ ναὸς ἦν τῶν ὁσπητίων) or the buildings belonged to the church (τὰ ὁσπήτια τοῦ ναοῦ). This matter was of crucial importance for the deal, as it was canonically prohibited to alienate property consecrated to an ecclesiastic institution,³⁵⁷ and by selling lands allegedly consecrated to the church Kabadina and Theologites violated this canonical rule. Thus, looking for evidence supporting or refuting the ecclesiastic character of the sold lands the Synod examined an old chrysobull provided by Makarios which stated that deceased *panypersebastos* Tompros had received some houses with the church as a gift. This text, however, brought two parties to different conclusions, as Makarios and his defender Demetrios Palaiologos Eirenikos considered that the church and the houses were two different units, while the Metropolitan thought that the houses were included into the surroundings (περιβόλιον) of the church. Consequently, the Synod decided to interrogate Kabadina and her neighbours, the priest and orphanotrophos Michael Gemistos and certain Katzas, a son of guardian George. Kabadina witnessed that she had received everything as a gift from her parents; they would had bought the properties from Tompros in order to consecrate them to the church. And even knowing that she would need to return

³⁵⁴ Gerstel, “Mapping the Boundaries of Church and Village,” esp. pp. 350-352; Feissel, Philippidis-Braat, “Inscriptions du Péloponnèse,” pp. 322-324.

³⁵⁵ Feissel, Denis, “De Chalcédoine à Nicomédie. Quelques inscriptions négligées,” *TM* 10 (1987): 432-433.

³⁵⁶ Feissel, Avraméa, “Inscriptions de Thessalie,” pp. 383-385. For other example and discussion of the warnings on the border stones, see: Gerstel, “Mapping the Boundaries of Church and Village,” p. 350-351 (footnote 66).

³⁵⁷ There was a group of various Council canons (canon 24 of the Council of Chalcedon (451); canon 49 of the Council in Trullo (692); canon 13 of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787); canon 1 of the Synod of Constantinople (861).), Justinian (novellae 7, 46, 120) and later laws prohibiting alienation of church properties, subjecting them to a bishop and establishing the modes of their administration and management, see: Zhishman, *Das Stifterrecht*, pp. 7-8, 11, 34 (esp. footnote 5); Reicke, Siegfried. “Stiftungsbegriff und Stiftungsrecht im Mittelalter,” *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Germanistische Abteilung* 53 (1933): 253; Borgolte, Michael. “Von der Geschichte des Stiftungsrechts zur Geschichte der Stiftungen,” in: *Stiftung und Memoria*, ed. T. Lohse, M. Borgolte (Munich: Walter de Gruyter, 2012): 347-356; Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, 37-58; Morris, *Monks and Laymen in*, 122, 145-165; Kaplan, Michel. *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1989): 165-166, 287.

the price of the property Kabadina confirmed her initial statement that the houses belonged to the church. This claim was also supported by the priest who served in the church after the death of the initial priest established by Kabadina's father and by Katzas who used to rent the houses and paid for them to the ecclesiastic institution. Thus, the Synod concluded that the property returns to the church, Theologites and Kabadina should return the received price to Makarios, and the metropolitan should reimburse the hieromonk for the efforts he had spent on the planting of the vineyard.

Thus, one can conclude that the establishment of Theologites itself owned at least two other ecclesiastic institutions, the church of Sts. Theodores and the Church of Sts. Christopher and Aquilina, the latter of which was a donation from a third party (the Kabades family). Both of the churches had their own economic assets, a farm and a set of houses, accordingly, but both foundations were in the decaying condition, which means that the income acquired from their properties was not sufficient for their maintenance. In addition, one may suggest that Kabadina and Ignatios decided to sell the houses in order for Ignatios to perform those deals with the gardens he wanted to buy. This fact and the actions of hieromonk Makarios who, after the acquisition of houses, demolished them and turned the property into a vineyard, show that around 1400, the agricultural terrains had more value than the buildings intended for rent. Possibly, it can be caused by the fact that the capital was underpopulated³⁵⁸ and there was nobody to rent the houses, while the gardens and the vineyards could bring the immediate profit. But the main reason for these circumstances can be seen in the long-lasting siege of the city (1394–1402) from the side of Bayezid I which caused the shortage of resources, agricultural goods, and food.³⁵⁹

Thus, exactly the combination of the underpopulation and a bad financial placement caused the decay of the establishments of Theologites. He still was able to exploit the lands affiliated to the *metochia* of his monastery, but didn't attract sufficient number of monks and donors to sustain the church buildings and even provide for the garment of a single monk, probably managing the farm belonging to Sts. Theodores. Therefore, the combination of unfortunate external circumstances (the siege, the rise in the prices of agricultural lands), the shortage of manpower and Theologites' inability to foresee the consequences of his risky financial decisions led the foundation to decay. And while Ignatios' partner, Andronikos Laloumas, preferred to transfer his share to a better manager, but for Theologites this monastery was the only place for his retirement. Besides, the court proceedings, initiated by the Metropolitan of Medeia, left Theologites and his foundation burdened with debts.

³⁵⁸ Talbot, Alice-Mary. "Agricultural properties in Palaiologan Constantinople," in: *Koinotaton Doron. Das späte Byzanz zwischen Machtlosigkeit und kultureller Blüte (1204 – 1461)*, eds. A. Berger et al. (Boston: De Gruyter, 2016): 196.

³⁵⁹ Necipoğlu, Nevra. "Economic conditions in Constantinople during the siege of Bayezid I (1394–1402)," in: *Constantinople and its Hinterland: Papers from the Twenty-Seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 1993*, eds. C. A. Mango and G. Dragon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995): 157-168 (esp. pp. 159-160).

One doesn't know how the events developed after the year 1401, and how the fate of the *monydriion* unfolded, however one can guess that it didn't look very bright. Obviously, except for the founder himself, there was another actor interested into the acquisition of the Hope of Hopeless Monastery, the Metropolitan of Medeia, who received the 50% share in the foundation from Laloumas as well as the title over the church which used to belong to Kabadina. However, this person would disappear from Constantinople after 1404 or 1409 (as he was exactly the Matthew Metropolitan of Medeia³⁶⁰ who in 1399 – 1404 tried to depose the Patriarch Matthew I during the trip of Emperor Manuel II to the West). As Patriarch Matthew was restored in 1404, the rebellious metropolitans were disposed and exiled, as during the Synod of 1409 they already were not present in the city.³⁶¹

On the grounds of the presented cases one can draw several conclusions on the organizational matters of small monasteries. First of all, these monasteries were established by members of nobility as a kind of retirement houses. In the difference with the upper classes aristocrats these noblemen didn't have sufficient funds to organize such luxurious monasteries as Chora or Bebaia Elpis, and, therefore, they preferred to restore previously existing institutions and to gather a small community of associates around them. So, *de facto* the small monasteries were family enterprises and their lifespan seems not to extend over one generation, unless they were reassigned to another supervisor as it was the case of Makrina's foundation. In case of Ignatios' his institution attracted interest of the Metropolitan of Medeia who tried to establish his own authority over the place and to force Ignatios to invest more funds into the caring for the foundation and its metochia.

These institutions could rely only on the properties attached to them by the initial ktetor or restorer or acquired by him (her) in the following years. As these places were truly small communities, they experience the shortage of manpower being able to work on the monastery's lands and therefore fell into decay. The only way to survive for these monasteries was to be placed under a higher church authority or to be passed to a second ktetor with some financial means.

2.1.6. Large Monastery. The Foundation as a Commemoration Act

Finally, this subchapter addresses the problems which a successful and rich private foundation would face, and the reasons which moved a founder to invest significant funds into the establishment. As it seems, not being such exceptionally rich as Theodore Metochites was, a provincial nobleman could pour all his/her assets into the construction of a monastery only under extraordinary

³⁶⁰ *PLP*, no. 17366.

³⁶¹ For the circumstances of the rebellion and the grounds for the accusation of the Patriarch, see: Laurent, Vitalient. "Le trisepiscopat du Patriarche Matthieu Ier (1397–1410). Un grand proces canonique a Byzance au debut du XVe siecle," *REB* 30 (1972): 5-166 (esp. pp. 5-111 for the analysis of the circumstances and the proceedings of the Synods).

circumstances, foremost in cases when he/her didn't have direct family successors being able to inherit the fortune. That was the case of Theodore Komnenos Angelos Doukas Sarantenos whose entire foundation appeared to be a sort of an act of commemoration and consolation for the loss of all his children. Therefore, this subchapter will analyze the methods which were employed by the founder for the successful accomplishment of his monastery and the means he and his direct heirs used to secure the ecclesiastic character of the vast properties assigned to the institution.

In 1320s, a provincial nobleman from Berroia, Theodore Komnenos Angelos Doukas Sarantenos, founded a monastery dedicated to St. John Prodromos in his hometown. This foundation is attested by by two epigrams and three documents concerning its establishment and ownership which are kept in the monastery of Vatopedi:³⁶²

- 1) A chrysobull by Andronikos II (1324)³⁶³ confirming the endowment of St. John's monastery with properties, releasing them from taxes and endorsing the independent status of the monastery
- 2) A Testament composed by Theodore Sarantenos on behalf of his foundation (1325),³⁶⁴ which is partially transcribed in the Appendix I.
- 3) A Decision of the Metropolitan court of Thessaloniki concerning a dispute between Vatopedi and the heirs of Sarantenos in the relation of the ownership over the monastery (1375). The heirs of the initial founder were represent by his distant relatives, *eparchissa* Arianitissa, an already widowed second wife of Sarantenos' son-in-law Arianites, and her son-in-law, John Gabras, an *oikeios* of Emperor John V Palaiologos.³⁶⁵
- 4) One Epigram (see the Appendix II), survived in the collection of poems by Manuel Philes,³⁶⁶ once was inscribed on the walls of the monastery's *katholikon*. Judging on its content it was, probably, situated near the portrait of Theodore Sarantenos.
- 5) Another epigram, suggested to be attributed to Manuel Philes as well, is preserved on a silver revetment of the Hodegetria icon kept in the treasure of the Monastery of Vatopedi.³⁶⁷ In this text, certain Papadopoulina honours her sister Charis (Ioanna) with a gift of the icon expressing the sisterly love.

³⁶² Papazotos, *H Béroia και οι ναοί της*, pp. 104-106 suggested adding to this list also a marble plate from a burial found in the collection of the Old Baths of Berroia. However, since this badly preserved funerary inscription doesn't point to Sarantenos directly (it mentions only the surname Doukas), I do not see sufficient grounds not to trust to the words of the Vatopedi monks attested in the document of 1375 (*Actes de Vatopédi*, Vol. II, no.144, p. 395, l. 14) saying that Sarantenos was buried in the Athonite foundation.

³⁶³ *Actes de Vatopédi*, Vol. I, no. 62 (1324), pp. 333-337.

³⁶⁴ *Actes de Vatopédi*, Vol. I, no. 64 (1325), 344-361.

³⁶⁵ *Actes de Vatopédi*, Vol. II, no.144 (1375), 389-399

³⁶⁶ Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, Vol. I, pp. 247-249, no. 75.

³⁶⁷ Papazotos, Thanasis [Παπαζώτος, Θανάσης]. "Χριστιανικές έπιγραφές Μακεδονίας," *Makedonika* 21 (1981): 408-409; Rhoby, Andreas and Hörandner Wolfram. "Beobachtungen zu zwei inschriftlich erhaltenen Epigrammen," *BZ* 100 (2007): 157-162; Rhoby, Andreas. *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010): 88-91, no. Ik25; Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, pp. 303-306.

The majority of these documents were collected and commented by G. Theocharidis³⁶⁸ in his edition of the Testament of Theodore Sarantenos. However, in the present text I would like to turn attention to the reasons for the establishment of the foundation, its functions and arrangement; this re-examination of the sources will help to understand the way in which the Byzantines used the religion to handle tragic events of their lives. Some of the sources related to the foundation, primarily, the Testament and the Epigram by Philes, emphasize that the main function of the foundation was to provide a consolation for the parents who lost their children. Therefore, one can regard the entire project of the Prodromos monastery in the framework of the Byzantine commemorative practices.

2.1.6.1. The History of the Foundation

Theodore Komnenos Angelos Doukas Sarantenos³⁶⁹ was a provincial aristocrat in Berroia who received the office of *skouterios*³⁷⁰ (imperial shield-bearer) and a dignity of *pansebastos sebastos*. His brother, John Sarantenos,³⁷¹ who died in a battle at Klepisiou (?) came with an idea to build a family monastery in the hometown. This project, however, was not initiated due to the death of John at the imperial military service. Later, according to the Testament, Theodore and his wife, Eudokia Komnene Angeline, decided to build a monastery after losing all their children, including the last one, a daughter married with “the noblest kyr Michael Doukas Arianites,”³⁷² *eparchos* of Berroia. For this purpose, they chose a place and a project foreseen by Theodore’s late brother John, who “from long ago had an idea to make so and he was ready for the construction. So we used [the project] of the deceased one for this [foundation], and the one of us who will be alive should complete it for the dead one...” In his last will, John appointed Theodore as his “testator” and “manager into the accomplishment of his project of the establishing” of a monastery. On this grounds Theodore considered John as a co-founder of the Prodromos’ institution. However, the yard in Berroia, in the neighborhood of Skoronychos, where the brothers wanted to start construction was a part of dowry of John’s late wife, and for this reason it was claimed, together with other properties, by her brothers. By the court procedure Theodore returned one third of this dowry, including this yard. He and Eudokia initiated the construction works, but Theodore was called to Constantinople, possibly, to receive the chrysobull of 1324 and other documents mentioned in this text. “When she [Eudokia] also became a subject to the death and admeasured her life; and the deed of god was suspended,” and Theodore was alone to complete it.

³⁶⁸ Theocharides, *Μία διαθήκη*.

³⁶⁹ *PLP*, nos. 24906 and 24898 author consider Sarantenos depicted in the Tou Petra monastery and the founder of the monastery in Berroia to be two different persons.

³⁷⁰ Guillard, Rodolphe. “Préteur du peuple, Skoutérios, Protokomès,” *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 7 (1969): 81-84.

³⁷¹ *PLP*, no. 24910.

³⁷² *PLP*, no. 1312

As the Chrysobull by Andronikos II witness, by 1324 Theodore Sarantenos built his foundation, at least partially, and received the letter of Patriarch Isaiah who confirmed the self-governing status of the monastery.³⁷³ By the document issued by the Emperor the monastery was established as “independent and self-governing” (μοναστήριον αὐτόνομον καὶ αὐτοδέσποτον),³⁷⁴ while its possessions, including a pasture near the village Kritzista acquired from late Bogdan, and the lands attached from the dowry given to Eudokia by her father Athanasios Soultanos,³⁷⁵ were exempted from taxes (*elethera*) and taken out of the control of the local authorities.

By 1325, Theodore completed the construction of the foundation “and ornamented it with well-ordered and lavish images,” for one of which, namely the portrait of the founder, an epigram written by Manuel Philes was commissioned. It addresses the beholder looking at “Strong against many enemies, // Born from the Komnenoi named-as-an Angel Doukas, // Sarantenos, the wonder of armours” and narrates about his deed, character and life tragedy. Theodore could order this epigram in 1324, during his stay in Constantinople for the receiving of the patriarchal and imperial confirmation documents. This means, that not yet finishing the construction works, the founder was already considering the methods of decoration and having plans for the arrangement of his ktetorial portrait.

Before finishing the works on the construction and ornamentation, Theodore started to apply to his brother monk Gerasimos³⁷⁶ and his superiors at the Thessaloniki monastery of Maximos³⁷⁷ in order to transfer his brother back to Berroia, because Theodore wanted that Gerasimos would become the *hegoumenos* of the foundation. When Gerasimos agreed to do so, Theodore appointed him “a manager over my soul and of my present monastery and as the administrator, owner and supreme authority.” In Berroia, Loubros Sarantenos, as well a monk, joined to his father Gerasimos as an assistant in the monastery. This way, Theodore gathered practically all surviving members of his once numerous family to share the communal life within the walls of the family monastery.

To provide for the sustenance and development of the monastery, Theodore assigned a great fortune to it by the means of the Testament which was left after the founder: 17 icons, 96 precious objects and jewels (including embroidered fabrics and precious stones), domains in Komanitzes,

³⁷³ *Actes de Vatopédi*, Vol. I, p. 335-336, l. 35-37.

³⁷⁴ *Actes de Vatopédi*, Vol. I, p. 336, l. 43.

³⁷⁵ For Athanasios Soultanos and his possessions in Berroia see: Zachariadou, Elisabet [Ζαχαριάδου, Ελισάβετ]. “Οι χριστιανοί απόγονοι του Ιζζεδδίν Καϊκαούς Β' στη Βέροια,” *Makedonika* 6 (1965): 62-74; Kravari, *Villes et villages*, pp. 76-78; Shukurov, Rustam. *The Byzantine Turks, 1204-1461* (Leiden: Brill, 2016): 191-194.

³⁷⁶ *PLP*, no. 24900.

³⁷⁷ Theocharides tried to equate the monastery with the church of Nicholaos Orphanos (Theocharides, *Μία διαθήκη*, pp. 60-64); see: Janin, Raymond. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin. Vol. II: Les églises et les monastères des grands centres Byzantins: (Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galèsios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique)* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1975): 358, 395.

Neochorion, tou Skoteinou, and Kritzista,³⁷⁸ three yards with buildings in Berroia, six mills, ten parcels of vineyards, numerous household objects and tools, 300 sheep, 20 buffalo, 10 cows, 10 horses and a half of all cash in hyperpyra, which will be left after him. Out of these properties, the domain of Komanitzes was taken from the dowry of Eudokia, and could be debated by Theodore's grandchildren, sons of Michael Arianites, kyr George Sarantenos, kyr Theodore Kapantrines, and kyr Alexios Soultanos. Therefore the founder stipulates that the monks, in case of the grandchildren rising some claims over it, should compensate 300 hyperpyra to them. These grandchildren were also appointed as "guardians and supporters and responsible persons" for the well-being of the monastery.

However, in 1328, Theodore himself decided to pass the foundation to Vatopedi monastery, where he took monastic vows, died in 1330 and was buried. This information comes from the court decision of 1375 made on behalf of Vatopedi. So the Athonite monks replying to the claims of the distant heirs of Sarantenos conveyed to the judge the following information: "he passed that monastery, already 47 complete years ago... to our monastery, in which he took the habit, lived for two years, met the end of his life and was buried. And that monastery was owned by the monastery of ours, while that deceased one was still alive living with us and after his death, and the head of that monastery <in Berroia> was chosen by our monastery and sent there."³⁷⁹ One can't be certain about the reasons which made Theodore to make this decision and to subject the foundation to the great monastery, but I can assume that one of the possible motivations was a conflict or tensions with his heirs who wanted to claim their rights over the Prodromos monastery. At least one of them, Loubros Sarantenos, the ktetor's nephew, tried to make a claim, though unsuccessfully, concerning the properties given by his uncle to Vatopedi.³⁸⁰ So, the Prodromos foundation in Berroia was turned into a *metochion* of Vatopedi which appointed there a hegoumenos and managed the landed properties.

In 1343-1345,³⁸¹ when the Serbs under the leadership of King Stefan Dušan conquered the entire province of Macedonia, including Berroia, the Athonites started to experience some troubles with their possessions in the city. Though, in 1346, they succeeded to receive a chrysobull by Stefan Dušan, which confirmed their possessions in various domains, including Berroia,³⁸² as the monks witnessed later the Serbs took the possessions of their *metochia* and distributed them as *pronoia* to different

³⁷⁸ For identification of these landed possessions see: *Actes de Vatopédi*, Vol. I, pp. 33-34; *Actes de Vatopédi*, Vol. II, pp. 31-36; Kravari, *Villes et villages*, pp. 61, 62, 76-80, 85.

³⁷⁹ παρέδωκε μὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον μοναστήριον, ἔτος ἤδη διανύεται τεσσαρακοστὸν ἑβδομον, ...τὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς μονή, ἐν ἣ καὶ ἀποκαρεῖς καὶ διετίαν ἐπιβιούς τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο, ἐκεῖσε ταφεῖς, κατεσχέθη τοῖνυν τὸ τοιοῦτο μοναστήριον ὑπὸ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς μονῆς καὶ ζώντος ἐκείνου καὶ ἡμῶν συνδιάγοντος καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον, καὶ ἐξελέγετο πάντοτε καὶ προεβάλλετο ὑπὸ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς μονῆς προεστῶς ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ μοναστηρίῳ" - *Actes de Vatopédi*, Vol. II, p.395, l. 11-17.

³⁸⁰ *Actes de Vatopédi*, Vol. II, pp. 396-397, l. 54, 72.

³⁸¹ Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. II, p. 795; Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, pp. 21-23, 174, n. 121; *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije*, vol. VI, pp. 486-487, note 411.

³⁸² Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no. XI, pp. 78-82.

persons.³⁸³ When the city was returned to the Byzantine hands (after 1355), both, the Athonies and the heirs of the Sarantenos and Arianites, succeeded to acquire chrysobulls of John V Palaiologos confirming their ownership over the monastery of Prodomos. Finally, in 1375, the Metropolitan court of Thessaloniki confirmed the rights of Vatopedi over the monastery on the grounds that the monks of the Holy Mount could provide, except for the documents dated with the rule of John V, also the documents issued by Andronikos II, Andronikos III and some patriarchal letters.³⁸⁴ Probably, the icon of the Hodegetria bearing the dedication from Papadopoulina to Arianitissa appeared in Vatopedi due to the fact the foundation in Berroia between 1355 and 1375 was held by the relatives of Sarantenos who endowed it with various gifts.³⁸⁵

2.1.6.2. *The Image of the Ktetor and the Purpose of the Foundation*

Both, the Testament and the Epigram written by Philes, tell to the readers the same story which suggests that it was, indeed, the image the commissioner wanted to project to public. Undoubtedly, there were certain differences in the semantic accents, ways of the construction of literary images and the introductory themes, but they are rather motivated by specific genres of the texts than by different intentions of the authors.

The verses of Philes appeal to a beholder who stands in front of Sarantenos' image (τύπος) created on the wall of his foundation. This image, apparently, depicted the *skouterios* as a military man with a beautiful body, as the writer points out to the athletic development of his personage and calls him "a hero". Further, the poet invites a beholder to become a spectator of the tragedy which took place during Theodore's life and to understand the meaning of the monument being observed, the foundation itself, into the context of this drama: "Beholder, look at the deeds of an intelligent man // and get amazed with the character after understanding the decision." Moreover, in the course of the text, Philes suggests that the learning about the story of Sarantenos' life can have a moral impact on the observer/reader. As taking into consideration this example, the viewer would be able to understand that life is changeable ("get to know looking at the image // that, this way, life joins and separates") and would be encouraged to care more about the immortal soul which is more important than the body.

³⁸³ *Actes de Vatopédi*, Vol. II, p.395, l. 19-20.

³⁸⁴ In more details, *Actes de Vatopédi*, Vol. II, pp. 390-394.

³⁸⁵ This point of view is proposed by Papazotos, Th. ("Χριστιανικές επιγραφές Μακεδονίας," pp. 408-409), other authors (Rhoby, Andreas and Hörandner Wolfram. "Beobachtungen zu zwei inschriftlich erhaltenen Epigrammen," *BZ* 100 (2007): 157-162; Drpić, *Epigram, Art, Devotion*, pp. 303-305) consider that the icon was given by one of the daughters of Theodore Sarantenos, whose name was Papadopoulina to another one, who was the first wife of Arianites; after the death of the first arianitissa the icon was obtained by Theodore who donated it to his foundation. However, I would like to object this identification and support the point of views of Th. Papazotos, since the text of Theodoros' testament suggests that only one of their daughters reached maturity and was married, while the name Papadopoulina suggests that the sister of Arianitissa was married.

The introduction of the Testament has much more gloomy tone, typical for this genre, it points out to the idleness of life using a full range of comparisons (such as a dream, a shadow, a sea passage, smoke etc.) with the meaning of uncertainty for this purpose. Theodore underlines his old age which, in the present case, is not a simple literary *topos*, but rather a fact, since he would die in five years after the composition of this testament. Approaching the end of his life (“the time which is left to me is a mere deception”), the protagonist wants to leave valuable trace for his remembrance and to offer something to God: “that after the end of my life my living wouldn’t be considered completely idle.” So, he recollects the events of the past in his memory, as “coming to senses after an incident” and composes the text, presented to a reader. However, the main reason for making this text is to explain the purpose of the foundation built by the author, as it is also the main recipient of the bequeathed properties. And concerning the monastery, Theodore explains that he invested his last efforts and hopes into it, in order to make the place where the lauds to God are performed and to achieve “salvation.”

Further, in very different manners, both texts approach one of the most important topics for Theodore’s life, which, in a way, influenced the majority of his later decisions, namely the death of his children. Thanks to Philes’ text one can find out that the Sarantenoi had eight children (“twice four dear children”), who died one after another in a short time. The Testament confirms this information, as Theodore and Eudokia were “parents for many children.” In both texts, the feeling of suddenness of their death is created thanks to a metaphor related to a harvest,³⁸⁶ a short period of intensive work. So, Theodore says that “a scythe of death ripped them all,” while the Philes, developing the vegetative image in more details, compares Sarantenos with a blooming tree and the mortality of the children with the harvest, “when a crop of hostile death affected the offspring of the parent.”

Testament also gives valuable information for the matters of inheritance, it concerns the only surviving daughter who got married and brought grandchildren to the Sarantenoi couple. And though Theodore underlines the importance of this child calling her the “only hope,” he doesn’t inform readers about her name. This attitude toward the girl reflects a typical understanding of women’s role in the Byzantine society as based on the motherhood and the procreation function.³⁸⁷

The death of the family became for Theodore Sarntenos a reason for giving a very sincere account of grief and consolation practiced by the Byzantines. So, he noticed a very natural human reaction, the

³⁸⁶ The harvest metaphors are quite typical for Philes’ poetry for depicting death, for example in case of funeral epigram to certain *stratopedarches*; “Nobody is surprised that, because it is necessary, O powerful Time, when you should, you cut a white grain during summer and you harvest” (Τὸ μὲν στάχυς τέμνειν σε λευκοῦς ἐν θέρει, // Χρόνε σθεναρὲ, καὶ τρυγᾷν ὅταν δέῃ // Θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν, τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ τὸ πρέπον.) – Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, Vol. I, pp. 448-449, no. 251.

³⁸⁷ Laiou, Angeliki. “The Role of Women in Byzantine Society.” *JÖB* 31/1 (1981): 236-260 (esp. 231-237); Eadem, “Observations on the Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women,” *BF* 9 (1985): 59–102.

initial acute pain of separation, the “overwhelming grief” and a later appeasement, when by “the interchange of grief and joy, little by little,” parents “became distant from” their deceased offspring”. The same experience of sorrow has different representation in the text of Philes, who insists on the endurance and fortitude of his personage. Theodore is represented “as if without passions” survived his losses and, in the imitation of Job, he didn’t rebel against God, but expected the rewards in the afterlife.

Both authors associate the matters of consolation with God and hopes for the salvation. Manuel Philes points out that by God’s Providence, the childlessness of the spouses allowed them to “see hidden things” and to invest their “efforts and hopes” into the deed of salvation. Sarantenos himself wrote that the couple came to a “joined decision” to “make our refuge in God” and to build a monastery as a place of the refuge (καταφυγή), dedicated to St. John Prodromos. The term *kataphyge*, employed here by Sarantenos, derives from the words of Psalm 90 (91) “He is my refuge and my fortress” (καταφυγή μου ὁ θεός μου ἐλπῶ ἐπ’ αὐτόν) which was one of the most popular texts related to the funerary rights and placed in the beginning of the rite for the burial service.³⁸⁸ At the same time, the understanding of the “refuge in God” as a consolation remedy is also attested by another 14th-century monument, a bilateral icon from Poganovo having a complex iconography with a prophetic vision of ascending Christ on one side and the grieving Virgin accompanied by St. John on the other. This icon, being commissioned after 1371 by *basilissa* Jelena, a widow of the Serbian despot Jovan Uglješa, to commemorate both, her deceased dead son and husband,³⁸⁹ was developed as “a visible manifestation of the promise of salvation.”³⁹⁰ So, the Virgin on the icon is labeled *kataphyge* as well, becoming a consolation for the noble widow.

In addition, the Testament gives some instructions concerning the commemoration procedures demanded by the ktetor; obviously the monastery was established as a memorial family shrine for serving the spiritual needs of the founder and, presumably, of his deceased relatives. Theodore himself affirms the following, as a primarily motivation for the making of the generous endowment: “for the memory of our parents, of my above-mentioned brother and us ourselves.” Indeed, many of Byzantine private foundations were established as family mausoleums or places of spiritual unification of the kins.³⁹¹ And, as it seems the foundation of Sarantenos followed this trend: it was established by the spouses on the lands left by Theodore’s brother, John, whom the ktetor demands

³⁸⁸ Galadza, Peter. “The Evolution of Funerals for Monks in the Byzantine Realm: From the Tenth to the Sixteenth Century,” *OCP* 70 (2004): 227-228.

³⁸⁹ Pentcheva, Bissera. “Imagined Images: Visions of Salvation and Intercession in a Double-Sided Icon from Poganovo,” *DOP* 54 (2000): 139-153 (with previous bibliography). This first who proposed this interpretation was Babić, Gordana. “Sur l’icône de Poganovo e la vasilissa Hélène,” in: *L’art de Thessalonique et des pays Balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XVIe siècle*, ed. D. Davidov (Belgrade: GRO «Kutura», 1987): 57-66.

³⁹⁰ Pentcheva, “Imagined Images,” p. 151.

³⁹¹ Talbot, “The Byzantine Family and the Monastery”; Garland, “‘Till Death do us Part?’”.

to consider “as a co-founder of the established monastery and to commemorate my blessed brother together with me.” Moreover, the monastery was headed by another brother, Gerasimos, while his son, Loubros, became one the fellow monks. Therefore, it is not surprising that Theodore asks to continue the performance of the rite established by his late wife as a means of his personal commemoration: “that annually, wheat of 100 modioiannonikon³⁹² and wine of 150 measures will be given from the [monastery's] income to poor female monasteries for nuns and to my poor brothers” on the Great Thursday and Great Friday. Undoubtedly, the monks also performed various commemorative services for the Sarantenoi, especially on behalf of the late children, whose death initiated the monastery's establishment, but the testament says nothing about the church rituals.

The final matter with which the both texts are concerned is the salvation of the founder. For Theodore, it was only a matter of hope, since he strove to get St. John the Baptist as “an advocate and defender on the day of the terrible judgment.” He as well made clear that his choice of Gerasimos as a *hegoumenos* was based on the abilities of the latter to assist to the founders' souls by the means of ascetic monastic practices, i.e. “through steady standing and prayers and petitions.” On the other hand, the text of Philes is more joyful in this matter and it looks promising for the founder, since it ends up with a Byzantine happy ending, namely with an image of the re-united family of Sarantenos who “with his children in a mystical way, // stands besides the throne of the Lord.” Philes even draws comparison between the offering of the erected church to God and the reception of heavenly dwellings from God, so, for the poet, the founding activities joined with a good character of the founder seem to be a sufficient investment for certain acquisition of the eternity in Eden.

After finishing the analysis of these sources, I would like to note that the monastery established by Theodore Sarantenos was perceived by him as a matter of consolation, a refuge from unbearable grief caused by the death of all his children and later of his wife. The entire project brought into life by Theodore was centered on his experience of grieving parent which was described in the Testament by the founder himself and was addressed in the epigram of Philes commissioned for the foundation. At the same time, the monastery was a place of family spiritual and physical reunification. Theodore invited all his surviving male relatives to join him in the monastery, while, spiritually, the living and the dead would get reunited in the prayers and rituals performed by the monks for the commemoration of founders. This way, Prodromos monastery was the family enterprise, instituted and managed by the family members for the purposes of joint salvation and the final reunification of all members in the Paradise. The generous endowment donated by the ktetor in form of land properties, objects, cattle and cash witness about the desire to provide the sufficient funds for the sustenance of the monastery, in order to make it to continue functioning after the founder's death. Probably, the later decision to

³⁹² *Modios annonikos* ≈ 8,5 kg, see: Schilbach, Erich. *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1970): 70, 99-100.

pass the monastery under the control of Vatopedi was motivated by the same considerations, since the foundation would be in danger of decaying if its properties would be claimed by the surviving distant relatives.

This way, to assure the afterlife of a foundation after the death of the initial founder, he/she, consciously and diligently, should have followed the existing law which prescribed to receive the blessing of the bishop, to provide the sufficient endowments, to complete the foundation and to arrange with the future heirs the matters of the administration.³⁹³ However, in reality, the successful afterlife of a private family monastery also depended on the right choice of the successors, as only the administration furnished by a greater ecclesiastic foundation, such as an Athonite monastery, would assure the unalienation of the foundation's goods and the proper spiritual management. From the point of view of a founder, the primary purpose of such foundation was the performance of commemoration rituals providing assistance to his/her soul and that of his/her relatives, and, therefore, the transfer of the institution to a greater and more experienced ecclesiastic manager seemed to be a better choice than the transfer to a relative, whose greed or financial misfortunes could endanger the well-being of the foundation.

On the other hand, the case of Theodore Sarantenos brings back the problem of the fluidity of the institution forms in case of private foundations. As one can notice, he initiated the construction of Prodromos monastery after the acquisition of the town properties which used to belong to his sister-in-law, in other words he turned the living town quarters into the monastery by the way of the establishment of a church. For the proper initial spiritual administration he also invited an experienced Athonite monk who happened to be his brother. So, wealth bequeathed to the Berroia monastery and appointed monastic leadership differed this foundation from those small establishments like that one made by Theologites. However, in the very essence the foundations of all forms served the primarily pious needs of their ktetors. During the ktetor's life, they provided private places for the performance of prayers and became the offerings to a holy patron who could assist into the present and future life. After the death, they could house a burial ro at least assure the officiating of memorial rites on behalf of the ktetor's soul and that one of his beloved relatives.

2.1.7. Family Foundations: Some preliminary Conclusions

The comparison between private foundations having status of a church (rural and urban churches as well as subsidiary chapels) and private monasteries point out to a number of common features in the reasons for their establishment, but also to quite significant differences in their operational modes and religious and practical motives influencing the decision to create a foundation.

³⁹³ *Jus Graecoromanum*, Vol. 7: Prochiron auctum, p. 216-217

Both, private churches and monasteries, served to burials and commemoration of the ktetors, whether in urban or rural milieu as it is shown by the existence of tombs and arcosolia in all types of foundations. Both were considered to be a gift to the divinity or a certain saint whose intercession would avail the founder in the afterlife. Finally, all the foundations were endowed with certain assets, necessary for their operations (furnishing, preparing liturgical equipment, candle-lighting and priests' salaries). However, the urban churches and chapels were needed to address the day to day religious needs of a family (such as liturgies, religious festivals, baptisms etc.) and were included into the structure of a household or placed in the proximity. Private chapels adjusted to greater foundations could take advantage of clergy serving in the main institution (great monastery or cathedral) as the chapel's founders could arrange the employment of this clergy for the maintenance of this *parekklesia*.

On the other hand, the foundation of a monastery was a conscious decision associated with the ktetor's intentions to change his/her lifestyle or a desire to do so in the future. Usually, a monastery was a place of refuge from the society, caused by either an old age or other dramatic life events (divorce, death of relatives, exile etc.). For example, Theodore Metochites preparing Chora monastery as his place of retirement was permitted to return there from his exile, took monastic habit under the name of Theoleptos, died and was buried in his monastery;³⁹⁴ the Kabades couple separated to retire in their small foundations; whereas Theodore Sarantenos decided to establish a monastery after the death of all his children. Moreover, a family church can be turned into a monastery by receiving appropriate Patriarchal, Imperial, or Episcopal documents, as it was, actually done in case of Sarantenos who initially built the church and, afterwards, converted it into a monastery.³⁹⁵ Thus, the private monastic foundations were seen as places where the founders planned to start the spiritual life and often gathering there other members of their families with the similar intentions.³⁹⁶

2.2. The Foundation as a Hermitic Community

In the present subchapter, I am going to address a problem associated with the foundation of hermitic monastic institutions under the leadership of a prominent ascetic; this was a rather typical situation on the periphery of the late-Byzantine Empire. More precisely, I am going to discuss how the monasteries, often belonging to the Lavriote type and established or re-established by prominent

³⁹⁴ Ševčenko, Ihor. "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of his Time," in: Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, Vol. IV, pp. 33-37.

³⁹⁵ "we arrange and order to build a holy church... and turned it after the completion into a monastery" – see the Appendix no. I

³⁹⁶ See above the example of Sarantenos, his brother and nephew. For other examples, see: Talbot, "The Byzantine Family and the Monastery," pp. 122-123.

Athonite hesychasts, also enjoyed from the involvement of rulers and their benefactions. Furthermore, this subchapter will focus on a case study dedicated to the relatively poorly-known figure of Hosios Leontios of Monembasia, a Laconian leader of a monastic community of the early-15th century. His life story, as those of his numerous monastic predecessors, can exemplify the key-trends in the ktetoria of a hermitic centre, namely, the connection of the leader with the Holy Mount and his high geographical mobility, the strictly ascetic character of a new establishment, the hesychast living practices, and the patronage exercised over the community by the members of a royal family.

Consequently, by contrasting the two most common types of ecclesiastic institutions in Byzantium and Balkan countries, i.e. the family foundations and the hermitic communities (besides them there were also public monasteries and churches, such as town cathedrals, parish churches, metropolia, and bishoprics),³⁹⁷ I would like to underline not only the organizational and functional difference between them, but also to analyze the attitude of the Byzantine and Balkan Slavic societies toward these foundations. More precisely, I would like to investigate the mechanisms of the establishment and endowment of these institutions and to take a closer look at the reasons which allowed the hermitic communities to survive for several centuries and to receive donations from the external sources (including the private foundations given in the quality of *metochia*) while the usual life-span of the family institutions didn't exceed a couple of generations. Furthermore, as other chapters of this thesis will deal with the issue of donations to the hermitic monasteries exercised by private persons, many of whom had their own family foundations, the following analysis of the hermitic institutions' organization may explain why they were held in such great respect by the Balkan Medieval societies and their religious' powers were regarded superior to most other private ecclesiastic foundations.

2.2.1. Monastic Communities in the 14th and 15th Centuries and Royal Patronage

During the late Byzantine period, on the peripheries of the Byzantine Empire and in the neighboring Slavic states, one can find a raising number of monastic hermitic settlements. Usually, they were established on mountain chains and consisted of several caves, inhabited by hermits, and a small church which can be considered the centre of such Lavra-type communities. These monastic foundations marked the dissemination of the hermitic tradition from the Holy Mount to the peripheries of the Empire and its neighboring territories, and it contributed to the spread of the

³⁹⁷ For the differences in status and operation of public, royal and private churches in Byzantium, see: Hussey, Joan. *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986): 297-368; Angold, Michael. *Church and Society in Byzantium Under the Comneni, 1081-1261* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 139-157; 302-384

hesychast movement.³⁹⁸ One can find monastic settlements of this type all around the Balkan periphery: in the caves of Ohrid and Prespa lakes,³⁹⁹ in the mountain landscape of Peloponnesos⁴⁰⁰ (for example, Mega Spelio, Palaiomonastero of the Forty Martyrs near Chrysapha or Palaiomonastero at Brontama),⁴⁰¹ in the proximity of the monasteries of Dečani, Peć, Koriša, Lesnovo, and many others, in the Kingdom of Serbia,⁴⁰² as well as the rock-cut churches and cells in Ivanovo, Rusa, Červen, Karlukovo, and other mountain massifs of the Bulgarian Empire.⁴⁰³ Not all these settlements were established during the Palaiologan time, but many experienced their renewal during the 14th to 15th century, and the main reason for it can be found in the turbulent events in the Western Balkan provinces of Byzantium, characterized by the numerous Catalan and

³⁹⁸ For the spread of Hesychasm, see: Tachiaos, Emil. "Le Mouvement Hesychaste Pendant les Dernières Décennies du XIV^e siècle," *Kleironomia* 6 (1974): 113-130; *Actes de Dionysiou*, p. 66-68; for the hesychast movement in general, see: Meyendorff, John. "L'Hésychasme: Problèmes de Sémantique," in: *Mélanges d'Histoire des Religions Offerts à H.-Ch. Puech* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1973): 543-547; Meyendorff, John. *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1959); Meyendorff, John. "Society and Culture in the Fourteenth Century: Religious Problems," in: *Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines*, Bucarest, 6-12 Septembre, 1971, eds. M. Berza and E. Stanescu (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1974): 111-124 as well as: Horuzhij, Sergej S., Dunaev, Aleksej G. [Хоружий, Сергей, Дунаев, Алексей]. *Исихазм. Аннотированная библиография* (Moscow: Izdatel'skij Sovet Russkog Pravoslavnoj Cerkvi, 2004).

³⁹⁹ For the hermitages of Ohrid and Prespa, see: Bogevska-Capuanu, *Les églises rupestres* – with previous bibliography, and Paissidou, "Panagia Eleousa in Great Prespa Lake"; Eadem, "The hermitage of "Panagia Eleousa" (Virgin Merciful) Great Prespa: an artistic expression of time and space limit between two eras and two nationalities," in: *Cyril and Methodius: Byzantium and the world of Slavs* (Thessaloniki: 2015): 302-326.

⁴⁰⁰ Bender, Ludovic. "Les monuments rupestres de la Laconie byzantine et leur inscription dans le paysage naturel et culturel," *Porphyra* 23/2 (Rencontres annuelles des doctorants en études byzantines, 2013) (2015): 50-67. The detailed analysis of the landscape of the Laconian cave sanctuaries was prepared by the same author in course of his Doctoral Thesis (*Les monuments rupestres de la Ermitages et monastères rupestres de la Laconie byzantine (XIe-XVe siècle): Archéologie, topographie et paysages*. Thèse de Doctorat. Université de Fribourg, Suisse, 2016) which is, unfortunately, is inaccessible for me at the present moment.

⁴⁰¹ For the Mega Spilio, see: Papageorgiou, Georgios [Παπαγεωργίου, Γεώργιος] *Ιστορικά μοναστήρια: Αγία Λαύρα - Μ. Σπήλαιο - Μονή Ταξιαρχών - Τρυπητή Αιγίου* (Athens: Ekdoseis Allenike Periegetike Lesche Aigiou, 1962): 9-24; for the Forty Martyrs near Chrysapha: Drandakis, Nikolaos [Δρανδάκης, Νικόλαος]. "Το παλιομοναστήρι των Αγίων Σαράντα στη Λακεδαίμονα και το ασκηταριό του," *DCHAE* 16 (1991-1992): 115-138; For the Palaiomonastiri Brontama: Drandakis, Nikolaos [Δρανδάκης, Νικόλαος]. *Η ιστορική Μονή Κλεισούρας ή Παλιομοναστήρι Βρονταμά Λακωνίας* (Athens: Syllogos ton en Athenais Brontamiton, 1958); Drandakis, Nikolaos [Δρανδάκης, Νικόλαος]. "Τό Παλιομοναστήρι τοῦ Βρονταμά," *Archaiologikon Deltion* 43/ Μελέτες (1988): 159-194.

⁴⁰² Popović, Danica. "Srednjovekovne pećine-ispisnice u prizrenskom kraju – prethodna istraživanja," *Istorijski časopis* 44 (1997): 129-154; Eadem. "Pustinje i svete gore srednjovekovne Srbije – pisani izvori, prostorni obrasci, graditeljska rešenja," *ZRVI* 46 (2007): 253-274; Eadem. "Isihastirije manastira Đurđevi Stupovi u Budimlji, in: *Đurđevi Stupovi i Budimljanska eparhija, Zbornik radova*, ed. M. Radujko (Berane-Belgrad: JP Službeni glasnik, 2012): 323-338; Popović, Danica, Todić, Branislav, Vojvodić, Dragan. *Dečanska pustinja: skitovi i kelije manastira Dečana* (Belgrade: SANU, 2011) – with previous bibliography.

⁴⁰³ Bakalova, Elka [Бакалова, Елка]. "Ивановските стенописи и идеите на исихазма," *Izkustvo* 1976/9 (1976): 14-21; Eadem. "Общност на идейно-художествените процеси в литературата и изкуството през XIV в.," *Литературознание и фолклористика (В чест на 70-годишнината на акад. Петър Динев)*, eds. P. Dinekov; L. Grasheva, A. Stoikov (Sofia: BAN, 1983): 175-181; Eadem. "Принос към изследването на царската идеология в Средновековна България (Стенописите в църквата „Архангел Михаил“ край Иваново)," *Problemi na izkustvoto* 1988/3 (1988): 31-45; Hadjijski, Antonij [Хаджийски, Антоний]. *Обители в скалите. История, археология, краезнание* (Sofia: DI "Septemvri," 1985); Kalojanov, Ancho [Калоянов, Анчо]. "Скалните манастири край средновековния град Червен – книжно средище през XIII-XIV в.," *Tarnovska knizhovna shkola Търновска книжовна школа* 3 (1980): 384-388; Mavrodinova, Liljana [Мавродинова, Лиляна]. *Скалните скитове при Карлуково: Изследване* (Sofia: BAN, 1985); Eadem. "Коя е лаврата „Архангел Михаил", където е писан Висарионовият патерик?," *Годишник на Софийския университет „Св. Климент Охридски"* 1 (1987 [1990]): 407-419; Eadem. *Ивановските скални църкви* (Sofia: 1989).

Turkish attacks⁴⁰⁴ which made the monks of Athos to look for other possible re-establishment of their communities.

Usually, such communities appeared gathering around a famous ascetic teacher, who belonged to the group of hesychastic “wandering monks”⁴⁰⁵ departing from Athos and looking for places of solitude and ascetic exploits. As noted by Marco Fanelli,⁴⁰⁶ during the 14th century, one can count at least three waves of monastic emigration from Mt. Athos, in 1305-1309, 1330s to 1340s, and after 1371, as they were conditioned by the invasions of the Catalans and, later, Turks, who looted monasteries and their properties, destroyed the agricultural and productive establishments, captured the monks, and held them for ransom. Several lives of 14th-century famous hermits and other documents associated with the Athonite milieu witness about this migration movement, and some of them even specify that the Turkish raids became the reason for leaving the Holy Mount. In the colophon of the Gospel manuscript, kept in the Greek National Library under no. 176, the scribe, a certain hieromonk Ilarionos, described this exodus movement, the perception of the Turkish raids, and their consequences for the Athonite brotherhood:

Because, by God’s will, the godless nation of Muslims came, we were expelled from the Holy Mount of Athos because of our sins; after a long time, we reached Veroia, the monastery of the most holy Theotokos called Ypapante. And because we were not able to find a Gospel in the monastery, it was written by me, a bad-scribe, because there was not a craftsman. Oh, readers, if you find a mistake, excuse me and pray for me, Ilarionos the hieromonk, to the Lord. It was written in the year 1327/8, indiction 10.⁴⁰⁷

In other words, the monks fled their settlements in hurry, even without necessary objects such as Gospel books, and they headed to the Western territories, which they considered to be safe from the military events, which were perceived as God’s punishment for their misconduct. However, in the difference with ordinary members of Athonite brotherhoods, the hermits tried to avoid also the urban settlements (such as Veroia in this case) and looked for more secluded and deserted places.

⁴⁰⁴ For the Catalan and Turkish raids and their effect on monastic communities, see: Jacoby, David. “Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens en Roumanie (1305-1332): un nouveau témoignage de Marino Sanudo Torsello,” *Studi Medievali*, seria 3, 15 (1974): 217-261; Oikonomides, Nicolas. “Monasteres et moines lors de la conquete ottomane,” *Südost-Forschungen* 36 (1976): 1-10; Živojinović, Mirjana. “Žitije arhiepiskopa Danila II kao izvor za ratovanja Katalanske Kompanije,” *ZRVI* 19 (1980) 251-273; Fanelli, *Le élites ecclesiastiques byzantines*, esp. pp. 12-43 for the historical circumstances of the raids.

⁴⁰⁵ This term was introduced by A. Talbot for describing the late-14th century hesychast monks who departed from Mount Athos in order to find a place of solitude and changed several deserted locations due to various historical circumstances, see: Talbot, Alice-Mary. “Hagiography in Late Byzantium (1204-1453),” in: *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, ed. S. Efthymiadis, Vol. 1: Periods and Places (Farnham, 2011): 173-195 (esp. pp. 179-186).

⁴⁰⁶ Fanelli, *Le élites ecclesiastiques byzantines*, pp. 12-43.

⁴⁰⁷ Ἐπειδὴ κατὰ συγχώρησιν Θεοῦ κατέλαβε τὸ ἄνομον γένος τῶν Μουσουλμάνων καὶ ἐξορίσθημεν ἀπὸ τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος τοῦ Ἀθωνος διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, μετὰ πολλὰ κατηντήσαμεν καὶ εἰς Βέροϊαν, εἰς τὴν μονὴν τῆς ὑπεράγνου Θεομήτορος τῆς ἐπικεκλημένης Ὑπαπαντῆς· ἐπειδὴ οὐχ εὔρον τὸ τυχὸν Εὐαγγέλιον εἰς τὴν μονὴν, ἐγράφη παρ’ ἐμοῦ τοῦ χορικογράφου διὰ τὸ μὴ εὐρεθῆναι τεχνίτην. Καὶ οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες, εἰ εὐρήσετε σφάλμα, συγχωρήσατε καὶ εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ διὰ τὸν Κύριον Ἰλαρίωνος ἱερομονάχου. Ἐγράφη δὲ ἐν ἔτει, ,ΣωλS’ [= 1327/28] ἰνδικτιῶνος ι - Bees, Nikos. “Geschichtliche Forschungsergebnisse und Mönchs- und Volkssagen über die Grtldner der Meteorenklöster,” *Byzantinisch - Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 3(1922): 366-367, footnote 4.

Thus, the Life of St. Theodosios of Tărnovo,⁴⁰⁸ written by the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Kallistos and preserved only in the Slavic translation by Vladislav Grammatik of 1479, narrates the saint's departure from the Holy Mount to the monastery of Paroria (about 1346)⁴⁰⁹ as a consequence of the Turkish raids ("the Agarian nation"). Moreover, the text shows how this departure allowed the establishment of a new monastic centre in Bulgaria, since the fame of Theodosios attracted students and believers:

And this great one, the celestial man and terrestrial angel, not a few years accomplished here on the Holy Mount Athos, and he taught many people well in veritable action and vision. And he truly was enriched with the virtuous silence, the one who created this holy mount (of Paroria). And not only by action, but also by intelligent mental doing he appeared to be equal to angels. Because the Agarian nation conquered the entire Greek land, and all places and locations were empty, he also left this divine mountain, not being able to stay there because of often barbaric invasions, and because of this reason he came to the above-mentioned place. And in a short while, a rumour about this marvellous man passed around the entire country. And he exhibited an exceptional living and way of life to everyone, because many people came there to see him and to listen to this divine teacher.⁴¹⁰

A similar strategy was also adopted by later ascetics, like Romylos of Vidin, who tried to avoid Turkish raids after the Battle of Maritsa (1371)⁴¹¹ by moving to the region of Avlona. The text of his life directly associates the death of Despot Uglješa, i.e., the defeat of the Serbs in the battle, with the exodus of the hesychast monks from Athos. Moreover, it underlines the feeling of danger and insecurity which prevailed among the solitary hermits and which forced them to look for new places of solitude in the distant regions of the Balkans:

⁴⁰⁸ Dujčev, Ivan. *Medioevo bizantino-slavo. Storia e Letteratura*, 2 Vols. (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1965-1968): Vol. II, pp. 221-222, 225-236; Podskalsky, Gerhard. *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien, 865-1459* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2000): 301-303; Kenanov, Dimit'r [Кенанов, Димитър]. *Крилатият въздухоходец Теодосий Търновски* (Veliko Tărnovo: Faber, 2010): 9-21, 49-50.

⁴⁰⁹ This complex was founded in the 1330s by Gregory of Sinai and later used again by Theodosios of Tărnovo: Kiselkov, Vasil [Киселков, Васил]. "Средновековна Парория и Синаитовият манастир," *Известия на Българския археологически институт 3 [Сборник в чест на Васил Н. Златарски по случай 30-годишната му научна и професорска дейност]* (1925): 103-118. Despite the recent careful excavations and historical research, archaeological data concerning the Paroria Desert monastery have not yet been found. Nikolov, Milen [Николов, Милен]. *Исихазмът, св. Григорий Синаит и манастирите в Парория* (Burgas: Delfin Pres, 2013): 101-140; Nikolov, Milen [Николов, Милен]. "Писаното за локализацията на Парория," *Известия на Националния исторически музей* 28 (2016): 403-408.

⁴¹⁰ съ убо великый и н)бсний ч)лкь и земельный аг)гль, не мало лэть сътворивъ иже у на с)тѣи горэ а»wnсэи и мнwgыхъ научи добрэ же и непрэльстнэ дэанйа и видэнийа. Ибо яко въ истину онъ бэше обогативыисе добродэтэлнымъ безмльвийемъ, съдэавый бжт)јвиэишую онэ горю. Не тьчйю дэистьвнымъ, нь и умнымъ дэланиемъ мыслнымъ явэ и аг)гелwmъ тьчнымъ. Елма же агарэнский родъ вьсу грьчьскэю землю обтече. и пуста вьса мэста же и страны изыде и ть § бжт)јвнэишее оне горы, не могы § честихъ нахождений варварскихъ тамо сътворити прэбыванйе, се-ч убо ради вины кь прэдреченое прйиде мэсто. И въ мало врэме по вьсеи странэ онои, чюдного сего обношаашессе слухъ. И изредное жителство и прэбыванйе онw вьсэмъ являшессе, вэше убw тамо видэти чл)чьскаа мнwжьства съходящасе и бжт)јвнаа того учителства слышессе. – Zlatarki, "Житие и жизнь преподобнаго отца нашего Теодосия," р. 13.

⁴¹¹ On the consequence of the Maritsa battle for the monasteries of Mt. Athos, see: Ostrogorski, Georgij. "Sveta Gora posle Maričke bitke," *Zbornik Filozofskog Fakulteta u Beogradu* 11/1 (1970): 277-282.

As a short time after the death of the most Christian Uglješa occurred, almost all the monks of the Holy Mount and, in particular, those who led solitary life in hermitages became seized with panic and fear; most of the hermits then escaped from the Mount. In the same way also that one [Romylos], troubled by their behavior, abandons the Holy Mount and goes fast to another unheard and unknown place, called by the local people Valona, because he loved and desired solitude. But the righteous one was wrong in his intention concerning this case: as long as he wanted to hide the light of divine way of life under the bushel of humility, God placed it on the candlestick as it giveth light unto all (Matthew 5:15). “Let your light” – he says – “so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven” (Matthew 5:16). Then many of monks and laymen were coming to him, eager to listen to the sweetness of his words. So they were like sheep that have no shepherd, most of them [appeared] completely uncultivated in everything and absolutely wild and, accustomed to looting and murder, others being in the orthodox and sound faith, failed in other matters seized by passions, while the local lords [toparchai] making many unjust deeds and killing innocent people passed their souls to the devil; the monks on their side, seized by sins, vengefulness, and numerous other passions, celebrated the mysteries in an unworthy manner.⁴¹²

In the difference with Theodosios of Tărnovo, Romylos didn't stay in the Valona region and didn't create a brotherhood there. Moreover, due to the fact that the local people were not inclined toward the respect of ascetic toils, but rather were in need of pastoral instructions which distracted St. Romylos from ascetic fights, the saint decided to leave the place; after considering several destinations (Constantinople, the Holy Mount), he finally chose to come to Ravanica Monastery in Serbia and to join an existing monastic community.⁴¹³ Nevertheless, the Slavic version of St. Romylos' Life, composed soon after the Greek original by one of the Slavic disciples of the saint,⁴¹⁴ unfolds the events which took place in Valona, in more details. According to the Slavic author, the saint was visited by other monks who left the Holy Mount due to the Turkish menace and wanted to establish a community under the leadership of Romylos. However, since he was seeking the solitude

⁴¹² Ὡς δὲ μετ'ὀλίγον τινὰ καιρὸν καὶ ἡ ἀναίρεσις τοῦ χριστιανικωτάτου ἐκείνου ἐγένετο Οὐγκλεσι καὶ συγχύσεως καὶ δέους ἅπαντες οἱ μοναχοὶ ἐπληρώθησαν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγίῳ ὄρει καὶ μάλιστα οἱ μονάζοντες καὶ ἐν ἐρήμοις τόποις καθήμενοι, διὸ καὶ οἱ πλείους τῶν ἀναχωρητῶν τηνικαῦτα τοῦ ὄρους ἐξέφυγον· ὁμοίως καὶ οὗτος ὁ ἅγιος ὑπ' ἐκείνων παρακινήθεις καταλιμπάνει τὸ ἅγιον ὄρος καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον τόπον ἀπέρχεται ἀγνώριστον τάχα καὶ ἄδοξον, ὡς ἡγάπα καὶ ἤθελεν ὁ φιλέρημος, Αὐλῶνα τὸν τόπον ἐγχωρίως καλούμενον. Ἀλλὰ διήμαρτε τοῦ οἰκείου σκοποῦ κἀνταῦθα ὁ δίκαιος· ὅσον γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τὸ τῆς ἐνθέου πολιτείας φῶς ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης κρύπτειν ἠβούλετο, τοσοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν εἰς τοῦμφανὲς πᾶσιν ἐτίθει. Λαμπάτω γάρ, φησὶν, τὸ φῶς ὑμῶν ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως ἴδωσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰ καλὰ ὑμῶν ἔργα καὶ δοξάσωσι τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Ἦν ἰδεῖν τότε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μοναχικοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ κοσμικοῦ τάγματος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρχομένους πολλοὺς τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἡδέως ἀκούειν ἐπιθυμοῦντας· ἦσαν γὰρ ὡσεὶ πρόβατα μὴ ἔχοντα ποιμένα, οἱ πλείους δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὡμοὶ πάντη καὶ ἀπαιδεῦτοι καὶ καθόλου θηριώδεις εἰς ληστείαν καὶ φόνους συνειθικότες, ἄλλοι εἰς τὴν ὀρθόδοξον καὶ ὑγιᾶ πίστιν σφάλλοντες καὶ εἰς ἕτερα πάθη κεκρατημένοι, καὶ οἱ τοπάρχαι τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου ἀδικίας πολλὰς ποιοῦντες καὶ φονεύοντες ἀθώους ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰς ἐαυτῶν ψυχὰς τῇ διαβόλῳ παραδίδόντες, οἱ δὲ μοναχοὶ εἰς πλάνας καὶ μνησικακίας καὶ ἕτερα μυρία πάθη κεκρατημένοι, ἱερεῖς δὲ ἀναξίως ἱεουργοῦντες· - Halkin, “Un ermite des Balkans,” §§ 22-24, 142-143.

⁴¹³ For the role and activities of Romylos of Vidin in Ravanica monastery, see: Amfilohije jeromonah. “Sinaiti i njihov značaj u životu Srbije XIV i XV veka,” in: *Ravanica 1381-1981 Spomenica o šestoj stogodišnjici 1381- 1981*, eds. Hrizostom, Bishop of Braničevo. D. Bogdanović (Belgrade: Izdanje manastira Ravanice, 1981): 103-134 (esp. 108-110).

⁴¹⁴ Dujčev, Ivan [Дуйчев, Иван]. “Центры византийско-славянского общения и сотрудничества,” *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы* 19 (1963): 127.

In this account, the story sheds some light on the organizational matters of monastic life after the Turkish attack on Mount Athos. Namely, it shows that the regular members of brotherhoods followed some prominent monastic leaders in hope to re-establish a community of Athonite living style somewhere in a secure place outside of the Holy Mount. Moreover, they were ready to start their new life in difficult economic conditions (even in a cave or a hut), in a distant place, but to be headed by an experienced and famous spiritual teacher, known from their previous Athonite milieu. Otherwise, monks could also travel in small groups, like Gregory and his student Athanasios of Meteora,⁴¹⁶ and gather a monastic community already in a new destination place.

⁴¹⁵ Тогда селение творити ст҃ѣи въ пустыни г҃л҃ѣи Авлонь хотѣ въ безмѣльномъ житїи и въ всѣмъ прѣбываи въ пресвѣтаго житїа своего възрости плодъ добродѣтели... и малу колибу въдрузивъ, въ нѣмѣлѣхъ и мѣлѣхъ благопрїѣтнаа бѣвъ възсилае. Прѣбываше, сѣа слышавшее иже страха ради иноплеменикъ, въ ст҃ѣхъ гори избегшеи инѣхъ желанїемъ расплѣхъ съ скоростїю приходяху къ прѣдѣльному. Ползи ради и добродѣтели мужа. И аще би мощно мѣ нимъ и съжителствовати темъ. Нѣ сѣа вѣнъ не хоще. – Syrku, Polichronij [Сырку, Полихроний]. *Монаха Григорія житїе преподобнаго Ромила* (Saint Petersburg: Tipografija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk, 1900): 32.

⁴¹⁷ See: Sophianos, Demetrios [Σοφιανός Δημήτριος]. “Οι κτίτορες του Μεγάλου Μοναστηρίου ὁσίου Ἀθανασίου καὶ ὁσίου Ἰωάννου καὶ οἱ μετακινήσεις τους ἀπὸ καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος ὡς συνέπεια τῶν τουρκικῶν ἐπιδρομῶν καὶ κατακτήσεων (ἰδ’ α.),” *Τρικαλινά* 18 (1998): 145-157; Marchevski, Ivan [Марчевски, Иван]. “Агарянските варварски нападения и обществената насока на исихастите от школата на Теодосий Търновски,” in: *Турските завоевания и съдбата на Балканските народи, отразени в исторически и литературни паметници от XIV-XVIII век* (Veliko Tŕnovo: Universitet Veliko-Tŕnovo, 1992): 384–394; The most recent and successful attempt at analyzing the consequence of the Turkish invasions on the monastic communities of Mt. Athos see: Fanelli, *Le élites ecclesiastiche bizantine*, pp. 63-96.

(probably Albanian) “toparchoi” of St. Romyl’s Life, though being distinguished by the wilderness of their morals, demonstrated esteem for the saint’s life style: “And even the local lords respected him greatly and called him similar to an apostle” (Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τοπάρχαι μεγάλως ὑπερετίμων αὐτὸν καὶ ἱσαπόστολον ἐκάλουν).⁴¹⁸

St. Romyl’s student, St. Gregory the New of Sinai,⁴¹⁹ also left the Holy Mount and headed to the Serbian region of Braničevo, where he established, in 1378-1379, his own new monastic community of Ždrelo (Gornjak).⁴²⁰ As the two Serbian charters⁴²¹ issued by Knez Lazar and Patriarch Spiridon, witness, initially, the monastery was established by the incoming hermit who, afterwards, petitioned the knez and received a chrysobull from him. This story is recorded in more details by the patriarchal charter which states:

The elder kyr Gregory with his devoted monks brought the honorable writings of the autokrator of the entire Serbian land Lord Knez Lazar which states that while the elder kyr Gregory with his monks toiled for the erecting and creating of that church and for other things with help of Lord Knez Lazar, and the lord knez gave him and his monks everything and inscribed [in the document] and confirmed.⁴²²

This way, one can see that the main care about the foundation was taken by the leader of the community, who initially agreed with the ruler concerning the legal status of the foundation, its possessions and constructions, and, afterwards, addressed the patriarch for the confirmation documents and the assignment of the patriarchal status to the monastery. Even though the text of Knez Lazar’s own charter states that the ruler himself “built a church in the place called Ždrelo of Braničevo,” it is more likely that he only passed the financial means to the monastic community of St. Gregory in order to construct the church and also “donated and arranged various matters.”⁴²³

The foundations of the Meteora complex developed by the Athonite immigrants also benefited from the patronage of Serbian nobility and the ruling house. When Gregory and Athanasios came to Kalampaka, they found that “nobody lived there, only vultures and crows” (ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἦν τίς ὁ

⁴¹⁸ Halkin, “Un ermite des Balkans,” p. 143.

⁴¹⁹ Marković, Vasilije. *Pravoslavno monaštvo i manastiri u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Gornji Milanovac: Srpska Manastirska Štamparija, 2002): 130; Pavlović, Leontije. *Kultovi lica kod Srba i Makedonaca: istorijsko-etnografska rasprava* (Smederevo: Narodni muzej, 1966): 196-198; “Григорий Новый,” *Православная энциклопедия*, vol. 12 (Moscow: Russian Orthodox Patriarchate, 2006): 725-727.

⁴²⁰ Radojčić, Đorđe. Sp. “Grigoriје iz Gornjaka,” *Istorjski časopis* 3 (1952): 85-105; Cunjak, Mladan. “Prilog proučavanju manastira Gornjaka u Gornjačkoj klisuri,” *Viminacium* 2 (1988): 41-53.

⁴²¹ These charters are preserved in later copies and are published in: Mladenović, *Povelje kneza Lazara*, pp. 23-48. For the argumentation of the existence of the four charters and the history of their edition, see: Barišić, Franjo. “O poveljama kneza Lazara i patrijarha Spiridona,” *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta* 12/1 (1974): 358-362.

⁴²² Старець курь Григори и съ своими благоговѣнными иноки принесе же и чѣстное писаниѣ самодръжцаа всеѣ сръбьскыѣ землѣ господина kneza Lazara, повелѣваѣ и старецъ бо курь Григори своими калугеры потруди се во въздвиженіи и сзѣдании храма тогѣ и во инѣхъ вещехъ съ помощью господина kneza Lazara, да ѹкѣже даль му чѣсть она вса господинѣ knezъ чѣму и чѣмъ калугерѣмъ и записаль и утвѣрдиль - Mladenović, *Povelje kneza Lazara*, pp. 42, 44

⁴²³ Създахъ црьковъ въ мѣстѣ рекомѣмъ ждрело браничевскомъ и приложихъ и управихъ всакими потрѣбами - Mladenović, *Povelje kneza Lazara*, pp. 29-31.

κατοικῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς, πλὴν γυνῶν καὶ κοράκων), but soon they were joined by a local elder called Trypheros, who had rebuilt the monastery of tou Stylou and brought other disciples to develop the monastic community:

Following the elder, other brothers arrived and Athanasios became free of the service, so he decided to remain in silence for five days of the week. Going to the mountain cave, he stayed there for the defined days.⁴²⁴

During this time, Athanasios braided baskets which he distributed to the visitors “as a blessing,”⁴²⁵ and later he found another, more distant place for his askesis, a rock called Platylithos, which nowadays is the place of the Transfiguration Monastery, and there he spent already six days of the week.⁴²⁶ This reference to the “blessing” (*eulogia*) means that Meteora became a centre of pilgrimage already during the lifetime of St. Athanasios as the eulogia is also *terminus technicus* for the pilgrimage souvenirs⁴²⁷ which, in the present case, were baskets produced by the saint himself.

The influx of patronage and pilgrims allowed the leaders to extend the community. The new community of Meteora amounted to fourteenth brothers, who were carefully selected by Athanasios and exercised strict services (*kanonia*) and manual labor, including digging, planting, carrying stones, etc. This way, already during the time of Athanasios’ leadership, the extreme spiritual character of the foundation gained the interest and respect of ruling Serbian elite⁴²⁸ of Epiros:

Later on, by the expenses of someone powerful from the nation of the Triballs and by the toils of the brothers, a very beautiful church for Christ Savior was built; later, demolishing a part of it, the famous Joasaph built next to it an adjoining cell, in length and height as it is seen now.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁴ Εἰσδεχθέντες οὖν παρὰ τοῦ γέροντος καὶ ἕτεροι ἀδελφοί, τὸν Ἀθανάσιον ἐσχόλασε τῆς διακονίας, ἡσυχάζειν δὲ αὐτὸν τὰς πέντε ἡμέρας τῆς ἐβδομάδος προσέταξεν. Εἰσελθόντος οὖν ἐν τινὶ τρώγλῃ τῆς πέτρας, ἐκεῖσε διετέλει τὰς ὠρισμένας ἡμέρας – Bees, “Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν,” pp. 245-246.

⁴²⁵ Λαμβάνων οὖν ὁ γέρων τὰ μαλαθούνια, παρείχε τοῖς παραβάλλουσιν εὐλογίας χάριν – The elder (Athanasios) took with him the baskets presenting them to the visitors as a blessing (pilgrims’ souvenir), see: Bees, “Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν,” p. 246.

⁴²⁶ Bees, “Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν,” pp. 247 and 249, where it is said that Athanasios renamed Platylithos with Meteora and founded there a new monastic community.

⁴²⁷ Hahn, Cynthia. “Loca Sancta Souvenirs: Sealing the Pilgrimage Experience,” in: *Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. R. Ousterhout (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990): 85-96.

⁴²⁸ For the Serbs in Epiros see: Katsaropoulou, Melpomeni [Κατσαροπούλου, Μελομένη]. *Ένα πρόβλημα της ελληνικής μεσαιωνικής ιστορίας. Η σερβική επέκταση στη Δυτική Κεντρική Ελλάδα στα μέσα του 14' αι.*, PhD Thesis, Aristotel University of Thessaloniki, 1989, pp. 87-95, 103-111. Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, pp. 120-134; Soulis, Georgios [Σούλης, Γεώργιος]. “Η πρώτη περίοδος Σερβοκρατίας εν Θεσσαλία (1348-1356), Ιστορικά μελετήματα Βυζαντινά βαλκανικά νέοελληνικά,” *Επετηρίς της Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών σπουδών* 20 (1980): 56-73; Ferjančić, Božidar. *Tesalija u XIII i XIV veku* (Belgrade: SANU, 1974). For the impact of the Serbian rule on the development of Meteora monastery, see: Subotić, “Počeci monaškog života,” esp. pp. 132-151; Sophianos, Demetrios [Σοφιανός Δημήτριος]. “Οι Μονές των Μετεώρων και η Μεσαιωνική Ήπειρος,” in: *Μεσαιωνική Ήπειρος. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικού Συμποσίου Πανεπιστημίου Ιωαννίνων* (Ioannina: Panepistemio Ioanninon, 2001): 257-275; Sophianos, Demetrios [Σοφιανός Δημήτριος]. “Οί Σέρβοι ηγεμόνες των Τρικάλων και οί μονές της περιοχής (14' αιώνας),” in: *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία κατά τον 14' αιώνα / Byzantium and Serbia in the 14th century*, eds. E. Papadopoulou, D. Dialeti (Athens: Instituto Byzantinon Ereunon, 1996): 180-194.

⁴²⁹ Εἶτα δι’ ἐξόδου τινὸς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν Τριβαλλῶν μεγιστάνου καὶ συνεργείας τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀνεγείρεται ναὸς τῷ Σωτῆρι Χριστῷ ὠραιότατος, οὗτινος μέρος καθελὼν ὕστερον ὁ ἀναδεξάμενος παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ κελλίον κλεινὸς Ἰωάσαφ εἰς μῆκος καὶ ὕψος καθὼς νῦν ὁρᾶται ἀνήγειρεν. – Bees, “Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν,” p.250.

Probably, about December of 1355, Gregorije Preljub, the Serbian *kaisar* of Thessaly⁴³⁰ visited the future saint in Meteora. The Life of Athanasios narrates that “after taking the oath from the Albanians” the noblemen “appeared to him to boast” and Athanasios predicted to the ruler his speedy death due to the Albanians.⁴³¹ However, if regarded without the anti-Serbian bias, this episode demonstrates that the *kaisar* came to the saint seeking political and, possibly, spiritual advising while the saint using his right of *parrhesia*⁴³² pointed out to the risks of the oath violation by the Albanians and the deadly outcome of the conclusion of a peace treaty.

This policy was usual for the Serbian rulers who needed the approval of their policies on the conquered Greek lands by the important monastic leaders. According to the Encomium to St. Gregory Palamas by Philotheos Kokkinos, in 1347-1348, Stefan Dušan tried to enlist the saint among his supporters and visited him on the Holy Mount in person.⁴³³ However, being a supporter of John Kantakouzenos,⁴³⁴ Gregory Palamas refused to provide assistance to the Serbian ruler. Therefore, being afraid of the pro-Byzantine influence, Palamas could spread on the Holy Mount, Stefan Dušan sent him with a mission to Constantinople. This visit and the negotiations between the Tsar and the saint exemplify the role assigned to the political support of monastic leaders in the Serbian state:⁴³⁵ a ruler tried to win the leader’s endorsement with any means, and, in case of failing to do so, the influential leader would become a dangerous figure whose presence appeared to be undesirable.

In the 1350s-1370s, Emperor Symeon Nemanja Palaiologos⁴³⁶ and his son John (as monk Joasaph)⁴³⁷ took over the financing of the monastic enterprise in Meteora. Few preserved diplomatic evidence demonstrates⁴³⁸ that the Serbian ruling house, starting probably with Stefan Dušan, granted

⁴³⁰ *PLP*, no. 27821; Ferjančić, Božidar. *Tesalija u XIII i XIV veku* (Belgrade: SANU, 1974): 228-231, 237, 290; Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, pp. 108-111.

⁴³¹ Ὁ γὰρ καῖσαρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ Πρεάλημπος μετὰ τὸ ἐνορκῶσαι τοὺς Ἀλβανίτας, ὅστις καύχημα ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπεδείκνυε· ὁ δὲ ὄντως λαλῶν ἐνώπιον βασιλέων καὶ οὐκ αἰσχυρόμενος ἔφη· «σὺ μὲν ὡς χόρτα λαβὼν μὴ καυχῶ· πληρῶσαι γὰρ ἔχεις τούτων χάριν διὰ τάχους αἵματα οἰκεῖα»· ὅπερ καὶ γέγονε· πληγείς κατὰ γαστρὸς καὶ αἰμορροήσας μετ’ οὐ πολὺ τέθνηκεν. – The deceased *kaisar* Preljub, after taking the oath from the Albanians, appeared to him to boast. But he (Athanasios) speaking directly in face of emperors and not feeling shame, told him: “You, being too unexperienced, do not boast! You have convinced them and [as a consequence] you will spill your own blood in a short while.” And it happened as he [said]. He (Preljub) was wounded in his belly and bled, and in a short while he died. – Bees, “Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν,” pp. 258-259.

⁴³² For the right of *parrhesia* as an open speech in front of authorities and being the privilege of bishops or saints, see: Rapp, Claudia. *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005): 260-273.

⁴³³ Tsamis, Demetrios [Τσάμης, Δημήτριος], ed. *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου Ἀγιολογικά Ἔργα: Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἄγιοι* (Thessaloniki: Kentro Byzantinon Ereunon, 1958): 82-83.

⁴³⁴ Meyendorff, John. *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1959): 95-97, 128-130.

⁴³⁵ More details about the reasons for the relations between the Serbian Tsar and Gregory Palamas, see: Ostrogorski, Georgije. *Serska oblast posle Dušanove smrti* (Belgrade: Naučno delo, 1965): 103; Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, pp. 43-44; Soulis, George. “Tsar Stephen Dušan and Mount Athos,” *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954): 135.

⁴³⁶ *PLP*, no. 21185.

⁴³⁷ *PLP*, no. 21179.

⁴³⁸ Spanos, Vasilis [Σπανός, Βασίλης]. *Ιστορία-Προσωπογραφία της ΒΔ. Θεσσαλίας το Β' Μισό του ΙΔ' αιώνα* (Larissa: Omilos Philon tes Thessalikes Istorias, 1995): 37-45 (with previous bibliography) and Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, nos. 29 (pp. 208-211), 30 (pp. 212-215), 33 (pp. 240-249)

the lands and other possessions to these foundations on the basis of the spiritual ties between the monks and the rulers. At least, the charters issued by Symeon⁴³⁹ allude to the presence of earlier documents, saying about “long-ago issued documents of my glorious ancestors who at that time ruled over Blachia,”⁴⁴⁰ and state that Neilos, the hegoumenos of Doupiane skete belonging to Meteora complex was “the spiritual father” (κατὰ κύριον πατήρ) of the ruler.⁴⁴¹

The Life of St. Theodosios of Tărnovo also hints to the reasons of such collaboration between the ascetic monks and rulers, more precisely it underlines the right of *parrhesia* which Theodosios exercised approaching directly Tsar Ivan Alexander, and the Tsar’s reliance on the advising and the spiritual authority of the saint in matters of prayers and commemorations. Thus, when some bandits started to harass the foundation of Theodosios in Paroria, the saint requested the help of the ruler:

Having heard this from Theodosios, the Tsar, who benefacted to the piety and virtue and was full of consciousness more than anybody else, and having that one [Theodosios] as a leader above all others, and because he loved the excellent monks and much enjoyed them, he soon donated what was asked, sweetly listening to the words of the divine man. He sent the possessions and cattle, and other things which were necessary for them (monks) to establish a *pyrgos*, with joy in his soul and with wealthy hand. And having found out about receiving these things, the divine Theodosios started to exercise everything with more zeal, i.e., to sing without interruption and to wake up at midnight and, in accordance with divine David, to send prayers to God.⁴⁴²

As the text shows, the saint and the ruler entered in certain exchange relations, namely, the patronage of the Tsar was responded to with the enforced prayers of the ascetic. It was precisely this way that these relations continued to function later. After the relocation of Theodosios’ community to Kilifarevski monastery, the Tsar again supported the foundation and decided to visit it personally:

Pious Tsar Alexander accepted all their pleads, because of old and great love the tsar had toward Theodosios and, willing to enjoy the teaching of that honorable one, he went there (to the monastery) and, seeing the place befitting to their morals, he greatly enjoyed.⁴⁴³

⁴³⁹ About the relations of Symeon Palaiologos and his son John with the monasteries of meteora, see: Ferjančić, Božidar. *Tesalija u XIII i XIV veku* (Belgrade: SANU, 1974): 241-281; Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, pp. 117-119; Sophianos, Demetrios [Σοφιανός Δημήτριος]. “Οἱ Σέρβοι ηγεμόνες τῶν Τρικάλων καὶ οἱ μόνες τῆς περιοχῆς (ΙΔ' αἰώνας),” in: *Βυζάντιο καὶ Σερβία κατὰ τὸν ΙΔ' αἰώνα*, eds. E. Papadopoulou, D. Dialeti (Athens: Instituto Byzantinon Ereunon, 1996): 187-194; Radić, Radivoj. “Ο Συμεὼν Ούρεσης Παλαιολόγος καὶ τὸ κράτος τοῦ εταζῦ τῆς βυζαντινῆς καὶ τῆς σερβικῆς αυτοκρατορίας,” in: *Ibid*, pp. 195-208.

⁴⁴⁰ Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no. 29, p. 210 - παλαιγενῆ δικαιώματα τῶν αἰοιδίμων καὶ γονέων τῆς βασιλείας μου τῶν κατὰ καιρῶν αὐθεντευόντων τὴν Βλαχίαν.

⁴⁴¹ Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no. 33, pp. 240-249 (here pp. 243, 245).

⁴⁴² Царь же ѿ Θεωдосѣа такова слышавъ, бѣлагочѣстїе же и добродѣтель хране и еще же и разума аще и кто инъ исполньнъ сынъ, и того имѣе паче иныхъ изначела вѣдомѣиша. и за еже любити изредные мнихы и о сихъ якоже мощно радусе, дарова готовѣ прошенїе, сладцѣ бжт҃ївнаго мужа словесемъ вѣнемлѣ, имѣнїа же и скоты, и ина елика тѣмъ потрѣбна бѣху на утвѣждѣнїе пиргу удобѣ ѿтсла радостию дѣшею и богатою рукою. И убо вѣщемъ сице имущимъ, обаче бжт҃ївныи Θεωдосїе дѣло имѣше вѣсако прилежнѣнїе, еже пѣти непрѣстанно, и въ полунощи вѣстаати по бжт҃ївному дѣвду ѿтдаати мѣл҃твы кѣ бѣу. - Zlatarki, “Житїе и жизнь преподобнаго отца нашего Теодосїа,” р. 14.

⁴⁴³ Бѣлагочѣстивыи же царь александрь, прошенїю тѣхъ вѣсе попусти, ово убѣ ради древнѣе и мнѣгыя любве цареви еже кѣ Θεωдосїу. Ово же и чѣстаго поученїа наслаждатисе желающїи, тамо убѣ шѣдѣ, и мѣсто тѣхъ нраву прилично видѣше, радости наплѣняхусе несказанные. - Zlatarki, “Житїе и жизнь преподобнаго отца нашего Теодосїа,” р. 17.

Looking at these examples of newly-established monastic communities around the Balkans, one, perhaps, can see a certain pattern which was followed by many Athonite emigrants. Being expelled from their usual habitat by the Turkish aggression, the monks moved to various destinations, however, preferring to avoid the urban monasteries, they looked for more secluded and uncultivated natural landscapes, which exemplified the ideal desert. This way, they seem to try to reach the ideal monastic life⁴⁴⁴ constantly fighting their bodily needs and willingly experiencing the severe conditions of living, isolation, manual labour, and silence. Simultaneously, these spiritual leaders of the 14th century were distinguished with high mobility,⁴⁴⁵ as, during their lifetime, they often traveled between the Byzantine capital, Athos and several newly-established foundations. Active networking and mobility of this type contributed to the spread of the ideas of hesychasm which were taught and widely discussed by the travelling members of the Athonite community.⁴⁴⁶ The extremes of pious and secluded lifestyle attracted toward the wondering hermits not only numerous local students, but also laymen expecting to receive the blessing from these teachers invested with high spiritual authority. Probably, on the same grounds the resettled Athonites acquired also the respect and veneration of local authorities, who actively engaged into patronage over the new foundations headed by these spiritual leaders.

As the regarded texts show, the local authorities invested quite significant financial resources in the construction of churches, the endowment of foundations with lands and other properties, the building of defense structures and cells. Moreover, as it seems, the rulers, like Tsar Ivan Alexander, *knez* Lazar, *kaisar* Preljub, or Emperor Symeon, organized personal meetings with the hermits, used their political advising, spiritual guidance, and displayed high esteem for their pious endeavors. This personal involvement of the ruling authorities in the monastic communities culminated with the action of Jovan Nemanjić Palaiologos, the heir of Serbian state in Epiros, who abdicated and entered the Transfigurations Monastery of Meteora under the name of Joasaph.⁴⁴⁷ Such spiritual ties between hermits and rulers account for the high authority which the Late Byzantine society invested this kind

⁴⁴⁴ For the desert, in a broad sense, as a *topos* of ideal monastic life, see: Popović, Danica. "Desert as Heavenly Jerusalem: the imagery of sacred space in the making," in: *Новые Иерусалимы: Перенесение сакральных пространств в христианской культуре: Материалы международного симпозиума*, ed. A. Lidov (Moscow: 2006): 151-175.

⁴⁴⁵ Laiou-Thomadakis, Angeliki. "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire," in: *Charanis Studies. Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, ed. A. Laiou-Thomadakis (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1980): 84-114.

⁴⁴⁶ For the role of the monks in the spreading of hesychast ideas across the Balkans, see, for example, such works as: Kochev, Nikolai [Кочев, Николай]. "Проблеми на българската и балканската култура през XIII-XIV в.," *Palaeobulgarica* 16/1 (1992): 73-92; Heppel, Muriel. "The hesychast movement in Bulgaria. The Turnovo school and its relations with Constantinople," *Eastern Churches Review* 7/1 (1975): 9-20.

⁴⁴⁷ Ferjančić, Božidar. *Tesalija u XIII i XIV veku* (Belgrade: SANU, 1974): 263-265, 281; Sophianos, Demetrios [Σοφιανός Δημήτριος]. "Οι κτίτορες του Μεγάλου Μετεώρου όσιος Αθανάσιος και όσιος Ιωάσαφ και οι μετακινήσεις τους από και προς το Άγιον Όρος ως συνέπεια των τουρκικών επιδρομών και κατακτήσεων (ιδ' αι.)," *Τρικαλινά* 18 (1998): 154-155; Soulis, George. *The Serbs and Byzantium*, p. 115; Katsaropoulou, Melpomeni [Κατσαροπούλου, Μελπομένη]. *Ένα πρόβλημα της ελληνικής μεσαιωνικής ιστορίας. Η σερβική επέκταση στη Δυτική Κεντρική Ελλάδα στα μέσα του ΙΔ' αι.*, PhD Thesis, Aristotel University of Thessaloniki, 1989, pp. 124-125.

of ascetic figures with, but simultaneously they witness the ways of establishing a monastic foundation during this period at the crossroad of hesychast leadership and significant financial royal support.

2.2.2. Hosios Leontios of Monembasia and the Monastery of Taxiarches in Aigialeia

The following case study of a relatively unknown hermit may exemplify the development several points concerning the establishment and development of hermitic communities, regarded in this chapter. More precisely, the activities of this saint will shed some light on the ways how the hermitic communities were gathered, managed, and connected with the external worlds. Besides, it will demonstrate the mechanisms of attracting patronage of noblemen and rulers, and securing the economic well-being of the monastery after the death of the initial founder being a famous ascetic.

The saint regarded in this case study is Hosios Leontios⁴⁴⁸ of Monembasia, a late-Byzantine hermit, who settled in the region of Aigialeia, in Achaia, and built or, rather, renovated the Monastery of Taxiarches on Mount Klokou, near the town of Aigio. The precise dates of his life as well as the dates of the establishment of the monastery are somehow problematic due to the incomplete preservation of sources. Therefore, initially, I am going to bring forth the analysis of written evidences and only afterwards to establish the time-span for St. Leontios' activities.

2.2.2.1. Sources for St. Leontios' Activities

The Byzantine Encomium (incompletely preserved, Appendix III). The earliest preserved source witnessing about the hermit is an Encomium⁴⁴⁹ attributed to Gennadios Scholarios.⁴⁵⁰ Several authors⁴⁵¹ doubted this attribution, though acknowledging that the encomium is a late-Byzantine rhetorical work. Unfortunately, the encomium is not preserved in its entirety, and the biographical

⁴⁴⁸ *PLP*, no. 14714.

⁴⁴⁹ Lampros, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, Vol. II, pp. 161-168; Transcribed from the Manuscript kept in the Marciana Library, Cl. II, cod. 186, 15th century, ff. 251- 256v.; *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, Vol. III Supplementum, ed. F. Halkin (Bruxells, 1957): 44.

⁴⁵⁰ *PLP*, no. 27304; For the general image of Gennadios Scholarios see: Blanchet, Marie-Hélène. *Georges-Gennadios Scholarios (vers 1400-vers 1472). Un intellectuel orthodoxe face à la disparition de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 2008) – however, this book is built on the topical and biographical structure, and, therefore, not much attention is devoted to early life of the patriarch and his activities not associated with the supervision of the Church under the Ottomans and defence of orthodoxy during the Union polemics.

⁴⁵¹ Politis, Linos [Πολίτης, Λίνος]. “Η μονή Ταξιάρχων Αιγίου,” *Πρακτικά τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Αρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας [DChAE]*, seria 3, 4/2 (1936-1938): 37-38 considered that the structure of the saint's biography and the following events in the encomium is closely followed by later Life, and therefore, the events associated with the activities of the Palaiologoi despotes in 1450s should have been described in the encomium as well, and, therefore, it touches the events Gennadios Scholarios couldn't witness – Tinnefeld, Franz. “Georgios Gennadios Scholarios,” in: *La Théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, eds. C.G. Conticello and V. Conticello, Vol. II: XIIIe-XIXe s. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002): 520, no. 152 (for biography see: pp. 477-491, for the complete list of Scholarios' works and bibliography, see: pp. 492-533) considers that on the basis of the chronology, style and “internal reasons” (*aus inneren Gründen*) this work belongs to the anonymous contemporary of the patriarch.

part of the text ends on the description of the studies undertaken by the saint. It also witnesses that the text was composed for the celebration of the hermit's memory as the speech bears the following title: "Encomium to Hosios Leontios from Achaia, whose memory is celebrated on the 11th of the month of December" (Ἐγκώμιον τοῦ ὁσίου Λεοντίου τοῦ ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ, οὗ ἡ μνήμη τελεῖται τῇ ια΄ τοῦ Δεκεμβρίου μηνός). Therefore, already in the 15th century the cult of Holy Leontios appeared in the Taxiarches monastery of Aigialeia, and his memory was celebrated on December 11th as it is nowadays.

The 19th-century paraphrase of a Late-Byzantine Life (Appendix IV). No early text of St. Leontios' Life has survived, but, apparently, the *Life and activities of our Holy and God-bearing father Leontios from Achaia, retold in a simple way by Nikephoros the hieromonk from Chios* (Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λεοντίου τοῦ ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ, μεταφρασθεὶς εἰς τὸ ἀπλοῦν ὑπὸ Νικηφόρου ἱερομονάχου τοῦ Χίου) which was included into the *Neon Leimonarion*⁴⁵² (published in 1819 in Venice and in 1873 in Athens) is based on an earlier text which may have been composed soon after the saint's death. Linos Politis suggested that both, the Encomion and the later Paraphrase of the Life, are based on the same source written around the middle of the 15th century.⁴⁵³ The note in the beginning of this Life as well witnesses the date of Leontios' death: "On the 11th of December we celebrate the memory, life and activities of our Holy father Leontios, who originated in Monembasia of Peloponnese in 1450 year from Christ" (τῇ 11 Δεκεμβρίου ἐορτάζομεν τὴν μνήμην, τὸν βίον καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λεοντίου καταγομένου ἀπὸ τὴν Μονεμβασίαν τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐν ἔτει 2450⁴⁵⁴ ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ).

An Undated Service including a Canon with Acrostic (Appendix VI). The next source is an undated Service⁴⁵⁵ to the saint which also includes a short Life of Holy Leontios. This text seems to be composed or rather supplemented in different periods, but among other things, it includes a canon with an acrostic "I glorify Leontios the fame of the Dorians" (Λεόντιον τιμῶ κλέος Δωριέων)⁴⁵⁶ which can be extracted from the sequence of the service, and which I attribute to Joacheim, the *proedros* of Palaia Patra, a personage mentioned in the Life of St. Leontios. This canon seems to be dated in the

⁴⁵² Makarios Notaras, ed. *Νέον Λειμωνάριον* (Venice: 1819): 99-102. Second edition: Makarios Notaras, ed. *Νέον Λειμωνάριον* (Athens: 1873): 457-460.

⁴⁵³ Politis, Linos [Πολίτης, Λίνος]. "Ἡ μονὴ Ταξιαρχῶν Αἰγίου," *Ελληνικά* 11 (1939): 67-80 (esp. pp. 70, 73-74).

⁴⁵⁴ Here is most probably a typographic typo.

⁴⁵⁵ The first edition was made in 1764: Sine nomine, *Ὑμνολόγιον ἐν ᾧ ἡ ἀκολουθία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λεοντίου, καὶ οἱ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ οἴκοι περιέχονται. Καὶ ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ ἡ τε ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ ἡ μνήμη τοῦ ὁσίου τελεῖται, καὶ ἡ τάξις ὅπως τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τοῦ ὁσίου ψάλλουσι καταλεπτῶς περιγράφεται. Χάριν τῶν φιλακολούθων χριστιανῶν τύποις ἐξεδόθη. Ἐν Λειψίᾳ τῆς Σαξωνίας 1764. Παρὰ τῷ Βερνάρδ Χριστόφ Βρέϊτκοπ Καὶ υἱῷ* (Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1764) [Collection of Hymns, in which the Service of our holy father Leontius and the oikoi to the Archangel Michael are collected. And in the beginning for the day in which the memory of the holy one is performed and a rite for those who sing the service of the holy one is described in details. For loving Christians it was edited in typography. In Leipzig of Saxonia, 1764, by Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf and son]. The later editions were made in 1835 and 1906. - Petit, Louis. *Bibliographie des acolouthies grecques* [Subsidia Hagiographica 16] (Bruxelles, Société des Bollandistes, 1926): 129.

⁴⁵⁶ Sine nomine, *Ὑμνολόγιον ἐν ᾧ ἡ ἀκολουθία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λεοντίου*, pp. 11-17.

first half of the 15th century and can witness about a developed cult appearing in the region soon after the death of the saint.

The Summary of History of the Taxiarches Monastery (rewritten in 1853, Appendix V).

Recently,⁴⁵⁷ in the State archive of Greece, Eleni Angelomati-Tsounkaraki discovered a 19th-century codex (Manuscript Cat. 149) which contains *The Summary of History of the Holy Monastery of the Taxiarches near Aigialeia* (Συνοπτική Ἱστορία τῆς κατὰ τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τῶν Ταξιάρχων). This was the monastery re-founded by St. Leontios. The text in many details coincides with the Encomium and the Paraphrase of the Life, but also brings additional information concerning the foundation, which seems to be initially established in the 11th century.

The Monastic Complex – Palaionastero near Aigialeia. The Old Monastery (Παλαιομονάστηρο) of the Taxiarches is located 15 kilometres to the south of Aigio, near Mount Klokou (fig. 2.25-26).⁴⁵⁸ According to the data preserved in the Paraphrase of St. Leontios' Life, it was founded by Leontios. It is an extensive complex of Byzantine time, which develops on multiple levels at the foot of a mountain. The initial cave of the saint and his sarcophagus are placed on the upper levels, enclosed by a tower with a staircase leading to the lower level. The lower level also had fortification and a cistern, judging on the remnants of the stone structures and archaeological evidences provided by recent works of the 6th Ephoreia of Byzantine antiquities of Achaia.⁴⁵⁹ The entrance to the complex is situated on the southern side, through the built stone gates. At the lower level, barred by a staircase and inserted in a cave structure, the katholikon of the monastery consisting of two chapels is placed. Its painting of several layers can be dated starting from the period around 1400.⁴⁶⁰ A large stone staircase leads to the upper level of the complex, where, besides the cave and the tomb of the saint, a church of the Resurrection was built.

⁴⁵⁷ Angelomati-Tsounkaraki, "Ἱστορία της Μονῆς Ταξιάρχων Αἰγιαλείας." For the critique concerning the data about earlier history of the foundation see: Lampropoulou, Anna, Moutzali, Aphentra. [Λαμπροπούλου, Άννα and Μουτζάλη, Αφέντρα]. "Ὁ μεσοβυζαντινὸς ναὸς τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου Αἰγιαλείας, Συμβολὴ στὴν ἱστορία τῆς Μονῆς. Ταξιάρχων," *Σύμμεικτα* 11 (1997): 323-350 (esp. pp. 323-325).

⁴⁵⁸ Papageorgiou, Georgios [Παπαγεωργίου, Γεωργίος]. *Ἱστορικά μοναστήρια: Ἁγία Λαυρα-Μέγα Σπήλαιο-Μονὴ Ταξιάρχων-Τρυπητὴ Αἰγίου* (Athens: Ekdoseis Allenike Periegetike Lesche Aigiou, 1962): 41-53.

⁴⁵⁹ The report can be partially found here: <http://www.patrismuseums.com/gnoriste-ena-pros-ena-ta-panemorfa-mnimia-pou-episkevastikan-se-acha%CE%90a-ke-ilia-apo-espa-photos/> and in the catalogue of the Exhibition of Palaia Patra Museum: *Το Ἔργο της Εφορείας Αρχαιοτήτων Αχαΐας στην Αχαΐα και Ηλεία στο πλαίσιο του ΕΣΠΑ 2007-2013* (Patra, 2016)

⁴⁶⁰ Koumoussi, Anita, Moutzali, Aphentra [Κουμούση, Άνιτα and Μουτζάλη, Αφέντρα]. "Παλαιὰ Μονὴ Ταξιάρχων Αἰγιαλείας," in: *Εικοστὸ Πρώτο Συμπόσιο βυζαντινῆς καὶ μεταβυζαντινῆς ἀρχαιολογίας καὶ τέχνης. Πρόγραμμα καὶ περίληψεις ἐισηγήσεων καὶ ανακοινώσεων* (Athens: Christianike Archaialogike Etaireia, 2001): 52-53; Zarras, Nektarios. "Artistic Production in Centres and the Periphery of the Byzantine Peloponnese. Aspects of Monumental Painting in the Late Palaiologan Period," *DChAE* 37 (2016): 41-68 (esp. 61-67).

2.2.2.2. The Biography of St. Leontios

Thus, in accordance with the regarded sources, one can establish certain biographical sequence of events. As it was noted by I. Bogiatzidos⁴⁶¹ St. Leontios' father, Andrew, who, according to the Encomium “was established the ruler of the entire Peloponnessos” (Ἄρχων δὲ ξυμπάσης ὁ Ἀνδρέας τῆς Πελοποννήσου καθίσταται, Appendix III)⁴⁶² was *de facto* a general governor (περιεχούσης κεφαλῆς) of one of three regions of Laconia (Peloponnese), an administrative position established under the first Palaiologoi.⁴⁶³ This Andrew originated from Monembasia,⁴⁶⁴ and he and his wife, Theodora, “were proud of the origins from those ruling ones, flourished with the great wealth, and they were richest in spiritual wealth” (τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἐν βασιλείοις ἀνχοῦντες, πλούτῳ κομῶντες πολλῷ, τὴν δὲ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀρετὴν πλουσιώτεροι). As the political situation described in the Encomium and the Life (namely, presence of the position of *kephale* and the active involvement of certain emperor Andronikos into the affairs of Laconia) evidenced, Emperor Andronikos who entrusted Andrew “with power and administration” (ἐξουσίαν καὶ διοίκησιν) should be identified with either Andronikos II (1282-1328)⁴⁶⁵ or Andronikos III (1328-1341).⁴⁶⁶ This gives the year 1341 as the latest relative date for the birth of Leontios, who appeared when his father was still in the office.

Leontios was named Leon as a layman and “was formed in accordance with the virtues” and early in his years displayed interest toward the spiritual wealth considering it “only honourable one, the only useful, the only one being long-lasting” and neglected the material wealth. So, he overcame his parents in virtue, as the author of the Encomium underlines. As for the matters of education, the narrator gives an exhaustive list of disciplines in which the saint succeeded, he “received education (*paideia*) in the pagan sciences, he was fittingly taught in Greek language and noble behavior and was full of external (pagan) knowledge, and therefore he studied himself the divine knowledge and speculated about the Holy Scripture.” This passage witnessed about the system of *paideia* foreseen for the children of provincial nobility; they initially were trained at home in grammar and the basics of the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy) to be later sent to the capital for more advanced education in philosophy and rhetoric. Unfortunately, from that point the text of the

⁴⁶¹ Vogiatzidos, Ioannos [Βογιατζίδος, Ιωάννης]. “Προσθήκαι εἰς τὰ περὶ οσίου Λεοντίου τοῦ Μονεμβασιώτου,” *Λακωνικοὶ Σπουδαί* 7 (1983): 70-74 and Id. “Ὁ Οσῖος Λεόντιος ὁ Μονεμβασιώτης,” *Λακωνικοὶ Σπουδαί* 7 (1983): 75-83.

⁴⁶² For the quotations see, accordingly, Appendices III-VI to this subchapter.

⁴⁶³ For the office of *kephale* see: Maksimović, Ljubomir. *The Byzantine Provincial Administration Under the Palaiologoi* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1988): 129-146; Kalliga, Charis. *Byzantine Monembvasia: The Sources* (Monembvasia: Akponeon, 1990): 151-152, 186-190; Shea, Jonathan. *The late Byzantine city: social, economic and institutional profile*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2010: pp. 25-55 (for *kephale* of Monembasia) 92-94 (for *kephale* office under Andronikos III), 146-147.

⁴⁶⁴ As it was noted by I. Vogiatzidos, they may have belonged to one three noble families of Monembasia, Eudaimonoianthes, Sophianoï or Mamonas (Vogiatzidos, Ioannos [Βογιατζίδος, Ιωάννης]. “Προσθήκαι εἰς τὰ περὶ οσίου Λεοντίου τοῦ Μονεμβασιώτου,” *Λακωνικοὶ Σπουδαί* 7 (1983): 72), as the members of these families were associated with the ruling house by the distant marriages and were often used in the local administration and for diplomatic missions.

⁴⁶⁵ *PLP*, no. 21436.

⁴⁶⁶ *PLP*, no. 21437.

Encomium is missing and one can only rely of the Paraphrase of the Life (Appendix V), which follows the narrative of the Encomium in general, but appears to be much more compact and brief in the description of events.

Probably, in his mid- or late- teen years,⁴⁶⁷ i.e. no later than the mid 1350s, Leon was sent to Constantinople to continue his education in philosophy, but also in the state administration (τὰς βασιλικὰς ὑποθέσεις), “to receive the necessary advancement in them among thoses who stayed in the royal power.” However, the sudden death of his father made Leon to return to Monembasia and to fulfil the demands of his mother who wanted to become a nun and to bequeath her properties to Leon’s family. So, “she encouraged her son to marry and to assume care about their possessions.” Therefore, he became “a master of the possessions of his father and his mother,” meaning that the patrimony was inherited by him from both sides, maternal (her previous dowry) and paternal, while Theodora went to the monastery. With time passing, when he had three children, Leon decided to become a monk and “to dedicate himself etirely to god” as he had planned earlier. So, he persuaded his wife to remain with his children in the house and to assume the administration and the ownership of the possessions, while Leon found a “holy man called Mennides, strickt asketic and the best teacher of monastic life,” and became his student. From his teacher Leon was tonsured and took the name of Leontios. His desire to see and to imitate the greatest asketic toils of the greatest hermits moved the future saint to the Holy Mount Athos, where he became renown for the obedience, humbleness and great asceticism. To avoid bothering fame, the saint decided to return to Peloponnese and to find a more secluded place.

In this part of his biography St. Leontios’ life follows the pattern of travelling hermits, described in the first part of this subchapter. Though A. Laiou who dealt with the monastic mobility of the 14th century noted that after 1371 the number of trips in the Byzantine provinces decreases,⁴⁶⁸ one direction remained still open, namely, the route connecting Peloponnese, Mt. Athos (Thessaloniki) and Constantinople, and exactly this was the main points which the saint visited during his travelling in the second half of the 14th century.

These three last centres of the Empire were connected by sea.⁴⁶⁹ In 1399-1400, when Emperor Manuel II, started his journey to the West he used the Venetian ships to reach Peloponnese (through

⁴⁶⁷ The teen years were considered suitable for a noble child to study science and rhetoric – see: Buckler, Georgina. “Byzantine Education,” in: *Byzantium: An Introduction to East Roman Civilization*, eds. N. Baynes and H. B. Moss (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948): 204-207; Angelov, Dimiter. “Emperors and Patriarchs as Ideal Children and Adolescents: Literary Conventions and Cultural Expectations,” in: *Becoming Byzantine: Children and Childhood in Byzantium*, ed. A. Papaconstantinou and A.-M. Talbot (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library: 2009): esp. pp. 117-121.

⁴⁶⁸ Laiou-Thomadakis, Angeliki. “Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire,” in: *Charanis Studies. Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, ed. A. Laiou-Thomadakis (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1980): 93, 98-99.

⁴⁶⁹ For the sea route between Thessaloniki and Constantinople, see: Thiriet, Freddy. “Les itinéraires des vaisseaux vénitiens et le rôle des agents consulaires en Romanie Greco-Vénitienne aux XIVe-XVe siècles,” in: *Venezia e le genti del mare mediterraneo*, ed. R. Ragosta, vol. 1 (Naples: Pironti, 1981): 591-592; Laiou, Angeliki. “Η Θεσσαλονίκη, η

the port of Monembasia) where he left his wife and children with his brother John VII.⁴⁷⁰ In 1430, on their way back to Constantinople from the embassies to Pope Martin V and the Republic of Venice, Markos Iagares and Makarios Makres used the Venetian galley and visited Morea to meet Thomas Palaiologos who was just invested with the title of despotes.⁴⁷¹ Besides, the Venetian galleys some Athonite monks could also use the ships belonging to their monasteries, as St. Sabas heading a delegation of Athonite elders sailed from the harbour of the Great Lavra to Constantinople in 1342 (the entire trip took just three days due to the good winds).⁴⁷² Ships belonging to Greek monasteries were also attested in 1360, as commercial transport in the Danube Delta in Kilia.⁴⁷³ This way, even in the late 14th the trips between several political “islands” of the Empire could be facilitated by sea, and, consequently, a social figure of a wandering monk could still appear in the hagiography of this period given that this monk would travel by marine routes.

Upon his return to Morea St. Leontios started to look for “a deserted place,” where he could serve to God, and by God’s will he was sent “to the northern part (of Peloponnese), to the mountain called Klokos of the Elder, above Aigion.” This place, was not completely unknown previously, in accordance with *The Summary of History of the Holy Monastery*⁴⁷⁴ the initial core of the foundation seems to be established in the beginning of the 11th century by the hermits who lived in the caves all around the mountain.⁴⁷⁵ So, seven ascetic foundations were “settled around, here and there,” and the

ενδοχώρα της και ο οικονομικός της χώρος στην εποχή των Παλαιολόγων,” in: *Διεθνές Συμπόσιο “Βυζαντινή Μακεδονία 324-1430,” Θεσσαλονίκη 29-31 Οκτωβρίου 1992* (Thessaloniki: Etaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, 1995): 183-194 (esp. 189-90); Avramea, Anna. “Land and sea communications. Fourth–Fifteenth Centuries,” in: *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A. Laiou (Washington DC 2002): 72. It is considered that after 1341 the two cities were connected mainly by the sea route and not by the inland road. For merchant travels in the Aegean sea, see: Gasparis, Charlampos [Γάσπαρης, Χαράλαμπος]. “Η ναυτιλιακή κίνηση από την Κρήτη προς την Πελοπόννησο κατά τον 14ο αιώνα,” *Τα Ιστορικά* 5/9 (1988): 287-318.

⁴⁷⁰ Vasil’ev, Alexandr [Васильев, Александр]. “Путешествие византийского императора Мануила II Палеолога по Западной Европе (1399–1403 г.),” *Журнал Министерства народного просвещения* N.S. 39 (1912): 58-59; Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, p. 170.

⁴⁷¹ Zakythinios, Dionysios. *Le Despotat grec de Morée* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1932): Vol. I, p. 211.

⁴⁷² “These holy fathers and ambassadors, surely, taking great Sabbas with them, departing from the port next to the Great Lavra, sailed to Byzantium with a solemn procession and prayers. But the ship and the circumstance of the sea-voyage were good for them, while the winds were driving them with an amazing calmness as if escorting and guiding them fast and sweat. They easily sailed up the Aegean, passing from one island to another, Hellespont and, passing the following Propontis, after three days entered the harbors of Constantine.” (οἱ δ’ ἱεροὶ πατέρες οὗτοι καὶ πρέσβεις, τὸν μέγαν ἔχοντες δηλαδὴ μεθ’ ἑαυτῶν Σάβαν, λύσαντες ἐκ τοῦ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς Μεγίστης Λαύρας ἐπινείου, τὴν ἐς Βυζάντιον μετὰ θαυμαστῆς τιнос τῆς πομπῆς καὶ τῶν εὐχῶν ἀποπλέοντες ἦσαν. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ πλοῦ τε καὶ τῆς θαλάττης καλῶς αὐτοῖς εἶχε, τῶν πνευμάτων ἐφεπομένων καὶ μετὰ θαυμαστῆς τιнос τῆς γαλήνης ὥσπερ δορυφορούντων, τάχιστα τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἡδίστα τούτους παραπεμπόντων· τὸ γὰρ Αἰγαῖον ἅμα ταῖς μεταξύ παραλλάξαντες νήσοις, Ἑλλήσποντόν τε καὶ τὴν ὑπερκειμένην ἀναπλεύσαντες ὀξύτατα Προποντίδα, τριταῖοι καταίρουσιν εἰς τοὺς τῆς Κωνσταντίνου λιμένας) – Tsamis, Demetrios [Τσάμης, Δημήτριος], ed. *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου Ἀγιολογικά Ἔργα: Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἄγιοι* (Thessaloniki: Kentro Byzantinon Ereunon, 1958): 292.

⁴⁷³ Matschke, Klaus-Peter. “Commerce, Trade, Markets, and Money: Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries,” in: *The Economic History of Byzantium: from the seventh through the fifteenth century*, eds. A. Laiou and Ch. Bouras, 3 Vols. (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2002): Vol. III, p. 783.

⁴⁷⁴ Angelomati-Tsounkaraki, “Ιστορία της Μονῆς Ταξιαρχῶν Αἰγιαλείας,” p. 78, see also Appendix IV to this subchapter.

⁴⁷⁵ For the critical analysis of the source see: Lampropoulou, Anna, Moutzali, Aphentra. [Λαμπροπούλου, Ἄννα and Μουτζάλη, Ἀφέντρα]. “Ο μεσοβυζαντινός ναός του Αγίου Νικολάου Αἰγιαλείας, Συμβολή στην ιστορία της Μονῆς Ταξιαρχῶν,” *Σύμμεικτα* 11 (1997): 323-350 (esp. pp. 323-325).

present day cave of Hosios Leontios was, initially, a kind of *katholikon*, where “those who dwelled in the sketes gathered together every Sunday.” Soon there was established a kind of Lavriote monastery headed by an elder who was chosen by the hermits, and this order “lasted for four hundred years.”⁴⁷⁶ This way, by the moment of Leontios’ arrival, the Mount of Klokon was a typical Lavra in a forest “deserted” area whose inhabitants lived in caves around the mountain.

In accordance with the *topos*⁴⁷⁷ of hermitic monastic living in a desert, this area is described in the terms of extreme climatic conditions: the saint was “beaten by the cold and frost of winter and burnt by the heat by burning of summer and suffering all other miseries.” (Appendix V) Here Leontios reached the monastic *apatheia*, complete prevalence over emotions, and was “enriched with the energy of miracles” curing various diseases.

The text of the Life afterwards proceeds toward the description of the patronage of the Palaiologoi family which I will return to later. However, one may assume that the initial, Byzantine, author of the Life changed the sequence of events placing the description of the patronage acts taking place in 1450s before the death of the saint (which, presumably, happened from 1400s to 1410s)⁴⁷⁸ for the sake of composition. Thus, the Life is ended with connected episodes, the death of the saint and the miracles from his relics. In his ascetic life, Leontios became surrounded by students, and turned into a “source of salvation for many.” Foreseeing his end, he died in the age of 75 years and was buried in the same cave he used to live in.

This biography depicts a typical late-Byzantine monastic saint to the readers, who is similar to those discussed in the beginning of this subchapter. He had a noble origin and good education, but preferred the ascetic life over earthy power and material wealth. He traveled between the main centres of the Empire, practiced askesis on the Holy Mount, and became famous for his extreme piety and humility. In the end of life he settled in a distant area, in a “desert,” gathered students and received divine grace and the power of miracle-working. As I will discuss further, there is another typical feature in his monastic biography, namely that the foundation of this hermitic saint was endowed and supported by the members of the royal family.

⁴⁷⁶ “...διευθύνοντο ὑφ' ἐνὸς προϊσταμένου Γέροντος ὀνομαζομένου Ἰσοβίου, καὶ τοῦτου θνήσκοντος συνερχόμενοι πρὸς τὸ Κυριακὸν οἱ σκητιώτες ἐξέλεγον ἄλλον Γέροντα προεστώτα ὑπὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα• τοῦτον δὲ οἱ ἐξωθεν ὀνόμαζον Γέροντα τοῦ Κλωκοῦ. Ἡ τάξις αὕτη διήρκεσε τεσσάρων ἐκατονταετηρίδας ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτῆς. – “It was headed by a leader elder called Isobios, and when he died departing to the Lord the inhabitants of the sketes elected another elder with the same name. That is why the outsiders called the place of the Elder of Klokon. And this order lasted for four hundred years from its establishment” – Angelomati-Tsounkaraki, “Ἱστορία τῆς Μονῆς Ταξιαρχῶν Αἰγιαλείας,” p. 78.

⁴⁷⁷ See, for example: Mango, Cyril. “The Saints,” in: *The Byzantines*, ed. G. Cavallo (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997): 273-274.

⁴⁷⁸ This range of dates for the death of Leontios was already proposed by Vogiatzidos, Ioannos [Βογιατζίδος, Ιωάννης]. “Προσθήκαι εἰς τὰ περὶ οσίου Λεοντίου τοῦ Μονεμβασιώτου,” *Λακωνικοὶ Σπουδαί* 7 (1983): 70-74 and Id. “Ὁ Οσῖος Λεόντιος ὁ Μονεμβασιώτης,” *Λακωνικοὶ Σπουδαί* 7 (1983): 75-83 as well as by Politis, Linos [Πολίτης, Λίνος]. “Ἡ μονὴ Ταξιαρχῶν Αἰγίου,” *Ἑλληνικά* 11 (1939): 67-107.

2.2.2.3. The Cult of St. Leontios

All regarded sources also provide some information concerning the development of Leontios' cult for the readers. As it was noted, the body of the saint was buried in his own cave, which can be seen even nowadays. On the upper level of the monastery, there is a natural cave with partially preserved natural vaulting. Here, there is a platform where the burial of the saint is situated as well as an entrance to the living cave (a very small and narrow space) and the stairs toward the cave church of Anastasis. Most probably, the initial cave, since it was described by *The Summary of History* (Appendix IV) as a place of gathering for the local ascetics, used to occupy the entire space under natural vaulting which, afterwards, fell down leaving the tomb in the open air. Moreover, the Life indicates that the saint was buried in the cave, and not next to it. Thus, the initial core of St. Leontios' cult appeared to be the cave where he used to live and, later, was buried.

For the following events, the Life (Appendix V) and the *Short Life* inserted into the Service, give similar accounts. A disciple of the saint, the *proedros*⁴⁷⁹ of Palaia Patra Joacheim⁴⁸⁰ wanted to create a building to house the relics. In order to transfer the relics he, with other monks of the foundation, headed to the cave with prayers and doxology. But as "they all entered there together, and an earthquake happened and broke the cave apart," which was understood as the expression of the saint's will who wanted to remain in his cave. The most probably, that was exactly the earthquake which damaged the initial cave and left the grave unprotected (fig. 2.27).

Not many sources provide information about this Joacheim, and Dionysios A. Zakynthinos⁴⁸¹ on the basis of St. Leontios' Life considered him to be a figure from the middle of the 15th century. However, one can find additional information about this personage in the text of the Service (Appendix VI), namely the last stanza of the canon with an acrostic:⁴⁸²

Urged by love to you, oh, Leontios, your glorious student and proedros, Joacheim,
followed your life of monastic purity, which we now celebrate, and you, by the prayers
of him and those who are with him, by the grace of god give me a release from sins to me
and to everybody singing you.

These grammatically strange lines, which contain both, actors in the 3 person singular, 1 person singular and 1 person plural, can indicate some corruption in the text, but what is important is that being the last lines of the poetic work, initially, they may have indicated the author. Moreover, the entire text of the canon has no other direct historical evidences or names except this one. This canon

⁴⁷⁹ Cheynet, Jean-Claude. *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963-1210)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1990): 153, 317 – noted the confusion between the laic dignity of the proedros and the church title. For the Church title see: Savaville, Séverien. "Le titre ecclésiastique de «proedros» dans les documents byzantins," *Echos d'Orient* 29 (1930): 416-436.

⁴⁸⁰ *PLP*, no. 8370.

⁴⁸¹ Zakynthinos, Dionysios. *Le Despotat grec de Morée* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1932): vol. II, p. 291.

⁴⁸² The acrostic was a typical usage in Byzantine and Slavonic hymnography and often contained the name of the author and his petition to God about giving inspiration. About the Byzantine acrostic see: Wilhelm Weyh, "Die Akrostichis in der byzantinischen Canonesdichtung," *BZ* 17 (1908): 1-69.

nowadays is diluted with additional stanza, *theotokia*, *hairetizmoi* and the Short Life, and, therefore, the acrostic can be barely found. In the Appendix VI, I extracted the canon which consists of 24 stanza, i.e. of 8 songs (odes) composed of one *hirmos* and two *troparia*.⁴⁸³ Somehow, the acrostic also points out to the traditions of the Byzantine intellectual anticising as it calls the inhabitants of Peloponnesse with the ancient name of “Dorians.”

Moreover, if one reads closely the texts of the Encomium or that of the Service, the sense of local regional pride becomes obvious. Thus, in the Encomium, the biography of the saint starts with praise to the abundance of the land of Pelopos and respect toward the Antique past of the region. So, the author, in the anticising manner, reminds about the “tribe of the Dorians” who “accomplished many things, worthy of memory and attention” and points out to the Ancient Greek name of Monembasia, which he considers to be Epidaurus. Similarly, the Service calls St. Leontios “the sprout of the Dorians and adornment of the entire world,” whereas the acrostic of the Canon reads “*I glorify Leontios the fame of the Dorians*.” However, such reference are absent from the Paraphrase of the Life made by a monk originating from Chios. These small facts taken together can witness about the local, deeply regional character of St. Leontios veneration, but also about the fact that the authors of both, the Canon and the Encomium, originated from Peloponnesos and, possibly, belonged to the late-Byzantine intellectual milieu.

More precisely, I propose to consider *proedros* Joachim, mentioned in the Paraphrase of the Life, the Summary, and in the Canon to be the author of the first service (which included the canon) and the Encomium to the saint. One, indeed, can find out that Joachim was the saint’s “student.... imitating him in everything,” i.e. practicing, at least at some point, the ascetic life in the Taxiarches monastery. Moreover, as one of the few preserved sources informs, Joachim was himself a compatriot of Leontios, i.e. he came from Monembasia⁴⁸⁴ which can explain the sense of the regional

⁴⁸³ The *canon* was a special genre of Byzantine and Slavonic hymnography which came into use in the seventh century. It consists of nine odes, sometimes called songs, based on the Biblical canticle, but the final ode is taken from the Magnificat and Song of Zechariah from the New Testament. The content of each song, even in later canons, contains some allusions to the biblical model. It became customary to omit the second ode (it survived only in canons for Great Lent) based on Moses’ hymn of wrath, and later canons usually have only eight odes, although the numbering from first to ninth was kept. Each ode was written in the same metre corresponding to the *irmos* or the first verse, which sets the pattern and for which a melody was composed. The *irmoi* for canons were collected in special books called *Hirmologia* and writers selected *irmoi* from various existing patterns, each with its own mode and tone. This chosen *irmos* was indicated in the beginning of each ode by its first line. It became customary to add a verse in honour of the Theotokos at the end of each ode; later the Theotokion became an integral part of the ode and acrostic. From the eighth century onwards canons were often written in an acrostic and the first letter of each verse of odes formed a sentence, usually an iambic line, with the addition of the author’s name. The earliest canon in the Greek tradition was written by St. Andrew of Crete in the seventh century (the Great Canon for Great Lent), see Tillyard, Henry Julius W. *Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (London: The Faith Press, 1923): 19-34; Wellesz, Egon. *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961): 198-228.

⁴⁸⁴ Schreiner, Peter. *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975): Vol. I, p. 98. This information comes from the entry into a Short Chronicle no. 9 of the mid of the 15th century. This entry narrates about the conflict between Joachim and Patriarch Matthew I taking place in 1403. The same event is also described in a Manuscript *Parisinus* gr. 1379, f. 18V, see: Laurent, Vitalien. “Le Trisévêque du patriarche Matthieu Ier: 1397-1410,” *REB* 30 (1972): 39-40.

pride appearing in the Canon. Even before Leontios' death this personage reached a high position in the church hierarchy and became the *proedros* (metropolitan) of a big urban centre (Palaia Patra),⁴⁸⁵ placed in the same region as the foundation established by Leontios.

By his initiative the first veneration of St. Leontios was established, i.e., in accordance with *The Summary of History* (Appendix IV), Joacheim "gathered all brotherhood went to the building of the holy sanctuary with a *pannychis* doxology (παννύχιον δοξολογίαν), and they started to perform the commemoration." Such veneration of a grave, night-long doxology, and the intention of transferring the relics can be regarded as the first signs of an appearing cult. During the Middle and Late Byzantine periods the manipulation of somebody's relics, their discovery, transfer, further veneration and miracles happening from them became the core practices for pronouncing somebody to be a saint.⁴⁸⁶ Moreover, the composition of a service to such newly "canonized" person was a part of the sanctification process as well as the gathering of a monastic group.⁴⁸⁷ For example, in case of St. Simeon Nemanja whose cult was developed on Mt. Athos and in Serbia in the beginning of the 13th century, his biographer, monk Domentijan, points out to the fact that after the recognition of Simeon's sanctity by the gathered group of Athonite elders, they "blessed our god-bearing father *kyr* monk Sava to write to him (St. Simeon) canons and *stichera* and [the description of] his miracles."⁴⁸⁸

Therefore, the role of Joacheim in St. Leontios' cult seems clear: as the student and compatriot he wanted to develop the worship of his teacher and Monembasiot, and, for this reason, Joacheim suggested to transfer Leontios' relics in a new church building. Moreover, I propose also to consider Joacheim to be the author of the Canon, or, at least, some parts of the saint's service, since the mentioned in the Life "all-night doxologia" sung by the monks on their arrival to the cave for the transferring of the relics should be a service intended for St. Leontios' canonization, and, therefore, including some poetic pieces concerning the new saint.

Undoubtedly, the scheme of canonization consisting of the discovery of relics, their transfer, the veneration of miracles and the dedication of hymns to a saint, which I am inclined to see in case

⁴⁸⁵ Athanasopoulou, Ioanna [Αθανασόπουλος, Ιωάννα]. "Συνοπτική ιστορική επισκόπηση της αποστολικής Εκκλησίας των Πατρών," in: *Ο Νέος Ναός του Αποστόλου Ανδρέου Πατρών*, ed. Ch.G. Chotzakoglou (Patra: Iera Mitropoli Patron, 2008): 43-49 (esp. 45-46).

⁴⁸⁶ Popović, Danica. *Pod okriljem svetosti: kult svetih vladara i relikvija u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade: SANU, 2006): 27-74 (esp. pp. 43-45); Abrahamse, Dorothy. "Rituals of Death in the Middle Byzantine Period," *GOTR* 29/2 (1984): 125-134; Beck, Hans-Georg. *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* (Munich: Beck, 1959): 274-275; Macrides, Ruth. "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period," in: *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (London: Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, 1981): 67-87 (esp. pp. 83-87).

⁴⁸⁷ For the role of a service (akolouthia) in sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse, see: Galatariotou, Catia. *The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 71-154 (esp. 112-113); for a similar process of sanctification of St. Simeon Nemanja see: [Popović], *Under protection*, esp. 45-53.

⁴⁸⁸ Благословивъше богоноснаго отца нашего кира Саву написати рму каноны и стихире и чудотворения рго - Dančić, Đure, ed. *Život svetoga Simeuna i svetoga Save. Napisao Domentijan* (Belgrade: Državna štamparija, 1865): 189-190. St. Sava, besides being a son of St. Simeon, was also a monk at Mt. Athos and later the first Serbian archbishop.

of St. Leontions, is rather more typical for pre-Palaiologan periods, while during the Palaiologan time a more formal procedure was introduced as it was underlined by R. Macrides.⁴⁸⁹ However, all cases of this more formal canonization, analyzed by R. Macrides, belonged to the Constantinopolitan or Athonite milieu, whereas in the case of St. Leontios, the organization of the cult happened in the periphery and had local character (Kalabryta region), at the local level (by the brotherhood of his monastery and *proedros* of Patras) and during the time of quite considerable problems in the central authority of the Byzantine Church (for example, in 1438-1440, the patriarch, Joseph II and, later, Metrophanes II, were in Italy for the Ferrara-Florence council,⁴⁹⁰ while after Metrophanes II's death "for more than a year there was no Patriarch to give any kind of guidance").⁴⁹¹ Consequently, initially, St. Leontios' cult could be developed at the local level of the Kalabryta region by the efforts of the Aigialeia monks and the Metropolitan of Patras.

On the other hand, the introductory part of the Encomium also witness several important facts about its author and indicate that this rhetorical text was composed by an individual who knew the saint personally, for the occasion of the saint's veneration and in a short interval after Leontios' death. Firstly, the author of the Encomium was a learnt Byzantine rhetor who at the same time was a student of St. Leontios. After the praise to St. Leontios written in the superlative mode (Appendix III), the author suggests that the saint taught him in the ways of virtue and knowledge:

In all this, for me he became, and not only for me, but simply speaking for everybody, the teacher of speech, the guide in virtue, an example in life, the rule and the norm of all useful and helpful things, but I myself can't completely follow or overcome this norm, and this (norm) is going to be the subject of my speech. And I found out so many and so great things from his helpful tongue, that this alone would be enough for glorifying (him) in this text and for searching for words competing with the deeds, so I hesitate to approach the topic and postpone it and consider it in different ways, in order to be able to escape (the assignment).⁴⁹²

This passage shows that the author and the subject of his speech were in the relations of the student and teacher. Moreover, this teaching was not merely an instruction in monastic virtues; rather expressions like "a teacher of speech" (λόγου καθηγητής) suggest that the author studied rhetoric with St. Leontios. Similarly, in the Canon, the author notices that he wants not only give evidence about miracles of the saint, but also to describe "the principles" of St. Leontios' "teaching" (τῶν

⁴⁸⁹ Macrides, Ruth. "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period," in: *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (London: Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, 1981): 83-87.

⁴⁹⁰ See *PLP*, no. 9073 (Joseph II) and no. 18069 (Metrophanes II); Nicol, *The Last centuries of Byzantium*, pp. 351-359.

⁴⁹¹ Nicol, *The Last centuries of Byzantium*, p. 361.

⁴⁹² Τοῦτον ὁ πάντα ἐμοὶ γινόμενος, οὐκ ἐμοὶ δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς ὡς εἰπεῖν, λόγου καθηγητής, ὑφηγητής ἀρετῆς, παράδειγμα βίου, κανὼν καὶ στάθμη παντὸς ὠφελίμου καὶ λυσιτελοῦς πράγματος, εἰ καὶ μὴ οἷός ἐγὼ τοιοῦτον κανόνι συμπαραθέειν ἢ ἐπεσθαι, τοῦτον οὖν μοι καὶ νῦν ὑπόθεσιν τῶν λόγων πεποιήται. Ἐγὼ δὲ τοσοῦτον καὶ τηλικούτων πράγματι τὴν αὐτοῦ γλῶτταν ἀρκοῦσαν εἰδὼς, ὡς ταύτην μόνην ἱκανὴν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνυμνεῖν καὶ λόγους ἐφαμίλλους ἐξευρίσκειν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὥκνουν τὴν ἐγχείρησιν (καὶ ἀνεβαλλόμεν καὶ παντοῖος ἐγινόμην, ἵνα ἀποφυγεῖν δυνηθείην. - Lampros, *Παλαιολογία καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, Vol. II, pp. 161-162.

μαθητῶν τὰ συστήματα). Simultaneously, as one of the reasons for the composing of the Encomium the author points out to St. Leontios as an “image available for imitation” (εἰκὸς καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐφικτὸν μιμησάμενον), and, therefore, this text seems to be written for a monastic community of the saint’s followers. Finally, already in the Encomium, St. Leontios is considered the saint, while the purpose of the text is “to weave the wreath of praise” (τὴν τῆς εὐφημίας περιπλέξαι στεφάνην Λεοντίῳ τῷ ἱερῷ).

Similarly, the Canon (Appendix VI) underlines that the feast of St. Leontios is celebrated by his disciples: “your annual memory, oh, Leontios, is performed by your students (τοῖς φοιτηταῖς), from whom receiving in the prayers, as a gracious one, offer the demanded things.” In addition the Canon indicates the festive character of the celebration. One of the refrains which appears is “Oh, servants, praise, oh, priests, sing hymns, and people, honour in all centuries!” Moreover, such metaphors as “spiritual feast” or “celebration” are commonly encountered in the Canon. It also refers to worshippers and those who approach the saint, which hints to some public arriving to the monastery for the celebration.

One may notice that the Encomium was developed for a celebratory event in order to praise the saint and it was composed by St. Leontios’ disciple, and aimed to be audited by the saint’s followers. At the same time the Canon, subject to my assumption that it was written more or less in the same time with the Encomium, can be a hymnographic praise addressed to the same saint and performed as well by the monastic students of St. Leontios. Perhaps, the annual celebration established for St. Leontios’ memory included a Canon during the night service and an Encomium read during the morning rituals.

However, the cult of St. Leontios was not developed simply on the monastic ground. The *Paraphrase of the Life* (Appendix V), the material evidence and, especially, the Canon (Appendix VI) bring information about the character of St. Leontios’ cult, more precisely about its myrrh-flowing and curing character. Thus, on its southern side, the tomb of the saint has a small opening covered with a wooden door (fig. 2.28). This opening clearly indicates that something proceeded from the built sarcophagus. Simultaneously, being placed on the side, this opening didn’t give an overview of relics, and, therefore, it can’t be considered to be made for a visual contact. In a similar way, for example, the sarcophagus of another myrrh-flowing saint (St. Simeon Nemanja), in Studenica monastery, had also some special construction, a kind of channel surrounding the tomb and joint to its openings on sides, for collecting the myrrh of the saint.⁴⁹³

Moreover, the Life of the saint (Appendix V) informs the readers that Leontios’ “holy relics were laid down in the same cave, where he struggled while living, and he poured forth the cures for

⁴⁹³ Popović, Danica. *Srpski vladarski grob* (Belgrade: Institut za istoriju umetnosti, 1992): 31.

those who approached him with faith.” This verb used here is βρύω with the meaning of “burst forth with, gush with,”⁴⁹⁴ which specifies the physical properties of the myrrh-flow seemed to be abundant. But the most complete testimony of the myrrh-flowing appears in the Canon (Appendix VI). So, the saint is addressed in the following way: “You proved yourself as a source of medicine, oh, rich source Leontios, as being alive as well as after the most blessed end, and you cure everybody from your heart, everybody approaching your tomb of the relics, at any time.” Thus, the saint was considered to be a miracle-worker during his life as well as after the death, his miracles were performed by the agency of a source having curative properties, and for this source people were approaching the tomb with the relics. At another place, the author suggests that people collect from the tomb “life-giving fruits.”

But the most interesting is the testimony of illness which can be treated by the saint. Namely, in one of the stanza, the author writes about “miscarriages of our souls and bodies” which can be cured by the “ever-flowing” source of miracles. It could be taken for a mere metaphor, however the word indicating miscarriage (ἔκτρωμα) has no other meaning except for “untimely birth”⁴⁹⁵ and it was rather applied metaphorically to represent the human sins as the miscarriages of souls. This way, one can formulate the essence of St. Leontios’ cult, who was venerated as a monastic founder by his fellow-brothers and, simultaneously, as a curing saint whose relics were myrrh-flowing.

Altogether, one may overview a row of activities undertaken after the death of the saint. As it seems to me, the main organizer of Leontios’ cult was his student Joacheim, the *proedros* of Palaia Patra, who maybe also considered as a suitable figure for a suggested author of the Encomium. As for the Canon, it would be reasonable to suggest that the initial author was either Joacheim himself, but later the last stanza, containing his name was corrupted, or that the author was a person, closely associated with Joacheim and with the monastery of the Taxiarches and promoting the cult of the local saint. In any case, as the *Summary of History* (Appendix IV) witnesses, the organization of St. Leontios’ cult took place “after a short passage,” and, thus, it can be placed somewhere in between the death of the saint happening, probably, c. 1410 and the patronage of the Palaiologoi performed in 1449-1460.

The final stage in the development of the cult and the foundation is connected with the patronage activities of the despots of Morea. In this sense, the Life (Appendix V) and the Summary (Appendix IV) give slightly different indications, if the former says that only “the royal children Thomas⁴⁹⁶ and Demetrios,⁴⁹⁷ the brothers of Constantine the last emperor of the Romans, despots of

⁴⁹⁴ Liddel-Scott-Jones, p. 332.

⁴⁹⁵ Liddel-Scott-Jones, p. 524.

⁴⁹⁶ *PLP*, no. 21470.

⁴⁹⁷ *PLP*, no. 21454.

Peloponnese” took active part in the benefactions for the monastery, the latter specifies that all four brothers, “royal children of the Palaiologoi, John,⁴⁹⁸ Constantine,⁴⁹⁹ Thomas, and Demetrios, the first two becoming later the autocrats of the Romans, and the latter two ending up as despots of Peloponnesos and Strea,” participated into the endowment of the foundation. In principle, the measure of participation of the Constantinopolitan parties could indeed participate in the endowment, but with different means and in different periods. Thus, the Summary of History narrates about the donations of “lands and zeugelateia, houses and other economic establishments,” the construction of “towers from the ground” and the enlargement of “a small church which existed from before” as well as about the donation of relics associated with the Passions of Christ and some saints. Further the chronicler proceeds with a very detailed description of two reliquaries, both of which are still preserved (fig. 2.29-30), one inside the other, and some documents “royal chrysobulls and witnessed by the Patriarchal letters.” Judging on the preciseness of the description, the author could describe in the text those documents and the relics he saw in reality. This way, the unification of the four Palaiologoi in one passage could be a matter of textual convenience, especially since the spans of their rules do not coincide: John VIII (1407-1425 as a co-ruler and 1425 – 1448 as the Emperor), Constantine IX (1437-1440 as a regent in the capital, 1443-1448 as a despot of Morea, 1448 – 1453 as the Emperor), Thomas (1417 or 1428 – 1443 – present in Morea; 1443 – 1460 as a despot), and Demetrios (1423-1427 in Hungary, 1448 in Morea, 1449 – 1460 as a despot of Morea). Thus, the lands and possessions could be granted by John VIII even during the lifetime of the saint, while the construction activities could be undertaken only after the earthquake mentioned in the story of Joacheim since no signs of it is witnessed by the structure of the tower around the cave. Moreover, the tower around the cave might have been built to support the sacral structure after it was “torn apart” by the earthquake. On the other hand, indeed, the gift of the relics could be a sole affair of Thomas and Demetrios as it is described in the Life (Appendix V):

Hence also royal children Thomas and Demetrius, the brothers of Constantine the last emperor of the Romans, despots of Peloponnesos, admiring much his virtue and honoring him as the man of God and saint, founded in that place where the holy one practiced askesis, a holy church of Archangel Michael, and many other buildings erected from the grounds, established a monastery and for sanctification of those who practice askesis there, offered some parts of relics from the Holy Passions of our Savior Christ. As well as a part of the Christ's crown of thorns, a part of the righteous wood of the life-giving Cross, and a part of the sponge from which Christ received to drink the vinegar, and that of the red chlamys, in which he was dressed for mockery and scoffing; and except these relics, also the lock of hair of the venerated Prodromos, the hand of St. Arethas, and the skull of St. Stephanos the New, and the container with these relics was established on the holy altar.

⁴⁹⁸ *PLP*, no. 21481.

⁴⁹⁹ *PLP*, no. 21500.

During the initial years of their joint rule (before the uprising of Manuel Ghin Kantakouzenos⁵⁰⁰ in 1453-1454), the Morean brothers, indeed, could dedicate some financial means and time to the construction activities and donation of relics for the saint whose cult was gaining popularity among the locals. Their patronage had not only practical, economic and constructive aims, but, judging on the set of relics, their containers, and the staging of this donation, Thomas and Demetrios made a truly remarkable gift, expressing their veneration of the saint and the place of his toils.

At the same time, the Palaiologoi could consider wise to leave the pious treasure in the monastery for safekeeping,⁵⁰¹ as the fortified with new towers and remote foundation could be seen as a more secure place for precious items than even Mistra, during the Turkish attacks. More important for the circumstances of this gift is the fact that, probably, the set of these relics was transferred to the Taxiarches monastery from Constantinople. Thus, the relics of Passion, including the thorns and the sponge were seen by various pilgrims of 1420-1430s in St. Sophia and St. John the Baptist monastery in Petra, while the skull of St. Stephen the Younger was kept during the same period in the monastery of Peribleptos.⁵⁰² In this sense, the participation of the ruling emperors in the patronage over the Taxiarches foundation, together with the despots of Peloponnesse, could be expressed in the fact of donating these important items from the capital to the distant but renowned monastery. The reliquaries described in the Summary of History (Appendix IV) of the monastery are still preserved up to nowadays:

a casket made of ivory in the Byzantine manner, inside of which was a cybotion of white marble bearing the inscription: “I have inside the robe of Christ the Word” inside of which there were all the above-said royal offerings coated with silver and gold confirmed through royal chrysobulls and witnessed by the Patriarchal letters...

Indeed, they belong to the monastery of Taxiarches, but often are exhibited for veneration in the Metropolis of Nafplion (fig. 2.29-30) where I have seen them on May of 2015. The relics are kept in two layers in a larger wooden casket with the ivory insertions which seems to be, indeed, an early-ottoman work. Inside the casket there are two layers of relics, the upper one includes the skull of St. Stephen the Younger inserted into silver frame, whereas the lower layer is another reliquary casket. This second, small casket has typically early-byzantine form being shaped as a sarcophagus decorated

⁵⁰⁰ *PLP*, no. 10978. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos*, no. 83, pp. 201-203.

⁵⁰¹ The byzantine monasteries often were used this way during the late centuries. Thus, brothers Alexios and John Bellikome deposed some properties to the monastery of Vatopedi, see: Oikonomides, “Patronage in Palaiologan Mt Athos,” p. 107. Theodora Mabrianne in 1329 used Chilandar to safeguard some money (260 hyperpyra) which was intended for the dowry of her daughter (*Actes de Chilandar: Actes grec*, no. 118, pp. 158-163).

⁵⁰² Majeska, George. *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1984): 134, 216-217 (for the passion relics and the sponge), 96, 146, 276 (for the skull of St. Stephen).

with acroteria.⁵⁰³ This casket has an inscription which reads: “I contain the robe of Christ God the Word” (ἐσθῆτα Χ(ριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου φέρω), as it was noted by the author of the Summary. The original early Byzantine casket is decorated with later metal ornaments on its borders and contains inside a third casket with small pieces of relics imbedded into a gilded metal frame. The last casket can be a later addition to the set. Though, the sources inform that the gift of the despots included various relics of Passion (crown of thorns, a part of the True Cross, a part of the sponge, and that of the red chlamys), the carved inscription on the cybotion refers only to the Lord’s robe. This fact can be explained, if one suggests that initially the reliquary was intended only for the robe, while later other relics were added to the set. Comparing the existing items with those described in the 19th-century Summary, one can notice the absence of the “royal chrysobulls and witnessed by the Patriarchal letters,” and, indeed, these byzantine documents are nowhere to be found, i.e. neither in the archives of the Taxiarches monastery transferred to the National Archives of Greece, nor in the archives of the monastery and Metropolis of Nafplion, though some later documents attest the post-byzantine history of the foundation.⁵⁰⁴

This way, one can trace the development of this ascetic foundation at several stages. Initially, probably, in the beginning of the 11th century it was a disorganized “desert” inhabited by various hermits who soon were organized into a monastery of Lavriot type. In the second half of the 14th century, St. Leontios, already being an experienced ascetic came here from the Holy Mount and chose the place of the Taxiarches’ cave as his residence. Here he became famous, gathered disciples, and established an organized monastery. During the late years of Leontios’ life he could start to receive some privileges and donations from the royal family, especially, taking into consideration his noble origin and the years of youth spent in the capital, perhaps, establishing a powerful network at the court. After Leontios’ death his disciple and compatriot, *proedros* Joachim, with associates, started to develop the cult of their teacher: for this purpose an Encomium and a Canon were composed in which the saint was commemorated as a miracle-worker and myrrh-flower. One of the stages of the cult development could have been the translation of the relics, but a sudden earthquake damaged the cave and created, in the participants of the procession, a feeling that the saint doesn’t want to leave his cave. Therefore, the further development of the cult was centered on the hermitic core of the Klokon Mountain.

⁵⁰³ For similar reliquaries see, for example a reliquary from the Metropolitan Museum no. 2002.483.3a,b (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/473288>) or another reliquary exhibited at the same Museum (*Mirror of the Medieval World*, Exhibition Catalogue, ed. W. D. Wixom (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999): p. 34, no. 41.

⁵⁰⁴ Theochari, Maria [Θεοχάρη, Μαρία]. “Εν νέον σιγίλλιον της μονής Ταξιαρχών Αιγιαλείας,” *Peloponnesiaka* 5 (1962): 180-189. Tsiouraki, Varvara [Τσιουράκη, Βαρβάρα]. “Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα περί της Μονής Ταξιαρχών Αγίου,” *Mnemon* 1 (1971): 170-172; Tsinakis, Kostas [Τσικνάκης, Κώστας]. “Η μονή Ταξιαρχών του Αγίου στα τέλη του 16ου αι.,” *Peloponnesiaka* 21 (1995): 54-72.

In the following years, the members of the Palaiologoi family performed several acts of patronage toward the foundation, namely they undertook the construction of a fortress, partially reconstructed a core of the monastery and presented a set of precious relics delivered, possibly, from Constantinople. The composition of the relics set (rare and precious Passion relics) witnesses about great respect the rulers had for the Taxiarches monastery and its founder. Probably, around this time the final version of the saint's Life was written which was later used for the Paraphrase prepared by Nikephoros of Chios.

Consequently, on the basis of the regarded examples and St. Leontios' case study one can deduce some common features of ascetic foundations in the Palaiologan period. Primarily, the foundations of this type were founded by charismatic "wondering" monks who either due to their authority or their noble origin had access to the elites of the Balkan societies. These monks usually spent a significant part of their monastic years on the Holy Mount practicing askesis and getting knowledge of the hesychast ideas. After receiving necessary experience on Athos and becoming famous, these hermits founded or refounded their own monasteries into distant deserted locations to facilitate the solitude and prayer-concentration of the ascetics. The spiritual authority of these ascetic leaders attracted attention of the church hierarchs and royalties who sponsored constructions, provided financial means and gifts, or endowed the monasteries with lands. The development and spread of the cults of these monastic leaders was promoted by their students who, having good education and spiritual authority, achieved high positions in the Church organisation and whose efforts were directed toward the celebration of the miracle powers of the deceased hermits.

2.3. Conclusions: Hermitic Centres and Family Foundations

As the present chapter demonstrated, the Byzantine society knew a wide range of privately-established ecclesiastic institutions whose size and purpose varied greatly, from the small household chapels to great hermitic monastic communities. However, broadly, all these foundations can be divided into two predominant types: family institutions and hermitic communities. The main difference between them appeared into the intention of their founders. A family institution was meant for daily services, celebrations, burials, commemorations, and retirement of the members of one family (maybe, also some relatives or friends), i.e. these establishments preserved certain ties with the profane world surrounding them and they received economic support from lay individuals who felt obliged to provide help to their own establishments or relatives and friends living there.

On the contrary, the hermitic institution was founded by a group of persons connected with spiritual ties and trying to achieve the separation from the world. These communities were founded in isolated locations, far from relatives and hometowns of the participants. On the other hand, the

intentional seclusion and focusing on religious matters allowed to these monasteries to gain spiritual capital and respect from the members of lay society and, therefore, to receive financial support from various external sources. And the more fame gained the founding ascetic the greater was economic assistance to his foundation. Thus, the most renowned hermitic leaders could expect that their monasteries would appear under the patronage of a royal family which may allow to the monastery surviving many centuries. Moreover, the prominence and belief into exceptional spiritual powers of the ascetics made the rulers to seek for their political advice and the others – to win the supernatural help of the brotherhood through gifts and donations. Consequently, trying to achieve the intercession of monks on the ways of salvation the laymen, even having their own family churches and monasteries for daily religious needs, endowed the prominent monastic centres.

Appendix I

Testament of Theodore Sarantenos⁵⁰⁵ (1325)⁵⁰⁶

ⲡ A servant of our mighty and holy ruler and emperor

ⲧ A servant of our mighty and holy ruler and emperor *skouterios* Theodore Sarantenos bequests (decides):

ⲧ The ancient saints observing the present life as a shadow and a dream, a trifle and a sea passage [uncertain as a sea passage], and the infinity of unworthiness, described it in a symbolic way, and considering its uncontrollability, anarchy and uncertainty compared it with smoke, ash and dust. Therefore and me, the servant of our mighty and holy ruler and emperor, *sebastos* Theodore Sarantenos, the *skouterios*, shackled by the old age of the all-mighty time and not benefitting from the diverse and tumultuous way life, but considering the hardships and time, which I had, to be in all means fake, and as if coming to senses after an incident, faintly, I recon up all good and bad things which happened to me. I know that the time which is left to me is a mere deception, and I wish, in the end, as a correction of the past mistakes and in hope for God, from this idle life and my toils being full of efforts, to give something to God, in order that after the end of my life my living wouldn't be considered completely idle and all my undertaking wouldn't be taken as useless. But what is done by me, my efforts, with all-soul's inclination and long-lasting determination, willfully and voluntary I offer and dedicate to God, and let it be a laud and glorification to God and for profit and sustenance of those who perform hymns to God and other souls, and, in the hope of our salvation during [the reception of] the retribution to the judged ones, it should continue to exist as unshaken, according to my will, and firm, and unbroken, and steadfast as long as the Sun shines on everything, and nobody should create disturbance or impediment.

{ ⲧ ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲟϥ ⲕⲣⲁⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲓⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲑⲉⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲃⲁⲥⲓⲕⲉⲱⲥ }

ⲧ ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲟϥ ⲕⲣⲁⲧⲁⲓⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲓⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲱⲛ ⲁⲩⲑⲉⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲃⲁⲥⲓⲕⲉⲱⲥ ⲥⲕⲟⲩⲧⲉⲣⲓⲟⲥ Ⲑⲉⲟⲩⲱⲣⲟⲥ
 ⲟ Ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲛⲧⲏⲛⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲟⲉⲧⲁⲗⲁ

ⲧ Τὸν παρόντα βίον οἱ ἅγιοι πάλοι κατανοήσαντες σκιὰν καὶ ὄναρ, παίγνιόν τε καὶ θαλαττεῖαν τρίβον καὶ ὅσα τῶν οὐχ ἰσταμένων μυρία, συμβολικῶς αὐτὸν κατεγράψαντο (καὶ) τὸ ἄνισον τούτου (καὶ) ἄκυρον (καὶ) ἀβέβαιον στοχασθέντες καπνὸν καὶ τέφραν καὶ κόνιν τοῦτον ὠνόμασαν. Ὅθεν καὶ γὰρ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ κραταιοῦ (καὶ) ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθ(έν)του (καὶ) βασιλέως σε(βαστ)ῶς Θεόδωρος Σαραντηνὸς ὁ σκουτέριος, τῷ γήρει τοῦ πανδαμάτ(ο)ρο(ς) πεδηθεὶς χρόνου (καὶ) μηδὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολυσχεδοῦς (καὶ) πολυτάραχου τουτὶ βίου αὐτὸς ὀνυσάμενος, ἀλλὰ φαινάκην πάντα τὸν μόχθον (καὶ) χρόνον τὸν κατ' ἐμὲ καταγνούς, (καὶ) μόλις ὡς ἀπὸ κάρου τινὸς ἀνανήψας καὶ πᾶσαν εὐπραγίαν (καὶ) δυσπραγίαν τὴν διελθοῦσαν μοι ἀμυδρῶς ἀναλογισάμενος, πλάνην ὡς ἔγνων τὸν χρόνον τὸν διελθόντα με, κἂν ἐν τῷ τέλει εἰς διόρθωσιν τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἐλπίδα τὴν πρὸς Θε(ε)ὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ματαίου τούτου βίου καὶ πολυμόχθου μου κόπου (καὶ) μέρος δοῦναι τί πρὸς Θε(ε)ὸν ἡβουλῆθην, ἵνα μὴ μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀποβίωσιν ἀφροντισία τὸ πᾶν τῆς ἐμῆς βιωτῆς λογισθῇ καὶ διόλου ἀνήνυτα ὑποληφθῶσι τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ σπουδαζόμενα· ἀλλ' ὅσα ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ κόπου ὀλοψύχῳ προθέσει καὶ πολλυμέρῳ συσκέψῃ καὶ ἐκουσιοθελῇ (καὶ) αὐτοβούλῳ μου γνώμῃ πρὸς Θε(ε)ὸν ἀποδώσομαι (καὶ) ἀφιερῶσω, ἔσωντ(αι) μὲν εἰς ὕμνον καὶ δοξολογίαν Θε(ε)οῦ καὶ λυσιτέλειαν καὶ τροφήν τῶν τε τὸν τοῦ Θε(ε)οῦ ἐκτελούντων ὕμνον καὶ ἐτέρων ψυχῶν, ἔσωνται δὲ καὶ εἰς ἡμετέρας σ(ωτη)ρίας ἐλπίδα τῆς τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀνταποδόσεως, διαμείνωσι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐμ(ήν) βούλησιν ἀκλόνητα καὶ ἀπαρασάλευτα (καὶ) ἀρραγῇ καὶ βέβαια μέχρις ἂν ὁ ἥλιος τὸ πᾶν ἐφορᾷ (καὶ) οὐδὲ μίαν παρά τινος διενόχλησ(ιν) ἢ ἐμποδισμὸν ἐφευρεῖν·

⁵⁰⁵ *PLP*, nos. 24906 and 24898.

⁵⁰⁶ *Actes de Vatopédi*, Vol. I, no. 64, pp. 344-361.

And I adjure by the Lord god, if somebody would like to cause subversion or destruction or breaking or taking away, entirely or partially, any of the possessions, I order, arrange and render, whomever it will be, either somebody from my kin, or an offspring, or a member of older generation, a relative or a stranger, this person will not only incur that the wrath of God will appear to him, but also he/she will be damned by 318 holy god-bearing fathers and by my advocate and defender, god-witnessing, the revered prophet and Baptist himself, and will be subject to irremediable excommunication.

Now, in the name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit, I put my signature and swear, and assure, and confirm, and establish from my part the following. Long ago, when my wife, the noblest *kyra* Eudokia Komnene Angeline lived for a long while and we became parents for many children, a scythe of death ripped them all, as God decided. We, as parents, were mourning, and lamenting and were taken by the overwhelming grief. But in the interchange of grief and joy, little by little, we became distant from them, and we had the only hope, whom, as we considered, we appropriately bind with a man as a fully-grown adult and the esteemed mistress, and whom we saw bringing to us children and whom we were proud of, I mean the wife of the noblest *kyr* Michael Doukas Arianites. But when, alas, oh, incomprehensible mysteries of God, even with her we were separated by death, while [her] mother was still alive, after passing through many weeping and sorrows, we, as parents, came, by a joint decision, to conclusion to make our refuge in God.

ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ Θ(ε)ῶ γὰρ ἐπεύχομαι ὁ εἰς ἀνατροπὴν ἢ ἀναίρεσιν ἢ (καὶ) θραύσιν ἢ ἀποσπασμὸν οἰουδήτινος πράγματος μερικοῦ ἢ ὀλικοῦ χωρηθῆναι βουλευθεὶς ὧν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐγγράψωμαι καὶ συντάξω (καὶ) ἀποδώσω, κἂν ὅποῖος εἴη, τῶν γνησίων μου, τῶν ἀνιόντων, τῶν κατιόντων, τῶν ἐκ πλαγίου ἢ καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν, ὁ τοιοῦτος οὐ μόνον ἐκβιάσεται τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπισπάσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀράς κερδανοῖ τῶν τριακοσίων ὀκτακέδεκα ἁγίων θεοφόρ(ων) π(ατέ)ρων (καὶ) αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ προστάτου καὶ προνοητοῦ θεομαρτυρήτου τιμίου προφήτου (καὶ) Βαπτιστοῦ, (καὶ) ἀφορισμῶ ἀλύτῳ ἐσεῖται ὑπεύθυνος. Τοίνυν καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πν(εύματος) ὀνόματι συγγράφομαι καὶ συντάττω καὶ ἀφιερῶ καὶ βεβαιῶ (καὶ) ἀσφαλίζομαι ὥς ἔχουσι τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ οὕτως.

Μετὰ τῆς μακαρίτιδος (καὶ) γὰρ συζύγου μου τῆς εὐγενεστάτου Κομνην(ῆς) Ἀγγελίνης κυρᾶς Εὐδοκίας χρόνους ἱκανοὺς βιωτεύσας καὶ παίδων πολλῶν ὀφθέντες γεννήτορες, ἡ τομὴ τοῦ θανάτου ἐξεθέρισε πάντας οἷς οἶδε κρίμασι Κ(ύριο)ς, στεναγμῶν καὶ ὀδυρμῶν καὶ θλίψεων ἀφορήτων ἡμᾶς ἐμπλήσαντες τοὺς γεννήσαντας· (καὶ) χλιοπλάσιον τὴν λύπην ἢ τὴν χαρὰν μικρὸν τὸ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπολαμβάνοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἐλπίδα καὶ μόνην τὴν μίαν θέμενοι, εἰς ἣν ἡξιώθημεν τάχα ἄνδρα συνάψαι καὶ τελείαν δεσπότιν (καὶ) ἀξίαν οἰκοκυρίαν καὶ παίδων ἐπάπολαμβάνουσ(αν) ἐνορῶντες καὶ ταύτην ἐπαγαλλόμενοι, τὴν σύζυγον λέγω τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου Δούκα κυροῦ Μιχαήλ τοῦ Ἀριανίτου. Επεὶ (δὲ) κάκεινεν, φεῦ τῶν ἀπορρήτων τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ μυστηρίων, θανάτῳ ἀπεβαλλόμεθα τῆς μ(ητ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἔτι ζώσης, μετὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν κλαυθμῶν (καὶ) τοῦ πένθους διάβασιν, ἡμεῖς οἱ τεκόντες θέσθαι πρὸς Θ(εὸ)ν τὴν καταφυγὴν κοινῶ συνθήματι συνεθέμεθα·

And, thus, we made a refuge in the name of god-witnessing, revered prophet and Baptist Prodromos, we arrange and order to build a holy church in his name, and to assign everything that was in our abilities, we turned it after the completion into a monastery, so we established it and offered to God. And, after that, my three-times blessed brother kyr John Sarantenos, who died in war, from long ago had an idea to make so and he was ready for construction. So we used [the project] of the deceased one for this [foundation], and the one of us who will be alive will complete it for the dead one, in order that we both would enjoy the advocate and defender on the day of the terrible judgment. And then we together made the beginning of the deed, when I was invited by the ruling ones and went there, while the rebuilding of the entire church was to be completed by my deceased [wife]. When she also became subject to the death and admeasured her life; and the deed of god was suspended. When I myself returned from the ruling ones, I found it unfinished, and I gave nor sleep to eyes, nor rest to the eyelids, nor repose for my head until I have completed it and ornamented with well-ordered and lavish images, as it looks perfectly now. And now I want to write down and to arrange the things for its sustenance, up-keeping and service, which I include into the present brebion of my last will.

(καὶ) δῆτα πρὸς τὸν θεομαρτύρητον τίμιον προφήτην (καὶ) Βαπτιστὴν τὴν καταφυγὴν πεποιήκαμεν, συνταξάμενοι (καὶ) ἀφιερώσαντες σεπτὸν οἰκοδομῆσαι ναὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσα τὰ κατὰ δύναμιν προσκηρῶσαι καὶ εἰς μονὴν ἀρτίαν αὐτὸν ἀποκαταστήσαι (καὶ) ἀξίαν παραδοῦναι Θε(ε)ῶ, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο (καὶ) ὁ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ φονευθεὶς τρισμακάριστος αὐτάδελφός μου κύρις Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Σαραντ(η)νός ἐκ μακροῦ ποιῆσαι συνέθετο καὶ ἐμπαράσκευος ἦν εἰς τὴν τούτου οἰκοδομὴν καὶ ἡμεῖς πρὸς τοῦτω τὰ ἐκείνου ἀνελαβόμεθα, καὶ ὁ ζῶν ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ θανέντος ἐνέχεσθαι εἰς τὴν τούτου ἐκπλήρωσιν, ἵνα καὶ μεσίτην (καὶ) ἀνάδοχον ἐν τῇ φρικτῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτὸν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπολαύσωμεν. Κάντεῦθεν (καὶ) ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔργου ἀμφοτέροι πεποιήκαμεν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς βασιλίοις παραβαλόντος ἐμοῦ κάκεισε διάγοντος ἢ ἀνάκτισις πᾶσα τοῦ θείου ναοῦ παρ' ἐκείνης συνετελέσθη. Εἶτα θνητότητι κάκεινη ὑποκειμ(έν)η καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἐκμετρήσασα, ἀπείργηται καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ τοῦ Θε(ε)οῦ· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκ τῶν βασιλίων (καὶ) αὐτὸς ἐπάνακάμψας εὔρον αὐτὸ ἀτελεῖ, οὐκ ἔδωκα ὀφθαλμοῖς ὕπνον οὔτε νυσταγμὸν βλεφάροις οὔτε μὴν κροτάφοις τὴν τυχοῦσ(αν) ἀνάπαυσιν μέχρις ἂν αὐτὸ ἐξετέλεσα καὶ ἐν ἱστορίᾳ εὐτάκτῳ καὶ πολυτελεῇ κατεκόσμησα, ὥς ὁρᾶται τὴν σήμερον ἄρτιον· ὅθεν καὶ τὰ εἰς σύστασιν καὶ διαμον(ήν) καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος καταγράψασθαι καὶ συνθέσθαι, ἥδη ὡς ἐν βρεβαίῳ τῷ παρόντι ἐντάττομαι ἐπιτελευτίῳ μου γράμματι.

I bring for the memory of our parents, of my above-mentioned brother and us ourselves to this holy and revered monastery of the holy god-witness, mighty and revered prophet Prodromos, which was established by us from the very grounds, the following:

Two large ornamented icons, of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Most Holy Theotokos.

Another ornamented image of the revered deed not-made-by-hands (ἀχεραϊτίκου ἔργου) which has epitaphion (Lamentation? tomb cover?)⁵⁰⁷

Another one, ornamented with petitioning (μεσετάτην), having Theotokos, [surrounded] from both side by the Archangels

Another one of the revered Prodromos, and this one as well ornamented.

Another one of the great-Martyr Demetrios, as well [ornamented]

Another one of the great-Martyr George, and this one as well ornamented

Two others, of our holy among fathers Nicholas

Another one of holy Antypas

Another one. St. Marina

Another one of the revered Prodromos

And another icon of St. Demetrios

Another one of St. George

Another one of the Descent from the Cross, all covered by ornamentation and having on the opposite side the Most Holy Theotokos

A cult-image [προσκύνημα] of the revered Prodromos, which I brought from Constantinople

Another small image of the Most Holy Theotokos Hodegetria, ornamented

And all this I assign, as I told, to this monastery.

Ἀφήμι (καὶ) γὰρ ὑπὲρ τε μνήμης τῶν τε γονέων ἡμῶν, τοῦ εἰρημένου ἀνταδέλφου μου καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐκ βάθρων ἀνακτισθεῖσθαι θεία καὶ σεβασμία μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου θεομαρτυρήτου τιμίου προφητῶν ὑπερτέρου Προδρόμου ταῦτα, ἡγουν·

εἰκονίσματα κεκοσμημένα μεγάλα δύο, τοῦ κ(υρίου) ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) καὶ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θ(εοτό)κου·

ἕτερον εἰκόνισμα κεκοσμημένον ἔχον τὸν ἐπιτάφιον, ἀχεραϊτίκου ἔργου πολυτίμου·

ἕτερον μεσετάτην μὲν ἔχον τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θ(εοτό)κον, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δύο μερῶν τοὺς Ἀρχαγγέλους, κεκοσμημ(έν)ον·

ἕτερον τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου, (καὶ) αὐτὸ ὁμοίως κεκοσμημένον·

ἕτερον τοῦ Ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Δημητρίου ὁμοιον·

ἕτερον τοῦ Ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτ(υ)ρος Γεωργίου, (καὶ) αὐτὸ ὁμοίως κεκοσμημένον·

ἕτερα δύο τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Νικολάου·

ἕτερον τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀντίπα·

ἕτερον ἢ Ἁγία Μαρίνα· ἕτερον τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου·

ἄλλο τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου·

ἕτερον τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου·

ἕτερον πάλιν τῆς ἀποκαθηλώσεως ὁλοκόσμητον, ἔχον τῷ ἐτέρῳ μέρει τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θ(εοτό)κον·

προσκύνημα ὁ τίμιος Πρόδρομος, ὃν ἀπὸ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἔφερον·

καὶ ἕτερον μικρὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θ(εοτό)κου τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας κεκοσμημένον· ταῦτα πάντα ἐπαφίμι ὥς εἶπον εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην μονήν.

⁵⁰⁷ Both variants of translation are possible, as Lamentation (burial of Christ) or as an image having function of the tomb-cover. For discussion of the term see: Schlib, Henry. *Byzantine Identity and Its Patrons: Embroidered Aeres and Epitaphioi of the Palaiologan and Post-Byzantine Periods*. PhD Dissertation, Indiana University, 2009, pp. 25-55.

And among my possessions there are following:

⁵⁰⁸Six belts:

one new silver and gilded (ἀργυροδιάχρυσον), not worn, having nice ornamental attachments (στύλους); another one having as well old ornamental attachments, decorated with precious metal threads and having 16 rounded metal attachments⁵⁰⁹ (φόλας); another one as well being silver and gilded, but massive with rounded metal attachments; another one having a clasp with 33 silver gilded ornamenting metal attachments; another one silver and gilded, massive, and this one with rounded metal attachments.

Out of these belts three belts, one old and heavy and two massive with rounded metal attachments, I pass to this monastery, and three are left for me.

Three vessels (μουγούρια) are also left to me, namely a silver cup (κούπα ἀργυρή), big silver gilded bowl (χελάντιον) with snakes (ἀσπιδῶν),⁵¹⁰ and a golden panagiarion (a bowl/plate with the Panagia?)

Twenty silver spoons

Two golden brooches (πούκλα) with precious stones and pearls

Hair bands (ἀναδέται) having five precious stones and twenty small (grain-size) pearls

A silver gilded vial (κανίον)

Twenty seven buttons (κομβία ἀμπαράτα) with clasps⁵¹¹ and other 15 buttons called koumara (κούμαρα)⁵¹²

Eleven golden rings

Two jugs of glass and silver (ύελοξέστια)

Τὰ γοῦν εὕρισκόμενά μοι εἰσὶ ταῦτα·

ζωνάρια ἕξ,

τὸ ἐν ἀργυροδιάχρυσον καινούργιον ἄσυρτον, ἔχον καὶ στύλους εὐμόρφους, τὸ ἕτερον ὁμοιον ἔχον στύλους ἀρχαίους, τὸ ἄλλο συρματέινον ἔχον φόλας δεκαῆξ, ἕτερον ὁμοιον ἀργυροδιάχρυσον ὁλόγομον τὰς φόλας, ἕτερον βητάριον ἔχον στύλους ἀργυροδια χρύσους τριακοντατρεῖς, (καὶ) ἕτερον ἀργυροδιάχρυσον ὁλόγομον (καὶ) αὐτὸ τὰς φόλας·

ἐκ τούτων οὖν τὰ μὲν τρία ζωνάρια, τὸ ἐν τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ βαρὺ καὶ τὰ δύο τὰ ὁλόγομα τῶν φολῶν ἐν ταύτῃ ἀφήμι τῇ μονῇ, τὰ δὲ τρία πάλιν ἔστωσαν ἐν ἐμοί·

ἔστωσάν μοι μουγούρια τρία, κούπα ἀργυρή, χελάντιον μέγαν ἀργυροδιάχρυσον μετὰ ἀσπιδῶν, παναγίριον χρυσοῦν,

κοχλῖα ἀργυρὰ εἴκοσι,

πούκλαι χρυσαὶ δύο μετὰ λιθαρί(ων) (καὶ) μαργαριταρί(ων),

ἀναδέται ἔχοντες λιθάρια πέντε (καὶ) μαργαριτάριον κοκκία εἴκοσι,

κανίον ἀργυροδιάχρυσον,

κομβία ἀμπαράτα εἰκοσιεπτὰ, (καὶ) ἕτερα τὰ λεγόμενα κούμαρα δεκαπέντε,

δακτυλῖδια χρυσὰ εἴκοσιν,

ύελοξέστια ἀργυρὰ δύο,

⁵⁰⁸ The retelling of the part of the Testament from, starting from this place and till the end of the property list, with commentaries was made by Matović, *Zaveštanja u arhivama svetogorskih manastira*, pp. 156-166.

⁵⁰⁹ Parani, Maria. "Byzantine Jewellery: The Evidence from Byzantine Legal Documents," in: *Intelligible Beauty Recent Research on Byzantine Jewellery*, eds. Ch. Entwistle and N. Adams (London: British Museum, 2010): 189.

⁵¹⁰ The dictionaries (*The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon*, Entry 16797) allow both meanings, as a shield and as a snake. This word was translated as a *shield* by Matović, *Zaveštanja u arhivama svetogorskih manastira*, p. 157; however, I consider that a shield as a part of heraldic culture was not so common in Byzantium as a snake ornament. Possibly, it can be similar with the crystal cruet (*The Treasury of San Marco, Venice*: [Exhibition Catalogue] Metropolitan Museum of Art, eds. M. Carrieri, D. Buckton, Ch. Entwistle, R. Prior (Milan: Olivetti, 1984): pp. 222-227, no. 32) or the silver bowl of Theodore Tourkeles (Frentrop, Lara. "Protection and salvation: an eleventh-century silver vessel, its imagery, and its function," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 42/1 (2018): 26-44).

⁵¹¹ For ἀμπαράτα Theodorides, Georgios. *Μία διαθήκη καὶ μία δίκη βυζαντινή*, (Thessaloniki: 1962): 73 note 3 gives additional meaning of an amber.

⁵¹² Possibly had either colour or shape of fruits of the strawberry tree Theodorides, *Μία διαθήκη*, 72, n. 6

One *Serbian* cup (with one foot)⁵¹³

Two other golden rings

A pearl of big size

Fabric (πανίον) of 400 cubits⁵¹⁴

A veil with a golden band (?) (μαγνάδιον χρυσόλωρον)

Three other veils incorporating gold thread (μετὰ χρυσαφίου)

Three new curtains (κορτίνοι)

Two blanket covers (πλωτοψίδια), one is new and dyed purple and another decorated with precious metal threads (συρματέινον)

Four blankets (πλωτὰ) with two pillows (μετὰπροσκεφαλαίων)

From all these things I assign for the monastery, as I said, three silver gilded belts, three vessels (μουγούρια), the cup (κούπα), the bowl (χελάντιον), the panagiaron, the spoons, the brooches (πούκλα), the hair band (βαστάγια), all rings, the pearl, and simply speaking, everything which was described above, in order that in case of need [monks] would sell these things and for usage in fighting with cases of indebtedness and expenses of the monastery.

I also assign to this monastery my two silver wine jugs weighing 10 litra,⁵¹⁵ and a half of all cash in hyperpyra, which will be left [after] me.

κούπα στατή σέρβικος,

ἕτερα δακτυλίδια χρυσὰ δύο,

μαργαριτάριον ὅσον καὶ οἶον,

πανίον πήχεις τετρακόσται,

μαγνάδιον χρυσόλωρον,

ἕτερα μαγνάδια τρία μετὰ χρυσαφίου,

κορτίνοι τρεῖς καινούργιαι,

πλωτοψίδια δύο, τὸ ἐν ὀλόβυρον καινούργ(ιον) καὶ τὸ ἕτερον συρματέινον,

πλωτὰ τέσσαρα μετὰ προσκεφαλαί(ων) δύο·

ἐκ τούτων οὖν πάντων ἐπαφίημι τῇ μονῇ ὡς ἔφην τὰ τρία ζωνάρια τὰ ἀργυροδιάχρυσα, τὰ τρία μουγούρια, τὴν κούπαν, τὸ χελάντιον, τὸ παναγίριον, τὰ κοχλιάρια, τὰς πούκλας, τὰ βαστάγια, τὰ δακτυλίδια πάντα, τὸ μαργαριτάριον, καὶ ἀπλῶς ὅσα πλέα τὰ γραφόμενα ἄνωθεν, ἵνα ἴσως εἰς καιρὸν χρήσεως ἀπεμπωλήσωσι ταῦτα καὶ εἰς χρήσεις ὀφειλομένας καὶ ἐξόδους καταβάλλονται τῇ μονῇ· τὴν αὐτὴν μονὴν ἀφίημι καὶ τὰ δύο μου ἀργυρὰ οἰνοχεῖα ἰστῶντα λίτρας δέκα, καὶ (ὑπέρ)π(υ)ρα ὅσα μοι εὐρεθῶσι τὰ ἥμισυ.

⁵¹³ Parani, Maria. "Intercultural Exchange in the Field of Material Culture In The Eastern Mediterranean: The Evidence Of Byzantine Legal Documents (11th to 15th Centuries)," in: *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, eds. A. Beihammer, M. Parani and Ch. Schnabel (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2008): 363-365.

⁵¹⁴ On the value of the cubit, see: Schilbach, Erich. *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1970): 20-21 – these four hundred cubits are approximately 200m

⁵¹⁵ One silver litra was equal to 319-324 g, see: Schilbach, Erich. *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1970): 277-278.

My zeugelateion [called] tou Komanitze, with all its rights and privileges, the existing forest and the rights to use it (τῶν ὕλοκοπίων), which passed to me as a dowry for the wife and which my noblest father in law kyr Athanasios Soultan⁵¹⁶ had hold for many years, and me as well, so until today, I have been holding it for 46 years since I had received a holy, revered, and worshipped chrysobull, which was given from our great and merciful mighty holy ruler and emperor. My mighty an holy ruler and emperor because of his grace, more than 80 years ago, donated to me the title of my father in law as well as my title concerning this zeugelateion called tou Komanitze, and the forest.

Another zeugelateion next to this with its rights and privileges, called Neochorion.

Another zeugelateion called tou Skoteinou, which passed to me from my blessed brother, 40 modioi. Next to this field I bought from monk Raklobitos 90 modioi for 126 hyperpyra. For the same zeugelation I bought from Abornitziotes all his possessions for 19 hyperpyra. For the same zeugelateion I bought from Tzouroioannes 8 modioi for 11 hyperpyra. And from Armenopoulos I bought 5 modioi for 7 hyperpyra. And from Skoutariotes – 4 modioi for 5 hyperpyra. And from Ichytas Gabras – 3 modioi for 4 hyperpyra. And from Koukoumes and various other people, as much as they had and gave to me in sale. Arabantenos had together with me a zeugelateion in tou Skoteinou, and the income (ποσότης) from 90 modioi for each was held by us equally. And I gave to him and his sister 66 hyperpyra, and the entire property of 90 modioi was considered ours with my above-mentioned sales (from Raklobitos, Abornitziotes and other locals).

Τὸ ζευγηλατεῖον μου τὸ τοῦ Κομανίτζη μετὰ πάντων αὐτοῦ τῶν δικαίων τὲ καὶ προνομίων, τοῦ εὐρισκομένου λόγγου καὶ τῶν ὕλοκοπίων, καθὼς παρεδόθη πρὸς με διὰ γυναικείας προικὸς καὶ καθὼς ἐκράτει αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ εὐγενέστατος πενθερός μου κύρις Ἀθανάσιος ὁ Σουλτάνος ἐπὶ χρόνοις πολλοῖς, καὶ ἐγὼ ἤδη τὴν σήμερον χρόνους τεσσαρακονταεξ, καὶ ὡς διαλαμβάνει καὶ τὸ θεῖον καὶ προσκυνητὸν σεπτὸν χρυσοβούλλιον, ὅπερ εὐηργετήθη ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης ἐλεημοσύνης τοῦ κραταιοῦ (καὶ) ἀγίου ἡμῶν αὐθ(έν)του (καὶ) βασιλέως· τ(ήν) τοῦ πενθεροῦ μου καὶ γὰρ νομὴν καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν τοῦ Κομανίτζη αὐτοῦ ζευγηλατείου καὶ τοῦ λόγγου τὴν τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἐπέκεινα χρόνων ταύτην ὁ κραταῖος (καὶ) ἁγιός μου αὐθέντ(ης) (καὶ) βασιλεὺς διὰ τοῦ ἐλέους αὐτοῦ εὐηργέτησέ μοι.

Ἔτερον ζευγηλατεῖον πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς νομῆς καὶ περιοχῆς αὐτοῦ, τὸ κληθὲν Νεοχώριον. Ἔτερον ζευγηλατεῖον ἐπονομαζόμενον τοῦ Σκοτεινοῦ, τὸ περιελθόν μοι ἀπὸ τοῦ μακαρίτου ἀνταδελφου μου, μοδίων τεσσαράκοντα. Πλησίον τῶν αὐτῶν χωραφίων ἡγόρασα ἀπὸ τὸν μοναχ(όν) Ῥακλοβίτην μοδίων ἐνενήκοντα εἰς (ὑπέρ)π(υ)ρα ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιεξ· εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ζευγηλατεῖον ἡγόρασα ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀβορνιζιώτην τὴν ἅπασαν αὐτοῦ περιουσίαν εἰς (ὑπέρ)π(υ)ρα δεκαεννέα· εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ζευγηλατεῖον ἡγόρασα ἀπὸ τὸν Τζουροϊωάννην μοδί(ων) ὀκτὼ εἰς (ὑπέρ)π(υ)ρα ἑνδεκα· καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀρμενόπουλον ἡγόρασα μοδί(ων) πέντε εἰς (ὑπέρ)π(υ)ρα ἑπτὰ· (καὶ) ἀπὸ τὸν Σκουταριώτην μοδί(ων) τεσσάρ(ων) εἰς (ὑπέρ)π(υ)ρα πέντε· καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν Ἰχυτα Γαβρὰν μοδί(ων) τριῶν εἰς (ὑπέρ)π(υ)ρα τέσσαρα· (καὶ) ἀπὸ τὸν Κουκούμην καὶ ἑτέρους διαφόρους ὅσα καὶ τὰ ἀπ' ἐκεῖν(ων) γενόμενα πρὸς με πρατήρια διαλαμβάνουσι· εἶχε καὶ ὁ Ἀραβαντηνὸς κοινῶς μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τοῦ Σκοτεινοῦ ζευγηλατεῖον, καὶ κατείχετο ἐξίσου παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν ποσότης μοδίων ἐνενήκοντα· καὶ δέδωκα πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἀνταδέλφην αὐτοῦ (ὑπέρ)π(υ)ρα ἐξηκονταεξ καὶ ὑπελήφθη ἡμετέρα ἡ δεσποτεία πᾶσα τῶν ἐνενήκοντα μοδίων σὺν ταῖς προειρημέναις ἐκεῖσε μου ἀγοραῖς, ἧγουν τοῦ Ῥακλοβίτου, τοῦ Ἀβορνιζιώτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκεῖσε

⁵¹⁶ For Athasios Soultan, one of the sons of 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwus II, who stayed in service of Micahel VIII, see: Theocharides, *Μία διαθήκη*, p. 55, n. 6; Shukurov, Rustam. *The Byzantine Turks, 1204-1461* (Boston: Brill, 2016): 192-193.

The *zeugelateion* in Kritzista donated by our great, merciful mighty and holy ruler and emperor by means of holy, worshipped and revered chrysobull and by mercy and long-lasting joy of his mighty and holy rule. And I pass it to the holy and revered monastery.

I also pass to it <the monastery> my other *zeugelateia*, which are above-described, i.e. the one of Komanitzes having, as I said, with all its rights and privileges, and the one of Neochorion, and the one of Skoteinou, and this one in Kritzista, but with all its *zeugaria* and all their associated rights/privileges.

My *zeugelateion* of Neochorion and that of Skoteinou are bound to me till the end of my life, for the security of myself and that of my persons and other people. But after my death these ones as well will be, without deducing, in possessions of the monastery, without legal distinction and disturbance.

Likewise, I have three mills, one is outside and below of the Royal Gates, two others are near Palatitza. I made other three mills in my *zeugelateion* of Skoteinou, and I assign all of them, i.e. 6 mills, to the many-times mentioned holy monastery of my ruler and advocate, the revered prophet Prodromos. The mills of Skoteinou are bound to me till for my security till the end of my life, also the monastery will master them without impediment (without taxation) and undisturbed (without taxation from the state).

[Likewise I have] my yard in the neighborhood of Skoronychos, in which I made my house, and where I also established the holy and revered built [by me] monastery, with a house of two floors, granaries, a porch with a saddle roof, all other constructions, trees, bushes, an oven, wells, channels, and an aqueduct, cells, entrances on the pillars, and simply with all its surroundings and all its rights and privileges.

Εὐεργετήθην ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης ἐλεημοσύνης τοῦ κραταιοῦ (καὶ) ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθ(έν)του (καὶ) βασιλέως τὸ εἰς τὴν Κριτζίσταν ζευγηλατεῖον διὰ θεοῦ καὶ σεπτοῦ προσκυνητοῦ μοι χρυσοβούλλου, ἐλεημοσύνη καὶ πολυχρονία χαρᾶ τῆς κραταιᾶς (καὶ) ἁγίας αὐτοῦ βασιλείας· (καὶ) ἀφίημι (καὶ) αὐτὸ τὴν τοιαύτην μου θείαν καὶ σεβασμί(αν) μονήν·

ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ ἀφίημι καὶ τὰ ἕτερα μου ζευγηλατεῖα τὰ ἀναγραφόμενα, ἥγουν τοῦ Κομανίτζη ὡς ἔφην μετὰ πάντ(ων) τῶν δικαίων αὐτοῦ καὶ προνομίων, τοῦ Νεοχωρίου, τοῦ Σκοτεινοῦ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Κριτζίσταν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ζευγαρί(ων) καὶ τῆς ἀπολαβῆς ἀπάσης ἀπάντων αὐτῶν·

ὀφείλει δὲ εἶναι παρ' ἐμοὶ εἰς κυβέρνησίν μου καὶ τῶν ἀν(θρώπ)ων μου καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου λαοῦ μου μέχρι ζωῆς μου τὸ τοῦ Νεοχωρίου ζευγηλατεῖον μου καὶ τοῦ Σκοτεινοῦ· μετὰ δὲ θάνατόν μου ἐχέτω καὶ ταῦτα ἢ τοιαύτη ἀνυστερίτ(ως) μονὴ ἄνευ τινὸς διαστίξεως καὶ ὀχλήσεως.

Ὡσαύτως ἔχω καὶ μύλονας τρεῖς, τὸν μὲν ἕνα ἔξωθεν (καὶ) κάτωθεν τῆς βασιλ(ικῆς) πόρτης, τοὺς δὲ δύο εἰς τὰ Παλατίτζια· ἐποίησα καὶ εἰς τὸ τοῦ Σκοτεινοῦ ζευγηλατεῖον μου ἑτέρους μύλονας τρεῖς, καὶ ἀφίημι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας, τοὺς ἔξωθεν μύλονας, εἰς τὴν πολλαχῶς ῥηθῆσαν σεβασμίαν μονὴν τοῦ αὐθ(έν)του (καὶ) προστάτου μου τοῦ τιμίου προφήτου Προδρόμου· εἶναι δὲ ὀφείλουσιν οἱ τοῦ Σκοτεινοῦ μύλωνες εἰς ἐμὴν κυβέρνησιν μέχρι βίου ζωῆς μου, (καὶ) οὕτως κυρία (καὶ) αὐτῶν ἢ μονὴ ἐσεῖται ἀνεμποδίστως πάνυ καὶ ἀταράχως.

Τὴν κατὰ τὴν γειτονίαν τοῦ Σκορονύχου αὐλήν μου, ἐν ἣ καὶ ποιοῦμαι τὴν οἴκησιν, εἰς ἣν καὶ τὴν θείαν καὶ πάνσεπτον ἀνεδομισάμην μονὴν καὶ ἀπεκατέστησα, μετὰ γε τοῦ ἀνωγαιοκατώγου, τῶν ὠρείων, τοῦ μεγάλου διρρητοσυμπροστώου, τῶν ἑτέρων ἀπάντων οἰκημάτων, τῶν δένδρων καὶ κλημάτων, τοῦ φουρναρίου, τῶν φρεάτων, τοῦ τε ὁρορυγμένου καὶ τοῦ δι' ἀγωγοῦ, τῶν κελλίων, τῶν πυλονικῶν εἰσοδοεξόδων, καὶ ἀπλῶς παντὸς τοῦ περιορισμοῦ αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν δικαίων ταύτης ἀπάντων καὶ προνομίων·

But also my another yard, which I had bought from deceased Kounaline many years ago, with all established houses, which I recently built on the square, adjusted to the northern side, and with a garden which I added, and with, as it said, established double cells, which have the second floor, and as in the neighborhood all my improvements in respect of this yard, which I pass and offer and secure for the holy monastery.

And together with it I pass another my yard with a garden outside and all fruit trees growing there and houses, which appeared in my possession from sale of the children of Kalokratis for 66 hyperpyra.

To this monastery, I also pass the vineyards in Komanitzes of 15 modioi, and another vineyard in Kosobos of 16 modioi, and vineyards in Platys of 6 modioi, and the vineyards in Skamnakes of 4 modioi and in Parapotamion of 2 modioi, and in Skoteinos of 2 modioi, in Sopotos of 4 modioi, in Elaia of 4 modioi, in Asemoutze of 9 modioi. And I will have till the end the vineyards in Platys, Elaia and a orchard of Bounios. And all these [properties] will be inseparable from the monastery, after my death.

If somebody tries to take away some properties which I described above and gave until now, partially or completely, or has desire to detach some of the broad lands of the monastery, this one, if he appears, as it was said above, will be excommunicated by the Lord Pantokrator, and his lot will be alike to that of traitor Judas, and the celestial powers will be his enemies, and my revered lord, the mightiest of all prophets.

ἀλλὰ δὴ τὴν ἑτέραν αὐλήν μου ἦν πρὸ χρόνων πολλῶν ἐξωνησάμην ἀπὸ τῆς Κουναλίνης ἐκείνης, μεθ' ὧν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ νεοστὶ ἀνεκτισάμην νεοδημάτων οἰκημάτων(ων) ἀπάντων, τῶν τε ἐν τῇ ἀρκτικῇ ὁδῷ νευόντων, τοῦ οὐπὲρ συνεστησάμην περιβολίου καὶ ὧν ὡς εἶπον ἀνεκτισάμην διπλῶν κελλίων ἤτοι πεπατωμένων, καὶ ὡς ἐν συντόμῳ εἶπεῖν πάσας μου ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου τὰς ἐν αὐταῖς βελτιώσεις, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ θεῖα μονῇ ἀποδίδωμι καὶ ἀφιερῶ καὶ ἀσφαλίζομαι·

καὶ σὺν αὐταῖς ἀποδίδωμι καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν αὐλήν μου σὺν τῷ ἐσωκηπίῳ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ δενδρουμένων ὁπωροφόρων(ων) καὶ τῶν οἰκημάτων(ων), τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν παίδων τοῦ Καλοκρατᾶ ἐξ ἀγορασίας περιελθοῦσαν μοι εἰς (ὑπὲρ)π(υ)ρα ἐξηκονταεξ. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μονῇ καὶ ἀμπελῶνα εἰς τοῦ Κομανίτζη ἀφίημι μοδίων δεκαπέντε· ἕτερον ἀμπελῶνα εἰς τὸν Κοσοβὸν μοδίων δεκαεξ· εἰς /τ(ὸν)/ Πλατὴν ἀμπελῶνα μοδί(ων) ἑξ· εἰς τοῦ Σκαμνάκη μοδίων τεσσάρων· εἰς τὸ Παραπόταμον μοδίων δύο· εἰς τοῦ Σκοτεινοῦ μοδί(ων) δύο· εἰς τὸν Σωποτὸν μοδί(ων) τεσσάρων· εἰς τὴν Ἐλαίαν μοδί(ων) τεσσάρων· εἰς τὸν Ἀσημούτζην μοδίων ἑννέα· ἔχειν με δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτ(ῶν) τῶν ἀμπελώνων(ων) μέχρι τελευτῆς τῶν τοῦ Πλατύ, τῆς Ἐλαίας καὶ τὴν φυτεῖαν τοῦ Βουνίου· καὶ ταῦτα ὁμοί(ως) μετὰ θάνατόν μου ἔσονται ἀναπόσπαστα τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς.

Ὁ δὲ εἰς ἀποσπασμὸν τινὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπάντων ὧν ἄνωθεν ἔγραψα καὶ ἀπέδωκα μέχρι τοῦδε μερικὸν ἢ ὅλικόν ἀνεγερθεὶς καὶ ἀποσπᾶσαι βουλευθεὶς ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς μονῆς μέχρι καὶ σπιθαμιαίας γῆς, ὁ τοιοῦτος, κἂν ὁποῖος εἴη, ὡς καὶ ἄνωθεν ἔφην, ἀφορισμένος ἔσται ἀπὸ Θεοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ ἡ μερὶς αὐτοῦ ἐσεῖται μετὰ τοῦ προδότου Ἰούδα (καὶ) ἀντίμαχον εὗροι σὺν ταῖς ἄνω δυνάμεσι καὶ τὸν αὐθ(έν)τ(ην) μου τὸν τίμιον καὶ ὑπέρτερον πάντ(ων) τῶν προφητῶν.

And all items of the household, thus of copper vessels, three big pots and two middle-size pots and four small pots, and another pot for sheep, two iron tripods over the fire, two big boilers, three copper vessels for wine, three copper jugs, twenty tin jugs, two fire-resistant pieces of iron, three pans, ten vessels for unfreezing, two wash-stands, 36 two-pronged iron hoes, two iron buckets, 14 mattocks. And among the animals are the following: 300 sheep, 20 buffalo, 10 cows, 10 speechless horses, all these will belong to the monastery, but now I will possess it for our security, and, as I often say, as many animals as will be left after my death, them without disturbance will possess the monastery, without a special document.

Because very often I've asked in writings, at various suitable occasions and with various different men, my worshipped and venerated holy despots, the protos of the Holy Mount, concerning the most venerable among the monks, and most beloved in the world, my begotten brother, kyr Gerasimos, that he would practice askesis here, as well as [I asked] Maximos, the kathegoumenos of holy revered royal monastery, to whose rule he [Gerasimos] is subjected, that these two would persuade him by advising and he would come here from there for administering as a hegoumenos all these things which I will endow to the holy monastery, and especially he would manage those god-loving men whom I will subject, and they prevailed [over him], that he [needs] to advise concerning many of these issues and to command. And being persuaded, he came here from there, scared because of neglecting the holy place, wishing to perform his [duties] as a hegoumenos and master.

Τὴν ὕλην δὲ πᾶσαν τοῦ ὀσπητίου, ἤγουν διὰ χαλκώματος κακάβια μεγάλα τρία καὶ δύο μεσοκάκαβα, ἕτερα κακάβια μικρότερα τέσσαρα, ἄλλο κακάβιον τῶν προβάτ(ων), πυρωστίαι τέσσαρες, κούκουμοι δύο μεγάλοι, οἶνοχεῖα χαλκὰ τρία, χαλκοστάμνια τρία, κασιτέρια κομάτια εἴκοσι, πυρομάχοι σιδηροὶ δύο, τήγανα τρία, κριοντήρια δέκα, χερνιβόξεστα δύο, διὰ σιδήρου δικέλλια τριακονταεξ, σιδηρόπτυα δύο, τζαπία δεκατέσσαρα, διὰ τῶν ζώων ἤγουν πρόβατα τριακόσια, βουβάλια εἴκοσιν, ἀγελάδια εἴκοσιν, ἄλογα φορβάδια δέκα, ταῦτα πάντα ἔστωσαν τῆς μονῆς· ἃ δὲ ἀποκρατοῦνται παρ' ἐμοῦ εἰς ἡμετέραν κυβέρνησιν, ἵνα καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς πολλαχῶς εἶπον, μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν τελευτὴν ὅσα καὶ ὅποια εὐρεθῶσι ζῶα καὶ ταῦτα ἀνενοχλήτως κατέχη ἡ μονὴ ἄνευ λόγου τινός. Ὅτι δὲ πολλὰ πολλάκις παρεκλήτευσα ἔν τε γραφαῖς καὶ πολλαχῶν μηνυμάτων(ων) χρησίμων καὶ ἐναρέτων διαφόρων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς πανοσιωτάτους καὶ σεβασμιωτάτους ἀγίους δεσπότης μου, τόν τε πρῶτον τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν μοναχοῖς τιμιωτάτου καὶ κατὰ κόσμον φιλάτου καὶ γνησίου μου αὐταδέλφου τοῦ κυρ(οῦ) Γερασίμου, ὡς τούτου ἐκεῖσε τὴν ἄσκησιν ποιουμένου, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὸν τῆς θείας σεβασμίας βασιλικῆς μονῆς καθηγούμενον τοῦ κυρ(οῦ) Μαξίμου, ὡς τῇ ἡγουμενία αὐτοῦ ὑποκείμενον, ὥστε παραινέσει τοῦτον πείσουσι (καὶ) ἀποσπασθεὶς ἐκεῖθεν ἐνταῦθα καταλάβοι καὶ αὐτῷ ὡς ἡγουμενίαν ταῦτα πάντα σὺν τῇ θεῇ μονῇ παραδώσω, καὶ μόλις παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων θεοφιλῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰσηκούσθην, (καὶ) παραινέσει ὅ τι πολλὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἢ καὶ ἐπιτάξῃ παρέπεισαν· (καὶ) ἀποσπασθεὶς ἐκεῖθεν ἐνταῦθα κατέλαβε, καταφρόνησιν μὲν τοῦ ἀγίου τόπου πτοούμενος, ἡγουμενικὴν δὲ καὶ δεσποτικὴν ὡς ἐκπληρῶσαι βουλόμενος·

But I had [the monastery] unfinished and incomplete. And already completing this good deed, I bequest out of my command, willingly, with my entire soul and with free will and desire, but also out of mercy toward me of our mighty and holy ruler and emperor, about whose god-led holy benefactions and donation in the form of chrysobulls I spoke before, and I order and instruct and assign to my, above-mentioned, begotten in the world brother, this often mentioned holy monastery and everything associated with it, as it was named before in writing, the movable, removable and landed properties, animals, all belongings of the household, from small to great ones, with my own hand. And I frequently think, as I have understood from his highly moral, god-pleasing and virtuous life and deeds and character, that he will be greatly devoted and well-established in relation to the keeping and improving and supporting this monastery, but also in relation to the forgiveness and salvation and assistance of our souls through steady standing and prayers and petitions, he himself will acquire the compensation and he will be considered worthy for his performed efforts, by God himself and by the revered prophet on the terrible and awful day of the retribution for the deeds. He himself knows well about the punishment for the issue of negligence.

ἐγὼ δ' ὥς ἀτελῇ κατέχων τοῦτο οὐκ ἐξεπλήρωσα· ἤδη δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἔργου τελείωσιν ποιησάμενος, τάττω ἀπὸ τε τῆς παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐντολῆς, αὐτοβούλου, ὀλοψύχου (καὶ) αὐτοπροαιρέτου βουλῆς (καὶ) θελήσε(ως), ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐλεημοσύνης τοῦ κραταιοῦ (καὶ) ἀγίου ἡμῶν αὐθ(έν)τ(ου) (καὶ) βασιλέως δι' ὧν εἶπον ἄνωθεν θεοδηγῆτων εὐεργετηκῶν θεί(ων) (καὶ) προσκυνητῶν σεπτῶν χρυσοβουλλίων, καὶ συντάττω (καὶ) παραδίδω καὶ ἀποδίδωμι τὸν εἰρημένον κατὰ κόσμον γνήσιον αὐτάδελφόν μου ταύτην δὴ τὴν πολλαχῶς εἰρημένην θείαν μονήν καὶ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἅπαντα, ὡς ὀνομαστὶ (καὶ) καταλεπτὸν ἀνωτέρω συνεγραψάμην, τὰ τε κινητά, τὰ ἀκίνητα, τὰ αὐτοκίνητα, τὰ ζῶα, τὰ οἰκοσκευικὰ ἅπαντα ἀπὸ μικροῦ (καὶ) ἕως μεγάλου ταῖς αὐτοῦ χερσίν· οἶδα γὰρ (καὶ) καθάπαξ πεπληροφόρημαι ἐπ' αὐτὸν χρηστῆς ὄντα καὶ θεαρέστου (καὶ) ἐναρέτου πολιτίας καὶ βίου καὶ ὑπολήψεως ὡς καλῶς ἀνθέξεται καὶ καλῶς διεγερθεῖ ὑπὲρ τε συστάσεως (καὶ) αὐξήσεως (καὶ) διαμονῆς τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ συγχωρήσεως καὶ σ(ωτη)ρίας (καὶ) βοηθείας τῶν ἡμετέρ(ων) ψυχῶν δι' ἀκλινοῦς στάσεώς τε καὶ προσευχῆς (καὶ) δεήσε(ως), ἵνα (καὶ) αὐτὸς τὸν μισθὸν κερδανοῖ (καὶ) ἐπαπολαύσει παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θε(ο)ῦ (καὶ) τοῦ τιμίου προφήτου ἄξιον τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ καταβληθέντος κόπου ἐν τῇ φρικτῇ (καὶ) φοβερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς τῶν ἔργων ἀνταποδώσε(ως)· οἶδε γὰρ καλῶς (καὶ) αὐτὸς ὅσον τὸ ἐν τούτοις τῆς ἀμελείας κατάκριμα.

I gave 600 modioi from my above-described zeugelation of Komanitzes to my blessed daughter as a dowry and a forest lands for 30 hyperpyra. If, after their adulthood, my grandchildren agree with my decision concerning what I gave as a dowry to their mother, it will be good. If they have desire to often annoy the monks of our monastery, let them receive from the monks these 300 hyperpyra and then completely abstain from demands on this zeugelateion, and it will be entirely possessed by the monastery. I order that they would sell off the above-mentioned zeugelateion of Skoteinou, which I bought from Arabantenos, from Raklobites the monk, and from Abournitziotes and other locals, with mills, workshop, and all its rights, nut-bearing trees and *zeugaria*, for my soul, because I wouldn't like to cause grief to the revered monks practicing askesis at the monastery, and I assign all these things to the monastery. Besides, concerning my soul I want and desire and order that annually wheat of 100 modioi annonikon⁵¹⁷ and wine of 150 measures will be given from the [monastery's] income to poor female monasteries for nuns and to my poor brothers; before my blessed noblest wife Doukena Angelina had died, she had performed this (to endow and to feed the poor ones) for many years on the Great Thursday and Great Friday. Therefore, I also order and demand to perform this by the above-mentioned kyr Gerasimos, glorious among monks and my begotten brother in the world, till the end of his life, and afterwards by the successors in hegoumenia of this monastery, in the way the deceased one prescribed. The one who opposes this desire will be excommunicated and a condemnation of all the Orthodox believers will be given to him.

I also wanted in this change to alienate the vineyard of Platys, but it will be owned with other stuff by the monastery.

And all these things will be inseparable and will be associated in continuum, forever with the monastery as I ordered with my present testament.

[...]

Δέδωκα οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναγραφομένου ζευγηλατείου μου τοῦ τοῦ Κομανίτζη εἰς προῖκα τὴν μακαρίτιδα θυγατέρα μου γῆν μοδίων ἑξακοσί(ων) καὶ λόγγον εἰς (ὑπέρ)π(υ)ρα τριακόσια· καὶ εἰ μὲν τῇ αὐτῶν ἐνηλικιώσει οἱ ἔγγοι μου τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἐπαναπαύονται πράξει μου ὡς παρ' ἐμοῦ τῇ μ(η)τρί αὐτῶν ἐπροικίσθη, ἔστω καλῶς· εἰ δὲ πολλάκις διενοχλῆσαι βουλῇσι τοὺς μοναχοὺς τῆς τοιαύτης ἡμετέρας μονῆς, ληψάτωσ(αν) ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν μοναχῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα τριακόσια (ὑπέρ)π(υ)ρα (καὶ) ἀπεχέτωσαν διόλου τοῦ τοιούτου ζευγηλατείου, αὐτὸ δὲ ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου ἡ μονὴ ἐχέτω. Ἡβουλῇθην δὲ τὸ προρηθὲν τοῦ Σκοτεινοῦ ζευγηλατεῖον, ὅπερ ἡγρῶσα ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀραβαντηνόν, ἀπὸ τὸν μοναχόν Ῥακλοβίτην (καὶ) ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀβουρνιτζιώτ(ην) καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκεῖσε, σὺν τοῖς μυλωνικοῖς ἐργαστηρίοις καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν τῶν δικαίων, τῶν καρῶν καὶ τῶν ζευγαρίων, ὡς ἵνα διαπραθέντα ψυχικοῦ μου δοθῶσι χάριν· ἵνα μηδὲ γε λύπην ἐπάξω τοῖς ἐν τῇ μονῇ μου ἀσκουμένοις τιμίοις μοναχοῖς, ἀφήμι (καὶ) ταῦτα πάντα ἐν τῇ μονῇ· πλὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς μου ἐθέλω καὶ βούλομαι (καὶ) διορίζομαι ἵνα ἐτησίως δίδεται ἀπὸ τῶν εἰσοδημάτων αὐτῶν εἰς πτωχικὰ γυναικεῖα μοναστήρια τὰς μοναχὰς καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου πένησι σίτου μόδ(ια) ἀνονικὰ ἑκατὸν καὶ οἴνου μέτρα ἑκατὸν πεντήκ(ον)τα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ μακαρίτις ἐκείνη εὐγενεστάτη Δούκενα Ἀγγελίνα ἡ σύζυγός μου ἔφθασε τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπὶ χρόνοις πολλοῖς τῇ μεγάλῃ Πέμπτῃ καὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ Παρασκευῇ, ὑποδύουσα (καὶ) τρέφουσα τοὺς πτωχοὺς· δια τοῦτο καγὼ βούλομαι καὶ ἐθέλω γενέσθω οὕτως παρὰ τοῦ εἰρημένου τιμωτ(ά)του ἐν μοναχοῖς (καὶ) κατὰ κόσμον γνησίῳ μου αὐταδέλφῳ κυρ(οῦ) Γερασίμῳ μέχρι τέλους ζωῆς αὐτοῦ, (καὶ) καθεξῆς οἱ τὴν ἡγουμενίαν τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς μου διαδεχόμενοι, καθὼς ἐκείνη τοῦτο ἀπετύπωσε· εἰ δὲ ἀντιπέση τοῦτο θελήσῃ (καὶ) ἐκκόψαι τίς, ἔστω ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πάντων ἀράν. Ἡβουλῇθην γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ αἰρέσει καὶ τὸν τοῦ Πλατὸν ἐπαφῆναι ἀμπελῶνα, ἀλλ' ἐχέτω μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων (καὶ) αὐτόν ἡ μονή. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔστωσαν ἀναπόσπαστα καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς διαμένοντα ἐς αἰὶ ὡς συνεταξάμην διὰ τοῦ παρόντος μου βρεβαιοεπιτελευτείου γράμματος περὶ τῆς μονῆς.

[...]

⁵¹⁷ *Modios annonikos* ≈ 8,5 kg, see: Schilbach, Erich. *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1970): 70, 99-100.

Thus, my begotten in the world brother, deceased kyr John Sarantenis, before his death made his testament and appointed me as a manager into accomplishment of his project of establishing a monastery, and after he was killed on the imperial service near Klepision, the brothers of the wife of the deceased hold that yard, where he ordered to establish the monastery, a zeugelateion and other possessions of his wife, because of which a court process happened with them as necessary, according to the local custom, only the third of the goods left of the deceased was awarded <to me>, and [It] was declared in possession through a transaction (διαλυταίου γράμματος).

But I order [to consider] my brother as a co-founder of the established monastery and to commemorate my blessed brother together with me, and to consider him equal to me by everybody. This is assigned and ordered by me, and Christ is witness that it is truth, that as my established and substituting heir, I appoint the often mentioned by me, my revered among the monks, and begotten in the world brother kyr Gerasimos Sarantenos, who is worthy in many things, as a manager over my soul and of my present monastery and as the administrator, owner and supreme authority. As the guardians and supporters and responsible persons, helpers and superior masters, together with him, I appoint my beloved and closest relatives of me, my grandchildren, kyr George Sarantenos, megas hetairiarches, pansebastatos oikeios of our mighty and holy ruler and emperor, kyr Theodore Kapantrines, skouterios, pansebastos sebastos, oikeios of our mighty and holy ruler and emperor, and kyr Alexios Soultanos paneugenestatos oikeios of our mighty and holy ruler and emperor Palaiologos. And as they [follow] to all the arrangements, which I have established, they will receive the reward from God and the revered prophet himself. And I support the fact that my beloved with all my soul begotten nephew Loubros Sarantenos jointed for mutual support and assistance and works together with his father, the hegoumenos kyr Gerasimos, in this monastery. I send prayers for our mighty and holy rulers and emperors to all the saints.

Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὁ γνήσιος αὐτάδελφός μου ἐκεῖνος κύρ(ις) Ἰωάννης ὁ Σαραντηνὸς πρὸ τοῦ φονευθῆναι διαθήκην ἐξέθετο καὶ ἐπίτροπόν με κατέστησεν(εν) εἰς τὸ συνελόντα τὰ αὐτοῦ τὸ παρ' ἐκείνου ἐπιχειριζόμενον(ον) ἀνακτίσασθαι μοναστήριον, μετὰ δὲ τὸ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Κλεπισίου βασιλικὴν δουλείαν(αν) φονευθῆναι ἐκεῖνον, παρὰ τῶν γυναικαδέλφων ἐκείνου ἐκρατήθησαν ἢ τε αὐτὴ ἐν ἧ τὴν μονὴν ἀνακτισθῆναι διωρίσατο, τὸ ζευγηλατίον καὶ τὰ ἕτερα γυναικεῖα ἐκείνου πράγματα, δι' ὧν ἀντικριθεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν ἔγωγε κατὰ βίαν, ὡς ἡ ἐνταῦθα συνήθη(ει)α τὰ τρίτα (καὶ) μόνον ἐδικαιώθη, ὡς ἡ περίληψις καὶ τοῦ διαλυταίου δηλοῖ γράμματος·

ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν μονὴν ἀνακτισάμενος συνκτίτορα καὶ συμνημονευόμενόν με καὶ τὸν μακαρίτην εἶναι ἐθέλω αὐτάδελφόν μου (καὶ) ὡς ἐμὲ αὐτὸν παρὰ πάντων λογίζεσθαι. Ταῦτα τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαταγέντα καὶ ἀφιερωθέντα, μάρτυς Χ(ριστὸς) ἡ ἀλήθεια, ἔνστατον (καὶ) ὑποκατάστατον κληρονόμον μου ἐνίστημι τὴν ψυχὴν μου (καὶ) αὐτό μου τὸ μοναστήριον, ἐπίτροπον δέ, διοικητήν, δεσπότην (καὶ) ἐξουσιαστὴν αὐτὸν τὸν πολλαχῶς παρ' ἐμοῦ ῥηθέντα τίμιον ἐν μοναχοῖς γνήσιον κατὰ κόσμον αὐτάδελφόν μου κύρ(ις) Γεράσιμον τὸν Σαραντηνὸν μετὰ πολλῆς μου ὅ τι τῆς ἀξιώσεως, ἐφόρους δὲ (καὶ) συνασπιστὰς (καὶ) ἀναδόχους, ἀρρωγούς τε καὶ ἐπιτηρητὰς σὺν αὐτῷ ἀφίημι τοὺς παμποθήτους (καὶ) πεπληροφορημένους γνησίους ἀνεψιούς μου, τόν τε πανσέ(βαστον) οἰκεῖον τοῦ κραταιοῦ (καὶ) ἀγίου ἡμῶν αὐθ(έν)τ(ου) (καὶ) βασιλέως μέγαν αἰτεριάρχην κύρ(ις) Γεώργιον τὸν Σαραντηνόν, τὸν πανσέ(βαστον) σε(βαστὸν) οἰκεῖον τοῦ κραταιοῦ (καὶ) ἀγίου ἡμῶν αὐθ(έν)τ(ου) (καὶ) βασιλέ(ως) σκουτέριον κύρ(ις) Θεόδ(ω)ρ(ον) τὸν Καπαντρίτην, καὶ τὸν πανευγενέστατον οἰκεῖον τοῦ κραταιοῦ (καὶ) ἀγίου ἡμ(ῶν) αὐθ(έν)τ(ου) (καὶ) βασιλέ(ως) Παλαιολόγον κύρ(ις) Ἀλέξιον τὸν Σουλτάνον· καὶ ὡς αὐτοὶ οὖν ἐφ' οἷς ἐγὼ ἅπασι διεταξάμην διατεθῶσι, τὸν μισθὸν λήψονται παρὰ τοῦ Θε(ο)ῦ (καὶ) αὐτοῦ τοῦ τιμίου προφ(ή)τ(ου)· ἐπαφίημι δὲ καὶ τὸν ὁλοψύχως φιλούμενον παρ' ἐμοῦ γνήσιον ἀνεψιόν μου Λοῦβρον τὸν Σαραντηνόν εἰς συνασπισμὸν καὶ συνδρομὴν συνεῖναι καὶ συνέπεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ π(α)τρ(ὸς) αὐτοῦ τοῦ καθηγουμένου κυρ(οῦ) Γερασίμου εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην μονήν. Τοὺς κραταιοὺς (καὶ) ἀγίους μου αὐθέντας καὶ βασιλεῖς τὴν εὐχὴν μου ἀφίημι καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων.

If someone will try, out of ill will, to oppose what is set in my present testament and brebion and breaking through or complaining or cancelling, following imperfectly, that one, as I told many times before, whether this one will be my relative by blood, or one living there or somebody foreign, or if he will not only stop obeying to what is told, but also will be idle with persistence, let he be condemned, and receive condemnations from 318 god-bearing holy fathers, the revered god-witness prophet Prodromos and me, sinful. This I ordered and confirmed in the brebion and kodikellos, as I written and confirmed [last] will, according to the existing law.

The present was written by my hand, John priest Katakallitizes by order of the most gold-loving chartophylax of the most holy metropolis of Berroia and master of female monasteries, kyr Ierakarios.

The month of October, indiction 9, the year 6834. In the presence of the following witnesses [†]

† A servant of our holy and mighty ruler and emperor Constantine Palaiologos Tornikes, the *megas droungarios tes viglas* †

† Chartophylax of the most holy Metropolis of Berroia, John Hierakarios the deacon, signing the preset deed firmly confirm the act †

† the following tied inclusion bind to the document as an additional sheet and as a part of it on the same month of the same indiction †

[...]

† Humble metropolitan of Berroia and very honorable Maxim †

† Megas oikonomos of the most holy Metropolis of Berroia George Komitos

† Megas sakellarios of the most holy Metropolis of Berroia Constnatine Sitas the priest

† Sakellios of the most holy Metropolis of Berroia Constantine

† the Humble among priest and monks Makarios Sigos signs....

† the Humble among priest and monks Nikandros Myron

† Mokios, the priest and monk and the hegoumenos of the patriarchal monastery of the Savios Antiphonites

Ὁ τοίνυν πειραθεὶς ἐκ κακοτρόπου γνώμης εἰς ἐναντίωσιν τοῦ παρόντος διαθηκῶου καὶ βρεβαίου μου γράμματος καὶ ῥῆξιν ἢ μέμψιν ἢ ἀκυρωσίαν (καὶ) ἀτέλειαν ἐν αὐτῷ καταψηφισόμενος, ὁ τοιοῦτος, ὡς πολλαχῶς εἶπον ἄνωθεν, κἂν ὁποῖος εἴη, τῶν καθ' αἷμα μοι τῶν γνησίων, τῶν ὅποσού μετεχόντων ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλοτρίων, οὐ μόνον ἵνα μὴ εἰσακούηται κἂν εἴ τι δὴ καὶ λέγειν ἔχει, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ ἐκδιώκεσθαι αὐτὸν ἄπρακτον καὶ καταδεδικασμένον, καὶ τὰς ἀρὰς κερδανοῖ τῶν τριακοσίων ὀκτακέδεκα θεοφόρων π(ατέ)ρων, τοῦ τιμίου αὐτοῦ θεομαρτυρήτου προφήτου Προδρόμου κάμου τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ ἰσχύειν ἐθέλω καὶ ὡς βρέβαιον καὶ ὡς κωδῖκελλος καὶ ὡς ἔγγραφος καὶ ἄγραφος βούλησις κατὰ νόμους γινόμενον·

ὁ καὶ προετρεψάμην γραφῆναι διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου ἱερέως τοῦ Κατακαλλίτζη ἐκ προτροπῆς τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου χαρτοφύλακος τῆς ἀγιωτάτης μ(ητ)ροπόλεως Βερροίας (καὶ) ἄρχοντος τῶν γυναικείων μονῶν κυρ(οῦ) Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἱερακαρίου, μηνὶ Ὀκτωμβρίῳ (ἰνδικτιῶνος) θ' ἔτους ,ζωλδ', παρουσία καὶ τῶν ὑπ(ο)τ(εταγμένων) μαρτ(ύ)ρ(ων) †

† Ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ κραταιοῦ (καὶ) ἀγ(ίου) ἡμῶν αὐθ(έν)του (καὶ) βασιλέως Κωνσταντῖνος Παλαιολόγ(ος) Τορνίκης † ὁ μέγας δρουγγάριος της βίγλης †

✠ Ὁ χαρτοφύλαξ τῆς ἀγιωτ(ά)τ(ης) μ(ητ)ροπόλ(εως) Βερροί(ας) Ιω(άννη)ς διάκο(ν)ος ὁ Ἰερακ(ά)ρ(ι)ος τὸ παρ(ὸν) συγγραψάμ(εν)ος γράμμα καὶ βεβαι(ῶν) ὑπ(έγραψα) ✠
 ✠ Ἐδέθ(η) ἡ ἐντὸς διαλαμβανομ(έ)ν(η) περίλη(ψις) τῇ συμπήξει τῆς κολλ(ήσεως) ἐν μη(ν)ί (καὶ) (ἰνδικτιῶνι) τ(οῖς) ἐντός ✠ [...]

✠ Ὁ ταπεινὸς μ(ητ)ροπολίτ(ης) Βερροί(ας) (καὶ) ὑπέρτιμος Μάξιμος ✠

✠ Ὁ μέγ(ας) οικονόμος τῆς ἀγιωτ(ά)τ(ης) μ(ητ)ροπόλ(εως) Βερροί(ας) Γεώργ(ι)ο(ς) ὁ Κομιτῶς
 ✠ Ὁ μέγ(ας) σακελλ(ά)ρ(ι)ος τῆς ἀγιωτ(ά)τ(ης) μ(ητ)ροπόλ(εως) Βερροί(ας) Κωνσταντίνο(ς) ἱερεῦς ὁ Σιτᾶς
 ✠ Ὁ σακελλ(ί)ου τῆς ἀγιωτ(ά)τ(ης) μ(ητ)ροπόλ(εως) Βερρο[ί(ας)] Κω(νσταντῖνος) ...10...αρης ✠
 (10)
 ✠ Ὁ ἀχρεῖος ἐν ἱερομοναχοῖς ...12... Μακάριος ὁ Σιγός προεταξα ...8..
 ✠ Ὁ ἀχρεῖος ἐν ἱερο(μονά)χ(οις) Νίκανδρος ὁ Μύρων ✠
 ✠ Μώκιος ἱερομόναχος καὶ καθυγουμενος τῆς π(ατ)ριαρχικ(ῆς) μον(ῆς) τοῦ μεγάλου Σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς τοῦ Ἀντιφωνιτοῦ

Appendix II

Manuel Philes
For Angelos Doukas Sarantenos⁵¹⁸

Beholder, look at the deeds of an intelligent man
 And get amazed with the character after understanding the decision.
 Strong against many enemies,
 Born from the Komnenoi named-as-an angel Doukas,
 Sarantenos, the wonder of armours,
 Whose image you can see here,
 Having adorned the body with athletic training,
 This man appeared a hero from his youth,
 As this fact with exactness reflected in what is done (the image).
 He got the gold of triple happy garden (care),
 He brought twice four dear children,
 And he was a tree flourishing of fortune,
 When a crop of hostile death affected
 The offspring of the parent.
 He has established care splendidly, as you see,
 A burden which he acquired during his lifetime,
 And showed a refuge for monks.
 Having like-minded beautiful wife,
 Whom the running time took from him.
 God sees exactly what is profitable
 Appointing for them both the childlessness in life,

Ἀγγέλῳ Δούκᾳ τῷ Σαραντηνῷ.
 Ἄνδρὸς, θεατὰ, νουνεχοῦς ἔργα σκόπει, (1)
 Καὶ τὴν φύσιν θαύμασε συνεῖς τὴν κρίσιν·
 Ὅ γὰρ πρὸς ἐχθροὺς εὐσθενῆς πολυσπόρους
 Κομνηνοφυῆς Ἀγγελώνυμος Δούκας
 Σαραντηνὸς, τὸ θαῦμα τῆς πανοπλίας, (5)
 Οὗ δὴ βλέπειν ἔξεστι καὶ τὰς ἐμφάσεις,
 Γυμναστικοῖς τὸ σῶμὰ κοσμήσας πόνοις,
 Ἦρως μὲν ἐκ μείρακος ἀνὴρ εὐρέθη,
 Καὶ τοῦτο σαφῶς μαρτυρεῖ τὰ πρακτέα·
 Κήδους δὲ τυχὼν ὁ χρυσοῦς τρισολβίου, (10)
 Καὶ τέτταρας δις ἐξενεγκὼν φιλτάτους,
 Καὶ γὰρ ὁ δενδρῶν εὐθαλῆς ἦν τῆς τύχης,
 Ἐπεὶ κατ' αὐτῶν τῆς γονῆς τῶν ὀμφάκων
 Ἦ τῆς τελευτῆς δυσμενῆς ἦλθε τρύγη·
 Τοῦθ' ὃ βλέπεις φρόντισμα λαμπρῶς ιδρύει, (15)
 Χύδην ὃν ἐκτίσατο παρέχων βίον,
 Καὶ καταγωγὴν τῶν μοναχῶν δεικνύει, @1
 Συνήγορον σχὼν τὴν καλὴν ὁμευνέτιν,
 Ἦν καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ὁ δρομεὺς ἔχει χρόνος.
 Θεὸς γὰρ εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς τὸ συμφέρον (20)
 Ἄπαιδα καθίστησιν ἀμφοῖν τὸν βίον,

⁵¹⁸ Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, Vol. I, pp. 247-249, no. 75.

As the fruit develops from the soul
 And matures for the one who alone sees the hidden things.
 The one attested as greatest among the prophets
 Leads the monastery of monasteries,
 The forerunning light of the intelligible day.
 This sweetest one came from the desert
 And leads the souls, as brides, to the Lord.
 Besides, if you want to see the perfect way of life,
 Wisely learn about the man from the deeds.
 He didn't rebel being instructed,
 As somebody non prudent would behave,
 But with courage endured the incommensurable (losses),
 Yesterday – a parent of nice children, today – nobody's father,
 Imitating in practice Job the Austian,
 Probably in order to acquire better things,
 Restraining himself he offered his life,
 And the seducer shouldn't expect to grab a good piece.
 He calls this venerable way of life <monastery> Petra,
 In which he established the efforts and hopes,
 As he would be without passions, he bears the misfortunes,
 Not being dragged away by the rain of dangers.
 Oh Man, get to know looking at the image
 That, this way, life joins and separates.

Ὡς ἂν ὁ καρπὸς τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπεκδράμῃ,
 Καὶ τῷ μόνῳ βλέποντι κρυπτὰ περκάσῃ·
 Προΐσταται δὲ τῆς μονῆς καὶ τῶν μόνων
 Ὁ τῶν προφητῶν μαρτυρηθεὶς βελτίων, (25)
 Τὸ πρόδρομον φῶς τῆς νοητῆς ἡμέρας·
 Πάρεστι γὰρ ἡδιστος ἐξ ἐρημίας,
 Καὶ νυμφαγωγεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς τῷ δεσπότη·
 Πλὴν εἰ θέλεις ἄμempton ἀθρῆσαι τρόπον,
 Τὸν ἄνδρα σαφῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων μάθε. (30)
 Οὐ γὰρ ἀπεσκίρτησε νοουθετούμενος,
 Ὅπερ τις ἂν πέπονθε τῶν οὐ σωφρόνων,
 Ἀλλ' εὐψύχως ἤνεγκε τὴν ἀμετρίαν
 Ὁ καλλίπαις χθές, νῦν δὲ πατὴρ οὐκέτι,
 Ζηλῶν τὸν Ἰώβ πρακτικῶς τὸν Αὐσίτην· (35)
 Ἵνα δὲ κερδάνῃ τι καὶ μείζον τάχα,
 Αὐτὸς φέρων δίδωσιν αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον,
 Μὴ φθὰς τὸ καλὸν ὃ φθορεὺς ἀφαρπάσῃ,
 Πέτραν δὲ καλεῖ τόνδε τιμῶν τὸν τρόπον,
 Ὡς τοὺς πόρους ἥδρασε καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας, (40)
 Ὡς ἂν ἀπαθῶς τὰς περιστάσεις φέρῃ,
 Μὴ παρασυρεῖς τῇ βροχῇ τῶν κινδύνων.
 Οὕτω συναιρεῖν καὶ διαιρεῖν τὸν βίον, @1
 Ἄνθρωπε, διδάχθητι τὸν τύπον βλέπων·

Do not train only the body
 Which the nature develops and time hides.
 But if you are happy to possess the master mind
 And you will collect the greater part in the soul,
 Immortal, things nobler than life.
 And except giving to God these things,
 He also offered the virtuous way of life,
 To which nobody can suggest an addition,
 And God esteemes small things greatly
 (since he sees faith and not property in them)
 And establishes for the spouses an incorruptible shelter
 And dwellings in Eden and the bridal chamber
 And intelligible light and drink of life and green gardens
 And graceful glory and life among angels,
 As with his children in a mystical way
 They stand besides the throne of the Lord.

Οὐ γὰρ τὰ τοῦ σώματος ἀσκήσεις μόνον, (45)
 Ὃ δὴ φύσις δείκνυσι καὶ κρύπτει χρόνος·
 Ἀλλ' εἶγε τὸν νοῦν εὐτυχεῖς ἐπιστάτην,
 Καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀθροίσῃς μέρος,
 Ἀθάνατος γὰρ καὶ ζωῆς ὑπερτέρα·
 Πλὴν ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δίδωσι τῷ θεῷ τάδε, (50)
 Μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἄρρητον εἰσφέρει σχέσιν,
 Οὐδὲν πρὸς αὐτὴν οὐδὲ τὸν κόσμον κρίνων,
 Θεὸς δὲ μετρῶν καὶ τὸ μικρὸν ἀφθόνως
 (Πίστιν γὰρ οὐχ ὕπαρξιν ἐν τούτοις βλέπει)
 Τοῖς συζύγοις ἄφθαρτον ἰδρύσαι στέγην, (55)
 Καὶ καταγωγὴν εἰς Ἑδὲμ καὶ παστάδα,
 Καὶ φῶς νοητὸν καὶ ποτὸν ζῶν καὶ χλόην,
 Καὶ δόξαν ἄβραν καὶ μετ' ἀγγέλων βίον,
 Ὡς ἂν μετ' αὐτῶν μυστικῶς τῶν φιλότατων
 Τῷ δεσποτικῷ συμπαραστῶσι θρόνῳ. (60)

Appendix III

Excerpts from Encomium for Holy Leontios of Achaia⁵¹⁹ ascribed to Georgios Scholarios

....Who doesn't know the [land] of Pelopos, how it is great in its greatness and beauty, that it [has] the abundancy of things and that it is full of so many goods and other things, which God took care about? That [land], as it is considered, was the fatherland of the great one [Leontios], the lot of the Dorians. The tribe of the Dorians is the Greek one and was famous during the Hellenic (pagan) time and it accomplished many things, worthy of memory and attention, and it is not usual to perform and to contemplate the numerous things which happened to them. The city is called now Monembasia, but in the old times, if I remember well, it was called Epidaurus or some other way, as one may say; so about this kind of things I do not argue. His parents were eminent by their origin, and even more distinguished by their piety and love of God (that is, actually, the thing which should be called "eminence"), they were proud of the origins from those ruling ones, flourished with the great wealth, and they were richest in spiritual wealth, since the external and fading away things procure the resources for the internal and remaining things and abundantly in everything the good deeds were revealed. His [father's] name was Andrew, and the mother was Theodora, for them both their names proved to be true in their deeds. She was indeed a gift of God, as she was called, what she did she had pleasure in, doing it for the sake of god and hiding what she did. And the one who was courageous in love of God, among other things, was logically called Andrew. Hence it happened that their names appropriately coincided with their deeds, as if by somebody's providence for them, from the very beginning, the things were predetermined. And their fate (tyche) as well as their names and dispositions were obvious.

Ἐγκώμιον τοῦ ὁσίου Λεοντίου τοῦ ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ

.... Τίς οὐκ οἶδε τὴν τοῦ Πέλοπος, πόση μὲν εἰς μέγεθος, εἰς δὲ κάλλος ὄση, ποδαπὴ δ' εἰς εὐφορίαν πραγμάτων ὁπόσοις τε βρῦει τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὅσα τε ἄλλα καὶ οἷς θεὸς θεραπεύεται ; Αὕτη τῷ μεγάλῳ κατὰ κοινὸν ἢ πατρί· μοῖρα ἢ Δωριέων. Γένος οἱ Δωριεῖς ἐλληνικὸν // καὶ τοῖς ἐλληνικοῖς ἐνευδοκίμησαν καιροῖς καὶ πολλὰ μνήμης ἐργασάμενον ἄξια καὶ φροντίδος οὐ τῆς τυχούσης οἷς δὴ τά γε τοιαῦτα σκοπεῖν καὶ πραγματεύεσθαι εἰωθός. Πόλις ἢ νῦν μὲν Μονεμβασία λεγομένη, τὸ πάλαι δ', εἴ γε καλῶς ἔχω μεμνήσθαι, Ἐπίδauρος καλουμένη ἢ εἴ πως ἄλλως ἂν λέγοιτο· περὶ γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων οὐ διαφέρομαι. Πατέρες δὲ αὐτῷ περιφανεῖς μὲν τὸ γένος, περιφανέστεροι δὲ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὸν εἰς θεὸν πόθον, ἦν δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν τις καλέσειε περιφάνειαν, τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἐν βασιλείοις αὐχοῦντες, πλουτῶ κομῶντες πολλῶ, τὴν δὲ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀρετὴν πλουσιώτεροι, ὡς καὶ τὰ ἔξω δὴ ταῦτα καὶ διαρρέοντα ἀφορμὴν ποιῆσθαι τῶν ἐνδον τε διαμενόντων καὶ δαψιλῶς εἰς πάντας τὰ τῆς εὐποιίας ἐκχεῖν. Τῷ μὲν Ἀνδρέας τοῦνομα, Θεοδώρα δὲ τῇ μητρί· κατάλληλοι δ' αὐτοῖς αἱ προσηγορίαι καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντως ἐπαληθεύουσαι. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ δῶρον Θεοῦ ὄντως τε ἦν καὶ ἐλέγετο οἷς τε ἔδρα καὶ οἷς ἔχαιρε διὰ θεὸν δρῶσα λανθάνειν ἃ δρᾷ· ὁ δ' ἀνδρεῖος ὢν τὰ τ' ἄλλα καὶ τὸν κατὰ θεὸν ζῆλον εἰκότως Ἀνδρέας προσείρητο, ὡς συμβαίνειν ἐντεῦθεν ἀρμοδίως συμφέρεσθαι τὰς κλήσεις τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὥσπερ ἔκ τινος προνοίας αὐτοῖς τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ταύτας ἐπιτεθείσας. Καὶ τίς μὲν τούτοις τύχη, ἔτι τε κλήσις καὶ προαίρεσις τοῖς εἰρημένοις δῆλόν ἐστιν.

⁵¹⁹ Λάμπρος, Σπυρίδων Π. *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, vol. 2 (Athens: 1912 -1924): pp. 161 – 168; Transcribed from the Manuscript kept in the Marciana Library, Cl. II, cod. 186, 15th century, ff. 251- 256v.

Andrew was established the ruler of the entire Peloponnesos, not only because of the distinction of his origin and the splendour of wealth or the plenity of his virtue, but by the calling of the herald nobody was more distinct for having this office and more experienced in the governing, not only in the Peloponnesos, but anywhere else, as it said, [i.e.] somebody who knows how to guide well and it was unknown who would be better [in this sense]. In this great dominion of Peloponnesos, by the esteemed parents the child, then Leon, who later became Leontios, was raised by them, as it is befitting, they nourished the offspring, and by them, from the early age, he was formed in accordance with the virtues, as among other things passed from the parents to children, he received the divine virtue as his [father]. And as much as he received from them, he only possessed and preserved, not bringing forth fruit as a corn of wheat fallen into the ground and not increasing the entrusted talent, as he considered awful, when others directed efforts toward the acquisition of properties, and when they are zealous about increasing whatever numerous wealth present and to bring forth fruits. But this [attitude] he didn't display toward the wealth of virtue, as it was truly the only honourable one, the only useful, the only one being long-lasting; as all others fade fast as a spring blossom, and in the same way [the material wealth] flows down and loses its bloom. And in other things he also resembled his parents, being established by them on the way of virtue, he followed away from the Lydian god and going beyond it. Thus, in many superior things he surpassed his parents, and seeing this they were glad with joy that the virtue grew along with him, because the parents rejoice being defeated by children, since this is their victory, and they do not consider the happening to be the defeat. And they prayed to be defeated even more, since the defeat is a joy for parents, but they considered that it would be a defeat and a great loss if they are not defeated. Whether it fits to another part of speech or to the present one, but the speech here takes us away, always establishing its own order of the events. And when someone speaks about good things, while the sense and usefulness are preserved, there is no harm to the speech in it. And we advance further with those matters which follow the already said ones.

Ἄρχων δὲ ξυμπάσης ὁ Ἀνδρέας τῆς Πελοποννήσου καθίσταται οὐ μᾶλλον λαμπρότητι γένους καὶ πλούτου περιφανείᾳ ἢ τῆς ἀρετῆς περιουσίᾳ, κήρυκος βοώσῃ τρανότερον ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ μηδένα ζητεῖν ἄλλον ἀρχῇ καὶ τῷ ἐνόντι τῆς ἀρχικῆς ἐπιστήμῃς, δι' ἣν οὐ Πελοπόννησον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν ὅσῃν ἂν εἴποι τις καλῶς ἰθύνειν ἦδει καὶ ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἐνεῖναι βέλτιον φάναι. Ἐν τοίνυν τῇ μεγάλῃ ταύτῃ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀρχῇ τοῖς θαυμαστοῖς τούτοις πατράσι παῖς ὁ πρὶν μὲν Λέων, ὕστερον δὲ Λεόντιος γίνεται, τρέφεται τε παρ' αὐτοῖς ὥς εἰκὸς τὸν ἐκ τοιούτων τρέφεσθαι φύντα, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς παιδόμενος τὰ ἐξ ἀρετῆς διαπλάττεται, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν πατρόθεν εἰς τοὺς παῖδας ἡκόντων κτῆμα καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὥς αὐτὸν κατιοῦσαν δεξάμενος. Οὐ μὴν ὁπόσον παρ' ἐκείνων δεξάμενος ἦν, τοῦτο μόνον ἦν ἔχων τε καὶ τηρῶν, τῷ καταβληθέντι σπέρματι μὴ ἐπιβάλλον μήτε μὴν ὃ ἐνεπιστεύθη τάλαντον αὖξων, ἀλλὰ δεινὸν ἡγησάμενος, εἰ ἦν ἕτεροι σπουδὴν περὶ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἐνδείκνυνται κτῆσιν· αὖξιν γὰρ ἀεὶ καὶ πολλαπλάσιον ὁπόσον οἷόν τε τὸ καταβληθέν ποιεῖν σπεύδουσι· ταύτην αὐτὸς μὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐνδείξαιτο χρήματος, οὕτως ὄντως μόνου τιμίου, μόνου λυσιτελοῦς, μόνου μονίμου τυγχάνοντος, ὥς τᾶλλα // πάντα δίκην ἀνθέων ἑαρινῶν τάχιον μαραίνεται καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ καταρρεῖ ἢ ἐξανθεῖ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἦν ἐοικώς, τὰ δ' εἰς ἀρετῆς δρόμον ἐκείνοις παραβαλλόμενος πεζὸς ἦν ἀντικρυς παρὰ Λύδιον θεῶν καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπερβάλλον. Οὕτω πολλῷ τῷ περιόντι τοὺς γεγενηκότας ἦν ὑπερπαίρων, ὥστ' ἐκείνους ὀρώντας τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῷ συνεπιτιδοῦσαν χαίρειν· χαίρουσι γὰρ ὄντως πατέρες παίδων ἡττώμενοι, ἰδίαν αὐτῶν νίκην, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἥτταν νομίζοντες τὸ γινόμενον· καὶ ἐπὶ πλεον ἡττᾶσθαι εὐχεσθαι, ἥτταν τὴν ἡδίστην γονεῦσι καὶ ἦν μὴ νικηθῆναι ζημίας μέρος οὐ μικρὸν ἐλογίζοντο. Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἐτέρῳ μέρει τοῦ λόγου μᾶλλον ἤρμωσεν ἢ τῷ παρόντι, ἀλλ' ὁ λόγος ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα παρήνεγκεν, ἀεὶ τῆς αὐτῷ παραπιπτούσης ἀκολουθίας ἐχόμενος. Ὅπου δ' ἂν τὸ καλὸν λέγοιτο, τοῦ τε εὐλόγου καὶ λυσιτελοῦς σωζομένου, τῷ λόγῳ βλάβος οὐδέν· ἡμῖν δ' ἐφ' ὃ προϋθέμεθα καὶ ὁ τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐστὶν *ἐφεξῆς βαδιστέον.

The child was nourished by the parents in the most noble way, and formed by them, as it is said, in accordance with the virtues. And when he outran the infant sweetness, being still in this age, he proved himself to be above this age. He then had an established idea about what he had to perform still being in this sweet age. And the following happened, when there was a necessity for receiving the knowledge, he was given to the teachers, and succeeded to learn so much in a short period of time, as others would learn in many years, and those who resemble him in age were not even close to him in the measure of his knowledge. So, he surpassed those who were of the same age with him in many things or, as it usual to say here, he progressed beyond those in the same matters. Those among them who happened to be with him and trained in sagacity and sharpness of mind, even them, he surpassed in many things, as he was sagacious and intelligent, and, as if to say, he surpassed above both categories simultaneously. And he progressed through the disciplines as a bird through the void of air. Sufficiently, he received education (paideia) in the pagan sciences, he was fittingly taught in Greek language and noble behavior and was full of external (pagan) knowledge, and therefore he studied himself the divine knowledge and speculated about the Holy Scripture and accurately examined the treasure contained in it or as those digging up the golden metal from under the soil and the gold-dust called sand, in this sense it much resembled a nugget and he prepared it with the instruments, but not made of copper.....

Ἐτρέφετο τοίνυν ἄριστα παρὰ τοῖς γεγεννηκόσιν ὁ παῖς, τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν, ὡς εἴρηται, διαπλαττόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῖς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν παιδικὴν παρήμειπεν ἡλικίαν, ἐν ἣ περ ὑποφαίνων ἦν οἷος ἔσται ὑπὲρ ταύτην γενόμενος· εἶχε γὰρ καθεστηκὸς καὶ τότε τὸ φρόνημα, ὅποιον ἔχειν εἰκὸς // τὸν εἰς τοῦθ' ἡλικίας ἔτι τελοῦντα· ἐκείνην δὲ γενόμενος ἦν, οἷα ἐπιτηδεῖα εἰς μαθημάτων ὑποδοχὴν, διδασκάλοις ἐκδίδοται καὶ τοσαῦτα συνέλεξεν ἐν βραχεὶ πρὸς ὅσα πολλῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἐδέησεν ἄλλοις, μᾶλλον δ' ἐν ὅσοις ἄλλοι, πολλαπλασίῳ διηνυκότες τὸν χρόνον, οὐδ' οὕτως οἷοί θ' ὑπῆρξαν αὐτῷ μὴ ὅπως παραπλήσιοι ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐγγύς πως γενέσθαι, καὶ παρήει τοὺς μὲν ὁμήλικας τῷ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἢ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐνεῖναι προκεκοφέναι, τοὺς δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ, ἐκπαιδευομένους καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτῷ τυγχάνοντας τῇ ἀγχινόῃ καὶ τῷ ὀξεῖ τῆς συνέσεως, μᾶλλον δὲ τούτους μὲν τῷ ἐπὶ πλεῖον προκεκοφέναι, ἐκείνους δὲ τῷ ἀγχίνους τε εἶναι καὶ συνετὸς, εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ ἀμφοτέρους κατ' ἄμφω. Οὕτως ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν μαθήσεων ὥσπερ τις ὑπόπτερος διὰ κενοῦ τοῦ ἀέρος. Ὡς δ' ἱκανῶς αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς θύραθεν εἶχε παιδείας καὶ τὴν ἐλληνίδα γλῶτταν καὶ εὐγενῆ προσηκόντως πεπαίδευτο καὶ μαθημάτων ἦν πλήρης τῶν ἔξωθεν, οὕτως ἑαυτὸν ἤδη μελέτη θεία ἐκδέδωκεν καὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ Γραφῇ ἐνεφιλοσόφησε καὶ τὸν ἐναποκείμενον αὐτῇ θησαυρὸν ἀκριβέστερον διηρευνήσατο ἢ οἱ τὸν χρυσὸν ἀνορύττοντες τὰ κατὰ γῆν μέταλλα καὶ τὴν χρυσῖτιν γῆν λεγομένην, οὗ πολὺ εἰκὸς ἐνεῖναι τὸ ψῦγμα, καὶ ὥπλισεν αὐτὸν ἐντεῦθεν ὅπλοις οὐ τοῖς ἐκ χαλκοῦ καὶ...

(The rest is missing)

Appendix IV

Excerpts from the Summary of History of the Holy Monastery of the Archangels in Aigialeia⁵²⁰

1. The Monastery of the Archangels, one of the most notable monasteries of the Greek state, belongs to the bishopric of Aigialeia, being situated in the three-hours way from the city of Aigio to the south from it, and to the north from the mountain of Klokos and to the east from the river of Selinountos, established in the beginning of the eleventh century from Christ through the assistance of the Christians and the seven ascetic foundations, which were settled around, here and there, and were called, of the Elder Klokos, Aghios Theodoros, Agios Nikolaos, Aghios Antonios, Chrysospilion, holy Savior, and that of the Archistrategos Michael, a broad cave in the rock, honored by the name of the Archangel Michael. In it, those who dwelled in the sketes gathered together every Sunday and praying together sent to God the pleading prayers and confessions during the night (pannychis), and they called it Kyriakon (of Sunday) according to usual custom of the monks.

1. Ἡ ἱερά μονή τῶν Παμμεγίστων Ταξιαρχῶν, μία τῶν ἐπισημοτέρων μονῶν τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ κράτους, κειμένη παρὰ τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ Αἰγιαλείας, τρεῖς ἀπέχουσα ὥρας τῆς πόλεως Αἰγίου, μεσημβρινῶς αὐτῆς, ἀρκτικῶς τοῦ ὄρους Κλωκοῦ καὶ ἀνατολικῶς τοῦ ποταμοῦ Σελινούντος, κτισθεῖσα περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς τῆς ἐνδεκάτης ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ἑκατονταετηρίδος διὰ τῆς συνδρομῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν καὶ ἐπτά ἀσκητηρίων, ἅτινα κεῖνται σποράδην πέριξ αὐτῆς καὶ ὀνομαζομένη, τοῦ Γέροντος Κλωκοῦ, ἀγίου Θεοδώρου, ἀγίου Νικολάου, ἀγίου Αντωνίου, Χρυσοσπηλαίου, ἀγίας Σωτήρος, καὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαήλ ὑπὸ εὐρυτέρου σπηλαίου ἐπὶ βράχου καὶ τιμωμένη μὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ταξιάρχου Μιχαήλ, εἰς ἣν συνήγοντο καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς σκήταις ἐπίλοιποι ἐκάστην Κυριακὴν καὶ ὁμοθυμαδὸν προσευχόμενοι ἀνέπεμπον τῷ θεῷ τὰς ἱκετηρίου(ς) εὐχὰς καὶ ὁμολογίας παννυχίως, Κυριακὸν ὀνομάζοντες κατὰ τὴν ἐπικρατοῦσαν τότε τῶν μοναστῶν συνήθειαν.

3. About the 14th century Leon of Andrew, from Monembasia, a man of good origin (his father was entrusted with power over entire Peloponnesos by pious Andronikos holding the scepter of all Romans) and wise, erudite in knowledge and experienced in royal affairs, a husband to a wife and a father of two children. He desired the monastic life and leaving everything behind in evangelic way he went to the holy Mount of Athos and to many sketes of Peloponnesos and aspiring the life among a brotherhood he took a habit with the help of eminent Meneides and received the name of Leontios. Loking for a place of solitude, he discovered it arriving by God's will on the northern side of the mount Klokos, and there he entered into the brotherhood of the above-mentioned monastery. And there the virtue of his life, god-pleasing behavior, asketic battles and the matters of theology and teaching tired him in order to enrich him from God with the energy of miracle-making. All these things produced admiration in many people and many people from different places came as disciples to this new head of school and they enjoyed his teaching and imitated the virtue of his life-style. This way, the number of disciples raised every day, and the gathered disciples called him, "the teacher" and those from afar, called him "the great Leontios in Achaia."

⁵²⁰Αγγελομάτη-Τσουγκαράκη, Ελένη. "Μία άγνωστη χειρόγραφη Ιστορία της Μονής Ταξιαρχών Αιγιαλείας," in: Πρακτικά τοῦ Β'Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν, vol. 3 (Athens: 1981-1982): 65-86 (here pp. 78-80). Published from the Manuscript Cat. 149 of the State Archives of the Greek State (Γενικά Αρχεῖα τοῦ Κράτους) taken from the Taxiarches monastery and dated by the colophon with 1853 (1853 μηνὶ ὀβρίῳ. Ἀκριβὲς ἀντίγραφον. Ἰωσήφ Ἰωαννίδης).

3. Περὶ δὲ τὴν δεκάτην τετάρτην ἑκατονταετηρίδα ὁ ἐκ Μονεμβασίας ἐξ ἐπισήμου οἰκογενείας Λέων Ἀνδριάδης, (οὗτινος ὁ πατὴρ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπάσης τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐνεμπιστεύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς Ἀνδρονίκου τὰ σκήπτρα τῆς τῶν Ρωμαίων βασιλείας ἰθύνοντος) σοφός, πολυμαθὴς καὶ ἐπιστήμων, καὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τὰ πολλὰ ἐξασκῶν, ἀνὴρ συζύγου καὶ πατὴρ δύο τέκνων· ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τὸν μονήρη βίον, παραλείψας ἅπαντα εὐαγγελικῶς, περιῆλε τὸ ἀγιώνυμον ὄρος τοῦ Ἀθωνος καὶ πολλὰς τῆς Πελοποννήσου σκῆτας, καὶ ζηλωσάμενος τὴν τῶν μονοτρόπων πολιτείαν ἐκάρη μοναχὸς παρὰ τοῦ διασήμου Μενεΐδους καὶ μετονομάζεται Λεόντιος. Ζητῶν δὲ τόπον διαμονῆς ἀπεκαλύφθη θεόθεν ἀφικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ βόρεια τοῦ ὄρους Κλωκοῦ, καὶ ἀφίχθεις συνεκατετάχθη μέλος τῆς εἰρημένης Μονῆς. Ἡ ἀρετὴ ὅθεν αὐτοῦ, ἡ θεάρεστος πολιτεία, οἱ ἀσκητικοὶ ἀγῶνες, καὶ αἱ θεολογικαὶ διδασκαλῖαι, ἔκαμον αὐτὸν νὰ πλουτίσῃ παρὰ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν θαυμάτων τὴν ἐνέργειαν. Ταῦτα πάντα εἴλκυσαν πολλοὺς εἰς θαυμασμόν καὶ πολλοὶ ἐκ διαφορῶν μερῶν συνεκατελέγοντο μαθηταὶ εἰς τὸν νέον τοῦτον γυμνασιάρχην, ἵνα καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ κορεσθῶσι καὶ τὴν ἐνάρετόν του πολιτείαν μιμηθῶσι. Ὡστε ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν μαθητῶν ἡῤῥανε καθ' ἡμέραν, προσαγορεύοντες αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν μαθηταὶ του «ὁ διδάσκαλος», οἱ δὲ πόρωθεν «ὁ μέγας ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ Λεόντιος».

4. Finding out about this fame spreading everywhere of the great Leontios in his deeds, the known everywhere and royal children of the Palaiologoi, John, Constantine, Thomas, and Demetrios, the first two becoming later the autocrats of the Romans, and the latter two ending up as despots of Peloponnesos and Strea (Central Greece), admired very much the virtues of the man and the energy of the miracles and honoured him in a royal way and for the independence of the monastic feeding donated lands and zeugellateia, houses and other economic establishments, inside of the monastery they raised towers from the ground, and the small church which existed from before they enlarged by building from the very grounds in accordance with the byzantine construction scheme and for sanctification of those who practice askesis there, they offered parts of the Holy relics of the Passions of our Savior, from the venerable tree, from the crown of thorns, from the chlamyda, from the sponge, of the hairs of the venerable Prodomos, the hand of Arethas and the skull of Stephan the New and Confessor with a casket made of ivory in the byzantine manner, inside of which was a cybotion of white marble bearing the inscription: "I have inside the robe of Christ the Word" inside of which there were all the above-said royal offerings coated with silver and gold confirmed through royal chrysobulls and witnessed by the Patriarchal letters. There were other offerings of that period, but without any witnessing, and others as well existed, but all-winning time destroyed them. And the great saint of Achaia Leontios became an intercessor of salvation for many, and having in abundance the students of him, and the material and ethic graces, he passed his soul to the hands of god, being in the age of seventy five on 11th of december of 1470. And his holy relics were put into the shallow tomb cut out by him in the place which he made his toils while being alive. In this time the monastery hold the title of the royal and patriarchal and its leader held the signs of the hegoumenos, the mantle, the staff and the cap (ἐπανωκαλύμμαχον).

4. Τὴν εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀπανταχοῦ φημολογίαν τοῦ μεγάλου Λεοντίου μαθόντες ἐν πράγματι οἱ κατὰ πάντα γνῶριμοὶ καὶ οἰκεῖοι βασιλοπαιδες Παλαιολόγοι Ἰωάννης, Κωνσταντῖνος, Θωμᾶς καὶ Δημήτριος, ὧν οἱ δύο πρῶτοι αὐτοκράτορες ὑπῆρξαν Ρωμαίων, οἱ δὲ δύο τελευταῖοι δεσπότες Στερεᾶς καὶ Πελοποννήσου, ὑπεραγασθέντες τὰς ἀρετὰς τοῦ ἀνδρός καὶ τὴν τῶν θαυμάτων ἐνέργειαν ἐξετίμησαν αὐτὸν βασιλικῶς, καὶ πρὸς αὐτάρκειαν τῆς τῶν μοναχῶν τροφοδοσίας ἐδώρησαν γαίας καὶ ζευγηλατεῖα, οἰκήματα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς οἰκονομίας καταστήματα ἐντὸς τῆς μονῆς ἐκ κρηπίδων περιεπύργωσαν, τὸν δὲ μικρὸν ναὸν ὄντα πρότερον, εὐρύτερον βυζαντινῇ κατασκευῇ ἐκ θεμελίων ὠκοδόμησαν καὶ πρὸς ἀγιασμόν τῶν ἐνασκουμένων τῶν Ἱερῶν τῶν Ἀγίων Παθῶν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀφίερωσαν μέρη, τῶν τιμίων ξύλου, ἀκανθίνου στεφάνου, χλαμύδος, σπόγγου, /πλεξίδος τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου, Ἀρέθα τε χεῖρα καὶ Στεφάνου τοῦ Νέου καὶ Ὁμολογητοῦ κάραν μετὰ θήκης ἐξ ἐλεφαντίνου ὁστέως βυζαντινῆς κατασκευῆς, ἐντὸς τῆς ὁποίας ὑπάρχει κιβώτινον (sic) ἐκ λευκοῦ μαρμάρου φέρον περιγραφὴν «Φέρων ἐσθῆτα Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου» ἐντὸς τοῦ ὁποίου ὑπάρχει τὰ ὡς εἴρηται ἀργυροδιαχρυσοπεριτυλιγμένα, πάντα δὲ τὰ ἀνωτέρω β(ασιλικά) ἀναθήματα καθιέρωσαν διὰ β(ασιλικῶν) χρυσοβούλλων, καὶ ἐμμαρτύρων ἐγγράφων Πατριαρχικῶν. Εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλα ἀφιερῶματα τῆς ἐποχῆς ἐκείνης, ἀλλ'

ἀμάρτυρα, ἴσως ὑπῆρχον ἀλλ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ χρόνος τὰ διώλεσεν. Ὁ δὲ Ἅγιος ὁ μέγας ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ Λεόντιος πολλοῖς πρόξενος σωτηρίας γενόμενος, καὶ τοὺς μαθητάς του πλουτήσας χαρίτων ὑλικῶν καὶ ἠθικῶν τὸ πνεῦμα τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χειρὶ παρέθετο, τὸ ἑβδομηκοστὸν πέμπτον τῆς ἡλικίας του ἄγων ἔτος τῇ 11ῃ Δεκεμβρίου 1470. Τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ λείψανον κατετέθη ἐν τῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν βράχῳ λαξευθέντι τάφῳ ἐν ᾧ καὶ ζῶν ἠγωνίζετο τόπῳ. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ταύτῃ ἡ μονὴ ἔφερε τίτλον Βασιλικὴ καὶ Πατριαρχικὴ, καὶ ὁ προεξάρχων αὐτῆς ἔφερεν ἡγουμενικὰ παράσημα, μανδύαν, ράβδον καὶ ἐπανωκαλύμναυχον.

5. After a short while, a student, who in everything reminded him, a proedros of the Palaia Patra Joacheim with all gathered brotherhood went to the building of the holy sanctuary with a pannychis doxology, and when they started to perform the commemoration, a great earthquake and sound happened in this palace, and the cave (?) was torn apart from the top to the bottom, and being stricken by this strange spectacle nobody could approach the grave, but he (St. Leontios) remained in the tomb (where he was not wetted by rain being covered by the slab with a portrait) for almos four hundred years covered only by a plaque, pouring forth various medicines to those who came with faith.

5. Μετὰ παρέλευσιν δὲ ὀλίγου καιροῦ ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ κατὰ πάντα μιμητὴς αὐτοῦ Πρόεδρος Παλαιῶν Πατρῶν Ἰωακεῖμ καὶ πᾶν τὸ σύστημα τῶν ἀδελφῶν, συνελθόντες εἰς ἀνακομιδὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ σκήνους μὲ παννύχιον δοξολογίαν, ἤρξαντο ἐκκαλύπτειν τὸ μνημεῖον, σεισμοῦ τε ἐπιτοπίου μεγάλου καὶ ἠχώδους γενομένου, καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρου διασχισθέντος ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ ἐκπλαγέντες, μηδόλως προσεγγίσει τῇ σορῷ ἴσχυσαν ἀλλ' ἔμενεν ἐν τῷ τάφῳ (ὅπερ δὲν προσεβάλλετο ὑπὸ βροχῆς ὄντος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρου) τέσσαρας σχεδὸν ἑκατονταετηρίδας ἐκκαλυμμένος μιᾷ μόνον πλακός, βρύων διαφόρους ἰάσεις εἰς τοὺς μετὰ πίστεως προστρέχοντας.

Appendix V

LIFE AND ACTIVITIES

of our Holy and god-bearing Father Leontios from Achaia

who died in the year 2450 [1450] from Christ, on the 11th day of December.

PARAPHRASE INTO THE COMMON LANGUAGE

BY NIKEPHOROS HIEROMONK FROM CHIOS⁵²¹

This our father holy Leontios was from Morea, from a place called Monembasia. His parents were wealthy, god-loving and notable in their fatherland. Especially, his father, called Andreas, who was intrusted with power and administration by the pious ruler Andronikos, and was famous in his fatherland, and known to the emperors and loved by them. And then from these noble parents Leon was born (that was his name in the world) and having such good origin, he was raised from the beginning of his age, in the noble honest character. And immediately when he came to age of being receptive toward knowledge, he was given for education, and he realized the good of the knowledge and understood its sweetness, and he wanted not to learn everything, but to reach the peak and the perfection of studies. Therefore, in a few years, he learnt not only the sciences, but also many other things, by the sharpness of his mind and the purity of his life. Then he was sent by his father to Constantinople, in order to live with the local philosophers for better training and practice, and also in order to get acquainted with the royal issues, and to receive the necessary advancement in them among thoses who stayed in the royal power. And that has happened that he advanced much in philosophy and he loved much the wisdom and was respected by many for it.

ΒΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ

Τοῦ Ὁσίου καὶ Θεοφόρου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λεοντίου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ

Ὅστις ἐκοιμήθη κατὰ τὸ ἀν' ἔτος 2450 ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, Δεκεμβρίου ια'.

ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΘΕΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΑΠΛΟΥΝ ΥΠΟ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΙΟΥ

Οὗτος ὁ Ὁσίος Πατὴρ ἡμῶν Λεόντιος, ἦτον ἀπὸ τὸν Μορέαν, ἀπὸ τὴν χώραν ὅπου καλεῖται Μονεμβασία· οἱ γονεῖς του ἦσαν πλούσιοι, θεοφιλεῖς, καὶ ἐπίσημοι τῆς πατρίδος τους· μάλιστα δὲ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ἀνδρέας ὀνόματι, καὶ ὅλου τοῦ Μορέως τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ ἐξουσίαν καὶ διοίκησιν ἐμπιστεύθη, παρὰ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλέως Ἀνδρονίκου, καὶ ἦτον καὶ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα του λαμπρός, καὶ εἰς τοὺς βασιλεῖς γνωστός καὶ ἀγαπητός. Ἐκ τοιούτων λοιπὸν εὐγενῶν γονέων γεννηθεὶς ὁ Λέων, (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ κοσμικὸν ὄνομα) καὶ τοιαύτας καλὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων, ἀνετρέφετο ἀπὸ τὰς πρώτας ἀρχὰς τῆς ἡλικίας του, μὲ εὐγενικὰ καὶ χρηστὰ ἦθη· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐλθὼν εἰς ἡλικίαν δεκτικὴν μαθημάτων, ἐδόθη εἰς τὴν μάθησιν, καὶ γνωρίσας τὸ καλὸν τῆς μαθήσεως καὶ τὴν γλυκύτητα αὐτῆς αἰσθανθεὶς, ἐπεθύμησεν ὅχι ἀπλῶς νὰ μάθῃ, ἀλλὰ νὰ φθάσῃ εἰς τὸ ἄκρον καὶ εἰς τὴν τελειότητα τῶν ἐπιστημῶν· ὅθεν εἰς ὀλίγους χρόνους, οὐ μόνον τὰς ἐπιστήμας ἔμαθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰς διαλέκτους, διὰ τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ νοός του καὶ τὴν καθαρότητα τῆς ζωῆς του. Ἐπειτα πέμπεται παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς του εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν, ἓνα μὲν, διὰ νὰ συναναστραφῇ μὲ τοὺς ἐκεῖ φιλοσόφους πρὸς περισσοτέραν του ἄσκησιν καὶ γυμνασίαν, ἄλλο δέ, διὰ νὰ συνειθίσῃ τὰς βασιλικὰς ὑποθέσεις, καὶ νὰ λάβῃ τὴν ἀπαιτουμένην προκοπὴν εἰς αὐτάς, διατρίβοντας μέσα εἰς τὰ βασίλεια· ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο· ὅτι καὶ εἰς τὴν Φιλοσοφίαν ἐστάθη πολὺς, καὶ εἰς τὴν φρόνησιν ὑπερβολικὰ τὸν ἡγάπα καὶ κατὰ πολλὰ τὸν ἐτίμα.

⁵²¹ Makarios Notaras, ed. *Νέον Λειμωνάριον* (Athens: 1873), pp. 457- 460.

After his father died, he returned to his fatherland, to Monembasia, and such a great philosopher, wandered by everybody and revered by the emperors, went and got subjected into the imitation of Christ with all humility to his mother Theodora. And then she wanted to leave the world and to separate from the concerns of worldly affairs, and, consequently, she went away to a monastery, to pass the rest of her life in the God-pleasing way. She encouraged her son to marry and to assume care about their possessions and to become the heir of the patrimonial wealth. And though he was not admirer of the world, but rather a philosopher and intelligent and virtues, he was convinced by the mother as a son, through persuasive speeches which she brought forth. And this way he remained the heir and the master of the possessions of his father and his mother. And the mother went to the monastery in accordance with her desire, she lived well and in a god-pleasing manner, that much that, by god's will, she was deemed to be worthy of the foreseeing of the end of her life and her departure toward god through the acceptance of God's will. And her son, Leon remained in the world, married, as it was said, though not with the worldly, but rather heavenly thoughts, living in god-pleasing manner and as much as he was able keeping the divine commands. The divine love burnt his entire heart and he didn't enjoy the condition in which he appeared, but he wanted to dedicate himself entirely to god and his service. Thus, though he contemplated the following passage from the Gospels: "What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder" (Marc 10:9), but except this equally he was captivated and his love exceedingly was attached to another statement of Christ, which said: "And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life"(Matthew 19:29)

Ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ὁ πατήρ του ἀπέθανεν, ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα του, τὴν Μονεμβασίαν, καὶ ὁ τοσοῦτος μέγας φιλόσοφος, καὶ θαυμαστὸς εἰς ὅλους, καὶ παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων τιμώμενος, ἔρχεται καὶ ὑποτάσσεται χριστομιμήτως, μὲ ὅλην τὴν ταπείνωσιν εἰς τὴν μητέρα του Θεοδώραν· ἔπειτα θέλουσα ἐκείνη νὰ ἀποσπασθῇ ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμον καὶ νὰ εὕγῃ ἀπὸ τῶν βιοτικῶν πραγμάτων τὴν μέριμναν, διὰ νὰ ὑπάγῃ εἰς μοναστήριον, νὰ ἀπεράσῃ θεαρέστως τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τῆς ζωῆς της, ἐπαρακίνησε τὸν υἱὸν της νὰ ὑπανδρευθῇ καὶ νὰ ἀναλάβῃ ἐκεῖνος τὴν φροντίδα τῶν πραγμάτων τους καὶ νὰ μένῃ κληρονόμος τοῦ πατρικοῦ πλούτου· ὅθεν ἀγκαλὰ καὶ δὲν ἦτον φιλόκοσμος, ὡς φιλόσοφος καὶ φρόνιμος καὶ ἐνάρετος ὅπου ἦτον, ὅμως πείθεται εἰς τὴν μητέρα ὡς υἱός, διὰ τὰ δικαιολογήματα ὅπου ἐκείνη τοῦ ἐπαράστησε. Καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸς μὲν ἔμεινε κληρονόμος καὶ κύριος τῶν πατρικῶν καὶ μητρικῶν πραγμάτων· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ, ἀπελθοῦσα εἰς μοναστήριον κατὰ τὸν πόθον της, ἔζησε καλῶς καὶ θεαρέστως, τόσον ὅπου ἠξιώθη νὰ προγνώρισῃ θεόθεν καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς ζωῆς της καὶ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν ἐκδημίαν της, διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐαρέστησιν. Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτῆς Λέων ἔμεινε εἰς τὸν κόσμον ὑπανδρευμένος, καθὼς εἴρηται, πλὴν ὅχι μὲ κοσμικά, ἀλλὰ μὲ οὐράνια φρονήματα, θεαρέστως πολυτευόμενος καὶ φυλλάτων, ὅσον ἦτον δυνατόν, τὰς θείας ἐντολάς. Τοῦ ἐκατάφλεγεν ὅμως τὴν καρδίαν ὁ θεῖος πόθος καὶ δὲν εὐχαριστεῖτο εἰς τὴν κατάστασιν ὅπου εὕρισκετο, ἀλλὰ ἤθελε νὰ δοθῇ ὅλος εἰς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκεῖνου λατρείαν· ὅθεν, ἀγκαλὰ καὶ ἐσυλλογίζετο τὸ Εὐαγγελικὸν ἐκεῖνο, «οὗς ὁ Θεὸς συνέζευξεν, ἄνθρωπος μὴ χωρίζετω», πλέον ὅμως τὸν ἐβίαζε καὶ τὸν πόθον του καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἄναπτεν ἡ ἄλλη ἐκείνη ἀπόφασις τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ λέγουσα καὶ «πᾶς ὃς ἀφῆκεν οἰκίαν, ἢ ἀδελφούς, ἢ ἀδελφάς, ἢ πατέρα, ἢ μητέρα, ἢ γυναῖκα, ἢ τέκνα, ἢ ἀγροὺς ἔνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός μου, ἑκατονταπλασίονα λήψεται, καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσει».

Thus, thinking often and well about this, after he had three children, he persuaded even his wife, and she remained in his house with all possessions and his children, and he left in order to accomplish the passion he had toward Christ. There was one holy man called Mennides, strictly ascetic and the best teacher of monastic life, so the blessed one adjoined to him and entered the number of other students. And he received the angelic scheme and was renamed Leontios from Leon, and so eagerly started to [fight] the ascetic battles and so much struggled, that in a short period of time he surpassed all other students and other monks in virtues, and he was admired by everybody. Since he had a desire to see and to imitate the deeds and virtuous acts of other virtuous men, he didn't plan to stay till the end in the gathering of these people, but leaving this place went to the Holy Mount Athos and found there as he wished the virtuous monks, and he struggled together with them. And he poured much sweat and toils in the battles of virtue. And though in everything he did he considered himself lower to everybody, and subjected to everybody and exhibited to everybody extreme humbleness, with all this, everybody considered him higher than others, and everybody endowed him with great honor.

Λοιπὸν ταῦτα πολλάκις καὶ καλῶς μελετήσας, ἀφ' οὗ ἔκαμε τρία παιδιά, καταπεῖθει πλέον τὴν σύζυγόν του, καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖνη εἰς τὸν οἶκόν του καὶ εἰς ὅλα του τὰ ὑπάρχοντα μὲ τὰ παιδιά του, καὶ ἐπῆγεν αὐτὸς νὰ πληρώσῃ τὸν πόθον ὅπου εἶχε παιδιόθεν πρὸς τὸν Χριστόν· εὐρὼν δὲ ἓνα ἱερὸν ἄνδρα Μεννίδην ἐπονομαζόμενον, ἀσκητὴν ἀκριβέστατον καὶ τῆς μοναδικῆς πολιτείας διδάσκαλον ἄριστον, ὑποτάσσεται εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ συναριθμεῖται μὲ τοὺς ἄλλους τοῦ ὑποτακτικοῦ ὁ μακάριος· καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα, ἀπὸ Λέων μετωνομάσθη Λεόντιος, καὶ τόσον προθύμως ἄρχισε τοὺς ἀσκητικὸς ἀγῶνας καὶ τόσον πολλὰ ἠγωνίζετο, ὥστε ὅπου εἰς ὀλίγον διάστημα καιροῦ ἐξαπέρασεν ὅλους τοὺς ἄλλους ὑποτακτικοὺς καὶ συναγωνιστάς του εἰς τὰς ἀρετάς, καὶ παρὰ πάντων ἐθαυμάζετο. Πλὴν ὁ πόθος ὅπου εἶχε διὰ νὰ ἰδῇ καὶ νὰ μιμηθῇ καὶ ἄλλων ἐναρέτων ἔργα καὶ κατορθώματα, δὲν τὸν ἄφησε νὰ μένῃ ἕως τέλους εἰς τὴν συνοδείαν ἐκείνων, ἀλλὰ ἀναχωρήσας ἐκεῖθεν, ἐπῆγεν εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος τοῦ Ἀθῶνος, καὶ εὐρὼν ἐκεῖ κατὰ τὸν πόθον τοῦ ἐναρέτους μοναχοῦ, συνηγωνίζετο μὲ αὐτούς· καὶ πολλοὺς ἰδρωτάς ἔχυνεν εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγῶνάς τε καὶ κόπους· πλὴν μὲ ὅλον ὅπου εἶχεν αὐτὸς τὸν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ κατώτερον ἀπὸ ὅλους, καὶ εἰς ὅλους ὑπετάσσετο, καὶ εἰς ὅλους ἔδειχεν ἄκραν ταπείνωσιν, μὲ ὅλον τοῦτο, ὅλοι τὸν εἶχον καὶ τὸν ἐνόμιζον ἀνώτερόν τους, καὶ ὅλοι μεγάλην τιμὴν τοῦ ἀπέδιδαν.

Hence and because of this reason, namely because of human honor, he as well departed again from Mount Athos, and came to the deserted place of Morea and remained there alone only praying to God. But he didn't end and didn't stop to ask God for him to receive a place in order to exercise his service to God and to be pleased with it. And therefore it was revealed to him in a God-pleasing way to go to the northern part, to the mountain called Klokos of the Elder, above Aigion, traditionally called Bostitza, and to live (there). And in this place he spent almost all rest of his life, beaten by the cold and frost of winter and burnt by the heat by burning summer and suffering all other miseries, he defeated and completely prevailed over the hostile demonic forces by the divine power of Christ and the glorious one reached the complete freedom from emotions, and his mind, full of God, ascended clearly to the altitude for the contemplation of celestial matters and to be enriched with the energy of miracles, being able to cure those limping and crippled and any illness.

Hence also royal children Thomas and Demetrius, the brothers of Constantine the last emperor of the Romans, despots of Peloponnesos, admiring much his virtue and honoring him as the man of God and saint, founded in that place where the holy one practiced askesis, a holy church of Archangel Michael, and many other buildings erected from the grounds, established a monastery and for sanctification of those who practice askesis there, offered some parts of relics from the Holy Passions of our Savior Christ. As well as a part of the Christ's crown of thorns, part of the righteous wood of the life-giving Cross, and a part of the sponge from which Christ received to drink the vinegar, and that of the red chlamys, in which he was dressed for mockery and scoffing; and except these relics, also the lock of hair of the venerated Prodromos, the hand of St. Arethas, and the skull of St. Stephanos the New, and the container with these relics was established in the holy altar.

Ὅθεν καὶ ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης, ἤγουν διὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τιμὴν, ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπὸ τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τοὺς ἐρήμους τόπους τοῦ Μορέως καὶ ἦτον ἐκεῖ μόνος μόνῳ Θεῷ προσευχόμενος· δὲν ἔλειπεν ὅμως οὔτε ἔπαυεν, ἀπὸ τὸ νὰ παρακαλῇ τὸν Θεὸν νὰ τοῦ δείξῃ τόπον νὰ ὑπάγῃ νὰ τὸν δουλεύσῃ, καὶ νὰ εὐαρεστήσῃ εἰς αὐτόν· διὸ καὶ τοῦ ἀπεκαλύφθη θεόθεν, νὰ ὑπάγῃ εἰς τὰ Βόρεια μέρη, εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ λεγόμενον Κλωκὸν τοῦ Γέροντος, ἄνωθεν Αἰγίου, τῆς κοινῶς λεγομένης Βοστίτζας, νὰ κατοικήσῃ· καὶ εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ἀπερνῶντας τὸν περισσότερον καιρὸν τῆς ζωῆς του, πηγνύμενος ἀπὸ τὰς ψυχράς καὶ τοὺς παγετοὺς τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ φλεγόμενος ἀπὸ τὴν θερμὴν καὶ τοὺς καύσωνας τοῦ θέρους καὶ μὲ πᾶσαν ἄλλην κακοπάθειαν ταλαιπωρούμενος, ἐνίκησε καὶ παντελῶς ἠφάνισε τὰς ἐναντίας δυνάμεις τῶν δαιμόνων μὲ τὴν θείαν δύναμιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἔφθασεν εἰς τελείαν ἀπάθειαν ὁ αἰοίδιμος, καὶ τὸν νοῦν αὐτοῦ εἰς ὕψος ἔνθεον δηλαδὴ εἰς θεωρίας ὑψηλὰς ἀνεβίβασε καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῶν θαυμάτων ἐπλούτησε, χωλοὺς καὶ κυλλοὺς, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀσθένειαν θεραπεύων.

Ὅθεν καὶ οἱ βασιλόπαιδες Θωμᾶς καὶ Δημήτριος, οἱ καὶ αὐτάδελφοι Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ὀλοῦστερινοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων, δεσπότες ὄντες τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ὑπερθαυμάζοντες τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐλαβούμενοι αὐτόν, ὡς Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἅγιον, ἔκτισαν εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἀσκήτευεν ὁ ὅσιος, ναὸν ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα οἰκοδομήματα ἐκ θεμελίων οἰκοδομήσαντες, μοναστήριον κατέστησαν, καὶ πρὸς ἁγιασμόν τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἀσκουμένων, μέρη τινὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἁγίων Παθῶν τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ ἀφιέρωσαν· ἤγουν μέρος τοῦ ἀκανθίνου στεφάνου τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μέρος τοῦ τιμίου ξύλου τοῦ, ζωηφόρου Σταυροῦ, καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν σπόγγον μέρος, δι' οὗ ἐποτίσθη τὸ ὄζος ὁ Χριστός, καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν κοκκίνην χλαμύδα, ἣν ἐνέδυσαν αὐτὸν πρὸς χλεύην καὶ ἐμπαιγμόν· πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἓνα πλόκαμον ἀπὸ τὰς τρίχας τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου, τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀρέθα, καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν κάραν Στεφάνου τοῦ Νέου, τὰ ὅποια φέροντες ἀπέθεντο ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Τράπεζαν.

The great Leontius, who became the source of salvation for many because of the wisdom of his divine words and the synergy of the divine Grace, for those whom he led toward zeal and imitation of his ascetic way of life and holy living, foresaw his death, as he saw the light-radiating holy angels, who brought him up from the earth to the heavens, and then his spirit found peace in the hands of god, and he lived seventy and five years. And his revered and holy relics were laid down in the same cave, where he struggled while living, and he poured forth the cures for those who approached him with faith. After certain times, his disciple wanted, the one imitating him in everything, the proedros of Palaia Patra Joacheim, so, he wanted as I said, to create a building for the holy relics together with other monks, and they all entered there together, and the earthquake happened and broke the cave apart, and being scared they did not approach anymore, but the relics of the holy one remained there, where they are today, and the decision about them can be made only by god. By his unknown measure of grace we are saved from eternal punishment, through the intercession and pleads of this holy and god-bearing our father Leontios, and we will be deemed worthy of the celestial Kingdom. Amen.

Ὁ δὲ Ὁσιος Λεόντιος, ἀφ' οὗ ἔγινεν αἴτιος σωτηρίας εἰς πολλοὺς μὲ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν θείων του λόγων καὶ μὲ τὴν συνέργειαν τῆς θείας Χάριτος καὶ τοὺς διήγειρε πρὸς ζῆλον καὶ μίμησιν τῆς ἀσκητικῆς του πολιτείας καὶ ἁγίας ζωῆς, ἐπρογνώρισε τὸ τέλος του, μὲ τὸ νὰ εἶδε φωτοειδεῖς ἁγίους Ἀγγέλους, ὅπου τὸν ἐπροσκαλοῦσαν ἀπὸ τὴν γῆν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ τότε τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐν εἰρήνῃ παρέθετο εἰς χεῖρας Θεοῦ, ζήσας ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε χρόνους. Τὸ δὲ τίμιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἅγιον λείψανον κατετέθη μέσα εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σπήλαιον, ὅπου ζῶν ἠγωνίζετο, καὶ βρῦει ἰάματα τοῖς μετὰ πίστεως αὐτῷ προστρέχουσι. Μετὰ καιρὸν δὲ ἠθέλησεν ὁ μαθητὴς αὐτοῦ, καὶ μιμητὴς κατὰ πάντα, ὁ Πρόεδρος Παλαιῶν Πατρῶν Ἰωακείμ, ἠθέλησε λέγω, νὰ κάμῃ ἀνακομιδὴν τοῦ ἁγίου λειψάνου μετὰ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀδελφῶν, καὶ συνελθόντες ἐκεῖ ὅλοι ὁμοῦ, ἔγινεν σεισμός, καὶ διεσχίσθη τὸ σπήλαιον, καὶ φοβηθέντες δὲ ἐπλησίασαν παντελῶς, ἀλλ' ἔμεινε καὶ μένει ἐκεῖ τὸ ἅγιον λείψανον, ἕως καὶ τῆς σήμερον, κρίμασιν οἷς εἶδε μόνος ὁ Κύριος· οὗ τῷ ἀπείρῳ ἐλέει ῥυσθούμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς τῶν αἰωνίων κολάσεων, διὰ πρεσβειῶν καὶ ἱκεσιῶν τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λεοντίου, καὶ ἀξιωθούμεν τῆς οὐρανίου Βασιλείας. Ἀμήν.

Appendix VI

Selective Passages from the Service to Holy Leontios⁵²²

Ἦχος α'. Τῶν οὐρανίων ταγμάτων

Τῶν Δωριέων τὸ κλέος, καὶ ἐγκαλλώπισμα, τῆς ὑψηλίου πάσης, τὸ ἐντρύφημα δεῦτε, Λεόντιον τὸν πάνυ ὁσματοκῶς, εὐφημήσωμεν σήμερον, τοῦτο βοῶντες ἐν πίστει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τὸν Χριστὸν ἀεὶ ἱκέτευε....

Tone 1. "Of Celestial Orders.."

Look! Today, we glorify a sprout of the Dorians and adornment of the entire world, a delight, Leontios, absolutely bodiless, and we call him in faith, "Oh, always pray for us to the Lord"....

Δόξα. Ἦχος δ'.

Τὴν πάνσεπτον πανήγυριν τῆς ἐνδόξου θεόφρον τῆς σῆς, ἀσωμάτων οἱ δῆμοι ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ μερόπων τὸ φύλον, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκθειάζουσιν, ὅτι σκευὸς πέφηνας τῆς τριλαμποῦς μοναρχίας καὶ θεῖος σηκός, αὐτὴν ἱλεούμενος, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, μὴ ἐλλίπης, λιτάζομεν τὸν θερμῶς τὴν παμφαή, γεραίρόντων σου μνήμην, τὴν φωσφόρον καὶ αἴσιον πάτερ Λεόντιε.

Glory. Tone 4.

The holy and divine celebration of your glory, the tribe of bodiless in the Heavens and the kind of the mortals on the earth revere, that you appeared to be the vessel of the Thrice-shinning Unity and the holy dwelling, propitiating [the Trinity] for us do not stop, as we celebrate warmly the radiant one (Trinity?), worshipping your memory, light-bearing and happy father Leontios.

Ἦχος β'. Οἶκος τοῦ Ἐφραθα.

Δεῦτε τῶν μοναστῶν, τὰ πλήθη συνελθόντες, τὴν παμφαῇ ἐν ὕμνοις, πανήγυριν τοῦ θείου, Λεοντίου τελέσωμεν. <...> // Φωτὸς τοῦ τριλαμποῦς, ὑπάρξας θεῖος δόμος, φωταγωγεῖς τοὺς πίστει, προστρέχοντας τῇ θήκῃ, θεόφρον τῶν λειψάνων σου.

Tone 2. "The house of Euphrath"

Look! Here the multitude of monks coming together, as we perform the radiant celebration of holy Leontios with hymns. <...> // The divine house bringing the thrice-shining light, you guide to light those who come with faith to your tomb of your god-bearing relics.

Δόξα. Ἦχος γ'. Νῦν προφητική.

Νῦν πνευματικὴ πάρεστι πανδαισία, φιλέορτοι νοητῶς τρυφήσωμεν, καὶ σῶμα καὶ νοῦν καθαρθέντες, καθαροὶ τῷ παναμώμῳ προσέλθωμεν Λεοντίῳ καὶ σορὸν τούτου προσπτυξώμεθα, ἐξ ἧς ῥεῖθρα

⁵²² Edition: Ὑμνολόγιον ἐν ᾧ ἡ ἀκολουθία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λεοντίου, καὶ οἱ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ οἴκοι περιέχονται. Καὶ ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ ἡ τε ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ ἡ μνήμη τοῦ ὁσίου τελεῖται, καὶ ἡ τάξις ὅπως τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τοῦ ὁσίου ψάλλουσι καταλεπτῶς περιγράφεται. Χάριν τῶν φιλακολούθων χριστιανῶν τύποις ἐξεδόθη. Ἐν Λειψία τῆς Σαξωνίας 1764. Παρὰ τῷ Βερνάρδ Χριστόφ Βρέϊτκοφ Καὶ υἱῷ. [Collection of Hymns, in which the Service of our holy father Leontius and the oikoi to the Archangel Michael are collected. And in the beginning for the day in which the memory of the holy one is performed and a rite for those who sing the service of the holy one is described in details. For loving Christians it was edited in typography. In Leipzig of Saxonia, 1764, by Bernard Christoph Breitkopf and sons.]

ἀναβλύζουσι, καθάρσια μολυσμῶν παντοδαπῶν, εἰς Χριστοῦ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ πάντων Θεοῦ· οὓς ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀγαθέ, ἐθνῶν τὰ θράση καθελεῖς, ὅτι εἰς χοῦν ἔθεντο τὸ σκῆνωμά σου.

Glory. Tone 3 “Now in the prophetic way”

Now the spiritual banquet is here, we, loving the feast, spiritually rejoice in it, and cleaning the body and the mind, we, being clean, approaching pure Leontios and embrace his tomb, from which the purifying all kind of pollution streams pour forth, for the glory of Christ, God of everything, by which with prayers, oh the good one, you will calm down the arrogance of the nations, that ruined to earth you house.

The Canon with the Acrostic:

Λεόντιον τιμῶ κλέος Δωριέων – I glorify Leontios the fame of the Dorians

Λιταῖς σου θείαις, πεποιθὼς Λεόντιε τὸ πέλαγος ἐγχειρῶ, μέλψαι τοῦ σοῦ βίου, καὶ τῆς πολιτείας σου· Σὺ δὲ ὑπόθεν ὄρεξον, λόγου χάριν καὶ σθένος· ὅσα γὰρ θέλεις καὶ δύνασαι, τῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν παρρησίᾳ σου.

By Your holy service persuaded, oh, Leontios, I make an attempt similar to the crossing of a sea, to celebrate your life and your activities. And you, guiding me donate strength for the speech, as much as you want and you can, by your intercession (parrhesia) to God.

Ἐξ εὐσεβοῦς, καὶ εὐγενοῦς ἐβλάστησας ρίζης ὡς πόθος τερπνός, εὐκαίρως τὸν καρπὸν τε, ἔδωκας Λεόντιε, καὶ φύλλον οὐκ ἐρρύη σου· Μαρτυρεῖ μοι τῷ λόγῳ, τὸ πέλαγος τῶν θαυμάτων σου, καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν τὰ συστήματα.

From the pious and noble root you grew, as a beautiful love, and you have given a timely fruit, oh, Leontios, and your bloom didn't fade. The sea of you miracles and the principles of your teaching are testified by my speech.

Οὐδέν σου ὥφθη, τῶν φθαρτῶν Λεόντιε ἐμπόδιον ἀληθῶς, πρὸς τὰ καλὰ βλέψαι· καὶ προκρῖναι ἄριστα, τοῦ χειρόνος τὸ βέλτιον· ὅθεν φυγὼν τὸν κόσμον, καὶ τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ, ἐσταύρωσαι κόσμῳ, καὶ σοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται.

The never seen by you, the corruption, for which (your are) the real impediment, Leontios, and you would strive for the good things. And select the best, the better over the worse. Whence avoiding the world and the wordly things, you have enclosed from the world, and the world enclosed you.

Νεκρώσας σάρκα καὶ τὸν νοῦν, ἀνακαθάρας νηστεία, δάκρυσι καὶ προσευχῇ προσοχῇ τε, ὅλος ἦρθης ἀπὸ γῆς, καὶ ἐνδημῶν τῷ σώματι, Θεῷ ὠμίλεις μόνος, μόνῳ ἀμέσως Λεόντιε.

Destroying the flesh and clearing the mind by the lent, tears, and attentive prayers, you were entirely elevated from the earth, and being in the body you only were associated immediately with god, the only one, oh Leontios.

Τρίβον ὁδεύσας τὴν στενὴν, καὶ τεθλιμμένην, εἰκότως ἡξιώθης πλατισμοῦ οὐρανόιου, καὶ χορεύεις σὺν χοροῖς, τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν Λεόντιε· Ὡν καὶ τοὺς σοὺς συμμύστας, κατηξίωσας αὐλίζεσθαι.

Traveling on the route wordly and narrow, you were naturally deemed worthy of the celestial creatures, and you were associated with the choir of the chosen ones, oh, Leontios. And you esteemed your fellows by dwelling with them.

Ἰδοὺ συνῆλθον οἱ λαοί, τοῖς φοιτηταῖς σου τελέσαι σὴν Λεόντιε ἐτήσιον μνήμην, ὧν προσχὼν ταῖς προσευχαῖς, ὡς εὐμενὴς τὰ πρόσφορα αἰτήματα παράσχου, καὶ τῶν χρηστῶν πάντας πλήρωσον.

Here! People came, your annual memory, oh, Leontios, is performed by your students, from whom receiving in the prayers, as gracious, offer, the demanded things and fulfill to everybody their needs.

Ὅχρωθεὶς τῇ παντευχίᾳ τῆς χάριτος, πρὸς τὴν πλάνην ἐχθροῦ ἐξελέλυθας, καὶ συμπλακεῖς τούτῳ νοητῶς, κατέρραξας ἅμα, τοῖς τούτου δεινοῖς στρατεύμασι· διὸ καὶ τροπαιοῦχος ἀνεδείχθης, καὶ στέφος, οὐρανόθεν ἐδέξω Λεόντιε.

Enforced with the armour of the grace, you go against the sin of the (human) enemy, and fighting with it in a mental way, you threw it down together with its awful militaries. Therefore, as an acclaimed trophy-bearer, you receive a wreath from the heavens.

Νενικηκὼς τὸν ἀναιδῶς, φρυαττόμενον, καὶ στρουθίου δείξας ἀσθενέστερον τοῦτο σοφέ· ὥφθης μοναστῶν, ἀλείπτῃς γενναῖος, καὶ ταξιάρχῃς ἀήττητος· διὸ καὶ τὰς σὰς μάνδρας ἐκλυτροῦσαι τῆς τούτου, ἐπηρείας καὶ βλάβης Λεόντιε.

Having conquered the shamelessly arrogant one, you made him not stronger than a sparrow, oh, wise one! Regarded by the monks, as a noble trainer and invincible militant, by your sheep-fold you protect them from evil and harm, oh, Leontios.

Τὸν ἱερὸν καὶ θεοφόρον Λεόντιον, συνελθόντες λόγοις καταστέψωμεν, καὶ ἐκ ψυχῆς κράζωμεν αὐτῷ, ταῖς καθαρωτάταις, πρεσβείαις σου πρὸς τὸν Κύριον· ρῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἐκ πάσης τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἐπηρείας, καὶ παντοίων καλῶν πάντας ἔμπλησον.

Holy and god-bearing Leontios, coming together we adorn with speeches, and from the heart we cry to him by your most pure advocacy to the Lord, rescue us, from all the hostile harm and provide all kind of goods for everybody.

Ἰαμάτων πηγὴν σε, ἔδειξεν ἡ ἄφθονος πηγὴ Λεόντιε, ὡς γὰρ ζῶν καὶ πάλιν, μετὰ τέλος τὸ μακαριώτατον, πάντας θεραπεύεις, τοὺς ἐκ ψυχῆς σου προσιόντας, τῇ σορῷ τῶν λειψάνων ἐκάστοτε.

You proved yourself as a source of medicine, oh, rich source Leontios, as being alive as well as after the most blessed end, and you cure everybody from your heart, everybody approaching your tomb of the relics, at any time.

Μὴ βραχεῖς τοῖς χεიმάρροις τοῦ ἐχθροῦ Λεόντιε, μὴ δὲ τοῖς πνεύμασι σαλευθεῖς, ὡς ἔχων ἐπὶ πέτρᾳ Χριστοῦ σου τὸν θέμελον, κυβερνήτης ὥφθης τῶν μοναστῶν, ἰθύνων πάντας, πρὸς λιμένα Θεοῦ τὸν ἀκόμαντον.

Not narrow streams of hostility, oh, Leontios, and not by spirits shaken, as having on the stone your foundation for Christ, you keep the monks from danger guiding everybody toward the calm harbor of the Lord

Ὡς περ Λέων βρυχήσας, ἔτρεψας ἀλώπεκας, νοητοὺς θήρας τε καὶ τὰ ποίμνια σου, διασφύξεις ἐκεῖνων τοῦ φάρυγγος· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μάκαρ, ποιεῖν ἀεὶ μὴ διαλείπῃς, τῇ πολλῇ πρὸς Θεὸν παρρησίᾳ σου.

Roaring like a lion, you put to flight foxes, [as for] your mental animals and your cattle, you save the throats of them. But never cease doing this, by your often advocacy to God.

Κρατὴρ ὥραθης κινῶν, πνευματικὴν ἀγαλλίασιν, καὶ στῦλος φωτοειδής, φωτίζων τὰ πέρατα· καὶ ὄρμος σωτήριος, Λεόντιε πάντα, συντηρῶν τοὺς σοὶ προστρέχοντας.

You showed yourself, oh, Leontios, mixing [wine in] the vessel, the spiritual fervent joy, and a radiant pillar enlightening the ends of earth, and a chain of salvation holding everybody who approaches you.

Λαμπρότητα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἰδεῖν καὶ παθεῖν ἡξιώσαι, Λεόντιε μοναστῶν, τὸ κλέος καὶ ἔρεισμα, τῆς θείας ἐλλάμψεως κοινωνοὺς γενέσθαι, καὶ ἡμᾶς νῦν καταξιώσον.

You were deemed worth to see and to experience the brightness of god, oh, Leontios, fame and support for monks, also now you esteemed us to become the fellow participants in divine illumination.

Ἐν οὐρανοῖς συνοικῶν, τοῖς πρωτοτόκοις Λεόντιε, προσχὼν ἡμῶν ταῖς λιταῖς· ἡμῶν μέσον πάρεσο, ὀρέγων τὰ πρόσφορα αἰτήματα πᾶσι, καὶ δεινῶν πάντας λυτρούμενος.

Living together in the Heavens with the first-born ones, oh, Leontios, persuaded by our prayers, come down to us, accomplishing brought pleads for everyone and pouring forth all of the amazing things.

Ὁ μέγας Λεόντιος, πρὸς εὐωχίαν πνευματικὴν συγκαλεῖ, τοὺς ἐγγὺς καὶ τοὺς πόρρω· διὸ προθύμως ἀγαλλομένη ψυχῇ, ὡς πρὸς λειμῶνα προσδράμωμεν ἀγκαρπον, τρυγῶντες καρποὺς ζωηροὺς ἐκ τῆς σοροῦ αὐτοῦ.

Great Leontios gathers, for a spiritual feast, those who are nearby and those who are far. Therefore, with a joyful soul, as if we are running on a meadow bearing much fruits, we collect life-giving fruits from his tomb.

Σοφία καὶ χάριτι, κεκοσμημένος Λεόντιε τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐφελκύσαι πρὸς γνῶσιν τῆς ἀληθείας τῶν ἐναντίων πολλοὺς, καὶ τούτους θῦμα Κυρίῳ προσήγαγες, καὶ σφζομένους Θεῷ σὺν σοὶ παρέστησας.

Adorned by wisdom and grace, oh, Leontios, you draw toward the knowledge of truth many of its enemies, you led them toward the glory of God, and they were saved by God with your advocacy.

Δοξάσας τοῖς πόνοις σου, Θεὸν Λεόντιε πάτερ ὅσιε, πολλαπλῶς ὑπ' αὐτοὺς νῦν δοξάζει· ἡ γὰρ σορός σου πηγὴ θαυμάτων πέλει, ἀέναος σμήχουσα ἐκτρώματα τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν.

Glorifying god with your toils, oh, holy father Leontios, many times you are now venerated because of them, and your tomb became a source of miracles, the ever-flowing one, washing away miscarriages of our souls and bodies.

Ὡςπερ μαγνήτης εἴλκυσας, πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀκούοντας, τῶν μελισταγῶν σου διδασκῶν Λεόντιε, καὶ τούτους προσήγαγες Θεῷ τερπνὴν, οἷαπερ ὁδμήν, τῷ δημιουργῷ καὶ λυτρωτῇ ἐκβοῶντας· οἱ παῖδες εὐλογεῖτε, ἱερεῖς ἀνυμνεῖτε, λαὸς ὑπερυψοῦτε εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

As a magnet you attract by your honey-pouring teachings those who listen to them, oh, Leontios, and to those you brought the taste in god, and a similar smell, those calling the creator and redeemer. Oh, servants (children), praise, oh, priests, sing hymns, and people, honour in all centuries!

Ράβδω εὐχῆς Λεόντιε, τῶν παθῶν ῥήξας θάλασσαν, καί γε πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐπαγγελίας ἔφθασας. Θεῷ τρανῶς ὁμιλῶν, οὐκ ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ δὲ καὶ σκιαῖς, ἀλλ' εἰλικρινῶς καὶ θεουργοῦμενος κρᾶξεις· οἱ παῖδες εὐλογεῖτε, ἱερεῖς ἀνυμνεῖτε, λαὸς ὑπερυψοῦτε εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

By the staff of prayer, oh, Leontios, you part the sea of passions, moves toward the Promised Land. Clearly communicating with god, not by the mirror and shadows, but purely being deified you call: Oh, servants, praise, oh, priests, sing hymns, and people, honour in all centuries!

Ιχνηλατήσας κάλλιστα, τῶν Πατέρων Λεόντιε, βίους καὶ τὰς πράξεις, κατ' οὐδὲν τὸ δεύτερον, τῆς τούτων ἀσκήσεως ἔσχες, μᾶλλον δέ, καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπερέβης ζῶν ἀγγελικῶς καὶ εὐχαρίστως κραυγάζων· οἱ παῖδες εὐλογεῖτε, ἱερεῖς ἀνυμνεῖτε, λαὸς ὑπερυψοῦτε εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Following well the lives and the deeds of the (Holy) Fathers, oh, Leontios, the second to anyone, you made the deeds of askesis of them, or, better to say, you went beyond many people, living in the angelic way and sounding with god's grace. Oh, servants, praise, oh, priests, sing hymns, and people, honour in all centuries!

Εφέσεως σου στάς, καὶ τῶν ὀρεκτῶν τὸ ἀκρότατον φθάσας, Λεόντιε, καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ κληρονόμος μέν, νῦν δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ συγκληρονόμος γέγονας· ὅθεν σου δεόμεθα ἐκτενῶς, ὥς ἔχων παρρησίαν, μὴ παύσῃ ἱκετεύων, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶν εὐφημούντων σε.

Making stand in you pleads, reaching the top in the appeals, oh, Leontios, a heir of god, now you have become a co-heir with Christ. And therefore, we pray to you zealously, as you have the right of approaching to god (parrhesia), do not cease pleading for us praising you.

Ωs ἄγγελος βιώσας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἀξίως τετύχηκας χάριτος, ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ἔνδοξε Λεόντιε, σὺν χοροῖς ἀγγέλων ἀγαλλόμενος, καὶ τῆς θεοπτίας κατατρυφῶν κλέος τῶν Δωριέων, καὶ πάσης οἰκουμένης τὸ σεμνολόγημα, καὶ καύχημα.

As an angel living on the earth, and worthy you gained the grace, in the heavens, oh, glorious Leontios, with choirs of angels you rejoice, and by the vision of god you enjoying the fame among the Dorians, and for the entire *oikoumene* you are the source of pride and glory.

Νυττόμενος Λεόντιε πόθῳ σῶ, ὁ κλεινὸς μαθητὴς σου καὶ πρόεδρος, Ἰωακείμ, μονῶν εὐαγῶν τὸν σὸν νῦν ἡμᾶς ὑμνῆσαι βίον ἔπεισε, σὺ δ' αὐτοῦ λιταῖς, καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ, τὸ θεῖον ἱλεοῦ μοι καὶ δὸς πταισμάτων λύτρα, κάμοι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑμνοῦσί σε.

Urged by love to you, oh, Leontios, your glorious student and proedros, Joachaim, followed your life of monastic purity, which we now celebrate, and you, by the prayers of him and those who are with him, by the grace of god give me a release from sins to me and to everybody singing you.

3. Patterns of Ecclesiastic Patronage in Late Byzantium and Medieval Balkan Countries

As it seems to me, the forms of participation in the establishing and endowing of ecclesiastic foundations can be generalized under such umbrella terms as a founder (*κτήτωρ*), re-founder or second founder (*δεύτερος κτήτωρ*), donator or contributor (*δωρητής*, a person who added money or gifts to a institution), and patron (*ἑφορος*, a person exercising protection over a foundation). However, there is no comprehensive analysis of these categories explaining how the terms were used in practice and what were the differences between them, neither in case of Byzantium, nor in that of Balkan Slavic countries.⁵²³ Undoubtedly, many studies of ktetorial rights and duties looked into the occurrence of the title of *second ktetor* (*δεύτερος κτήτωρ*), as well as into the problems of hereditary ktetorial rights (*κτητορικά δίκαια*).⁵²⁴ Nevertheless, classical studies by J. von Zhishman, S. Troicki, and V. Marković made a rough division between the ktetor's and the sponsor's rights,⁵²⁵ which was caused by the research methods employed by these scholars. They based their understanding of ktetorial rights solely on the definitions proposed by the Byzantine law (which was Roman in its essence), where the notions of gift and foundation appeared to be grounded on different legal principles.

However, Byzantine and Balkan practice was much more complex, flexible, and many-folded. Specific legal norms – copied and commented till the very last years of Balkan medieval states – were taken as directions for passing judgements in disputable cases,⁵²⁶ rather than as rules regulating everyday practice. Even the instances of awarding the title of (second) ktetor to Serbian benefactors of Athonite monasteries (i.e., rulers, aristocrats, church hierarchs) on the basis of their generous donations⁵²⁷ can be better understood in the paradigm of ktetorial rights regarded as a consequence

⁵²³ The works of Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, Branislav Cvetković, Margaret Mullet, Marco Popović, Robert Jordan, Robert Allison, Tania Kambourova, and Zachary Chitwood, which deal with some aspects of collective or associated patronage will be referred to in the appropriate places of this chapter.

⁵²⁴ Zhishman, *Das Stifterrecht*, pp. 61-64 (granting of rights) and pp. 81-95 (transfer of rights); Troicki, "Ktitorsko pravo," pp. 91-92 and pp. 97-98 (rights of second ktetor) and pp. 98-104 (derivate rights of ktetorship, i.e., hereditary, by transfer, and by grant); Marković, "Ktitori, njihove dužnosti i prava," pp. 101-104 (inheritance of rights and second ktetorship).

⁵²⁵ Especially S. Toricki (Troicki, "Ktitorsko pravo," pp. 83-84) directly contrasts the rights of ktetors and those of sponsors, considering them to be of a different legal nature. J. von Zhishman doesn't specifically divide the ktetors' and sponsors' rights, but he rarely takes into consideration the cases of ktetoria acquired by gifts (Zhishman, *Das Stifterrecht*, pp. 95-98) and compares the Latin *Patronatrecht* with ktetoria (Ibid., pp. 12-13). Finally, V. Marković regards only cases of large-scale donations which provided the set of rights of second ktetor for a person (Marković, "Ktitori, njihove dužnosti i prava," pp. 103-104).

⁵²⁶ See, for instance, the application and quotations of the decisions of Church Councils in the case of a monk who didn't keep his promises to the monastery by Demetrios Chomatenos (Prinzing, Günter, ed. *Demetrii Chomatani Ponemata diaphora* [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 38] (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2002): no. 79) and in the case of Patriarchal Registers (1401) concerning the alienated church property (MM, Vol. II, pp. 554-556).

⁵²⁷ This was an issue widely discussed by Serbian scholars: Troicki, "Ktitorsko pravo," pp. 88, 97-102; Marković, "Ktitori, njihove dužnosti i prava," pp. 101-106, 110.

of acquired donations rather than in the framework of *ktetoria* regarded as a set of rights and duties associated with the establishment of a church institution.

Moreover, as the examples analyzed in this chapter will prove, by the 14th century, the title of *ktetor* was applied to various categories of benefactors, sponsors, and patrons, who exercised material support (with lands, funds, precious gifts, tax exemptions, etc.) and administrative assistance to an ecclesiastic institution (monastery, church, k Ellison, etc.). As a matter of fact, it was precisely this development and expansion of meaning associated with the word *ktetor* which led to the appearance of the concept associating imperial political power with the involvement into the patronage during the post-Byzantine period. The inheritance from the last Serbian rulers of the titles of *ktetors* of Athonite monasteries by Wallachian and Moldavian princes and Russian sovereigns was perceived as a proof of their imperial aspirations and a symbol of direct continuation of Byzantine imperial tradition.⁵²⁸ By assimilating and emulating various social institutions inherited from Byzantium and the Balkan states, these Wallachian, Moldavian, and Russian rulers saw *ktetoria* over Athonite monasteries (under the form of financial and artistic patronage)⁵²⁹ as a successive honorary and political right proving the legitimacy of their imperial ambitions as leaders of the Orthodox realm.

This way, for understanding the meaning of the term *ktetor*, I propose to look at its practical application, covering such forms of pious benefactions as foundation, gifts, endowments, and construction, reconstruction, or arrangement of architectural grounds. Consequently, I note that the cases when only one person was *the* *ktetor* of a monastery or a church were extremely rare. Much more common was the practice of continuous exercise of care, support, and endowment of certain ecclesiastic institutions by several patrons working simultaneously, as well as successively. Therefore, the present chapter addresses the issue of forms of participation as founders, supporters, benefactors, and patrons in the establishment and continuous assistance to an ecclesiastic foundation. At a more general level, I argue that precisely this application of the term itself by various sources,

⁵²⁸ Năsturel, Petre. *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains. Recherches sur leurs relations du milieu du XIV^e siècle à 1654* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1986); Năstase, Dumitru. *L'héritage impérial byzantin dans l'art et l'histoire des Pays Roumains* (Milan: Fondation Européenne Dragan. 1976); Idem. "L'idée impériale dans les Pays Roumains et «le crypto-empire chrétien» sous la domination ottomane. État et importance du problème," *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα* 4 (1981): 201–251. For recent reevaluations of the role of Wallachian and Moldavian *ktetoria* over the monasteries of the Holy Mount (but not entire Athos) as a part of their Porta-related politics, see: Păun, Radu G. "Mount Athos and the Byzantine-Slavic Tradition in Wallachia and Moldavia after the Fall of Constantinople," in: *The Balkans and the Byzantine World before and after the Captures of Constantinople, 1204 and 1453*, ed. V. Stanković (Lanham : Lexington Books, 2015): 117-163; Chentsova, Vera [Ченцова, Вера]. "Ктиторовство и царский титул: Россия и Хиандарский монастырь в XVI в.," *Славяноведение* 2014/2 (2014): 15-24. For the role of competition between Rus and Romanian principalities over the royal title, see: Mureșan, Dan Ioan. "De la nouvelle Rome à la Troisième: la part des Principautés roumaines dans la transmission de l'idée impériale," in: *L'eredità di Traiano. La tradizione istituzionale romano-imperiale nella storia dello spazio romeno*, ed. A. Castaldini (Bucharest: Istituto Italiano di Cultura, 2008): 123-166.

⁵²⁹ The expansion of the meaning of the term *ktetor* which covers such concepts as founder, donor, patron, and proprietor was noted by Mureșan, Dan Ioan, Năsturel, Petre. "Du καθολικός βασιλεὺς à l'αὐθέντης καθολικός. Notes sur les avatars d'une idée politique," *Études byzantines et post-byzantines* 6 (2011): 279-280, footnote 125. However, the authors considered that this was a post-Byzantine development of the term.

as well as the investment of patrons with classical ktetorial rights (i.e., commemorations, burials, portraits, administrative and statutory powers)⁵³⁰ can be used in support of my broad approach to the concept of *ktetoria*. Therefore, I propose to look at and to classify various forms of simultaneous and successive participation and cooperation in ecclesiastic institutions, and to explain the reasons and principles of associated patronage activities. On the other hand, by dealing with the issue of the individuals' association and their motivation, I hope to clarify some aspects of issues such as property transmission, self-identification, political involvement, and everyday piety.

The practice of late-medieval, associated *ktetoria* in Byzantium and the Balkan states belongs, on one side, to the area of social history which deals with inheritance, shares of property and rights within a family or community, management of monastic possessions, and ecclesiastic administration. On the other side, it deals with the history of mentalities, gift-giving, piety, and expectations connected with retribution in the future life; it explores the ways of self-identification and self-representation, the relations between benefactors, their addressees and the wider audience. Therefore, by conducting this research, I apply a number of concepts belonging to social studies (such as class, stratum, elites, dynamics of power) and to the study of mentalities (ideology, beliefs, ways of thinking, pious practices).

Further in this chapter, I am going to see: how the founders' and sponsors' rights and duties depended on their social and property status; how different were the benefits of minor founders in comparison with those of the main ones; whether a hierarchy existed or not in the relations occurring inside a group of founders and if so, how it was expressed. By comparing the data offered by visual and textual sources, I will organize the information into patterns of ktetorship and look into the application of the term ktetor to second and secondary ecclesiastic patrons.

3.1. A case study: Bebaia Elpis Typikon

Usually, a Typikon was considered a set of various constitutive documents, necessary to establish a monastery as a legal person. The Typika, composed by a monastic or laic founder, addressed various issues of administration and management of the institution and contained the set of rules pertaining to its daily operation, such as the appointment of hegoumenos and other officials, diet, clothing, discipline, novitiate, services for benefactors.⁵³¹ The importance and legal validity of the Typika issued by the founders is confirmed by the 14th-century *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares. With the reference to the Nera 131 of Justinian, the *Syntagma* orders that "the Typika composed by

⁵³⁰ On the rights of ktetors, see: Zhishman, *Das Stifterrecht*, pp. 47-64; Marković, "Ktitori, njihove dužnosti i prava," pp. 100-110; Chitwood, Zachary. "Griechisch-orthodoxe Christen," in: *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften, Vol. 1. Grundlagen*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014): 57-69, 212-228.

⁵³¹ Galatariotou, "Byzantine Ktetorika Typika".

the ktetors in the monasteries should be accepted if they do not contradict to the Canons.”⁵³² In other words, unless contrary to the applicable state laws, the typika themselves had the effect of law. The legal force of these documents was respected even when the authors of the texts were not among the living: the ktetor’s Typikon was considered a sufficient legal basis for passing a decision at the Bishopric Court as the judge needed to consult the norms, set by the typikon, before issuing his own ruling.⁵³³

Therefore, at this stage when I need to establish the difference in status of different ktetors within the same group of founders, I would like to turn to the text of a Typikon as a document having the force of law. In order to exemplify this dissimilarity, I propose to compare the attitude towards different ktetors, their rights and status within the group of sources related to the Bebaia Elpis Monastery, a 14th-century aristocratic convent in Constantinople. The foundation, as well as its Typikon and miniatures are one of the most well-studied Palaiologan monuments⁵³⁴ and, subsequently, there is no need for additional research and historical introduction. However, the reason of discussing Bebaia Elpis here is not for bringing a new contribution to the topic of the foundation and its Typikon, but rather to exemplify and to justify the necessity and relevance of the studying of ktetoria as a successive, cooperative, and associated practice.

In the extended commemoration sections of monastic *typika* (such as of Virgin Kecharitomene,⁵³⁵ Kosmosoteira,⁵³⁶ Bebaia Elpis⁵³⁷ and Lips⁵³⁸ monasteries), one can encounter the differences into commemorative rites, prescribed for various groups of founders (main founders, their close and distant relatives, friends and servants) and may see the factors conditioning these

⁵³² Από δὲ τῆς ρλα΄ Ἰουστινιανείου νεαρᾶς γνοίης ἄν, ὅτι τὰ γινόμενα παρὰ τῶν κτητόρων ἐν τοῖς μοναστηρίοις τυπικά, στέργειν ὀφείλουσιν, εἰ μήπου τοῖς κανόσιν ἐναντιοῦνται· Ralles&Potles, Vol. 6, p. 393.

⁵³³ Dealing with a case of Basil Paradeissiotis who took the habit during life-threatening illness and, after the recovery, started to set new conditions for his entry for the monastery, Demetrios Chomatenos came to the monastery and requested to consult the “typikon of the ktetor” on this matter, see: Prinzing, Günter, ed. *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata diaphora* [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 38] (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2002): no. 79 (Ἡ μετριότης ... ἐπελθοῦσα δὲ καὶ τὸ παρὰ τούτου ἀρχιμανδρίτου ἐμφανισθὲν τοῦ κτήτορος τυπικόν, ταῦτα ἐκφέρει πρὸς τοὴν τοῦ εἰρημένου ἀρχιμανδρίτου ἀναφοράν).

⁵³⁴ Spatharakis, *The Portrait*, pp. 190–206; Cutler, Anthony, Magdalino, Paul. “Some Precisions on the Lincoln College Typikon,” *Cahiers archéologiques* 27 (1978): 179–198; Brubaker, Leslie. “Art and Byzantine Identity: Saints, Portraits, and the Lincoln College Typikon,” in: *Byzantium: Identity, Image, Influence: Major Papers, XIXth International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, ed. K. Fledelius (Copenhagen: Eventus, 1996): 51–59; Hutter, Irmgard. “Die Geschichte des Lincoln College Typikons,” *JÖB* 45 (1995): 79–114; Talbot, “Building Activity in Constantinople,” pp. 333–339; Mullett, “Founders, Refounders, Second Founders,” esp. pp. 22–27; Gaul, “Writing «with Joyful and Leaping Soul»”; Ball, Jennifer. “The Group Portrait in the Lincoln Typikon: Identity and Social Structure in a Fourteenth-Century Convent,” *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies* 5 (2016): 139–164.

⁵³⁵ Gautier, “Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitômenè”; *BMFD*, pp. 649–724.

⁵³⁶ Petit, Louis. “Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d’Aenos (1152),” *Известия Русского археологического института в Константинополе* 13 (1908): 17–77 ; *BMFD*, 782–858.

⁵³⁷ For the translation of the text of the Typikon see: Talbot, Alice-Mary. “Bebaia Elpis: Typikon of Theodora Synadene for the Convent of the Mother of God Bebaia Elpis in Constantinople,” *BMFD*, pp. 1512–78; For the original text: Delehay, Hippolyte. *Deux typica byzantins de l’époque des Paléologues* (Brussels: Lamertin, 1921): 18–105.

⁵³⁸ Delehay, Hippolyte. *Deux typica byzantins de l’époque des Paléologues* (Brussels: Lamertin, 1921); *BMFD*, pp. 1254–1286.

differences (whether it was connected with degree of relativity, sum or time of endowment). The Byzantine aristocrats of the Palaiologan period expected to be buried in the monasteries they built, refounded or endowed and to be commemorated there by the members of monastic communities. But, as it seems, not only founders, but also their relatives and offspring were honoured by such commemorations, and even by the right for burial or the title of ktetor. Therefore these monasteries have occasionally been described as “family shrines.”⁵³⁹

The founder's right could be transmitted together with other properties,⁵⁴⁰ however the monasteries with the independent status didn't provide for its founders and his/her successors administrative or economic prerogatives, but only some spiritual and secondary rights.⁵⁴¹ There are several cases when groups of relatives were buried together in such monasteries, however the set of the persons commemorated, depicted, buried and called ktetors in these foundations does not always coincide, which means that not all people mentioned as sponsors and commemorated during services were necessarily buried in the monasteries they endowed. Thus, a husband and wife, though they entered in the end of their lives different monasteries, could be depicted together, as Michael Tarchaneiotes Glabas and his wife Maria, the founders of Pammakaristos.⁵⁴²

In case of the nunnery of Our Lady of Good Hope (*Bebaiia Elpis*), one can compare the list of commemorated family members with those who are depicted on miniatures (fig. 3.1-3.3) of the Typikon (Oxford, Lincoln College, Ms. Graecus 35) and those who are actually called ktetors. The text of the foundation documents was written by the foundress, Theodora Synadene, c. 1300 and revised and supplemented (with the list of commemorations) around 1330.⁵⁴³ In 1397 and 1402, two more additions, first concerning the commemorations of John Theophilos and his wife Maria Asanina and the second, devoted to the activities and commemorations of Xene Philanthropene and her daughter Eugenia Kantakouzene, were added to the manuscript.⁵⁴⁴

On the basis of these commemoration lists I composed the following charter of the Synadenoï family members being depicted in the Typikon, commemorated, receiving other ktetorial rights (burials) and called ktetors.

Persons	Relations	No. of portraits	Commemorations	Donations	Status
Constantine Komnenos Palaiologos Doukas	Father of Theodora	1	25 oct 6 candelabra, <i>kollyba</i> , 12 priests, <i>parastasimon</i> ,		

⁵³⁹ Kyritses, *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, pp. 238ff

⁵⁴⁰ Herman, “Chiese private,” pp. 318-319.

⁵⁴¹ Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 214-243.

⁵⁴² Belting, Hans, Mango, Cyril, Mouriki, Doula. *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1978): 18.

⁵⁴³ In his recent article N. Gaul convincingly argued that the original manuscript of the Typikon may have been produced c. 1300 by Euphrosyne herself and then, around 1330, supplemented by her order, see: Gaul, “Writing «with Joyful and Leaping Soul», pp. 244-271 (esp. 253-256 and 268-269).

⁵⁴⁴ *BMFD*, pp.1567-1568; Delehaye, Hippolyte. *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels: Lamertin, 1921) : 102-105.

Angelos <i>sebastokrator</i> (Kallinikos)			prayer and deesis, food for nuns, and charity		
Eirene Branaina Komnene Laskarina Kantakouzene Palaiologina <i>sebastokratorissa</i> (Maria)	Mather of Theodora	1	25 oct, the same as above		
Theodora Synadene	Foundress	3 – 4?	X ⁵⁴⁵	½ ancestral estate Pyrgos, ½ village Ainos (200 hyperpyra), 2 vineyards, Morokoumoulou village, ancestral vineyard at Pegai	<i>ektetorissa</i>
John Angelos Doukas Synadenos, <i>megas stratopedarches</i> ,	Husband of Theodora	2	6 Feb 6 candelabra, <i>kollyba</i> , 12 priests, <i>parastasimon</i> , prayer and supplication, food for nuns, and charity	At least, a library	ktetor
Theodore Doukas Synadenos, <i>protostrator</i>	Son of Theodora	1	? 6 candelabra, <i>kollyba</i> , 12 priests, <i>parastasimon</i> , prayer and supplication, food for nuns, and charity	½ village Ainos (200 <i>hyperpyra</i>), “many donations”	<i>ephoros</i> , ktetor
Eudokia Synadene	Daughter in law of Theodora	1	X	On behalf of husband	
Euphrosyne Synadene	Daughter of Theodora	2 – 3?	6 candelabra, <i>kollyba</i> , 12 priests, <i>parastasimon</i> , prayer and supplication, food for nuns, and charity	Wrote the Typikon Manuscript, made additions to the Text	hegoumene ? (second foundress, but not called this way)
John Palaiologos Synadenos, <i>megas konostaulos</i>	Second son of Theodora	1	X 6 candelabra, <i>kollyba</i> , 12 priests, <i>parastasimon</i> , prayer and supplication, food for nuns, and charity	?	<i>ephoros</i> , ktetor
Thomais Komnene Doukaina Laskarina Kantakouzene Palaiologina	Daughter in law of Theodora, first wife of John		11 Feb Lights, 4 liturgies, food for nuns	vineyard in Kanikleion	
Irene Synadene	Daughter in law of Theodora, Second wife of John	1	X	On behalf of husband	
Anna Asanina	Daughter of Theodore, granddaughter of Theodora	1			
Manuel Asan	Grandson in Law of Theodora, husband of Anna	1			
Euphrosyne Rhaoulaina Palaiologina	daughter (possibly) of Theodore, granddaughter of Theodora	1			
Constantine Rhaoul Palaiologos	Grandson in Law of Theodora, husband of Euphrosyne	1			
Anna Kantakouzene Philanthropene (Xene)	Daughter of John, granddaughter of Theodora	1	13 Feb	restored the convent	Commemoration like all founders have
Michael Philanthropenos	Grandson in Law of Theodora, husband of Anna	1			
Eirene Asnina Palaiologine	Daughter of John, granddaughter of Theodora	1			

⁵⁴⁵ Sings “X” means that the fact of donation or commemoration is known from the text, but the content or date are not specified.

Michael Asan Palaiologos	Grandson in Law of Theodora, husband of Eirene	1			
Theodora Komnene Doukaina Raoulaina Palaiologina (Theodosia)	Daughter of Theodore, granddaughter of Theodora		23 Jul Lights, 4 liturgies, food for nuns	no donation, but her father made many	
Michael Komnenos Branas Palaiologos (Makarios)	Brother of Theodora		6 Jun 2 candelabra, 7 liturgies, food for nuns	icon of the Archangel Michael of gilt bronze, two silver lamps and 300 <i>hyperpyra</i>	
Andronikos Komnenos Branas Doukas Angelos Palaiologos (Arsenios)	Brother of Theodora		28 jun Lights, 4 liturgies,	<i>malagma</i> oil vessel of gold which is called, with a jasper lid, 100 <i>hyperpyra</i>	
Maria Komnene Branaina Laskarina Doukaina Tornikina Palaiologina (Mariamne)	Sister of Theodora		16 Sept, 7 liturgies and 2 candelabra, food for nuns	1000 <i>hyperpyra</i> , an icon of Mother of God, decorated with precious stones and pearls, 72 <i>hyperpyra</i> for the wine-press at Pera	
Isaac Komnenos Doukas Tornikes (Joasaph)	Brother in law of Theodora, husband of Maria		8 Jan, 7 liturgies and 2 candelabra, food for nuns	500 <i>hyperpyra</i> and a silver lamp of 5 <i>litrai</i>	
Andronikos Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos Tornikes, the parakoimomenos (Antony)	Nephew of Theodora, son of Maria		3 Jul, 6 liturgies, 2 candelabra, food for nuns	Vineyard at Kosmidion + house near Kaligaria, gold icon of the Mother of God, decorated with pearls, and precious stone, <i>syrmatinon</i> , decorated another icon of the Dormition, made a gold-embroidered <i>podea</i>	
John Komnenos Doukas Angelos Branas Palaiologos (Joasaph)	Nephew of Theodora, son of Theodora's sister married to Tsar Smilec		8 Aug, 7 liturgies, 2 candelabra, charity, food for nuns, prosphora bread on every Thursday, lamp at tomb	another vineyard at Kosmidion (for an adelphaton)	
Wife of John Komnenos Doukas Angelos Branas Palaiologos	Wife of John Komnenos Doukas Angelos Branas Palaiologos		?	decorated icon of St. Onouphrios, 100 <i>hyperpyra</i> + gave 200 <i>hyperpyra</i> to repair the cells given by daughter	
Theodore Doukas Mouzakios, the <i>epi stratou</i> (Theodoretos)	<i>sympentheros</i> of the foundress and father-in-law of Theodore Synadenos		24 Dec burial	400 <i>nomismata</i>	
The Metropolitan of Ephesos	Family friend, spiritual father and baptismal sponsor of Euphrosyne		X	gold icon with precious stones and pearls, stoles and cuffs with pearls	
The Metropolitan of Mytilene			X	300 <i>hyperpyra</i> by the Testament of John	
John Theophilos			9 Dec 4 <i>kollyba</i> , 4 candelabra, 2 priests, distribution of wax tapers, charity and food for nuns	X	
Maria Asanina	wife of John Theophilos		24 Nov 4 <i>kollyba</i> , 4 candelabra, 2 priests, distribution of wax tapers, charity and food for nuns		
Eugenia Kantakouzene	Daughter of Anna Kantakouzene Philanthropene (Xene), the great granddaughter of Theodora		11 Feb	wheat-field for 300 <i>hyperpyra</i> , donation of gold, restored the church and bell tower (200 <i>hyperpyra</i>), bequeath 100 <i>hyperpyra</i>	Commemoration as for other celebrated founders

The family members depicted in miniatures are the following: Constantine Palaiologos and Irene Branaina, parents of the foundress; the foundress and her husband, John Synadenos (twice, as lay persons and monastic founders); Theodore Synadenos, son of the foundress, and his wife, Eudokia; John Synadenos, her other son, and his (second) wife, Irene; four granddaughters (Anna, Euphemia, Anna and Eirene) of the foundress with their husbands, and Euphrosyne as a girl (with her parents) and as a nun (with her mother).⁵⁴⁶

The term “ktetor,” both in miniatures and the text, is applied to Theodora and her husband, John, who may have been dead by the time of the establishment or consecrating the foundation.⁵⁴⁷ Also two sons of the foundress are called “*ephores*” and “ktetors” explicitly in the Typikon, but not in miniatures. Finally, three ladies belonging to Theodora Synadene’s lineage, her daughter Euphrosyne, her granddaughter Anna (Xene) and her great-granddaughter (Eugenia) are not explicitly called ktetors, but *de facto* perform functions associated with successive ktetorial rights (make additions to the Typikon, restore the monastic buildings, arrange the purchase and transformation of property). All of these three heirs are females who entered the monastery, and, probably, performed functions of hegoumene. The records for their commemorations established “as for other celebrated founders” witness that *de facto* they had the status of ktetors.

The Typikon has certain sections on commemorations, introduced in four stages: the first (in the body of the text, ch. 113 – 114, 116 – 117, 119) and the second (ch. 135 – 143)⁵⁴⁸ are introduced by Theodora Synadene herself and mention only commemoration of her family members; third section (ch. 153, 155 – 156)⁵⁴⁹ was written by Euphrosyne; and the two last (ch. 157 – 159)⁵⁵⁰ were added in 1397 and 1402. Taking into consideration the prescriptions for commemorations contained into the Typikon, one may realize that the convent also had another document, probably some kind of memorial book, with dates for commemorations and more detailed directions. This conclusion can be reached on the following grounds: although the Typikon specifies that some persons (for example, Theodora’s sons and Euphrosyne) should have lavish commemorations, the text doesn’t specify the exact dates of their death, which would be necessary for commemoration. Taking into consideration that memories of ktetors should have been celebrated during two days each (starting in the evening

⁵⁴⁶ Spatharakis, *The Portrait*, pp. 190–206; On the composition of the Synadenoi family see Hannick, Ch. Schmalzbauer, G. “Die Synadenoi. Prosopographische Untersuchung zu einer byzantinischen Familie” *JÖB* 25 (1976): 125-161; *PLP*, nos. 10936, 10944, 19423-19428, 21373, 21381, 21486, 29122, 29125, 29737. 29746.

⁵⁴⁷ See, Gaul, Writing «with Joyful and Leaping Soul»,” p. 244, footnote 10.

⁵⁴⁸ *BMFD*, pp. 1556 and 1561-1562; Delehaye, Hippolyte. *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels: Lamertin, 1921): 80-82, 91-94.

⁵⁴⁹ *BMFD*, pp. 1566-1567; Delehaye, Hippolyte. *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels: Lamertin, 1921) : 100-102.

⁵⁵⁰ *BMFD*, pp. 1567-1568; Delehaye, Hippolyte. *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels: Lamertin, 1921) : 102-104

of the day before) as well as the prescriptions to dedicate the Saturdays of Meatfare and Pentecost and the day after the Dormition (ch. 144 and 150) to the remembrance of the dead, the nunnery would have spend 51 days of the liturgical year only for the commemoration of the deceased founders and sponsors (not counting the annual commemorations of the nuns).

However, there are grounds to suspect that some of annual commemorations may have been abandoned with the passage of time. The last chapters of the Typikon, added in 1402, specify the dates for celebrating the memory of Anna (Xene) and Eugenia respectively on February 13 and 11, however one of these dates (February 11) should have overlapped with the memory of Thomais Komnene Doukaina Laskarina Kantakouzene Palaiologina (the first wife of John Synadenos, the *megas konostaulos*), but the Typikon gives no prescriptions concerning the combination of the two celebrations, though from the point of view of the performed liturgies this issues would need some clarification. Indeed, as it was noted by M. Mullet,⁵⁵¹ the commemorations were entered on “a strict cash-for-service basis” meaning that the lavishness of lightening, portions of *kollyba*, number of priests and liturgies as well as the presence of the distributions at the gates depended on the size and importance of donations made.

The *typikon* does not give us any clues about the persons who would actually be buried in the nunnery. Certainly, Theodora and her daughter, who were nuns there, would expect to have burials, also the nephew of the foundress, John Komnenos Doukas Angelos Branas Palaiologos, who gave additional money for the burning of lamp at his tomb at Bebaia Elpis. Theodora’s later female offspring, Anna Kantakouzene (nun Xene) and Eugenia Kantakouzene, as nuns, second founders and restorers of their ancestral monastery, most probably, received their tombs at the convent. Theodora's father and husband, who had died as monks before the foundation of Bebaia Elpis, apparently had been initially buried elsewhere. Funerary epigrams composed by Manuel Philes⁵⁵² suggest that Constantine Synadenos shared his tomb with his wife Eirene Branaina, whereas their son Michael was buried together with John Synadenos, his brother-in-law and the husband of the Bebaia Elpis convent foundress. However, the opinions of the researchers dealing with this particular issues divergy, if D. Kyritses⁵⁵³ considers that all these four persons were entombed elsewhere, thus, making the Bebaia Elpis “the personal monastery of Theodora Synadene”, where not many other relatives received the place of their final rest; S. T. Brooks,⁵⁵⁴ oppositely, suggests that the epigrams were, actually, composed for different stages of re-making the original funeral portrait of Constantine and his wife (probably, their son Michael commissioned a repousse for the image of his parents), for transferring this wooden painting to the Bebaia Elpis foundation, and, finally, for commissioning a

⁵⁵¹ Mullett, “Founders, Refounders, Second Founders,” pp. 23-24.

⁵⁵² Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, Vol. II, pp. 192-194.

⁵⁵³ Kyritses, *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, p.242

⁵⁵⁴ Brooks, Sarah. “Poetry and Female Patronage in Late Byzantine Tomb Decoration,” *DOP* 60 (2006): 237-247.

joint burial of Theodora Synadene's husband and brother by the foundress of the convent herself. This way, S.T. Brooks underlines that Philes' epigrams are commissions, most probably, for ornamenting a tomb, made in Bebaia Elpis for the male relatives of the foundress, which turns the convent into the true family shrine.

To conclude this small case study, I would like to draw a distinction between several groups of the donors described by the establishments of the Typikon and to underline the differences in privileges and honours they receive. The first group, consisting of the foundress, her parents, husband and her children is the only one which receives the most solemn commemoration (with the preceding vespers, invitation of external priests and 6 candles) and portraits inserted in form of lavishly decorated illuminations into the text of typikon. Some, or even all, members of these three generations of the immediate family got their burials in the newly built convent, according to the suggestions of S.T. Brooks.

Similar rights, solemn services, and, probably, burials, but without having their portraits in the manuscript, were received by the second foundress Eugenia Kantakouzine, the great grand daughter of Theodora Synadene, and her mother nun Xene as the heirs and second ktetors. The third group of donors includes those who receive less solemn commemorations and the tombs on the territory of the convent, Theodore Doukas Mouzakios, the father in law of the foundress and her nephew, John Komnenos Doukas Angelos Branas Palaiologos. Their gifts include the works of art made of precious metals and stones as well as additional donations in cash (200 hyperpyra of Theodore Doukas Mouzakios) or properties (the property of the Kosmidion and a house in the vicinity of the Kaligaria by John). The final group of more distant relatives of Theodora Synadene and her friends (metropolitans of Ephesos and Mytilene) are mentioned only in the relations to their commemoration ("for the salvation of soul," "for the memory") and their memorial services are not so feastive.

Thus, after making a comparison between data on the different groups of people related to the convent, one may conclude that the source represents several groups of monastery affiliated sponsors: the initial founder and the re-founder (restorers) had almost equal rights, the members of the immediate family, under the condition of providing a donation, can also expect to be buried in the foundation, whereas the benefactors making cash or property endowments expect only the solemn commemorations. However, this example proves that for the functioning and upkeep, a monastery needed more than an endowment act from the side of a founder, even a very rich one; it rather demanded joint efforts of a family group at the initial stage and continuous care and endowments from the founder's heirs during the entire life of a foundation. Therefore, monasteries employed all possible means to attract benefactors and their funding; and the award of honorary titles and rights (such as commemorations and burials) was one of the most effective tools in this regard.

3.2. The Title of (First) Ktetor: Definition and Use

The term *ktetor* had relatively limited scope in the Byzantine and Slavic culture but the usage of the word has changed over time.⁵⁵⁵ In Greek, its application was reserved, with some exceptions, for five categories of texts: laws, typika, ecclesiastic court decisions, endowment documents, and dedicatory inscriptions (including the colophons and epigraphic material). This limited scope reflects the nature of the term as related to the legal status of a founder and his/her foundation and the matters of patronage and ecclesiastic gift-giving. However, these sources allow one to examine and to compare the theoretical (legal) operation of the term and its practical application and to find out its actual meaning. As the following investigation will prove, the discrepancies between the juridical vocabulary and the actual function of the term, in a day-to-day context, started to appear during the middle-Byzantine period and developed fully in the Palaiologan epoch.

Thus, the *Basilica* as well as the decisions of the Church Councils of the first millennium were widely copied and included into various legal Commentaries and *Nomokanones*, up to the Postbyzantine period.⁵⁵⁶ Containing a set of basic rights and duties of a founder such as the appointment of serving clergy, the mandatory investments into a foundation, the unalienability of church possessions, the subjection to the local bishop, the right for entombment etc.,⁵⁵⁷ these laws were created during the period when making a new foundation was a common practice, but remained applied, at least formally, in the Palaiologan period, distinctive with the rebuilding, reconstruction and renovation of monasteries and churches. Moreover, due to the translation movement of 13th and 14th centuries, these early-byzantine laws and council canons entered the legal field of the Balkan Slavic countries, in form of various *Nomokanones/Zakonopravila* and the *Syntagma* by Matthew

⁵⁵⁵ For the outline of changes occurring with the term *ktetor* over the Byzantine period, see: Krumbacher, “*Κτήτωρ*”; Chitwood, Zachary. “1.5 Griechisch-orthodoxe Christen,” in: *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften. Vol I: Grundlage*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014): 57-70. However, K. Krumbacher focuses on the book colophons of the middle-Byzantine period, whereas Z. Chitwood gives a general overview of the term’s use in the Byzantine legal texts. According to K. Krumbacher a confusion between the terms of “builder” (κτίστης) and “owner” (κτήτωρ) happened due to the same pronunciation of the forms that “I possessed” (ἐκτησάμην, ektesamen) and “I built (for myself)” (ἐκτισάμην, ktisamen) (Krumbacher, “*Κτήτωρ*,” pp. 393-395). Z. Chitwood adds that according to the Byzantine legal texts (typika, papyri), foundations were normally treated under private property law and the conceptual distinction between the ideas of “property” (κυριότης, kyriotes) and “possession” (κατοχή, katoche) was blurred in the later Byzantine texts in the comparison with the Classical Roman Law (Chitwood, “1.5 Griechisch-orthodoxe Christen,” pp. 62-63).

⁵⁵⁶ Macrides, Ruth. “Nomos and Canon on Paper and in Court,” in: *Church and People in Byzantium*, ed. R. Morris (Birmingham: Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, 1990): pp. 62–85 (esp. pp. 73-74).

⁵⁵⁷ In more details, for the Justinian’s legislation on private foundations, see: Zhishman, *Das Stifterrecht*; Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 53-58; for the imperial legislation concerning private foundations in the Middle Byzantine period, see: Charanis, “Monastic Properties”; For the use of church council and basilica in the texts of Typika, see: Stolte, Bernard. “Law for Founders,” in: *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, ed. M. Mullett (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007): 121–139.

Blastares.⁵⁵⁸ Thus, the definition of a *ktetor* as an initial founder of an ecclesiastic or philanthropic institution was widely accepted in the Balkan societies even during the late 13th – early 15th centuries.

However, the Byzantine juridical situation was distinct with its discrepancy between the codified laws and practical court decisions,⁵⁵⁹ and with the application of the outmoded legal vocabulary to new realities.⁵⁶⁰ Thus, to describe the reality of complicated rebuildings, re-foundations, and family-inherited churches and monasteries of the 13th to 15th centuries, these societies continued to apply the same term to persons, responsible for construction, renovation, and endowment of church institutions in various degrees.

In some cases of the Palaiologan time, it is unclear whether a foundation was built or renovated as the texts describing both situations in the same terms. An Epigram of Manuel Philes dedicated to *St. Stephen the Protomartyr on behalf of the ktetor of his monastery, a deceased parakoimomenos*⁵⁶¹ outlines all circumstances associated with the foundation of a monastery which ensures the reception of the title of *ktetor*. The Epigram dated with the beginning of the 14th century,⁵⁶² set forth the life circumstances of certain *parakoimomenos tes megales sphendones* who can be identified⁵⁶³ with Constantine Doukas Nestongos.⁵⁶⁴ This Byzantine nobleman was, probably, brought up at the court of the Sultanate of Rum, as his father fled from the Nicene Empire.⁵⁶⁵ In 1256, he met Michael Palaiologos, then the *megas konostaulos*, and joined him on his return to the Greek territories, where, after Michael's coronation in 1261, Constantine Doukas Nestongos was honoured with his title of the *parakoimomenos*. Here, in the capital, he decided to establish a monastery as a gratitude to St. Stephen who “took back [Constantine] from Persia // Putting in the hook on the miraculous fishing-lines,”⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁵⁸ Šarkić, Srđan. “Νόμος et “zakon” dans les textes juridiques du XIV^e siècle,” in: *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία κατά τον ΙΔ' αιώνα / Byzantium and Serbia in the 14th century*, eds. E. Papadopoulou, D. Dialeti (Athens: Instituto Byzantinon Ereunon, 1996): 257–266; Šarkić, Srđan. “Uticaj vizantijskog prava na srednjovekovno srpsko pravo,” *Slověne* 2 (2015): 106–118; Šarkić, Srđan. “Poklon u srednjovekovnom srpskom pravu,” *Istraživanja* 17 (2006) 7–15; Subotin-Golubović, Tatjana. “O prevođenju pravnih spomenika na srpskoslovenski jezik u XIV veku,” in: *Многократните преводи в Южнославянското средновековие. Доклади от международната конференция, София, 7-9 юли 2005 г.*, eds. L. Tasaeva, R. Marti, M. Yovcheva, T. Pentkovskaya (Sofia: GoreksPress, 2006): 437–444; Subotin-Golubović, Tatjana. “Predgovor” in: Subotin-Golubović, Tatjana, ed. *Matija Vlastar. Sintagma* (Belgrade: SANU, 2013): vii–xvii; Alexandrov, Victor. *The Syntagma of Matthew Blastares: The Destiny of a Byzantine Legal Code among the Orthodox Slavs and Romanians* (Frankfurt am Main: Löwenklau-Gesellschaft, 2012): esp. pp. 18–30 and 78–98.

⁵⁵⁹ Papagianni, Eleftheria. “Un témoin de la réalité juridique byzantine: la jurisprudence patriarcale au XIV^e siècle,” *Fontes Minores* 11 (2005): 213–227.

⁵⁶⁰ For the discrepancy between the codified laws and practice concerning the *ktitoreia* and private churches, see: Herman, “Chiese private” and Papagianni, “Legal Institutions,” esp. pp. 1054–1056.

⁵⁶¹ Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, Vol. II, pp. 260–263, no. 242.

⁵⁶² Korobeinikov, “Михаил VIII Палеолог,” p. 122.

⁵⁶³ Korobeinikov, “Михаил VIII Палеолог,” pp. 128–130; Kidonopoulos, Vassilios. *Bauten in Konstantinopel, 1204–1328: Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1994): 62–65; Janin, Raymond. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin, Vol. III: Les églises et les monastères* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1969): 477.

⁵⁶⁴ *PLP*, no. 20201.

⁵⁶⁵ Korobeinikov, “Михаил VIII Палеолог,” pp. 130–138.

⁵⁶⁶ Σὺ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον εἴλες ἐκ τῆς Περσίδος, // Ἀγκίστρον ἐνθεῖς ὀρμῆς τεραστίων, see: Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, Vol. II, no. 242, p. 262, l. 41–42.

i.e. the saint assisted to the nobleman in his appearance in Byzantium.⁵⁶⁷ However, the location and the description of St. Stephen's relics owned by the foundation suggest that the associate of Michael VIII rather restored an old foundation (in the Konstantinianai quarter?) than built a new one.⁵⁶⁸ Nevertheless, the reconstruction became a great undertaking demanding significant financial investments, as Philes describes it in the following terms: "And all hope of his soul holding in you [St. Stephen], // [Hope, being] clear of any passionate suspicion, // He built the monastery out of pure conviction // Establishing the entire foundation by the unenvied gift."⁵⁶⁹ After the actual construction process, the new founder gathered a monastic community to exercise the divine services, and established a proper administration: "In order that your [St. Stephen's] monastery would have most certain support, // little by little, by provisions, // he now organized a foreign group of monks // for the Christ-pleasing liturgy for souls."⁵⁷⁰ Probably, Constantine himself entered the monastery where, later, he was entombed ("And when the above-mentioned finished his physical being // He inhabited, alas, this burial stone")⁵⁷¹ and received his burial portrait being depicted together with St. Stephen as the patron of the church.⁵⁷² ("now, he [the heir] depicted your portraits together"). Besides the honorary rights such as burial and portrait, Constantine used his authority to appoint a successor, a "Good pious man, another elder, // Benevolent, gentle, well-trained for the difficulties, // Dionysios by the proper (monastic) name, who had the deceased as his master in the land of the Persians."⁵⁷³ Apparently, this emigrant from the Sultanate, the servant and confidant of Constantine, "inheriting" the foundation, was selected to "provide the appropriate care to the monastery by his oversight,"⁵⁷⁴ as he did by commissioning the funerary portrait and Philes' epigram for his predecessor. Adding up all activities of Constantine related to St. Stephen's monastery, one may find it to be an almost

⁵⁶⁷ D. Korobeinikov (Korobeinikov, "Михаил VIII Палеолог," p. 131) considers that these lines refer to the return from exile in 1257, whereas V. Kidonopoulos (Kidonopoulos, *Bauten in Konstantinopel, 1204-1328*, p. 64) thinks that Constantine Nestongos was released from captivity which he fell during the campaign against the Turks in 1280.

⁵⁶⁸ Kidonopoulos, Vassilios. *Bauten in Konstantinopel, 1204-1328: Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1994): 64-65; Janin, Raymond. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin, Vol. III: Les églises et les monastères* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1969): 474-476; Majeska, George. *Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1984): 351-353.

⁵⁶⁹ Καὶ πᾶσαν ἐν σοὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ἐλπίδα // Τηρῶν καθαρὰν ἐμπαθοῦς ὑποψίας, // Εἰς κάλλος ἀρκοῦν τὴν μονὴν καθιδρύει // Πᾶσαν χέας ὑπαρξίν ἀφθόνῳ δόσει. - Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, Vol. II, no. 242, p. 262, l. 37-40.

⁵⁷⁰ Ὡς ἂν ἔχοι τὴν πῆξιν ἀσφαλεστέραν // Τῇ κατὰ μικρὸν ἢ μονῇ σου προσθέσει, // Καὶ νῦν μοναχῶν συγκροτεῖ χορὸν ξένων // Τῇ χριστοτερπεῖ τῶν ψυχῶν λειτουργίᾳ. - Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, Vol. II, no. 242, p. 262, l. 45-48.

⁵⁷¹ Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ παρήλθε δεικνὺς τὴν φύσιν, Καὶ τοῦτον οἰκεῖ τῆς σοροῦ φεῖ τὸν λίθον - Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, Vol. II, no. 242, p. 262, l. 49-50.

⁵⁷² Discussing the heir of Constantine in the *hegoumenia* of the monastery, Philes writes "now he depicted your portraits together" (δὲ κοινῇ ζωγραφεῖ νῦν τοὺς τύπους Ibid., l. 58) referring thus by the pronoun "Ὑμῶν" to images of both, the founder and St. Stephen.

⁵⁷³ Ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, εὐσεβὴς ἄλλος γέρων, // Χρηστὸς, προσηνής, εὐσταλὴς πρὸς τοὺς πόνοους, // Διονύσιος τὴν κυριωνυμίαν, // Ἐκεῖνον ἐν γῇ Περσικῇ σχῶν δεσπότην - Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, Vol. II, no. 242, p. 262, l. 51-54.

⁵⁷⁴ Taking over the hopes on you (St. Stephen) // Receiving the inheritance, the appropriate care // He provided to the monastery by his oversight - Καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ σοὶ παραλαβὼν ἐλπίδας, // Καὶ κλῆρον εὐρὼν τὸν κατάλληλον πόθον, // Προΐσταται μὲν τῇ μονῇ τῶν φροντίδων. - Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, Vol. II, no. 242, p. 262, l. 55-57.

exemplary image of a *ktetoria* including the set of rights and duties, described by the legal sources.⁵⁷⁵ It involved the actual construction of the complex, the gathering of a brotherhood (probably, of a foreign origin, the Orthodox monks from the Rum Sultanate), financial endowment, organization of services, appointment of trustworthy successor, and the reception of appropriate honors such as the tomb, the portrait, and, perhaps, the commemoration services.

Liturgical remembrance in the foundation's worship services was generally considered the prerogative of a founder.⁵⁷⁶ The commemoration aspect of the *ktetoria* was regarded by Z. Chitwood⁵⁷⁷ who came to conclusion that an individual liturgical commemoration was valued higher than the formulaic anaphoric intercessions (reading names of dead and alive during the Anaphora). Thus, one of the primarily aims of the foundations act was the preservation of a liturgical memory of the ktetors, as they received special prayers and exclamations during various services. However, not only the initial founder, but also various renovators received this honorable right and intercessions by the monastic communities of the ecclesiastic institutions benefiting from their endowments. For example, in c. 1430, certain hieromonk Theodoulos calls himself a “full owner and ktetor” (τέλειος οἰκοκύρις καὶ κτήτωρ ἐγώ) of a foundation, for which he became a renovator: certain Michael, son of the deceased *chartophylax* of Lemnos, being in poverty and need, was not able to renovate a church of St. Nicholas “in the god-protected castle of Kotzinos, being shaken by the old age and in danger of collapsing”⁵⁷⁸ which he inherited from his father. Therefore, being afraid that the commemoration of his family members would be ceased, Michael transferred the ownership to hieromonk Theodoulos with the conditions to renovate the foundation, to preserve the memorial services for Michael and his parents as well as to transfer the church to Michael's heir if one of them would become a monk. Theodoulos “rebuilt the holy church from the grounds and restored the cells around it, according to my [his] possibilities.”⁵⁷⁹ As later, none of Michael's heirs became priests or monks, Theodoulos received the entirety of the rights over the church which he equated with the *ktetoria* (“to me being the main ktetor”⁵⁸⁰), including the right to transfer the church to whomever and, consequently, he donated it to the monastery of Dionysiou:

“I transfer the above-mentioned holy church of our father and hierarch and miracle-worker Nicholas, being among the holy ones, as well as the cells of two floors being the dependency of the church, which I own and inhabit as the full owner and ktetor,

⁵⁷⁵ See: Troicki “Ktitorsko pravo”; Marković, Vasilije. “Ktitori, njihove dužnosti i prava,” *Prilozi za književnost i jezik, istoriju i folklor* 5 (1925): 100-124.

⁵⁷⁶ Zhishman, *Stifterrecht*, pp. 48-49.

⁵⁷⁷ Chitwood, Zachary. “Gedenken und Kultus: Griechisch-orthodoxe Christen,” in: *Das soziale System Stiftung*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015): 147-165, esp. pp. 148-154.

⁵⁷⁸ ἐν τῷ θεοφυλάκτῳ κάστρῳ Κοτζίν(ου) ναὸν σεσαθρωμένον τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ πίπτειν μέλλοντα – *Actes de Dionysiou*, no. 12, pp. 86-89, here p. 87, l. 6.

⁵⁷⁹ θεῖον ναὸν ἐκ βάθρων ἀνοικοδομήσω τά τε περὶ αὐτὸν κελλεῖα κατὰ το δυν[ατὸν] ἀνεγείρω – *Actes de Dionysiou*, no. 2, p. 87, l. 12-13.

⁵⁸⁰ ἐμοὶ τῷ κυρίῳ κτήτορι ὄντι – *Actes de Dionysiou*, no. 2, p. 87, l. 24.

for the sake of commemoration of me and those who had transferred it to me initially”⁵⁸¹

As one can see, for Theodoulos and Athonite monks of the 15th century, the term in question has explicit legal meaning – the entirety of rights over the foundation – and this status can be transferred and/or inherited, but, simultaneously, it imposed certain obligations on its bearer, i.e. to maintain and to renovate the foundation. But, in the same time, all possessors of this status, people who have been the ktetors of the foundation whenever, received their commemorations continuously. Moreover, exactly, the desire to upkeep this practice caused the transfer of the ownership over the institution in case when one of the ktetors is unable to support the foundation financially.

A similar terminology equating the *ktetoria* and the ownership can be encountered in the relation of the Athonite foundations. In 1357, the founders of the Pantocrator monastery, *megas primikerios* Alexios and his brother protosebastos John,⁵⁸² received the rights over the *kellion* Rabdouchou from the *protos* of the Holy Mount, Dorotheos, and heads of other monasteries. This *kellion* being “completely ruined and destroyed due to the attack of the godless Agarians,” was passed to Alexios who, with the help of his brother, would “for the god-pleasing aim restore and rebuilt it out of his own expenses and toils.”⁵⁸³ This way, the brothers “would hold it as ktetors in the full ownership and dominion and would make [with the cell] everything they consider to be proper.”⁵⁸⁴ However, Alexios and John didn’t receive the entirety of the rights over the *kellion*, as they or their “successors and heirs” were not supposed “to draw away [the cell] from the holy Lavra of Karyes and neither to subject it to another monastery.”⁵⁸⁵ In other words, the founders-brothers enjoyed limited ownership over the *kellion*, but were honoured with the title of ktetors as renovators and sponsors of the foundation.

At the same time the discussed examples demonstrate both, similarities and differences in the Byzantine understanding of the *ktetoria* and the ownership (*despoteia*, *kyrioteta*).⁵⁸⁶ Indeed, both

⁵⁸¹ ἀφιερῶ τ(ὸν) ῥηθέντα τοῦτον θεῖον ναὸν τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις π(α)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμ(ῶν) ἱεράρχου καὶ θαυματουργοῦ Νικολάου, ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτ(ὸν) κελλεῖα ἀνωγαιοκατωγ[αία, ὅσα] καὶ εἰσὶ τοῦ ναοῦ γνῶριμα, ἃ καὶ κατεῖχον καὶ ἐνεμόμην αὐτὰ ὡς τέλειος οἰκοκύρις καὶ κτήτωρ ἐγώ, μνημοσύνου μου εἵνεκα καὶ τῶν καταρχᾶς τοῦτο δεδοκότ(ων) - Dionysiou, no. 2, p. 87, l. 30-32.

⁵⁸² For John and Alexios, see: *PLP*, nos. 91128 and 92154; Oikonomides, “Patronage in Palaiologan Mt Athos”; Pavlikyanov, *The Medieval Aristocracy*, pp. 129-130.

⁵⁸³ κελλίον τὸ τοῦ Ραυδοῦχου ἐπικεκλημ(έν)ον, ἵνα, ὡς ἐκτετριμ(έν)ον (καὶ) ἠφανισμένον τελεί(ως) ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιδρομῆς τῶν ἁθῶν Ἀγαρινῶν, διὰ θεοφιλῆ σκοπὸν ἀνακτήσῃται (καὶ) συστήσῃ τοῦτο ἐξ οἰκείων πόνων κ(αὶ) ἀναλωμάτων, μετὰ κ(αὶ) τῆς συνδρομῆς καὶ βοηθείας τοῦ περιποθήτου γαμβροῦ τῆς βασιλείας μου προτοσεβαστοῦ κυρ(οῦ) Ἰω(άνν)ου τοῦ ἀνταδελφου αὐτοῦ - *Actes de Pantocrator*, no. 4, p. 78, l. 3-6.

⁵⁸⁴ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν κατέχωσι τοῦτο ὡς κτήτορες κ(α)τ(ὰ) τελεί(αν) δεσποτεῖαν κ(αὶ) κυριότη(η)τ(α) καὶ ποιῶσιν ἐπ’ αὐτῶ πάντα τὰ αὐτοῖς δόξαντ(α) - *Actes de Pantocrator*, no. 4, p. 78, l. 6-7.

⁵⁸⁵ μὴ μέντοι γε ἔχειν [ἐπ’] αὐτοὺς ἐπ’ ἀδείας ἢ τινὰ τῶν διαδόχων (καὶ) κληρονόμων αὐτῶν ἀποσπᾶσαι τοῦτο τῆς ἱερᾶς λαύρας τῶν Καρεῶν κ(αὶ) προσκυρᾶσαι ἑτέρα μονή - *Actes de Pantocrator*, no. 4, p. 78, l. 8-9.

⁵⁸⁶ Z. Chitwood noted the fact that the Byzantines’ differences between the terms of ownership (*kyrioteta*) and possession (κατοχή) were also blurred and didn’t match the standards of the Roman Law, see: Chitwood, Zachary. “1.5 Griechisch-orthodoxe Christen,” in: *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften. Vol I: Grundlage*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014): 63.

terms imply the hold of a property with its material and legal rights. But if the ownership over an ecclesiastic property can be passed to another person/institution thus making a previous owner devoid of his/her rights, the *ktetoria* would be preserved, in a certain degree, even after the transfer of ownership took place: i.e. a previous ktetor-owner would be still commemorated in a foundation belonging to a new owner. By the same logic, one may also explain the congruence of the status of a first ktetor, a second ktetor and a renewer.

This equality of rights, duties, and rituals performed on behalf of the initial founder and the re-founder was a typical feature of the Late Empire when the monasteries and churches having collapsed or ruined during the previous centuries became in acute need of urgent reconstruction.⁵⁸⁷ As a response to this situation, ideology and policies equating the initial founders and renovators were developed. For example, the late 13th-century *Synopsis Chronike* by Theodore Skoutariotes⁵⁸⁸ pointed out to the restoration works in St. Sophia of Constantinople, as the sufficient reason for the endowment of a person with the title of *ktetor*. According to the text, Patriarch John VIII Xiphilinos (1064–1075)⁵⁸⁹ “renewed the Great Church with various ornaments that it is impossible to list them all. He removed old perforated lead roofing and replaced it with the new one. He generously renewed the entire church being in danger [of collapsing] and became a new ktetor of everything.”⁵⁹⁰

The most fully this renovation ideology can be traced in the rhetoric *preambulae* issued by the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate on behalf of various provincial foundations, including the Mount Athos. Thus, Patriarch Antony IV’s charter (1396) confirming the possessions the Pantokrator Monastery had on Lemnos and replacing the initial documents, lost due to the fire, develops the entire set of arguments supporting the identity of rights and honours between the founder, the patrons, and the renewers, as all of them support the ecclesiastic institutions and please God:

Whether the construction and endowment of the churches or the spending of funds for the great offerings and the consecration of abundant wealth – all these acts are proper sacrifices to the hands of God. But others, later, strive for the guardianship of these churches and their salvation, and, this way, every of these churches survives and becomes even better, not worse, than before for those who examine them. So, there is an object to strive for each one: for the one who builds from the grounds - the holy monastery; whereas for the one who arranges with diligence – the permanence of the monastery, in both cases the divinity is propitiated through these acts by the gathering and psalm-singing in the monasteries of these holy men, each of whom strived for the

⁵⁸⁷ Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 244-269, esp. pp. 249-253.

⁵⁸⁸ Concerning the debated authorship of the chronicles, see: Zafeiris, Konstantinos. “The issue of the authorship of the *Synopsis Chronike* and Theodore Skoutariotes,” *REB* 69 (2011): 253-263 with the prior bibliography. The author suggests that the attribution of the *Chronicles* to Theodore Skoutariotes made by A. Heisenberg is not grounded enough, and the text should be again considered anonymous.

⁵⁸⁹ *ODB*, Vol. II, p. 1054.

⁵⁹⁰ τοσοῦτον δὲ κατεκάλλυνε τὴν Μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν παντοδαποῖς καλλωπίσμασιν ὅσον οὐ δυνατόν παραστήσασθαι· οὗτος καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ μολίβδου κεράμους ὡς τετρημένας ἄρας ἐτέρας καινὰς ἔθηκε. οὗτος πάντα ναὸν κινδυνεύειν μέλλοντα φιλοτίμως ἀνενεώσατο καὶ κοινὸς κτήτωρ τῶν ὅλων ἐφάνη· Tocci, Raimondo. *Theodori Scutariotae chronica* [Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 46] (Berlin - Boston: De Gruyter, 2015): pp. 175-176, see also pp. 5-7 for dating of the Scutariotes’ work.

virtue in his own way. If a foundation is wealthy with the patrons of the monasteries and its other sacred buildings, there is nothing bad into the oversight over it by those who care. The salvation of soul is provided for this (care) for everyone. Others are so much eager that they are equally ready to make stand what has fallen down and to heal what has been ruined, as it is said in the proverb, the cure cures the evil not by the evil but by the good. What worse can happen to those (buildings) which have already fallen down? From those (ruined buildings), a monastery is reconstructed being even better than in the beginning, and those who strive for the renovation are equally considered esteemed with the first (founders), and the initial ones as well as these ones are called the *ktetors* and patrons of a monastery, because the latter ones renovate what the former ones endowed the (monastery) with, and, through the (monastery), God himself, and time has ruined.⁵⁹¹

Following this ideology, the writers and canonists of the Palaiologan period, denominated the renovators as *ktetors*, forgetting, almost completely, about the initial founders. Manuel Rhaoul,⁵⁹² a *grammateus* who spent a later part on his life in Mystras, in one of his letters⁵⁹³ addresses the hegoumenos of the monastery of Oreinou to resolve the affairs of certain nun Plato whom he calls “our mother” (μήτηρ ἡμῶν). The matter of his request is the concession of the “properties which the previous *ktetors* had conferred upon her” (τὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν τῶν κτητόρων κεκυρωμένα), including an allowance which a deceased Platys assigned from his possessions. Thus, Manuel asks the hegoumenos to allot for Plato what was “ordained by the deceased *ktetors*” (κυρωθὲν παρὰ τῶν κτητόρων ἐκείνων) as the former *hegoumenoi* had not done so. The monastery of Oreinou can be indentified with the location Roeino in Arcadia where two medieval churches, St. George and Panagia, are preserved.⁵⁹⁴ However, as it noted by N. Dile,⁵⁹⁵ the monastery itself can be dated back to the 12th century whereas the “*ktetors*” who bequeathed some income for Plato are older

⁵⁹¹ ✠ Καὶ ναῶν μὲν ἱερῶν κατασκευαὶ (καὶ) οἰκίσσεις πλῆθος τὲ ἀναθημ(ά)τ(ων) κ(αὶ) μέγεθος τῷ καθιεροῦντι χρῆμα λυσιτελεῖς (καὶ) τοσοῦτον ὅσον εἰς Θ(εο)ῦ χεῖρας τὸ καλλιέρημα· τὸ δέ γε κ(αὶ) ἄλλους τινὰς μετ’ ἐκείνων περὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν τοιούτων (καὶ) σ(ωτη)ρίας διαγωνίζεσθαι καὶ ὅπως ἂν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν περισώζηται περὶ πλείστον ποιεῖσθαι, οὐκ ἔλαττον δῆπου τοῦ πρότερον τῷ ἐξετάζοντι· ἐκατέρου γ(ὰρ) τὸ ἀγώνισμα, τοῦ τε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεγείραντος θεῖαν μονὴν τοῦ τε δια σπουδῆς τιθεμένου τὴν ἐκείνης διαμονήν, οὐδ(ὲν) ἕτερον ἢ τὸ θεῖον διὰ τούτων ἐξευμενίζεσθαι τῇ συνελεύσει δῆπου κ(αὶ) ψαλμωδία τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς θεῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρεταῖς ἀμιλλωμένων ἐκάστοτε. Εἰ γοῦν μέγα τοῖς τῶν μονῶν οἰκισταῖς (καὶ) τῶν ἄλλων δῆπου σεμνείων τὸ εἰσὶν οἰκοδόμημα, οὐδὲν ἦττον ἔσται τοῖς ἐπιμελομένοις αὐτῶν ἢ περὶ ταῦτα φροντίς· ἐκατέρω γ(ὰρ) ψυχῆς σ(ωτη)ρία τὸ ἐκ τούτου πραγματευόμενον. Τίνες δ’ ἂν εἶεν ἢ πάντως ὅσοι προθυμοῦνται τοῖς ἴσοις τὸ περὶ ἀνιστᾶν (καὶ) τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἐξιᾶσθαι τὸ συντριβέν, ἢ δὴ (καὶ) μάλιστα θεραπεία οὐ κακῶ τὸ κακὸν ὡς ἡ παροιμία, καλῶ δὲ τὸ κακὸν θεραπεύουσα; Τὶ γ(ὰρ) τοῦ περὶ τούτου (καὶ) φθαρέντος χεῖρον γένοιτ’ ἂν; Ἐξ ὧν δῆπου τό τε συνίστασθαι τὴν μονὴν ὡς το ἐξ ἀρχῆς περιγίνεται, οἷ τε τῶν δευτέρων τούτων ἀγωνισταῖ τῶν ἴσων γερῶν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐκείνοις ἀξιοθήσονται, καὶ ὡς ἐκείνοι οὕτω δὴ (καὶ) αὐτοὶ κτήτορες κ(αὶ) οἰκιστὰί τῆς μονῆς προσκληθήσονται, ὅτι τὰ παρ’ ἐκείνων αὐτῇ προσκυρωθέντα (καὶ) δι’ αὐτῆς τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ χρόνω φθαρόντα αὐτοὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἀνευέυσαντο. - *Actes du Pantocrator*, no. 22, pp. 151-156 (here p. 154, l. 2-11).

⁵⁹² *PLP*, no. 241130; Fassoulakis, Sterios. *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(l)es* (Athens: privately published, 1973): pp. 51-53, no. 34.

⁵⁹³ Loenertz, Raymond-Joseph. “Emmanuelis Raul Epistulae XII,” *Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 26 (1956): pp. 161-162, Ep. 11.

⁵⁹⁴ Sarantakis, Petros and Petroulia, Natasa [Σαραντάκης, Πέτρος Πετρούλια, Νατάσα]. *Αρκαδία τα μοναστήρια και οι εκκλησίες της / Arcadia: monasteries and churches* (Athens: Oiates, 2000): 46-47.

⁵⁹⁵ Dile, Nancy [Δηλέ, Νάνση] “Το άγνωστο υστεροβυζαντινό στρώμα τοιχογράφησης του ναού της Παναγίας στο Ροεινό Αρκαδίας. Νέα στοιχεία για ένα τοπικό εργαστήριο ζωγράφων,” *DChAE* 35 (2014): 104-106.

contemporaries of Manuel Rhaoul of the second half of the 14th century. Therefore, the letter refers to renovators (possibly, the builders of the *parekklesion* of Panagia)⁵⁹⁶ or generous donors of the foundation with the expression “ktetors.”

In inscriptions, the term ktetor appears in three contexts: dedications (of a church or other pious institution), texts accompanying a painted image of a patron or epitaphs. Before late 11th century, the term occurs rarely: in Eastern Thrace, there two instances of the 5-7th century⁵⁹⁷ and two inscriptions of 861/2 and 965 respectively;⁵⁹⁸ but the number of instances increases significantly in the following centuries. Both, in Byzantium and Balkan Slavic countries, a burial in a church was a privilege of a founder and, therefore, the epitaphs written for a ktetor and his/her relatives often indicated who was responsible for the erection/renovation of a church.⁵⁹⁹

Another typical wording including the term “ktetor” is a kind of dedicatory inscriptions stating only the name and the title/office of a founder. The earliest example, dated with the late 11th century, can be found in Hypate (Neai Patrai). It is a lintel, spoliated in a newer church, which bears the text: “Demetrios Katakalon *proedros* and ktetor.”⁶⁰⁰ Usually, these inscriptions are situated on the door lintels and, at least, in two cases, they were supplemented with the founders’ monograms, carved on capitals or church walls.⁶⁰¹ In the church of Hagioi Apostoloi in Thessaloniki (1310–1314 or 1329?),⁶⁰² the identity of the first founder is confirmed by three inscriptions that mention the name of the Patriarch Niphon (fig. 3.4-3.8).⁶⁰³ One is written in the marble lintel of the entrance: ΝΙ πατριάρχης και κτήτωρ ΦΩΝ. Three monograms on the marble capitals of the west facade of the church form the reading: Νίφων πατρ(ι)άρχ(ης) κτήτωρ. In addition, the same phrase is repeated in

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 104, note 132.

⁵⁹⁷ Asdracha, *Thrace orientale*, Vol. IV, pp. 332-333 (no. 158) and pp. 324-326 (no. 151).

⁵⁹⁸ Asdracha, *Thrace orientale*, Vol. II, pp. 289-291 (no. 80) and pp. 271-272 (no. 69).

⁵⁹⁹ The texts of epitaphs usually mention the name of deceased and his/her/their founder-status, provide the date of death, and ask for eternal commemoration, see: a burial marble slab from Varna Museum made for Constantine and Eirene “the ktetors” of an unknown monastery (Beševliev, Veselin. *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964): p. 94, no. 136); a burial inscription of the “ktetor” Alyatos’ daughter from Philippopolis, dated with the 13th or 14th century (Beševliev, Veselin. *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964): p. 147, No. 213); a 12th-century slab for Barlaam, the “founder” of a monastery in Chalcedon (Feissel, Denis. “De Chalcedoine à Nicomedie. Quelques inscriptions négligées,” *Travaux et Mémoires* 10 (1987): p. 420, no. 32); a commemoration (1288) of the “hegoumenos and ktetor” Matthew of St. Chariton Monastery at Sylle (Salkitzoglou, Takis [Σαλκιτζόγλου, Τάκης]. “Η Μονή τοῦ Ἀγίου Χαρίτωνος στήν Σύλλη τοῦ Ἰκονίου,” *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon* 16 (2009): 132); and a marble tombstone of *veliki voedova* Nikola Stanjević, “ktitor” of St. Stephen church at Konče (1366-1371) (Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, pp. 175-176).

⁶⁰⁰ Feissel, Avraméa, “Inscriptions de Thessalie,” no. 14, pp. 370-372.

⁶⁰¹ In one instance, the dedicatory inscription itself is carved in the pillars’ imposts (Church of the Taxiarchs in Mesaria, Andros, built by the “ktetors” Constantine Monasteriotes and Eirene Prasine in 1158), see: Petrochilos, Nikos [Πετρόχειλος, Νίκος]. “Οι Επιγραφικές μαρτυρίες για τη βυζαντινή Άνδρο,” in: *Η Βυζαντινή Άνδρος (4ος-12ος αιώνας). Νεότερα από την από την αρχαιολογική έρευνα και τις αποκαταστάσεις των μνημείων*, ed. G. Pallis (Andros: Kerios Bibliothiki, 2016): p. 190, no. 9.

⁶⁰² The discussion about the dating of the church’s construction, see: Kuniholm, Peter Ian and Cecil L Striker. “Dendrochronology and the Architectural History of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki,” *Architectura: Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Baukunst* 20 (1990): pp. 2–3, footnotes 5–6.

⁶⁰³ *PLP*, no. 20679.

the monograms laid out by bricks in the northern and southern tympani of the western façade and in the western tympanum of the southern façade.⁶⁰⁴

A similar repetitive structure was employed by Alexios Apokaukos, the founder of St. John's church in Selymbria (between 1321 and 1341), known only from the reports of the 19th-century researchers. As C. Asdracha demonstrated, an inscription denoting the title and foundation activities of the *parakoimomenos* Alexios Apokaukos⁶⁰⁵ (fig. 3.9) as well as the church's dedication (Ἀλέξιος Ἀπόκαυχος παρακοιμώμενος κτήτωρ, Ἰωάννης)⁶⁰⁶ was supplemented by the monograms of the similar content, placed on the columns' capitals (Ἀλ(έ)ξ(ι)ο(ς) Ἀπ(ό)κ(αυ)χ(ος) π(α)ρ(α)κ(οι)μ(ώ)μ(ε)ν(ος) κτήτωρ Ἰωάννης(?) Θ](ε)ολ(ό)[γ(ος)).⁶⁰⁷ In Pantanassa's church of Mystras (1428), local courtier, the *protostrator* John Phrangopoulos,⁶⁰⁸ combined a poetic dedication, painted in a dome of the Western gallery, with monograms (fig. 3.10) defining him as the founder (ὁ κτ(ή)τωρ Ἰωάν(νης) φρ(α)γγόπ(ου)λο(ς) πρωτοστράτωρ), placed above the windows on the Western façade and on the capitals.⁶⁰⁹

In a very complex history of St. Demetrios Metropolis in Mystra, several metropolitans claimed the *ktetoria* over the foundation. It was erected by the Metropolitan Eugenios (1262–1272), depicted in the *diakonikon*, where his tomb was placed (fig. 3.12-3.13). His successor Theodosios (1272–1283?) added the wall paintings and depicted himself in the apse next to the Virgin, but his image was later scraped off as the consequence of his support for the Unionist policies of Michael VIII Palaiologos. Nikephoros Moschopoulos (1288?–1315) promoted himself as the church's founder in several inscription as he completed the decoration of the church. In the first half of the 15th century, galleries were added to the Metropolis and their constructor, the metropolitan Matthew, called himself a *ktetor* in the monograms on the columns and an inscription (fig. 3.11) on the marble cornice of the galleries (ὁ κτήτωρ μ(η)τρο(πολίτης) Λακεδαιμονίας Ματθαίο(ς)).⁶¹⁰

These examples of the architectural elements decorated with the indications of somebody's *ktetoria* expressed instructive, ornamental, and symbolic meanings simultaneously. The beauty of monograms covering empty architectural surfaces captures and engages attention of viewers whose gaze stopped on these unusual details. At the same time, the monograms intrigued and aroused

⁶⁰⁴ Nikonanos, Nikos. *The Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1998): 26–27.

⁶⁰⁵ *PLP*, no. 1180.

⁶⁰⁶ Asdracha, *Thrace orientale*, Vol. I, pp. 235–236, no. 11.

⁶⁰⁷ Asdracha, *Thrace orientale*, Vol. I, pp. 236–240, nos. 12–13.

⁶⁰⁸ *PLP*, no. 30100.

⁶⁰⁹ Millet, "Inscriptions byzantines de Mistra," pp. 134–137, nos. 31–33, Aspra-Bardabake, Meri and Emmanouel, Melita [Ἀσπρά-Βαρδαβάκη, Μαίρη; Εμμανουήλ, Μελίτα] *Η Μονή της Παντάνασσας στον Μυστρά: Οι τοιχογραφίες του 15ου αιώνα* (Athens: Emporiki Trapeza tis Ellados): 29–32; Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, pp. 82–85.

⁶¹⁰ Marinou, Georgia [Μαρίνου, Γεωργία]. *Ο Άγιος Δημήτριος, η Μητρόπολη του Μυστρά* (Athens: Ekdose tou Tameiou Archaio-logikon Poron kai Apallotrioseon, 2002): 29–49, 228–238, 239–243 (inscriptions). For the inscriptions also see: Millet, "Inscriptions byzantines de Mistra," pp. 127–128, nos. 17–18.

curiosity forcing the beholder to resolve the riddles containing the data about the founder(s). Thus, through a minor mental effort, the information was remembered much better than being simply presented in a complete way.⁶¹¹ Perhaps, this little game could make the visitors to recollect, in their prayers, the name(s) of the founder(s) who constructed the places of worship. In addition, being placed on such constructive supporting elements as lintels, walls, pillars, and columns, the inscriptions symbolically presented the idea of material support provided by the founders to the ecclesiastic institutions.

Sometimes, the term *ktetor* accompanied the portraits of founders depicted in the act of the gift offering or prayers, addressed to the divinity. Being close in the content to the inscriptions in the lintels/capitals, these texts were short and contained the name, the title/office and the status of a founder. Before the 12th century, they occurred rarely, but in the following centuries their presence increased significantly. One may find a group of such portraits in the late 12th-century churches of the town of Kastoria. In St. Nicholas Kasnitzi's Church (fig. 3.14.-3.15), "Nicephoros Kasnitzes, *magistros* and *ktetor*" (Νικηφόρος μαγίστρος καὶ κτήτωρ ὁ Κασνίτζης), holding the model of the building, and "Anna, the wife of the *ktetor*" (Ἡ σύνευνος τοῦ κτήτορος Ἄννα), extending her hands in the prayer gesture, approach the image of St. Nicholas and the Holy Mandyllion on the eastern wall of the narthex.⁶¹² The Lemnites family is also portrayed as patrons of the ecclesiastic foundation with similar short inscriptions, in the church of Hagioi Anargyroi (fig. 3.16), dated with the same period.⁶¹³

The rich garments, typically associated with the noble origin of the personages, and their prominent place in the interiors may indicate the purpose of the accompanying texts: the surnames, the title/offices as well as the founder-indication are present here for the instruction of the audience coming to the church. Thus, the portraits and the texts turn into the manifestations of social status, staging the appearance of the patrons in the greatest honour achieved and the most luxurious garments

⁶¹¹ Information obtained as a result of active problem-solving can be easier and better recalled from memory than information given as a staring point, see: Smirnov, Anatoly A. *Problems of the Psychology of Memory* (New York: Springer Science+Business Media, 1973 [2013]): 70-80.

⁶¹² Drakopoulou, *Η πόλη της Καστοριάς*, p. 44.

⁶¹³ Being responsible for the reconstruction of the roof and paintings of the church, the commissioner left several epigrams with pleas for salvation and physical health, next to different images, The family is depicted addressing the image of the Virgin: Theodore Lemnites (Δέσις τοῦ δούλου του Θεοῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Λειμνηότου καὶ κτήτορος ὁ Θεόφιλος (μον)αχ(ός) ὁ Λημνιώτης καὶ κτήτωρ),⁶¹³ "the *ktetor*'s wife," Anna Radene (Δέσις τῆς δούλης τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἄννης καὶ κτητόρισσας ὁ Ἄννα ἡ Παδηνή καὶ σύμβιος τοῦ κτήτορος), and "the *ktetor*'s son," John Lemnites (Δέσις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰω(άννου) καὶ υἱοῦ τοῦ κτήτορος ὁ Ἰω(άννης) ὁ υἱός τοῦ κτήτορος), see: Drakopoulou, *Η πόλη της Καστοριάς*, pp. 45-52, As it was pointed out (Kyrikoudis, Evangelos [Κυριακούδης, Ευάγγελος]. "Ὁ κτήτορας του ναοῦ των Αγ. Αναργύρων Καστοριάς Θεόδωρος (Θεόφιλος) Λημνιώτης," *Balkanika Symmeikta* 1 (1981): 11-13), the change in the status of Anna Radene (in the initial inscription she has equal status with her husband and is called "ktetorissa" and in the repainted inscription she is denoted only as "the wife of the *ktetor*") can be associated with the founder taking the monastic vows and changing the structure of ownership over the institution. This change also caused the appearance of an additional portrait of the same founder "in a monastic garb presenting a model of the church to immense figure of Christ and inscribed as "Theophilos the monk and *ktetor*" (Θεόφιλος (μον)αχ(ός) ὁ Λημνιώτης καὶ κτήτωρ) on the western wall of the southern aisle (Drakopoulou, *Η πόλη της Καστοριάς*, p. 53).

they possess. In this context, the ktetor-word is a reminder about the role of these persons in the life of the community, their investments into the reconstruction of the buildings which should be properly commemorated during the services.

Indeed, these portraits with inscriptions were perceived as a matter of honour, reminder of commemoration and a tool of public promotion of the founders' accomplishments. And it was equally applied by the village community leaders,⁶¹⁴ noblemen⁶¹⁵ and even by the rulers. In St. Demetrios Church of Markov monastery (1365-1377), kings Marko and Vukašin Mrnjavčevići commissioned their portraits (fig. 3.17) with the references to their positions as "ktetors," attributes of the royal dignity (the crown, divitision, maniakon and loros) and divinely approved monarchy (both rulers are haloed and Marko holds the horn alluding to Biblical David) as well as the scrolls reminding about their donations to the foundation and royal generosity.⁶¹⁶ The mural decoration on the external wall of the Church of Panagia Mavriotissa (1259-1264) at Kastoria (fig. 3.18-3.19) promoted the figure of Michael VIII as an elected-by-god founder of the new dynasty, similar to Alexios I Komnenos and Constantine the Great, whose power secured the possessions owned by the monastery.⁶¹⁷ In other words, similarly with the *prooimia* of endowment charters and panegyrics,⁶¹⁸ the imperial donor portraits served the propaganda purposes⁶¹⁹ displaying the figure of an emperor as the god-elect and promoted the image of an emperor as an embodiment of virtues (piety, generosity).

⁶¹⁴ For example in the Cypriote village churches of Panagia Moutoulla (1280), Panagia in Kakopetria (1514), St. Demetrios in Dali (1317), and Holy Archangels in Pedoulas (1474) one may find portraits of founders accompanied with the inscriptions indicating their surnames, occupations and the founder-status, see: Stylianou, Andreas and Judith. "Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions, Supplicants and Supplications in the Painted Churches of Cyprus," *JÖB* 9 (1960): 102-103, 111-112, 113, 120-121.

⁶¹⁵ See, for example, the votive portraits of the Byzantine and Serbian noblemen denoted as "ktetors": Michael *voivoda* Therianos in the church of St. Paraskevi at Monodendri (1414) (Achimastou-Potanianno, Myrtali [Αχειμάστου-Ποταμιάνο, Μυρτάλη]. "Η κτιτορική παράσταση της μονής της Αγίας Παρασκευής στο Μονοδέντρι της Ηπείρου (1414)," *DChAE* 42 (2003): 234 and *župan* Petar Brajan in the White Church at Karan (1340-1342) (Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, pp. 140-143).

⁶¹⁶ King Marko is depicted holding the horn with chrism reminding about the Biblical figure of David who was selected for the king's office by God through the unction by the prophet Samuel, see: Tomić-Đurić, Marka. *Idejne osnove tematskog programa živopisa crkve Svetog Dimitrije u Markovom manastiru*, PhD Dissertation, University of Belgrade, 2017, pp. 24-27, 703-730 (with prior bibliography). For identification of the object held by king Marko as a trumpet, see: Cvetković, Branislav. "Sovereign Portraits at Markov Manastir Revisited," *Ikon* 5 (2012): 185-198. For a similar depiction of Manuel I Grand Komnenos as the ktetor and ruler holding the horn, see: Eastmond, Anthony. *Art and Identity in Thirteenth Century Byzantium. Hagia Sophia and the Empire of Trebizond* (Aldershot-Burlington: Ashgate, 2004): 139-151.

⁶¹⁷ The figure of Michael VIII Palaiologos bearing the epithet "the new Constantine" is paired with that of Alexios I Komnenos and juxtaposed with the composition of the Tree of Jesse being a Biblical prototypical image of the legitimate and god-elected dynasty, thus Michael VIII was promoted as a legitimate continuator of the imperial tradition, see: Papamastorakis, Titos [Παπαμαστοράκης, Τίτος]. "Ένα εικαστικό εγκώμιο του Μιχαήλ Η' Παλαιολόγου: Οι εξωτερικές τοιχογραφίες στο καθολικό της μονής της Μαυριωτίτσας στην στην Καστοριά," *DChAE* 15 (1989-1990): 221-240. For the discussion of this and other examples of imperial propaganda through images during the Palaiologan time, see: Christidou, Anna. *Unknown Byzantine art in the Balkan area: art, power and patronage in twelfth to fourteenth century churches in Albania*, PhD Dissertation, London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2011, pp. 142-161.

⁶¹⁸ Hunger, *Prooimion*; Angelov, Dimitar. *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204-1330* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 29-115.

⁶¹⁹ Negrău, Elisabeta. "The ruler's portrait in Byzantine art a few observations regarding its functions," *European Journal of Science and Theology* 7/2 (2011): 63-75.

On the other hand, the members of aristocracy also used the donor portraits with inscriptions as a tool for presenting their ideal image to the community of believers. On the east wall of the narthex in Kokkine Ekklesia (Voulgareli, 1295-1296), two pairs of laymen address the Virgin with the gift (the model of the church) and prayers (fig. 3.20-3.21). These Epirote aristocrats, Theodore Tzimiskes with his wife Maria and his brother are John Tzimiskes with his wife Anna are dressed in luxurious costumes and headgears, in accordance with the Constantinopolitan fashion;⁶²⁰ but the hierarchy inside of the family is underlined with the help of accompanying texts: Theodore is designated with his court office, “the *protostrator*,” and the status of “ktetor,” whereas John is labeled simply as “the brother of the ktetor.”⁶²¹ These images of the brothers-ktetors were addressed to the members of the monastic community who also commemorated the donors on their graves: in course of recent excavations numerous burials under the church floor and the remnants of the monastery quarters were discovered.⁶²²

Similarly, on the Serbian territory, in the Virgin’s Entrance church (1383-1386) at Nova Pavlica (fig. 3.22-3.23), only one (Stefan) of two noble Musići brothers,⁶²³ portrayed bearing the inscription indicating his origin, relationship with the ruling authority and founder-status, whereas the second brother (Lazar) is denoted just as “Lord Lazar, the brother of Lord Stefan.”⁶²⁴ One may suggest that the reasons for these differences in the denomination of family members can be found in the measure of participation of the relatives in the construction and adornment of a church, however, in both regarded cases, it was the elder brother who got the status of a ktetor. Consequently, one may assume the elder brothers, that as the heads of the aristocratic houses, were responsible for the family fortune and the decision to allot the funds for the church institutions.

⁶²⁰ Kontopanagou, Katerina. “Donor Portraits in the State of Epirus: aesthetics, fashion and trends in the late Byzantine period,” in: *The Balkans and the Byzantine World before and after the Captures of Constantinople, 1204 and 1453*, ed. V. Stanković (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2016): 59-68.

⁶²¹ The inscriptions read the following: “The supplication of the servant of God Theodore, the *protostrator* and ktetor of this church and his wife Maria the *protostratorissa*” ([Δέσις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεοδώρου πρωτοστράτορος κτίτορος τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῆς σημεῖου αὐτοῦ Μαρίας καὶ πρωτοστράτορος]) and “The supplication of the servant of God John Tzimiskes and the brother of the ktetor and his wife Anna Tzimiskes” ([Δέσις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Τζιμισκῆ καὶ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ κτίτορος καὶ τῆς σημεῖου αὐτοῦ Ἀννῆς τῆς Τζιμισκῆ]), see: Papadopoulou, Varvara N. [Παπαδοπούλου, Βαρβάρα Ν.]. *Η Βυζαντινὴ Ἀρτα καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα τῆς* (Athens: Iourgio politismou, 2002): 118.

⁶²² Papadopoulou, Varvara [Παπαδοπούλου, Βαρβάρα]. “Ἡ Κόκκινη Εκκλησία στο Βουργαρέλι τῆς Ἀρτας,” *Epeirika Chronika* 42 (2008): 323-345.

⁶²³ About the family of Musići, see: Šuica Marko. *Nemirno doba srpskog srednjeg veka: vlastela srpskih oblasnih gospodara* (Belgrade: Službeni list, 2000): 97-98, 101-102; 114-116.

⁶²⁴ Stefan is labeled with the following text: “Pious and Christ-loving lord Stefan, the ktetor of this holy place, son of the čelnik Ml’sa and lady Dragana, the sister of the great and autocrat lord of the Serbs and the entire Danubian lands, holy knez Lazar” – *Благоч(ъ)стивн и х(рис)толюбивн г(оспо)д(и)нь Стефанъ синъ чельника мльсе и г(о)сп(о)ге драгане. сестри великаго и самодержавн(а)го г(оспо)д(и)на сръблем и подюганвию с(ве)т(а)го кн(е)за лазара и хитторъ с(ве)т(а)го мѣста сего*; Lazar bears the following inscription: “Lord Lazar, the brother of Lord Stefan” – *г(оспо)д(и)нь лазар братъ г(оспо)д(и)на Стеф(а)на* see: Cvetković, Branislav. “Portreti u naosu Nove Pavlice: istorizam ili politička aktuelnost?,” *Saopštenja* 35/36 (2006): 81; Starodubcev, Tatjana. *Srpsko zidno slikarstvo u zemljama Lazarevića i Brankovića* (Belgrade: University of Belgrade, 2016): vol. II, pp. 55-56.

The foundation as a cooperative enterprise of a couple also can be indicated with the help of inscriptions accompanying the portraits: in such cases both of spouses bear the indication of the founder-status. Thus, on the donor composition of Boyana Church (Bulgaria, 1259), both “*sebastokrator*” Kolojan and “*sebastokratorissa*” Desislava are denoted as “*ktitor*” and “*ktitoritsa*,” though it is the husband⁶²⁵ who, as a head of family, offers the church model to St. Nicholas (fig. 3.24-3.25).⁶²⁶ Similarly, in the burial chapel of St. John of the Pammakaristos monastery in Constantinople, an arcosolium was ornamented by the representations of the founders’ couple, “Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotēs the *protostrator* and *ktetor*” and “his wife, Maria Doukaina Komnene Branaina [Bryennissa] Palaiologina, the *protostratorissa* and *ktetorissa*.”⁶²⁷ In this case, Maria (Martha) bears the founder-status as she completed the construction and decoration of the foundation after her husband’s death.⁶²⁸

However, in a very similar situation, a woman only can be labeled as the founder in order to underline her efforts as the commissioner and her ownership rights over a foundation. In the church of St. George in Pološko,⁶²⁹ *basilissa* Maria (Marina) is depicted offering the church model to the divinity (fig. 3.26-3.27) and denoted as the only family member with the status of a “*ktetorissa*.”⁶³⁰ According to the charter by King Stefan Dušan (1340),⁶³¹ it was Maria’s deceased son Dragušin (also depicted in the donor’s composition and marked as “deceased”) who decided to establish the foundation whereas his mother built the monastery and organized the burial place after the death of her son. In addition, it was she, who made the final decision about the transfer of the rights over the monastery to Hilandar.

Thus, the inscriptions containing the term *ktetor* and located in Byzantine and Balkan Slavic churches worked as propaganda and donor-promotion tools. They were meant to raise awareness of founders’ role among the believers visiting the church, to pave the way to immortality for the founders by virtue of integration into the communal memory of and to assure remembrance and

⁶²⁵ For a similar position of the husband and wife, see the portrait of George and Tihoslava in the church of St. George at Gornji Kozjak (c. 1340), however, here only the wife was denoted as the *ktetor*, see: Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, pp. 138-139. However, since the inscription is not preserved in its entirety one can not be sure that the labeling of the husband didn’t include his title and founder-status.

⁶²⁶ Božilov, Ivan [Божилов, Иван]. “Портретите в Боянската църква: легенди и факти,” *Problemi na izkustvoto* 1 (1995): 3-9; Bakalova, Elka [Бакалова, Елка]. “За константинополските модели в Боянската църква,” *Problemi na izkustvoto* 1 (1995): 10-21 (with previous bibliography).

⁶²⁷ Belting, Hans, Mango, Cyril, Mouriki Doula. *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St Mary Pammakaristos* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1979): 21, 39

⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15-22.

⁶²⁹ Pavlović, Dragana. “Pitanje ktitorstva crkve Svetog Đorđa u Pološkom,” *Zograf* 35 (2015): 107-118; Grozdanov, Cvetan, Čornakov, Dimitar. “Istorijski portreti u Pološkom (I),” *Zograf* 14 (1983): 60-67; Grozdanov, Cvetan, Čornakov, Dimitar. “Istorijski portreti u Pološkom (II),” *Zograf* 15 (1984): 85-93; Grozdanov, Cvetan, Čornakov, Dimitar. “Istorijski portreti u Pološkom (III),” *Zograf* 18 (1987): 37-42.

⁶³⁰ Pavlović, Dragana. “Pitanje ktitorstva crkve Svetog Đorđa u Pološkom,” *Zograf* 35 (2015): 110-114; Grozdanov, Cvetan, Čornakov, Dimitar. “Istorijski portreti u Pološkom (II),” *Zograf* 15 (1984): 85.

⁶³¹ Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja, Subotin-Golubović, Tatjana. “Povelja kralja Stefana Dušana o poklonu Hilandaru crkve Sv. Đorđa i sela Pološko,” *SSA* 6 (2007): 55-67 (esp. pp. 57-58).

commemoration by the community. However, the inscriptions almost never distinguished between the initial (first) founder and the renovator,⁶³² and more than that: the majority of donors' portraits depict de facto renovators as these images are preserved in the foundations which architecture is dated earlier than their painting.

The 14th-century donation documents attest that the term *ktetor* expands its meaning even more to include sponsors financing the construction and sustenance of religious institutions, and, especially, the royal benefactors overseeing the Athonite monasteries. This expansion of meaning may be associated with the active construction and reconstruction campaigns, initiated by various aristocratic Greek, Serbian and Wallachian patrons, which led to enrichment of previously insignificant foundations and the changes in the balance of power on the Holy Mount.⁶³³

Three documents witness the development of relations between the hegoumenos of Koutloumous Chariton and the Wallachian *voievod* Vladislav-Vlaicu between 1369 and 1372: a Draft of the donation charter by Vladislav, prepared by Chariton (1369); First Testament by Chariton (1370) and second Testament by Chariton (1370).⁶³⁴ Thanks to these acts one may reconstruct the establishment of the relations of institutional patronage between the Wallachian State and the monastery.

As they were widely discussed by the Romanian historiography,⁶³⁵ I am going to make a brief outline of the events to be able, later, to analyze the use of the term *ktetor* in the texts. The first among the Basarab dynasty members who sponsored the Athonite foundation was *voievod* Nicolae Alexandru (1352-1364)⁶³⁶ who, being addressed by the energetic leader of Koutloumous monastery Chariton, sponsored the creation of fortification. Later, Chariton turned to the ruling son of the deceased *voievod* and asked him to complete the construction started by his father.⁶³⁷ Vladislav Vlaicu

⁶³² One case of inscriptions mentioning the first and the second ktetors (the Hagioi Apostoloi church in Thessaloniki) will be discussed in this chapter below (the Subchapter 3.3. of this dissertation): another case of *župan* Petar Brajan called "first ktetor" in the White Church at Karan will be regarded in the Subchapters 4.1.3 and 4.2.5.

⁶³³ The monastery of Pantokrator was founded between 1357 and 1363 by John and Alexios Palaiologoi ((Pavlikianov, *The Medieval Aristocracy*, pp. 113-115); Dionysiou appeared between 1356 and 1362 or 1366 (Pavlikianov, *The Medieval Aristocracy*, pp. 32-36); the abandoned monastery of St. Paul was renovated between 1356 and 1362 or 1366 (Pavlikianov, *The Medieval Aristocracy*, pp. 116-120); for the construction of that of Simonopetra started before 1371, and the repair of Koutloumous began during the reign and with the help of Nicolas-Alexandre de Wallachia (1352 - 1364), to be continued and finished thanks to the donations from his son and successor Vladislav in 1369-1372 (Pavlikianov, *The Medieval Aristocracy*, pp. 81-82), see: Actes de Dionysiou, pp. 5-10; Nastase, "Le Mont Athos," pp. 133-135; Oikonomides, "Patronage in Palaiologan Mount Athos"; Allison, "Founders and Refounders of Philotheou."

⁶³⁴ *Actes de Kutlumas*, pp. 102-105 (no. 26); pp. 110-116 (no. 29); and pp. 116-121 (no. 30).

⁶³⁵ Năsturel, *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains*, pp. 39-51; Nastase, "Le Mont Athos," pp. 131-166; Năsturel, Petre. "Considérations sur l'idée impériale chez les Roumains," *Byzantina* 5 (1973): 402-403; *Actes de Kutlumas*, pp. 9-12; Păun, Radu. "Mount Athos and the Byzantine-Slavic Tradition in Wallachia and Moldavia after the Fall of Constantinople," in: *The Balkans and the Byzantine World before and after the Captures of Constantinople, 1204 and 1453*, ed. V. Stanković (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2015): 117-163.

⁶³⁶ *Actes de Kutlumas*, pp. 103 (l. 3-4), 113 (l. 18-19) and 118 (l. 37-38), see also: Năsturel, *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains*, pp. 41-42.

⁶³⁷ And when receiving the blessed lot the lord of Ugrovlachia kyr Nicholas Alexander, his father, raised not small funds for the construction of the tower,... and that he should imitate his father acquiring the remission of sins for himself, strength of the soul and body, and non-passing glory among the emperors and ruler, he shouldn't fall behind them in the

pledged to bear the expenses, necessary for the complete reconstruction of the monastery (the church, cells, enclosure, towers, etc.), and to provide additional endowments for the subsistence of the monks. However, with the increasing presence of the Wallachian monks in Koutloumous, a conflict between the hegoumenos and the ruler broke out: according to Chariton's account,⁶³⁸ it was provoked by the monastic leader's refusal to replace the *cenobitic* regime of the community with a less severe regime, to which the Wallachian monks were accustomed and which was demanded by the royal benefactor. On behalf of his monastery, Chariton visited Wallachia and met the *dikaiophylax* Daniel Kritopoulos and the Metropolitan Hyakinthos who intervened in the conflict trying to convince the hegoumenos to obey the demands of Vladislav.⁶³⁹ Back to Athos, after seeking advice from some locals, Chariton decided to accede to the desire of the Wallachian *voievod* in order to assure the existence of the foundation.⁶⁴⁰ After certain delay, in 1372, the conflict was resolved with the appointment of Chariton as the Metropolitan of Ougrovlachia and the election of the Wallachian monk Melchizedek as his successor on the Holy Mount.⁶⁴¹

In these circumstances, Chariton writing on behalf of *voievod* Vladislav describes them both (Chariton and Vladislav) as *ktetors*: “And we are both equally *ktetors*, me, because I pour funds, and him (Chariton), because he strives and raises up (buildings), now as well as in the past, on the properties, vineyards, *metochia*, inside and outside the Holy Mount.”⁶⁴² Moreover, Chariton, in the name of Vladislav, represents patronage over an Athonite foundation as a national affair, necessary for an orthodox ruler for proving his piety and the success in the statehood-making: “it would be wise for my lordship to act in that way in which the other rulers, namely Bulgarians, Serbs, Russians and Georgians, have already acted, who gained commemoration and glory in that famous and Holy Mount, for the commemoration and glory of (my lordship).”⁶⁴³

The *ktetoria* of the *voievod* was achieved by great financial expenses made on behalf of Koutloumous: “The most noble *voievod* agreed to pay the debt for the construction of the fortification

great gifts and offerings to this most holy mount, which, as it is said, is the centre of the entire universe. - και ὡς ἐπεὶ ὁ ἐν μακαρία τῇ λήξει γεγωνῶς αὐθ(έν)της τῆς αὐτῆς Οὐγγροβλαχίας κῦρ Νικόλαος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ π(ατ)ήρ αὐτοῦ οὐ μικρὸν συνήρατο ἐπὶ τῇ κτίσει τοῦ μεγ(ά)λου πύργου ..., δεῖ καὶ αὐτὸν μιμήσασθαι μὲν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ π(ατέ)ρα, περιποιήσασθαι δὲ αὐτῷ ἁμαρτημάτων λύτρωσιν, ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώμ(α)τος εὐρωστίαν, καὶ δόξαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν παρὰ τε βασιλεῦσι καὶ ἄρχουσιν, οὐκ ἀπολειφθεῖς αὐτῶν τῇ μεγαλοδωρία καὶ προσενέξει τῇ πρὸς τὸ ἀγιώτ(α)τον τουτὶ ὄρος, τὸ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀφθαλμόν· *Actes de Kutlumas*, no. 29, p. 113, l. 17-21.

⁶³⁸ *Actes de Kutlumas*, no. 29, p. 113, l. 25-28.

⁶³⁹ *Actes de Kutlumas*, no. 29, pp. 113-114, l. 28-41.

⁶⁴⁰ *Actes de Kutlumas*, no. 29, p. 114, l. 41-52.

⁶⁴¹ Năstase, “Le Mont Athos,” pp. 129, 142-147.

⁶⁴² ἐσμέν οἱ δύο κατ' ἴσον κτήτορες, ἐγὼ μὲν ὡς τὴν ἐξοδὸν καταβαλὼν, ὁ δ' ὡς κοπιάσας καὶ ἀναστήσας καὶ νῦν καὶ πρότερον ἔν τε κτήμασιν, ἀμπελῶσι κ(αὶ), μετοχίοις, ἐντὸς τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους καὶ ἐκτός. (*Actes de Kutlumas*, no. 26, p. 103, l. 13-15), Similarly, Chariton calls Vladislav “the lord and *ktetor* of the monastery and the fortification” οἰκοκυρίου καὶ κτήτορος τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς καὶ τοῦ κάστρου *Actes de Kutlumas*, no. 26, p. 104, l. 53-54.

⁶⁴³ πρέπει καὶ τὴν αὐθεντείαν μου ποιῆσαι ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ ἕτεροι αὐθένται πεποιήκασιν, Σέρβοι καὶ Βούλγαροι δηλαδὴ Ῥώς τε καὶ Ἰβηρες, μνημόσυνόν τε καὶ τιμὴν ἑαυτοῖς περιποιησάμενοι ἐν τῷ θαυμαστῷ τῷδε καὶ ἁγίῳ ὄρει - *Actes de Kutlumas*, no. 26, p. 103 l. 8-10.

of one thousand *hyperpyra*, built the church being sufficiently great to house inside the existent Greek brothers and coming Wallachian (brothers). And also he built a refectory according to their number, bought possessions and animals (for the monastery), established the vineyards...”⁶⁴⁴ Together with these duties the ruler received the privileges to change the Typikon and daily rules of the foundation, as Chariton narrates that he was reproached by Wallachian church hierarchs because he and his monks fight with “their *ephoros* and *ktetor*,” who wanted to turn “the monastery to the *coinobian* road and to join it to other *hagioretic* monasteries.”⁶⁴⁵ This way, the *ktetoria* was understood in both ways, as actual efforts to gather and to organize a community (managing, constructing a monastic complex, looking for necessary sponsors etc.) and as financial sponsorship of a great scale. Besides Vladislav, Chariton mentions other, Serbian and Greek, aristocrats who made significant endowments to the foundation (Serbian Emperor Stefan Dušan and his wife Jelena (Jelisaveta), Serbian despot Jovan Uglješa and his father in law *kesar* Vojihna, Serbian noblemen Vuk Branković and Nicholas (Gerasim) Radonja, Byzantine *great stratopedarchos* George Astras),⁶⁴⁶ but the author doesn’t denominate them as *ktetors*, reserving this honorary title only for the Wallachian *voievod*.

Moreover, Chariton seems to consider the situation of double *ktetoria* over the monastery as beneficial for Koutloumous. In the Patriarchal Act of 1372 attesting his election as the Metropolitan of Wallachia, the *hegoumenos* informs us that he had gathered at Koutloumous “many monks”, recommending them “to pray day and night” for the *voievod*, “their founder.”⁶⁴⁷ At the same time he insists that not only the ruler but also the successive Metropolitans should perform the duties of *ktetors*:

And again I say, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that whoever is by the grace of God elected metropolitan of the Wallachian country, should treat the Koutloumous monastery as if he were its founder, and support it with great interest, following our example; in its turn, the monastery should recognise him as a founder and inscribe his name in the diptychs among the other founders....”⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁴ εἰ μὲν ἀποδοίῃ ὁ πανευσεβέστατος βοιβόδας τὸ εἰς τὴν τοῦ κάστρου κτίσιν ἐξοδιασθὲν χρέος τῶν χιλίων (ὑπερ)π(ύ)ρων, ἀνεγείρει τὲ ναὸν μείζονα καὶ ἱκανὸν ὄντα ὑποδέχεσθαι ἐντὸς τοῦς εὕρισκομένους ῥωμαίους ἀδε(λφ)οὺς καὶ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους βλάχους, ἔτι τὲ ἀνεγείρει τὴν ἀναλογοῦσαν αὐτοῖς τράπεζαν, ἐξωνήσεται δὲ καὶ κτήμ(α)τ(α) καὶ ζῶα καὶ ἀναστήσει ἀμπελῶνας (*Actes de Kutlumus*, no. 30, p. 120, l. 115-118).

⁶⁴⁵ οὐ δεῖ ἐπιπλέον λυπεῖν ἐμὲ τὸν ἑφ[ορον? καὶ] κτήτορα τῆς αὐτῶν μονῆς, ὑπέκλινε τῆς κοινοβιακῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἐβάδισε τὴν τῶν ἐτέρων ἁγιορειτικῶν μονῶν - *Actes de Kutlumus*, no. 26, p. 104, l. 34-35.

⁶⁴⁶ *Actes de Kutlumus*, no. 29, pp. 114-115, l. 52-54; no. 30, p. 120, l. 107-112; no. 36, p. 136, l. 28-29; Subotić, Gojko. “Obnova manastira Svetog Pavla u XIV veku,” *ZRVI* 22 (1983): 218-220. D. Năstase assumed that Chariton tried his luck with various patrons, but the defeat of Serbs in the Battle of Maritza of 1371 forced the *hegoumenos* to rely only on the Wallachian ruler, see: Năstase, “Le Mont Athos,” pp. 142-143.

⁶⁴⁷ Nandriș, Grigore, ed. *Documente românești în limba slavă din mănăstirile Muntelui Athos, 1372-1658* (Bucharest: Editura Fundației Regele Carol I, 1937): pp. 17-20, no. 1 (here quoted p. 18)

⁶⁴⁸ Nandriș, Grigore, ed. *Documente românești în limba slavă din mănăstirile Muntelui Athos, 1372-1658* (Bucharest: Editura Fundației Regele Carol I, 1937): pp. 19-20 English translation is provided in Panou, Nikos. “Greek-Romanian Symbiotic Patterns in the Early Modern Period: History, Mentalities, Institutions (I),” *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* 4 (2006): 100).

A very similar strategy for financing the monastery's expenses was adopted by Dionysios,⁶⁴⁹ the *hegoumenos* of Dionysiou.⁶⁵⁰ He addressed the Emperor of Trebizond, Alexios III Grand Komnenos, in order to acquire the necessary support for the construction of the Athonite monastery. According to the Chrysobull, issued by the sovereign in 1374, the spiritual leader motivated the ruler to become an ecclesiastic patron, using two main reasons: a political one (to follow and to surpass benefactions of other rulers) and a personal cause (to assure the everlasting commemoration):

This one [Dionysios] ... secured and guided [me] directly to the road leading to the salvation. "All those, who are distinguished with," – he said – "either imperial, or royal, or ruling dignity, constructed monasteries or churches on the Holy Mount for their memory not to be forgotten. Therefore, it is necessary for you, who surpass many, as it is said, to make an endowment to a [monastery], that you would have a continuous commemoration by many and everlasting spiritual joy"⁶⁵¹

As a result, the Emperor issued the chrysobull (1374)⁶⁵² donating 100 *somia*⁶⁵³ of silver for the construction of the Athonite foundation by the elder and appointing an annual grant of 1000 Trebizond *aspra* for the future maintenance of the monastery. Alexios' demands follow the reasoning of Dionysios in the exposition of the charter, the Emperor proposes to rename the monastery after his family for public recognition of his benefactions and wants to be remembered "almost like a ktetor," describing the commemorative rituals in the details:

Therefore, MY MAJESTY orders and appoints to the present teacher and hieromonk *kyr* Dionysios and to all those hieromonks and monks around him, that they would grant to the forefathers of my majesty and to its relatives by blood and to parents, i.e. to those glorious deceased emperors and heroes the Grand Komnenoi, and would bless them with incessant singing, and they would pray for MY MAJESTY and the highest empresses, namely, the holy mother of MY MAJESTY and my consort, and for our children and all those who have exited from my loins and all those who are subjected to our power, during the vesper *doxologiai* and *litai* on the matins and terrible and bloodless liturgies, in order that we would receive the remission of sins and forgiveness and that we would be placed

⁶⁴⁹ *PLP*, no. 5482.

⁶⁵⁰ The similarity between the strategies of Chariton and Dionysios was noticed already by D. Năstase, "Le Mont Athos," pp. 152-155.

⁶⁵¹ "Ὅς ὁμῶς ἤδη, τῇ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ ΜΟΥ ὁμιληκῶς, ... εὐθὺς καθοδήγει καὶ προὔξενει τὴν πρὸς σ(ωτη)ρί(αν) ἄγουσ(αν) ὁδόν· «πάντες μὲν γάρ», φη(σίν), «ὅσοι βασιλ(ικῶς), ὅσοι ῥηγ(ικῶς), ὅσοι ἀρχ(ικῶς) διαφημίζονται, τῷ Ἁγίῳ Ὁρει μονὰς καὶ σεμνεῖα εἰς ἀναφαίρετο(ν) μνήμην ἐδείμαντο· δέον ἐστὶ καὶ σοί, ἐπεὶ πολλ(οὺς) ὑπεραίρεις, κατὰ λόγον προσήκοντα ποιεῖν προσθήκην τινᾶ, ἣν' ἔξης κ(α)τ(ὰ) τ(οὺς) πολλ(οὺς) μνήμην διηνεκῇ καὶ ψυχ(ικῇ)ν ἀπόλαυσιν ἀτελεύτητο(ν) – *Actes de Dionysiou*, no. 4, p. 60, l. 21-25.

⁶⁵² For the text, dating and imperial portraits of the chrysobull, see: *Actes de Dionysiou*, no. 4. pp. 50-61; Spatharakis, *The Portrait*, pp. 185–186, figs. 136–138; Đurić, Vojislav J. "Portreti na poveljama vizantijskih i srpskih vladara," *Zbornik filozofskog fakulteta* 7 (1963): 257 (= Id. "Portreti vizantijskih i srpskih vladara s poveljama," in: *Esfigmenska povelja despota Đurđa*, eds. P. Ivić, V. J. Đurić, S. Ćirković (Belgrade: 1989): 22); Bardashova, Tatiana [Бардашова Татьяна]. "Аспект визуального в системе идеологической пропаганды династии Великих Комнинов в Трапезундской империи (1204–1461)," *Вестник Волгоградского государственного университета. Серия 4. История. Регионоведение. Международные отношения* 20/3 (2015): 85. For the formular and the scribal style, see: Oikonomides, Nicolas. "The Chancery of the Grand Komnenoi: Imperial Tradition and Political Reality," *Архeίον Πόντου* 35 (1978): 299–332 (esp. P. 317).

⁶⁵³ A hundred of *somia* of silver is about 1000 gold *hyperpyra* or ten million *aspra*, see: Pelekanidis, Stylianos et al., eds. *The Treasures of Mount Athos: Illuminated Manuscripts Miniatures, Headpieces, Initial Letters*, Vol. I. (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1974–1975): 40.

among the saved ones and we would be written down into the book of life. And those who travel here and the Christians making pilgrimages, they would grant forgiveness and blessing to us and all they would glorify [our majesty] almost like a *ktetor* and they would call the monastery «[the foundation] of the Grand Komnenos». ⁶⁵⁴

Motivating his benefaction, Alexios III underlines the reasons, related to his personal salvation and the salvation of family members (prayers of monks), and those, associated with the public remembrance (the remembrance by the pilgrims, the appellation of the monastery with the emperor's name). In addition, the commemorations during the vespers, matins and liturgies fall in the both groups, being simultaneously the ritual means of the sinners' redemption and the public proclamation of the church benefactors during the services. Normally, it was only the actual *ktetors* who could demand the described honorary rights, but the necessity of financial support for the foundation, made Dionysios to share his rights with the ruler. For the latter, the ecclesiastic patronage had a twofold purpose, it was conducted for the benefactor's salvation and the remission of sins and, simultaneously, it was aimed on the retention of the benefactor's memory in history through the incessant singing, the mentioning of names in course of *ekteneis*, or the naming of a foundation. Therefore, one may see the *ktetorial* act as both, the communication with the living public (monks, visitors, pilgrims) and with the divinity, through the intercession of monks.

During the same period, the Athonite administration even foresaw the acquiring of necessary funds by monasteries through the passage of founder's rights to royal sponsors. In an act of 1399, ⁶⁵⁵ settling the relations between the monasteries of Xeropotamou and its dependency of St. Paul, *protos* Neophytos prohibits to the renewers of St. Paul the transfer of the ownership over the monastery to a king (*basileis* - *tsari*) or an aristocrat (*archontes* - *knezi*) and its subjection to another Athonite community, however, the *protos* is much less rigorous about the *ktetoria* which he saw as an alternative to the possession:

⁶⁵⁴ Τοιγαροῦν ἐντέλλεται καὶ ἐπαφίησι(ν) ἡ ΒΑΣΙΛ(ΕΙΑ) ΜΟΥ τῷ παρόντι(ι) καθηγ(η)τῇ καὶ ἱερο(μον)άρχ(ω) κῦ(ρ) Διονυσίῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτ(όν) ἱερο(μον)άρχ(οις) πᾶ(σιν) καὶ μοναχ(οῖς), ἵνα τ(οὺς) μ(έν) προπάτορ(ας) αὐτ(ῆς) καὶ καθ' αἷμα συγγενεῖς καὶ γεννήτ(ο)ρ(ας), τοὺς ἀριδ(ι)μ(ους) ἐκεῖν(ους) βασιλεῖς καὶ ἥρω(ας), τοὺς μεγάλ(ους) δηλαδὴ Κομνην(ούς), συγχωρήσωσ(ι) καὶ μακαρίσωσιν ἀκαταπαύστῳ φωνῇ, ὑπὲρ (δὲ) τ(ῆς) ΒΑΣΙΛ(ΕΙΑΣ) ΜΟΥ καὶ τῶν ὑψηλ(ο)τ(ά)τ(ων) δεσποίν(ων), τ(ῆς) τε ἀγ(ίας) μ(η)τ(ρ)ὸς αὐτ(ῆς) καὶ τ(ῆς) ξυνεύνου μου καὶ τῶν παιδ(ων) ἡμ(ῶν) καὶ πάντ(ων) τῶν ἐς ἔπειτα ἐξ ὁσφύος ἡμ(ῶν) ἐλευσομέν(ων) καὶ παντὸς τοῦ καθ(η)μ(ᾶς) κράτ(ους) ὑπερεῦχονται ἐν τε ταῖς ἐσπεριναῖς δοξολογίαις καὶ ὀρθριναῖς λιταῖς καὶ καθημεριναῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ αὐταῖς δὴ ταῖς φοβεραῖς καὶ ἀναιμάκτ(οις) λειτουργείαις, ἵνα συγχωρήσε(ως) καὶ ἀναπαύσε(ως) τύχοιμεν καὶ μετ(ὰ) τ(ῶν) σωζωμ(ένων) ταχθείμεν καὶ ἐν βίβλω ζω(ῆς) ἐγγραφεῖμ(εν)· οἱ δὲ γε προσωκεῖλοντες ἐκεῖσε καὶ τὴν ὁδοιπορί(αν) ποιοῦντες χριστι(α)νοί, καὶ αὐτοὶ συγχώρησιν ἡμῖν καὶ μακαρισμ(ὸν) ἀπογέμωσ(ι) καὶ ὡς κτήτορα σχεδὸν(ν) οἱ πάντες διαφημήσωσιν καὶ τ(ὴν) τοῦ μ(ε)γ(ά)λου Κομνηνοῦ μονὴν ὀνομάσωσιν. – *Actes de Dionysiou*, no. 4, p. 60-61, l. 38-47.

⁶⁵⁵ The act is preserved in the Greek original and contemporary Slavic translation, see: Subotić, Gojko. "Obnova manastira Svetog Pavla u XIV veku," *ZRVI* 22 (1983): 227-233. The Slavic translation was recently published in: Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, St. Paul. Serbian act no. 2, pp. 154-160 which was inaccessible to me (with previous bibliography), however the Greek original was published only once in a rare Athonite edition (Anon. "Χρονογραφική καὶ τοπογραφική ἱστορία τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους Ἁθῶ. Ἐρὰ μονὴ Ἁγίου Παύλου," *Ἁγιος Παῦλος» ὁ Ξηροποταμίτης* 9 (1958)). Some lines of the Greek original were also quoted by G. Subotić in the mentioned article on pp. 228-229.

But if the future inhabitants of the St. Paul would like to invite a certain *ktetor* and administrator from the above-mentioned emperors or sovereigns or from great noblemen, they are allowed to do so.⁶⁵⁶

Nevertheless, the actual reconstruction of St. Paul undertaken by Serbian noblemen Nikolaje (Gerasim) Radonja and Antonije Bagaš, was put by the *protos* in terms describing family inheritance and political dominion simultaneously. Discussing the reasons for the full-scale reconstruction, Neophytos, initially, presents the spiritual matters (personal salvation and retirement from the world), but, further, he proceeds to the necessity of commemorations and indicates that this benefit was provided for the founders personally as well as for their kind (γενεά and родъ):

Some years ago, being the most noble and distinguished aristocrats in the wordly life... *kyr* Gerasim Radonja and *kyr* Antonije Bagaš joint us on the Holy Mount in the sake of salvation of their souls, and they, by a certain agreement, left the wordly goods, power, and vanity deliberately, making a common decision together to construct, out of their own funds and by their toils, a sanctuary and house of God for gathering of many other soul for the sake of spiritual benefit, for consolation and necessary comfort of spiritual nature, and for the eternal and everlasting commemoration not only of the [founders], but also those of who belong to their kind.⁶⁵⁷

The use of the noun “kind” (γενεά and родъ) is quite ambivalent here, since it can denote the family members and the compatriots of the *ktetors* simultaneously, and, judging on the following conditions agreed by the parties, the term signified the Serbian ruling class related by distant blood ties, thus combining the family and the political meanings:

That they would hold the above-mentioned cell until the Serbian power of their kind rules, and would own, would administer and would possess it as their own in order to built, to improve, to beautify and to have rest there after the works.⁶⁵⁸

As three groups of acts discussed above (of Koutloumous, Dionysiou, and St. Paul) prove, the complex realities of the second half of the 14th century has changed the understanding of the role and duties of a *ktetor*. First of all, *ktetoria* as a set of managing and administrative rights was seen as an alternative of the full ownership and possession over an ecclesiastic foundation, though it continued to share a number of common features with these legal terms. Secondly, a benefactor could enjoy the

⁶⁵⁶ обаче аще въсхоцетъ с(ве)тога павла обрѣтаемыи врѣменоу гредоушоу призвати себѣ ктѣтора и крѣмителя некотораго въ прѣдреченныхъ ц(а)рь или кнезю или въ великихъ могоущихъ, свѣбожденіе да имають въсакомоу сицевоу сътворити. – Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, St. Paul. Serbian act no. 2, p. 158, l. 27-29.

⁶⁵⁷ въ мирѣ бл(а)городнѣи и нарочитѣи кнеси ... квр герасимъ раднѣи и квр антѣнѣи багашъ. прѣд нѣколико оубо лѣтъ съ нами въ с(ве)тые гвѣри посадише се за д(оу)шевное тѣчѣи с(па)сеніе и не по нѣкомуу срѣченію мир'скаа въстаавише волюю, власть и соуетіе. съвѣтъ положише между собою съединѣнь. създати въ своего имѣнѣи и троуда с(ве)тилище б(ого)ви и домъ. въ събраніе же ползе д(оу)шевные мнѣгымъ и инымъ д(оу)шамъ. въ оутѣшеніе же и оупокоеніе, и рачител'но д(оу)ховнаго свойства. не сицевымъ бо, нѣ и за вѣчные и въсѣгдашныя памети тѣхъ и ко роди прѣбывающихъ симъ. – Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, St. Paul, Serbian act no. 2, p. 158, l. 5-10

⁶⁵⁸ якоже възимѣти реченноую келію дондеже тамо срѣбскаа мощь и дрѣжавныхъ рода, владычѣствовати и вла(да)ти. и имѣти яко свое. здати. сътворати. красити. и троудѣмъ прѣпочивалищѣ. самѣмъ възприѣмати. Pavlikianov, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos*, St. Paul. Serbian act no. 2, p. 158, l. 21-23.

same honorary benefits as the ktetor (and even to be called so) including commemorations and an *adelphaton* (for example, the Emperor Alexios III received one from Dionysiou⁶⁵⁹ whereas Gerasim Radonja and Antonije Bagaš retired in the reconstructed monastery). Moreover, as the discussed examples demonstrate, the leaders of the Athonite monasteries presented patronage over their foundations to potential royal sponsors as a tool for a better international recognition and religious legitimization of the lords' power: the *hegoumenoi* encouraged the international competition between rulers in ecclesiastic benefactions by using other national rulers-sponsors (Byzantine, Georgian, Serbian, Russian etc.) as examples of pious and wise religious policies. Finally, all three cases assume that the succession in the monastery patronage will be transferred within the ruling dynasty or, more precisely, together with the succession of the supreme power in the state, governed by the royal patron (Wallachia, Trebizond Empire or Serbian Empire). This way, in this new paradigm, *ktetoria* became the denomination of financial sponsorship, executed by a royal or high aristocratic patron, for personal and political benefits; and the bonds connecting a royal benefactor and the endowed foundation are supposed to be inherited together with the succession in throne.

3.3. The Title of Second Ktetor: Definition and Use

Usually, it is a renovation or rebuilding of pre-existing foundations that is understood under the term of *second ktetoria*.⁶⁶⁰ Determined by Nicephoros Phokas' legislation which prohibited the erection of new, private foundations as long as the old ones did not fall in ruin,⁶⁶¹ the movement of the monasteries' renovation emerged in Byzantium.⁶⁶² With the introduction of the *charistike* policy (temporary administration of ecclesiastical foundations in order to maintain, improve, and support them),⁶⁶³ the rights of the first and second founders turned to be almost equal during the Komnenian

⁶⁵⁹ *Actes de Dionysiou*, no. 4, p. 61, 1.58-60.

⁶⁶⁰ Mullet, "Founders, Refounders, Second Founders," esp. pp. 11-12, 18, 19-21; Some archeological aspects of second founders' burials are regarded in Popović, Marko. "Les funérailles du ktitor—aspect archéologique," In *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, 21-26 August 2006*, eds. E. Jeffreys, F. K. Haarer, Vol. I (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2006): 99-121.

⁶⁶¹ See, Charanis, "Monastic Properties," pp. 56-58.

⁶⁶² See, for instance, the study on the renovation of monasteries in the capital under the Komnenoi dynasty, Mullet, Margaret. "Refounding Monasteries in Constantinople under the Komnenoi," in: *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries; Papers of the Fifth Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium 17-20 September 1998*, ed. M. Mullett (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007): 366-378.

⁶⁶³ Starting with the works of H. Ahrweiler, *charistike* was regarded as a temporary, personal, and conditional donation of ecclesiastic institutions to private persons: Ahrweiler, Hélène. "Charisticariat et autres formes d'attribution de fondations pieuses aux Xe-XIe siècles," *ZRVI* 10 (1967): 1-27 and Eadem. "La concession des droits incorporels. Donations conditionnelles," in: *Actes du XII Congrès International d'études byzantines*, Vol. II (Belgrade : SANU, 1964): 103-114. Its main purpose was to determine the reconstruction of ruined foundations by the expense of laymen who, in turn, could use their right of usufruct: Lemerle, Paul. "Un aspect du rôle des monastères à Byzance: les monastères donnés à des laïcs, les charistikaies," *Accadémie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1967*,

period. Finally, in Palaiologian time, during the reconstruction of the Empire, the renovation started to be seen as a conscious imperial policy⁶⁶⁴ and almost all foundations of this time were second *ktetoria*.⁶⁶⁵

Nevertheless, as this subchapter will show, the meaning of the second *ktetoria* was quite blurred. This term could imply the physical renovation of a building, as well as the re-equipment of a foundation, donation of substantial funds (in cash, kind, or lands), management and patronage in a broad sense, and even spiritual leadership. Robert Jordan proposed that one should make a distinction between the second founders and refounders.⁶⁶⁶ Second founders took up and developed the establishments of their direct predecessors (usually, their teachers), whereas refounders restored a monastery if that one had ceased to function. This division fits well our modern categories – however, it does not coincide with the application of the term *founder*, and especially, *second founder* (*deuteros ktetor*), in Byzantine sources. In the sources, the only clearly-expressed point is that the second founder received honorary rights, similar or equal to those of the first *ktetor*. In this subchapter, therefore, I examine the existing sources using the term *deuteros ktetor* and also some examples applying the title of *ktetor* to individuals who obviously were not the initial founders of those ecclesiastic institutions. My goal is to define the term *deuteros ktetor* within the framework of its Byzantine and Medieval Slavic use.

Indeed, in accordance with Robert Jordan's opinion, the successor of an initial founder could receive the title of second *ktetor*, provided that he accomplished the works of his predecessor or significantly improved the living conditions of a foundation. The most obvious and well-studied case of relations between first and second *ktetors* is the Monastery of Theotokos Evergetis.⁶⁶⁷ As the

janvier-mars (1967): 9-28 and also Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 166-168, 180-181. Even though this practice started to be greatly condemned during the 12th century, it was still in use before 1204 and it had not only adversaries, but also supporters: Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 115, 150-151, 157, 167-185. The development of the *charistike* practice can be seen into the institution of *pronoia*: Bartusis, *Land and Privilege*, pp. 153-160.

⁶⁶⁴ Macrides, Ruth. "From the Komnenoi to the Palaiologoi: imperial models in decline and exile," in: *New Constantines: the rhythm of imperial renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th centuries*, ed. P. Magdalino (Aldershot and Brookfield: Ashgate, 1992): 269-282 esp. Pp. 274-279; Talbot, Alice-Mary. "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII," *DOP* 47 (1993): 243-261.

⁶⁶⁵ Ousterhout, Robert. *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2008): 108.

⁶⁶⁶ Jordan, Robert. "Founders and Second Founders: Paul and Timothy," in: *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries; Papers of the Fifth Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium 17-20 September 1998*, ed. M. Mullett (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007): 414.

⁶⁶⁷ The 3rd International Byzantine colloquium, *The Theotokos Evergetis and eleventh-century monasticism*, which took place in Belfast, in 1992, was dedicated to the history of the Evergetis Monastery and its Typikon. The proceedings were published as: *The Theotokos Evergetis and eleventh-century monasticism*, ed. M. Mullett (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1994). For this subchapter, the most relevant are the contributions of: Kaplan, Michael. "The Evergetis Hypotyposis and the management of monastic estates in the eleventh century," in: *Ibid.*, pp. 103-123, and Thomas, John Philip. "Documentary evidence from the Byzantine monastic typika for the history of the Evergetine reform movement," in: *Ibid.*, pp. 246-273. The first study addresses the problems of continuous endowment of the foundation and management of its assets, whereas the latter regards the importance of the Evergetis Typikon as a model for later independent private foundations.

Evergetis *Typikon* received its final shape only after the death of both founders, Paul and Timothy,⁶⁶⁸ some of its chapters have references to both the monastery's first and second ktetors. For instance, one of the headings (added probably during the 12th century) points out to "the date of the death of our holy father the *first founder* and that, in his will, he left the monastery in a meager form to our holy father lord Timothy, its *second founder*."⁶⁶⁹ Similarly, the early-12th century Appendix⁶⁷⁰ to the *Typikon* sets out the same date for the commemoration of the *first ktetor*, Paul, and the *second ktetor*, Timothy.⁶⁷¹

At the moment of its establishment (1048-1049) by the wealthy Constantinopolitan Paul, the monastery was a private estate converted into an ecclesiastic institution: it "was once an estate of our late thrice-blessed father and founder... monk lord Paul." On his hereditary lands situated in the outskirts of the capital, Paul established a "small and simple" monastery, "building small cells and tonsuring a few men,"⁶⁷² including his disciple Timothy. After Paul's death and in accordance with his unpreserved testament, the place of hegoumenos was given to Timothy.⁶⁷³ The Evergetis *Typikon* (*Hypotyposis*) is formally authored by the second founder; however, as proven by linguistic analysis,⁶⁷⁴ it includes *de facto* earlier chapters written by Paul, in complete or revised form. According to his own words, Timothy was also responsible for the renovation of the complex, acquisition of books, "sacred vessels and holy icons, also the holy veils and liturgical cloths," adornment of the church, and procurement of some landed properties "to support and maintain the monastery."⁶⁷⁵ For these toils, as well as for his spiritual administration, Timothy received the honorary right to be considered *second founder* and to be commemorated by the community together with the first founder Paul. Thus, Timothy was presented as a direct successor and developer of Paul's establishments and ideas. Even though he turned a small private monastery into an influential and well-organized foundation, his efforts followed nonetheless the program instituted by the first *ktetor*.⁶⁷⁶

For aristocratic monasteries, father and son (or another relative) also can be considered as first and second ktetors. In this case, the heir needed to take care of the foundation, to reconstruct it, or to add considerable possessions to the family establishment. Constantine Komnenos Maliasenos

⁶⁶⁸ *BMFD*, p. 456.

⁶⁶⁹ Περί τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ ἁγίου πατρός ἡμῶν τοῦ πρώτου κτήτορος, καὶ ὅτι ἐνδιαθήκως οὗτος κατέλιπε τὸ μοναστηριον ἐπὶ μικροῦ σχήματος τῷ ὁσίῳ πατρὶ ἡμῶν κυρῷ Τιμοθέῳ τῷ δευτέρῳ κτήτορι... - Gautier, "Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis," p. 17; *BMFD*, pp. 472.

⁶⁷⁰ *BMFD*, pp. 462-463.

⁶⁷¹ Gautier, "Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis," p. 91; *BMFD*, p. 499.

⁶⁷² *BMFD*, p. 472.

⁶⁷³ *BMFD*, p. 455.

⁶⁷⁴ Jordan, "Founders and Second Founders".

⁶⁷⁵ *BMFD*, pp. 454-455, 473; Galatariotou, "Byzantine ktetorika typika," pp. 81-82.

⁶⁷⁶ For a better development of this idea and a comparison of the Evergetis' situation with the one of Ignatios and Neilos of Machaira Monastery, see: Jordan, "Founders and Second Founders," pp. 412-442.

founded the convent of Theotokos Makrenitissa and, therefore, was called “first ktetor” in documents.⁶⁷⁷ When he became a monk, his “hereditary” foundation passed to his son, Nicholas, who gained new privileges and *metochia* for the monastery,⁶⁷⁸ and received the right to be called “second ktetor.”⁶⁷⁹

A seemingly similar situation of an immediate program succession between the first and second *ktetors* can be found in the case of the church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki. As it was mentioned above, several inscriptions and monograms (either carved or in decorative brickwork), on door lintel, capitals and facades, identify Patriarch Niphon (1310-1314)⁶⁸⁰ as the founder (*ktetor*) of the institution.⁶⁸¹ Another, painted inscription is situated above the main eastern door of the narthex (fig. 3.28). This one accompanies the portrait of a monk in *proskynesis* near the throne of the Virgin and reads: “Paul, the monk, and administrator of this holy monastery, and student of the most holy Ecumenical Patriarch and ktetor kyr Niphon, and second ktetor.”⁶⁸² Paul’s title of second *ktetor* was interpreted in different ways,⁶⁸³ but the majority of authors agreed that the Patriarch delegated to him some duties concerning the construction and completion of the foundation. One of the main problems associated with the foundation, as well as with the role of Paul was the church’s dating. Traditionally, it was thought that Niphon completed the building during his patriarchate years; however, the dendrochronological analysis pushed the date of the architectural work’s completion to 1329,⁶⁸⁴ a fact

⁶⁷⁷ MM, Vol. IV, pp. 382-383,

⁶⁷⁸ MM, Vol. IV, pp. 330, 357, 362, 369, 372, 408 and esp. p. where Nicholas is called “the heir and ktetor” (ὡς κληρονόμου καὶ κτήτορος ὄντος).

⁶⁷⁹ This way Nicholas is called in one inscription preserved as a spolia in the eastern outer wall of the Church of the Panagia in Makrinitsa. Inscription reads: “of Neilos the monks and second ktetor”, while Neilos is presumed to be the name of Nicholas as a great schema monk, see: Feissel, Avraméa, “Inscriptions de Thessalie,” p. 378. According to A. Rhoby, the marble spolia with the inscription could be a part of an altarpiece commissioned by Nicholas for the Makrinitsa Church, see: Rhoby, Andreas. *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014): 279-280, no. Gr80.

⁶⁸⁰ PLP, no. 20679; Nicol, *The Last centuries of Byzantium*, p. 105; Agoritsas, “Ο οἰκουμενικός πατριάρχης Νίφων.”

⁶⁸¹ Spieser, “Les inscriptions de Thessalonique,” pp. 168-170.

⁶⁸² Παῦλο(ς) μοναχός [καὶ] προϊστάμενος τῆς σεβασμίας μονῆς ταύτης κ(αὶ) μαθητῆς τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου οἰκουμενικοῦ π(ατ)ριάρχου κ(αὶ) κτίτορος κῦρ Νίφωνος κ(αὶ) δεύτερος κτίτωρ - Spieser, “Les inscriptions de Thessalonique,” p. 170; Stephan, Christine. *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble. Die Mosaiken und Fresken der Apostelkirche zu Thessaloniki* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986): 117.

⁶⁸³ Xyngopoulos, Andreas. “Les fresques de l’église des Saints-Apôtres à Thessalonique,” in: *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues, Venise 1968*, s.ed. (Venice: Institut hellénique d’études byzantines et post-byzantines, 1971): 83-89, considered that Paul finished the decoration of the church after Niphon was deposed. Kissas, Soteris. “Ο vremenu nastanka freska u crkvi Svetih Apostola u Solunu,” *Zograf* 7 (1976): 52-57 (esp. pp. 52-53), also supported this understanding of Paul’s role, but he thought that only the architecture of the church was finished by the time of the patriarch’s deposition, whereas the frescoes should be dated to between 1328 and 1334, as Niphon is mentioned in Paul’s inscription in his quality of patriarch, a fact which couldn’t happen during the years of Niphon’s disgrace. Stephan, Christine. *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble. Die Mosaiken und Fresken der Apostelkirche zu Thessaloniki* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986): 12-13, 183-188, considered Paul to be one of the hegoumenoi of the foundation after Niphon. Spieser, “Les inscriptions de Thessalonique,” p. 170, interpreted the word “second” as a designation of Paul’s secondary position vis-à-vis Niphon, but not as an indication of activities dated with a later period. Agoritsas, “Ο οἰκουμενικός πατριάρχης Νίφων,” p.252, footnote 2, considered Paul as Niphon’s disciple from the days when the latter was either the hegoumenos of the Holy Lavra on Athos or the Metropolitan of Kyzikos.

⁶⁸⁴ Kuniholm, Peter, Striker, Cecil L. “Dendrochronology and the Architectural History of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki,” *Architectura* 2 (1990): 1-26 with the prior literature on pp. 1-3, footnotes 2-7.

which coincides with the hypothesis of S. Kissas, who considered that the decoration of the church was made between 1328 and 1334.⁶⁸⁵ After his return to the court, the ex-patriarch was actively involved in the political decision-making, including the negotiations concerning the Union of the Churches.⁶⁸⁶ One may suggest, therefore, that monk Paul was responsible for the painting of the frescoes and the management of the foundation in Thessaloniki while the ex-patriarch stayed in Constantinople. Moreover, one still can't exclude the possibility that the mural ensemble was completed after Niphon's death, but probably in accordance with his preferences and directions. Anyway, Paul's role for the monastery established by Niphon is quite similar with that of Timothy of the Evergetis Monastery: being the first founders' students, they both completed the embellishment of the complexes and took care of the foundations' administration in accordance with the prescriptions of the first founders.

Also, an ecclesiastic authority initiating the construction of a monastery on behalf or by commission of a ruler can be endowed with the title of a second ktetor.⁶⁸⁷ The Life of St. Stefan of Dečani describing the episode of the foundation of Dečani monastery introduces a dialogue between the ruler, King Stefan of Dečani, and Archbishop Danilo II. There, the King promises to make Danilo II the second founder if the Archbishop provides his support and care for the establishment:

“you will be the second ktetor of this place, together with me, if we start to build it, I will write you down this way as well as my son, in the deed of this holy church. But make an effort, together with me, as much as you can... As you know, my Lord and father, how much care you took about the erection of a similar church for my parent, that one which can be seen [built] in the name of Holy Protomartyr Stephen, so provide similar desired care also for my [case].⁶⁸⁸

In the text, the King reminds to Danilo about similar assistance which the latter provided for Stefan's father King Milutin, when the deceased king erected his mausoleum, Banjska Monastery.⁶⁸⁹ From the Life of King Milutin, one can realize what kind of care Archbishop provided for Banjska and what was expected from him to offer for the Monastery of Dečani:

And he started to build a church in the name of holy Protomartyr and Christ's Apostle Stephen. And during this time, All-holy bishop Danilo was present at that monastery... and he received an order from pious and Christ-loving Stefan Uroš to take care about

⁶⁸⁵ Kissas, Soteris. “O vremenu nastanka freska u crkvi Svetih Apostola u Solunu,” *Zograf* 7 (1976): 52-57.

⁶⁸⁶ Agoritsas, “Ο οικουμενικός πατριάρχης Νίφων,” pp. 260-261.

⁶⁸⁷ For the inclusion of the problem concerning the role of monastic supporters into Serbian joint ktetorship discussion, see: Cvetković, Branislav. “Rudenice i Kalenić: „dvojna,” grupna ili sukcesivna ktitoria?,” *Saopštenja* 41 (2009): 86

⁶⁸⁸ **҃Е ѸБО ВЪТОРААГО КТИТОРА БЫТИ ТЕ СЪ МНОЮ МѢСТУ СЕМУ, КЖЕ НАЧЫНЕМЪ ЗИДАТИ, ТЕБЕ ѸБО ТАКО ВЫПИСУЮ И СЫНА МОКГО ТАКОЖДЕ ВЪ ДѢЛЪ ЦРКВѢ СЕК СВЕТЫК. НЬ ѸБО ПОТЪШТИ СЕ СЪ МНОЮ КЛИКО ТИ КСТЬ ВЪЗМОЖНО... ВѢДѢ БО, ГОСПОДИ МОИ И ОТЬЧЕ, КАКО ПОПЕЧЕНИЖ СЪТВОРИ РОДИТЕЛЮ МОКМУ О ВЪЗДВИЖЕНИИ ТАКОВЫЖ ЦРКВѢ КГО, ЯЖЕ ВИДИМА КСТЬ ВЪ ИМЕ СВЕТААГО ПРЪВОМУЧЕНИКА СТЕФАНА, ТАКОЖДЕ И ЖЕЛАНОК ПОПЕЧЕНИК И МНѢ СЪТВОРИ** - Daničić, Đure, ed. *Arhiepiskop Danilo i drugi: Životi kraljeva i Arhiepiskopa srpskih* (Zagreb: Svetozar Galac, 1886): 202.

⁶⁸⁹ About the mausoleum function of Banjska, see: Popović, Danica. *Srpski vladarski grob* (Begrade: SANU, 1992): 95-100 (with the prior literature).

construction of this church, and about things which are needed for raising and arranging the beauties and ecclesiastic goods of that holy church... and he was explaining to painters and many chosen skilled builders how to establish the pillars, and the capitels, and the vaults, and the screens, because of the given orders and his own wisdom... and he made a new building from the very grounds, on the model of holy Theotokos of Studenica, by the order of the highest lord, king Stefan Uroš for his burial and for disposal of his blessed and God-pleasing body, when he will leave this vain world...⁶⁹⁰

This description of similar support provided by Danilo and the plea of King Stefan Dečanski suggests that the relations of this kind between Serbian kings and archbishops were a common practice.⁶⁹¹ Therefore, it is possible that such application of the term of second ktetor was also widely spread in Serbian practice to denote a high-ranking cleric supervising the construction of royal foundations. As a honorary right, these supporters of royal founders received their portraits on the walls of built foundations.⁶⁹²

Many second founders were the spiritual successors of the first ktetors' and often the foundations' *hegoumenoi*, even though these two functions were regarded as separate (i.e., being *hegoumenos* didn't guarantee the transfer of ktetorial rights to someone). However, the *hegoumenoi* who, by means of their own private funds, greatly enlarged the monastic grounds, improved the architecture of the complexes, or obtained landed donations or tax exemptions from the ruling authorities could count on the reception of the ktetorial right.

On the western wall of the northern aisle of the Church of St. Nicholas in Manastir (Mariovo, FYROM), there is a votive composition: the patron saint leads a donor with the model of the church toward the figure of Christ (fig. 3.30). The composition is accompanied by the following inscription: "the prayer of the servant of God, Akakios, hieromonk and hegoumenos... and second ktetor."⁶⁹³ The meaning of the second *ktetor* title is revealed by a longer inscription running on the cornice of the northern and southern walls of the central aisle. This inscription briefly narrates the history of the church. It was established by the first founder, Alexios *protostrator*, the uncle of Emperor Alexios Komnenos, who also secured its possessions by an imperial chrysobull. After some time, in 1271, during the rule of Michael VIII Palaiologos, the *hegoumenos* of the monastery, kyr Ioannikios

⁶⁹⁰ Daničić, Đure, ed. *Arhiepiskop Danilo i drugi: Životi kraljeva i Arhiepiskopa srpskih* (Zagreb: Svetozar Galac, 1886): 150-151.

⁶⁹¹ A similar situation of collaboration between the ecclesiastic authority (the Bulgarian Patriarch Joacheim) and the ruler (Tsar Ivan Asen) is attested by the inscription from Batoshevo, dated with 1246-1256. There the Patriarch was the initiator of the construction of the monastery while the ruler supported it with funds and lands, however Ivan Asen also named *ktetor* in the inscription, see: Ivanova (Mavrodinova), Vera [Иванова (Мавроудинова), Вера]. "Два надписа от Асеновци - Батосhevският и Врачанският," *Известия на Българския археологически институт* 15 (1946): 118.

⁶⁹² Vojvodić, Dragan. "Portreti vladara, crkvenih dostojanstvenika i plemića u naosu i priprati," in: *Zidno slikarstvo manastira Dečana. Gradja i studije*, ed. V. J. Djurić (Belgrade: SANU, 1995): 276-277; Todić, Branislav, Čanak-Medić, Milka *Manastir Dečani* (Belgrade: SANU, 2005): 19; Cvetković, Branislav. "Rudenice i Kalenić: „dvojna“ grupna ili sukcesivna ktitoria?," *Saopštenja* 41 (2009): 86.

⁶⁹³ † δέησις τοῦ δοῦλου τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀκακίου // ἱερο(μον)άρχ(ου) καὶ καθηγουμ(έν)νου // [...]ορεντος. καὶ δευτέρου κτήτορος - *Natpisi istorijske sadržine*, p. 64.

(Akakios by his lay name), decided to replace the old and small building with the present structure which he also decorated with murals.⁶⁹⁴ Ioannikios/Akakios commissioned a sophisticated iconographic program communicating to the beholder his hopes for salvation and expectations of reaching the Paradise as a result of his ktetorial activities.⁶⁹⁵ Thus, the role of Ioannikios in the monastery's life was twofold: as a hegoumenos, he supervised the community and took care of its needs, but in his quality of the second founder, he used his personal funds for the new church's building and painting. These two roles are expressively highlighted in the historical inscription, where both his names (secular and monastic) and offices (*hegoumenos* and second ktetor) are specified.

The history of Evergetis Monastery brings to light another problem concerning the *ktetoria* over a foundation, namely, the denomination of a layman as a second ktetor of a functioning monastic institution. Three or four poems, dedicated to St. Symeon the New Theologian and preserved in several manuscripts, bear the authorship of a certain *Basil, protasekretis and ktetor of the Monastery of Evergetis*. P. Gautier identified him with Basil Kekaumenos and suggested that he was a "charistikarios or honorary benefactor," who "received the honorary title of ktetor" on the basis of his donations.⁶⁹⁶ Indeed, there are several cases when a layman, due to his care of monastic institutions, received various honorary titles. Whatever the applied title was, it legally fell into the framework of the *Ephoreia* practice, "a form of monastic trusteeship whereby a person designated as an *ephoros* assumed ownership (*kyriotes*) of a monastery and acted as its lay protector."⁶⁹⁷ Such lay protector usually had a set of duties connected with the protection and administration of a foundation, and these duties were mirrored in the privileges of collection of usufruct from the properties of a foundation.⁶⁹⁸

Apparently, these *ephoroi* could also receive the title of ktetor, sometime specified as *second ktetor*. Even though Byzantine founders acknowledged the difference between several forms of *ktetoria* by describing various activities and duties of different types of ktetors, they still employed the same terms for the denomination of all forms of *ktetoria*, starting from the initial foundation by a

⁶⁹⁴ For the Greek text of the inscription and its discussion, see: *Natpisi istorijske sadržine*, pp. 59-66, with previous bibliography and other proposed readings of the analyzed inscription.

⁶⁹⁵ The votive composition of Ioannikios is placed under the scene of the Last Judgment, whereas the founder is placed under the depiction of the righteous ones (*Natpisi istorijske sadržine*, p. 54, footnote 26). The presence of monastic saints holding scrolls with texts narrating the ways of salvation brought P. Kostovska to the idea that the space of the north aisle was used for commemorative rituals: Kostovska, Petruša. "Reaching for Paradise – The Program of the North Aisle of the Church of St. Nicholas in Manastir Mariovo," *Културно наследство* 28–29 (2002–2003 [2004]): 67-89.

⁶⁹⁶ Gautier, Paul. "Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis," pp. 9-10.

⁶⁹⁷ Chitwood, Zachary. "At the origins of ephoreia" *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 37/1 (2013): 53-62 (here quoted pp. 54-55). C. Galatariotou demonstrates that a layperson could be established as an ephoros (epitropos, kouratores, etc.) over a purely monastic institution, as well as over an aristocratic monastery, by the will of an aristocratic founder or later in time. The reasons for such appointments were usually practical or political, namely, to supervise the economy of a foundation and to assist in the worldly matters: Galatariotou, "Byzantine ktetorika typika," pp. 101–106, 113–116; Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 218–220.

⁶⁹⁸ Ahrweiler, Hélène. "Charisticariat et autres formes d'attribution de fondations pieuses aux Xe-XIe siècles", *ZRVI* 10 (1967): 1-27.

professional monk and spiritual leader to the lay patronage of an official. A good illustration of this idea is the words of Joachim, the hegoumenos of St. John Prodromos Monastery on Mount Menoikeion, who was himself a second founder, successor, and disciple of the first ktetor, i.e., his uncle Ioannikios. In the Typikon of Menoikeion, Joachim directly equates the transfer of the ownership made by his uncle, the first ktetor, with the appointment of *megas domestikos* John Kantakouzenos as a *ktetor* of the monastery.⁶⁹⁹ As a hegoumenos himself, Joachim chose the “much-beloved brother-in-law of my mighty and holy master and emperor, my lord *megas domestikos*” as a patron responsible for the maintenance and improvement of Menoikeion. This appointment was confirmed by the imperial chrysobull issued by Andronikos III in 1332, which lists the transferred properties, assures the validity of previous documents related to the monastery, and passes the duty of *ephoros* to John Kantakouzenos, whom the monks should perceive “as their ktetor himself, as if he would be the one who erected [the monastery] from the grounds and arranged it.”⁷⁰⁰ In the Typikon, Joachim motivated his decision in several ways, namely: the piety and personal, noble qualities of John Kantakouzenos, his noble ancestry, the spiritual connections of his family with the monastery, and (only implied by the text), John’s proximity to the emperor (the Typikon underlines only the high dignity of Kantakouzenos and his kinship with the imperial family). Joachim compares the transfer of the rights of *ktetoria* to John Kantakouzenos with the similar legal act performed by his uncle and first founder of Menoikeion, Ioannikios:

Therefore, just as that blessed father of mine entrusted to me this great and revered monastery, so that there was no other master in it, so I hand over and entrust you together with all the belongings of the monastery to my lord, the *megas domestikos*, and I establish him as master through this present edict of mine. I also hand you over to him as though to your founder⁷⁰¹

Joachim proceeds further with a description of duties, assigned to the new ktetor. Namely, he is obliged to look after the monks’ virtue, piety, and discipline, and to provide for their physical needs and sustenance. One can see, therefore, that being different in their nature, the activities of the initial founder and the patronage functions of a laic outsider were seen by the Byzantines as equal or at least very similar.

Similar cases of granting the ktetor’s title to an external *ephoros* can be encountered in connection with other monasteries; however, as a rule, all these new patrons belonged to aristocratic families and occupied some important court offices. Thus, a group of deeds from Philotheou

⁶⁹⁹ Bakirtzis, *Hagios Ioannis Prodromos*, pp. 59-60, 62-66; Galatariotou, ‘Byzantine ktetorika typika,’ p. 114.

⁷⁰⁰ ὡς κτήτορα αὐτὸν ἐκείνων καὶ ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ οὗτος ἦν ὁ ταύτας ἐκ βάθρων ἀνεγείρας καὶ συστησάμενος - Guillou, *Les Archives de Saint- Jean-Prodrome*, pp. 91-95 (here quoted p. 94, l. 71-72).

⁷⁰¹ Ὡσπερ οὖν ὁ μακαρίτης ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ τὴν τοιαύτην σεβασμίαν μονὴν ἐμοὶ προσανέθετο καὶ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος κύριος ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ, οὕτως ἐγὼ καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ τὰ τῆς μονῆς ἅπαντα πράγματα τῷ κυρίῳ μοι τῷ μεγάλῳ δομestikῷ παραδίδω καὶ ἀνατίθημι καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν ποιῶ διὰ τοῦ παρόντος μου διατάγματος, καὶ ὡς κτήτορα αὐτὸν ὑμᾶς παραδίδωμι - Guillou, *Les Archives de Saint- Jean-Prodrome*, p. 174.

Monastery⁷⁰² recognizes Andronikos Palaiologos, *protobestiarios* and nephew of the Emperor, as an *ephoros* having founder's rights (*ktetorika dikaiia*) over the monastery. Moreover, the text of a donation act by Theodora Palaiologina (1376)⁷⁰³ acknowledged that these rights could be passed down to and inherited by relatives.

An external *ephoros* could even belong to the opposite gender and retain the title of second *ktetor*, but his or her noble origin was still an important factor. Moreover, in these cases, the *ephoros'* rights were limited only to commemoration during services, and no interference with the discipline or everyday life of a foundation was permitted. In 1144, the Monastery of St. John Phoberos awarded the second-*ktetor* title to an imperial relative, "lady Eudokia Komnene, *sebaste* among *sebastai* and nun among nuns, the daughter of the glorious *sebastokrator* lord Isaac, who changed her name to Xene."⁷⁰⁴ This reward was given to her on the basis of her "many gifts and acts of kindness" for the foundation, which included the transfer of four *litrai* of gold coins for the purchase of immovable property. According to the Typikon, her rights were of memorial nature, namely, her deceased husband and son received a *pannychis* (all-night vigil) and personal liturgy on the anniversaries of their death. Monks were obliged to perform as well an "intercessory *pannychis* and a liturgy" (Παννυχίδα παρακλητικήν καὶ λειτουργίαν) for Eudokia Komnene, before and after her death.⁷⁰⁵ In 1361, the Monastery of the nunnery Theotokos Barangiotissa⁷⁰⁶ was transferred by the Patriarch to Alexios Sophianos, who was awarded the title of *ktetor* on that occasion.⁷⁰⁷ According to the deed, he enjoyed the right of commemoration and his duties were specified as the following: to ensure the holding of the liturgy, to secure the lighting, to provide for the decoration of the church, and to procure for the maintenance of the nuns.

The activities of the second *ktetors* were similar in many ways (or almost identical) with the duties of the initial founder, even when a lay patron enlarged significantly an institution, extended greatly its properties, or changed radically its instalments and rules. As illustrated by the following case, a rich layman making generous investments and taking vows in a certain institution could basically change the order and even the spiritual conception of a monastery. In the 14th century, Patriarch Kallistos narrates about the reconstruction of Petra monastery⁷⁰⁸ in the Encomium to St.

⁷⁰² For the issue of multiple *ktetoria* over Philotheou, see: Allison, "Founders and Refounders of Philotheou," pp. 465-524.

⁷⁰³ For a detailed discussion of the donation of 1376, see the Subchapter 9.1.2. of this dissertation.

⁷⁰⁴ *BMFD*, pp. 927-928.

⁷⁰⁵ *BMFD*, p. 928; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Athanasios. *Noctes Petropolitanæ* (St. Petersburg: Tipografija V.F. Kirshbauma, 1913): 62-63.

⁷⁰⁶ Kidonopoulos, Vassilios. *Bauten in Konstantinopel, 1204-1328: Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1994): 68-69.

⁷⁰⁷ *MM*, Vol. I, pp. 423-425, esp. pp. 424-425; Darrouzes, *Les registres*, Vol. V, p. 360, no. 2433.

⁷⁰⁸ For the history of the Monastery of Petra, see: Janin, Raymond. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin, Part I: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. Vol. III: Les églises et les monastères* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1969): 420-429; Malamut, "Saint-Jean-Prodrome de Pétra."

John the Faster (BHG 892),⁷⁰⁹ He probably considered St. John the Faster to be the initial ktetor (even though the text explicitly mentions Baras and Potapios, the ancient founders of the monastery),⁷¹⁰ as Patriarch Kallistos describes that the Patriarch Nicholas III (1084-1111) established St. John in the Monastery and Emperor Alexios Komnenos and his mother (Anna Dalassene) became the sponsors, supporters, and re-constructors of the foundation.⁷¹¹ The author names a certain John Iokalites as the second ktetor (δεύτερος κτήτωρ) of Petra (“this Iokalites called John becoming the second ktetor...”).⁷¹² John Iokalites,⁷¹³ a noblemen holding the office of *protasekretis*⁷¹⁴ (chief imperial secretary), dedicated all his possessions to the monastery, initiated the reconstruction of the church and cells, and endowed the foundation with vineyards:

So, this just one, who was born and [spent] the childhood, as it said from the first hair, in the greatest capital and greater than other cities, [distinguished] by his eminent origin in the council, occupied the highest positions in the palace and was also adorned with the office of *protasekretis*, made his habitat nearby and close to the mentioned Petra (I think, that it happened with intention and it was a coincidence by God’s [will]), so there, by a plead, he received the appointment of great lands. Bringing everything which he owned, I mean the things of value and other costly objects, he kindly assigned and consecrated with all the intention of his soul to the Petra of Christ and granted surely making the constructions, observed by everybody, among others the establishment of the holy church and the arrangement and reconstruction of some small cells and small surrounding territory. But from him, this monastery grew some vineyards and became abundant [in vine] and, in a prophetic way, full of rich grape fruits.⁷¹⁵

One can ask, therefore, what was that second founder’s role exactly, if the monastic complex, in a great extent, had been already created under the sponsorship of Anna Dalassene.⁷¹⁶ The most probable answer concerns the endowment of landed property rather than the reconstruction of the

⁷⁰⁹ Gelzer, “Kallistos’ Enkomion”.

⁷¹⁰ Contrary to the statement of E. Malamut, “On peut supposer que la première fondation était au XIV^e s. complètement tombée dans l’oubli” (Malamut, “Saint-Jean-Prodrome de Pétra,” footnote 26), the Encomium mentions the initial founders of the monastery, Baras and Potapios – Gelzer, “Kallistos’ Enkomion,” p. 80.

⁷¹¹ Gelzer, “Kallistos’ Enkomion,” pp. 75-77.

⁷¹² Ἰωαλίτης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἰωάννης τοῦνομα καὶ δεύτερος κτήτωρ γενόμενος ... – Gelzer, “Kallistos’ Enkomion,” p. 81. There are other instances in the text, where the same personage bears the title of second founder, namely: “And as we mention, at various occasions, this John as a second ktetor of the monastery of the Faster...” (Ἄλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τοῦδε τοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐμνήσθημεν διαφόρως, τοῦ δευτέρου δηλαδὴ κτήτορος τῆς τοῦ νηστευτοῦ σεβασμίας μονῆς) – Gelzer, “Kallistos’ Enkomion,” p. 83.

⁷¹³ For John Iokalites, see also: Malamut, “Saint-Jean-Prodrome de Pétra”; Magdalino, Paul. “The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century,” in: *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (Crestwood: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2001): 52, footnote 10.

⁷¹⁴ ODB, p. 1742.

⁷¹⁵ Οὗτος τοιγαροῦν ὁ δίκαιος, γέννημα καὶ παίδευμα ἐκ πρώτης, ὃ φασι, τῆς τριχὸς τῆς μεγαλύντου βασιλίδος καὶ μεγίστης τῶν ὁπουδήποτε πόλεων ἦν, γένους δ’ ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ περιφανοῦς καὶ τὰ πρῶτα φέροντος ἐν τοῖς ἀνακτόροις καὶ τῇ τοῦ πρωτασηκρήτης ἀξίᾳ ἐμπρέπων τε καὶ κοσμούμενος, ἔγγιστα καὶ πλησίον αὐτῆς δῆπου τῆς Πέτρας ποιοῦμενος τὴν κατοίκησιν, συμβολικῶς οἶμαι καὶ τοῦτο συνελθὼν καὶ κατὰ θεὸν συνδραμόν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα κατ’ εὐχὴν κληρουχίας λαμπροτάτης ἐπέτυχε. πάντα γὰρ ὅσαπερ ἦν κεκτημένος τὰ τοῦ πλούτου φημί καὶ τῆς ἐτέρας περιουσίας φέρων ὅλη προθέσει ψυχῆς καλῶς ἀνατίθῃ καὶ ἀφιερῶ τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Πέτρᾳ καὶ προστίθῃσιν ἀσφαλῶς καὶ κατασκευάσματα ποιησάμενος, ὅσαπερ ἤδη τοῖς ἅπασι καθορῶνται, ἅνα καὶ μονῆς τῆς τοῦ θείου ναοῦ καθιδρύσεως καὶ συστάσεως καὶ ἐποικοδομῆς βραχέων τινῶν κελλίων καὶ μικροῦ περιβόλου· ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἐκείνου ἡ τοιαύτη μονὴ καθάπερ τις ἄμπελος εὐκληματοῦσα καὶ εὐθηνουμένη καὶ πλουσίῳ βρίθουσα τῷ καρπῷ τῶν βοτρῶν προφητικῶς διαδεύκνται. – Gelzer, “Kallistos’ Enkomion,” pp. 83-84.

⁷¹⁶ Malamut, “Saint-Jean-Prodrome de Pétra,” §§ 9-13.

church itself. St. John the Faster had established very strict rules of poverty for the community as a whole and for each of the brothers. Among other prescriptions, in his Typikon having the form of a Testament, he prohibited to the monastery to have any landed property and even domestic animals:

But I even do not want the monastery to buy anything, except for what I now leave: no beasts of burden, no oxen, nor sheep, nor any other animal (except horses, due to the indispensable and unavoidable need of brothers to use of the mill), nor fields, or orchards, nor any other good; but if a friend of Christ makes a gift, we, selling this gift satisfy the needs of our brothers, and as much as it will be left, let us distribute it to our brothers in God, the poor.⁷¹⁷

Acknowledging that “the monastery was extended and increased thanks to the favor of God and the support of our God protected, holy lady mother of our emperor, the distinguished and God-crowned Alexios our Lord Komnenos, and also by the Most Holy Lord and ecumenical Patriarch Nicholas,” St. John the Faster, nevertheless, insisted that, in future, the foundation should keep its independence to the extreme, namely, it is better to be “fallen in ruin” than to appear “under the lordship or authority of anyone, and under the control of a *charistikarios*.”⁷¹⁸ John Ioalites, most probably, entered the monastery and not only rebuilt it, but also changed some rules, as the landed donations given by him were not sold, but kept by the Monastery, contrarily to the regulations established by the initial founder, John the Faster. As a result of these changes, in the time of Manuel Komnenos, the monastery was rich enough to supply groceries for the imperial wedding.⁷¹⁹

Patriarch Kallistos also notes another common practice concerning the second *ktetoria*, namely, the burial of the second ktetor near the tomb of the first ktetor, who was already venerated as a saint: “[he ordered] to be buried near the tomb of John the Faster, in order that they both would appear in the same place after his end, communicating with each other in the divine spirit.”⁷²⁰ This tradition can be observed in other important monastic foundations as well. About the same period, three founders of the Monastery of Vatopedi, who died between the beginning of the 11th century and the middle of the 12th century, were buried in the same place, i.e., in the *mesonyktikon* of the *katholikon*, and were jointly venerated by the community at their common grave.⁷²¹

Even though the cases of changing the first founder’s rules and spiritual conception occurred, the prescriptions and, especially, commemorations established by the first *ktetor* were usually respected by the second one. Moreover, one of the purposes of establishing the *charistike* policy and,

⁷¹⁷ Turco, Gianluca. “La diatheke del fondatore del monastero di S. Giovanni Prodromo in Petra e l’Ambr. E 9 sup.”, *Aevum* 75 (2001): 355, ll. 179-186.

⁷¹⁸ Ibid., p. 350, ll. 8-14 and p. 353, ll. 98-103.

⁷¹⁹ Malamut, “Saint-Jean-Prodrome de Pétra,” §16; *Eustathii Metropolitae Thessalonicensis Opuscula: accederunt Trapezuntinae historiae scriptores Panaretus et Eugenicus*, ed. Th. L. F. Tafel (Frankfurt: S. Schmerber, 1832): 230-231, ch. 66.

⁷²⁰ ἔγγιστα τοῦδε τοῦ νηστευτοῦ Ἰωάννου φέρει κατατεθειμένην τὴν τούτου σορόν, ὡς ἂν γε δὴ καὶ τῷ τόπῳ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ὧσιν ἀλλήλοις ἐν πνεύματι θεῷ συναυλιζόμενοι - Gelzer, “Kallistos’ Enkomion,” pp. 81-82.

⁷²¹ Pazaras, Theocharis [Παζαράς, Θεοχάρης]. “Ο τάφος των κτητόρων στο καθολικό της μονής Βατοπεδίου,” *Βυζαντινά* 17 (1994): 407-440; Stanković, *At the Threshold of the Heavens*, pp. 70, 328-329.

later on, the second *ktetoria* was to prevent cessation of memorial services in the foundation.⁷²² In 1294-1301, the empress and monastic benefactress Theodora Paliologina turned the church of Agioi Anargyroi into a convent and established her own Typikon there. According to its instructions, the remembrance of the original founder, a certain *logothetes tou dromou*, should be preserved and “commemorations be celebrated in his memory and in memory of his parents and of all those mentioned in his typikon, and that alms be given to the poor in front of the gates, according to the amount prescribed.”⁷²³ This way, the respect toward the memory of the initial founder was one of the main aspects of Byzantine patronage; even after the complete renovation and changing of the monastery into a convent, these ceremonial rights were to be kept.

The endowment with the second founder’s title was regarded by church and monastic authorities as an acknowledgement of somebody’s spiritual status, supported, of course, by significant investments or construction works. Thus, the Athonite Council once awarded this title only under the pressure of the ruling emperor. In 1089, the Council of the Holy Mount appointed the *ex-megas droungarios* of fleet Stephan (monk Symeon) as the *second ktetor* of Xenophontos Monastery. Formally, he got this honorary status due to his reconstruction of a ruining, “neglected in every way,” and abandoned foundation:

He began to raise the monastery from its foundations, he beautified the church, he built a wall around part of it, and constructed many cells for the monks, and he consecrated vineyards, pastures, and properties as belonging to the monastery.⁷²⁴

As pointed out by R. Morris, the Monastery of Xenophontos was rather in a good condition and, before 1076, i.e., two years prior to Symeon’s appearance, it had the *hegoumenos*. The reconstruction undertaken by Stephen-Symeon meant rather a repair and endowment of the institution, which might have been started even before the *megas droungarios* took the monastic vows.⁷²⁵ Symeon also donated quite significant movable properties and cattle to the foundation, including books, vessels, cash, oxen, horses, cows, etc.⁷²⁶ Moreover, Symeon’s investment with this honorary title was performed by *Protos* Paul and the community of monks under a certain pressure from the Emperor Alexios Komnenos, as Symeon had exercised his political influence to be re-installed as a *hegoumenos* of Xenophontos after he had been expelled from Athos (c. 1083).⁷²⁷ This obedience to

⁷²² Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 49, 254.

⁷²³ *BMFD*, p. 1292.

⁷²⁴ Τό τοι καὶ ἄρχεται καὶ ἐκ βάθρων αὐτῶν τὸ μοναστήριον ἀνεγείρειν ἀπάρχεται, ναόν τε καλλύνει, φρούριον εἰ καὶ μὴ πᾶν περιῖστίησι καὶ οἰκίσεις μοναχῶν τὰς πλείστους οἰκοδομεῖ, ἀμπελῶνας τὲ λειμῶνας καὶ προάστεια - *Actes de Xénophon*, p. 70, no. 1, ll. 28-31, translation by Morris, “Symeon the Sanctified,” p. 448. For a similar passage describing the activities of Stephan-Symeon, see: *Actes de Xénophon*, p. 71, ll. 55-57.

⁷²⁵ Morris, “Symeon the Sanctified,” esp. Pp. 444-450; Pavlikyanov, *The Medieval Aristocracy on Mount Athos*, pp. 153-156.

⁷²⁶ *Ibid*, 451-452; *Actes de Xénophon*, p. 75-76, no. 1, ll. 143-170

⁷²⁷ Morris, “Symeon the Sanctified” and *Actes de Xénophon*, pp. 62, 69. The reason for Symeon’s expulsion was his readiness to accept young boys and eunuchs to his monastery (which contradicted to the Athonite tradition), as well as his and his fellows’ arrogance during the council meetings.

details associated with its sepulchral function, which was employed by several generations of local monks.⁷³² The upper church has a ceremonial depiction of Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander,⁷³³ dated between 1344 and 1363 and accompanied by several images associated with the ideal rule, such as Sts Constantine and Helena and St. John the Theologian, that is, the patron saint of Bulgarian rulers' title-name. In the lower church, painted mainly during the 11th century,⁷³⁴ one can find the portraits of the two pairs of founders (fig. 3.31-3.33), which were created during the 14th century. They are situated in two niches of the northern wall of the narthex, right below the sitting Apostles of the Last Judgment. Thus, the two groups of founders are visually included among the righteous ones which surround the niches, an arrangement alluding to their possible salvation during the Second Coming. In the first niche, the richly-dressed Gregory Pakourianos brings the model of the original *katholikon* (a domed church with two side chapels) to the Virgin in the segment of heavens above him. He is accompanied by the following inscription: *Gregory, Sebastokrator and servant of Christ Pakourianos, megas domestikos and ktetor* (Γρηγόριος σεβαστοκράτωρ καὶ δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Πακουριανὸς ὁ μέγας δομέστικος καὶ κτήτωρ). Next to him, there is *Apasis, magistros and brother of the ktetor* (Ἀπάσις μαγίστρος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κτήτορος). The other niche is occupied by two praying monks addressing the Virgin, *George and Gabriel, the second ktetors* (Γεώργιος καὶ Γαβριὴλ οἱ δεῦτεροι κτήτορες).⁷³⁵ E. Bakalova suggested that the portrait of Ivan Alexander witnesses his direct involvement in the commissioning of frescoes. However, recent and yet-unpublished studies⁷³⁶ by L. Yordanova prove that the image of the tsar, depicted and inscribed with no allusions to his *ktetoria*, should be considered as an indication of the jurisdiction of his authority over those territories and as an image witnessing the general patronage of the royalty over the entire monastery, rather than a designation of Ivan Alexander's direct involvement in the commissioning of the ensemble. This way, one may assume that George and Gabriel were actually responsible for the architectural rearrangement of the building and the commissioning of the 14th-century paintings, possibly executed

⁷³² Bakalova, *The Ossuary of the Bachkovo*, pp. 53-103.

⁷³³ Bakalova, *The Ossuary of the Bachkovo*, pp. 118-119. In her oral communication at the 2016 Byzantine Studies Congress, L. Yordanova (Yordanova, Lilyana. "Quelques observations sur le portrait du tsar Jean Alexandre à l'église-ossuaire de Bačkov," in: *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016). Thematic sessions of free Communications*, eds. D Dželebdžić, S. Bojanin (Belgrade: SANU, 2016), 638) suggested that the similarities between the royal images of Ivan Alexander and Serbian rulers, primarily Stefan Dušan, point out to the fact that Ivan Alexander is depicted as a source of power and authority, rather than as a ktetor.

⁷³⁴ Bakalova, *The Ossuary of the Bachkovo*, p. 125.

⁷³⁵ Bakalova, *The Ossuary of the Bachkovo*, pp. 122-123.

⁷³⁶ Yordanova, Lilyana. "Quelques observations sur le portrait du tsar Jean Alexandre à l'église-ossuaire de Bačkov," in: *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016). Thematic sessions of free Communications*, eds. D Dželebdžić, S. Bojanin (Belgrade: SANU, 2016): 638. In a much abbreviated form, these ideas concerning the royal portraits during the Second Bulgarian Kingdom as an expression of homage to the ruler can be found in: Yordanova, Lilyana. "Maîtriser la langue commune de la donation: l'apport des portraits de donateurs du Second royaume bulgare (1185-1396)," in: *La culture des commanditaires: l'oeuvre et l'empreinte*, eds. S. Brodbeck and A.-O. Poilpré (Paris: Centre de recherche HiCSA, 2015): 190-192 (online edition - <https://hicsa.univ-paris1.fr/page.php?r=133&id=770&lang=fr>).

due to funds provided by Ivan Alexander. In a way, these second *ktetors* consider their works equally important with the activities of the initial founders. At least, the images' spatial placement and compositional similarity determine an unavoidable visual comparison between these two pairs of founders and their roles in the history of the monastery.

Except for the teacher-disciple bonds, there was another very strong reason for resorting to second *ktetoria*, namely, the joining to the spiritual and political legacy of the previous founder(s). For instance, the charters of Athonite monastery of Hilandar tell about Serbian Queen Jelena, wife of Tsar Stefan Dušan, who became the ktetores of St. Sabbas' cell. In 1347, in the company of her husband, she visited Mount Athos⁷³⁷ to "venerate... the holy tomb of our ancestor St. Simeon the new Myrrh-flower."⁷³⁸ During their visit, the couple came to St. Sabbas' cell in Karyes, which were built by another holy Serbian dynast, Archbishop St. Sava, this fact being specifically acknowledged by the issued charters:⁷³⁹ "the cell built by the ancestors of my majesty."⁷⁴⁰ However, the Tsaritsa discovered the cell to be in "poverty and great need"⁷⁴¹ and, therefore, moved by love toward Christ, she undertook its reconstruction and supplemented the cell with everything it needed. The reason of her benefaction was probably the veneration of the holy ancestor of the Nemanjići dynasty, St. Sava, and his heritage, as both chrysobulls issued by Stefan Dušan point out to his origin from the holy ancestors, calling the tsar "the spur of the blessed root" (отрасль бл(а)гаго корени). However, as the charters of the Serbian tsar attest to, Jelena was rewarded with the title of second founder and, in this quality, she also received the right to appoint the cell's head, similarly with the rights of the first ktetor:

"Therefore, Christ-loving and God-given *tsaritsa* kyra Jelena, by the wish of her god-loving heart, called this cell of St. Sabbas in her name, for the benefits of the soul of her majesty and for the keeping and maintenance of this holy place. And let her be the second *ktetor* of the divine church, and let her choose an elder, whom she likes, among

⁷³⁷ Belyakova, Taisiya [Белякова, Таисия]. "Сербская царица Елена и Карейская келья св. Саввы: к интерпретации источников," *Славянский альманах* 2015/1–2 (2015): 13–24; Smolčić Makuljević, Svetlana. "Žene priložnice svetogorskih manastira u srednjem veku," in: *Deveta kazivanja o Svetoj Gori* (Belgrade: 2016): 184–186; Grujić, Radoslav. "Carica Jelena i ćelija sv. Save u Kareji," *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva* 14 (1935): 43–57; On visit of Jelena and its connection with abaton see: Soulis, George. "Tsar Stephen Dušan and Mount Athos," *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954):130. Mirjana Živojinović ("De nouveau sur le séjour de l'empereur Dušan à l'Athos (À propos d'une nouvelle publication: Actes de Lavra IV)", *ZRVI* 21 (1982): 119–126 (esp. 123)) also suggest as one of the reasons for Jelena's presence – seeking for refuge from Black Death. On the *abaton*, see: Talbot, "Women and Mount Athos," p.70.

⁷³⁸ **Поклонихъ се... светому гробу ѿчьства нашего светаго сѣмьвна новаго мѣроточца...** This expression is used by Stefan Dušan in the charter related to the same visit, but addressed to the Hilandar monastery itself: *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, p. 494.

⁷³⁹ The initial documents concerning Jelena's ktetoria over the cell are the Skoplje chrysobull of Stefan Dušan (1348), his great chrysobull of Prilep (1348), and the Testament of Dorotheos, hegoumenos of Hilandar (1359–1360). See accordingly: Živojinović, Dragić. "Skopska hrisovulja"; Živojinović, Dragić. "Velika prilepska hrisovulja"; Mošin, Vladimir. "Akti bratskog sabora iz Hilandara," *Godišnik Skopskoga filozofskog fakulteta* 4 (1940): 193–194.

⁷⁴⁰ **Келія створена прародителі ц(а)рств(а) ми** - Živojinović, Dragić. "Skopska hrisovulja," p. 62; Živojinović, Dragić. "Velika prilepska hrisovulja," p. 77.

⁷⁴¹ **і видѣвши б(о)голюбна ц(а)р(и)ца августини кура елена ницетоу и велик недостатъчноє цр(ъ)кве те с(в)етые раждежена бывши любовию х(ри)с(то)вою къ тон с(в)етык келі.** - Živojinović, Dragić. "Skopska hrisovulja," p. 62; Živojinović, Dragić. "Velika prilepska hrisovulja," p. 77.

the monks of Hilandar, and establish at this cell, but with the agreement and blessing of the monastery of Hilandar.”⁷⁴²

The use of the honorary title of the second ktetor, which appeared initially only in the tsar’s charters, was later confirmed by the hegoumenos of Hilandar Dorotej,⁷⁴³ whom nevertheless, pointed out to the fact that the appointment of the hegoumenos should be performed “in accordance with the Typikon,” and not by Jelena’s decision.

Jelena’s designation as the second ktetor, though being an exception to the rule (taking into consideration her gender), was quite in line with the policies adopted by the monasteries of Athos in the relations to the Serbian, and, later, Wallachian and Moldavian patrons. The monasteries often used the appointment of generous benefactors as honorary ktetors as a tool in their relations with rulers, church hierarchs and influential aristocrats, this way the foundations gain obvious material support (landed properties, precious objects, cash, tax exemptions), whereas the Balkan patrons could use the monastic leaders as their intermediaries and ambassadors to Byzantium (and, later, Porta), supporters of Serbian policies on newly occupied territories or even as keepers and guardians of their wealth during the time of troubles. First Serbian Archbishop, St. Sava (sometimes together with his father, ruler Stefan Nemanja – monk Simeon), was appointed a honorary ktetor of monasteries of Philotheou, Lavra, Vatopedi on the Holy Mount as well as Evergetis foundations in Constantinople and the Holy Cross monastery in Jerusalem,⁷⁴⁴ later his example was followed by Serbian rulers (especially, Stefan Milutin, Stefan Dušan and Lazar Hrebeljanović) and noblemen (*čelnik* Radič Postupović, Nikola Baldovin Bagaš and others) who supported or reconstructed many of Athonite foundations. Throughout almost two centuries of Serbian patronage, the motives of patrons were changing, from the search of political support for the growing kingdom to the perception of the Athonite monasteries as places of safety during the Ottoman conquest, but the reception of the honorary title of (second) ktetor by these benefactors was perceived as an acknowledgement of their pious efforts and a confirmation of their mutual support and spiritual and/or economic bounds with the foundations.

⁷⁴² Понеже х(ри)с(т)олюбиваа и в(ог)одарованнаа ми ц(а)р(и)ца кѣра Јелени по изволенію в(ог)олюбнаго ея ср(ь)ца, нар(є)че сѣю келію с(вє)т(а)го Гавѣи въ своє имє, въ д(оу)шє пользно ц(а)рства ея, и въ свѣдєніє и вгледованіє мѣста того с(вє)т(а)го. И вѣтори хѣтиторь да кєс(ть) тон в(о)жнєи цр(ь)кви и да си избира вт всега чина хїландарскога старьца коего любєи и полагають въ тон с(вє)тѣи кєлїи, нѣ съ оупрошенїємъ и вл(аго)сл(о)в(є)нїємъ хїландарскїмъ. – Živojinović, Dragić. “Skopska hrisovulja,” p. 63; Živojinović, Dragić. “Velika pilepska hrisovulja,” p. 76.

⁷⁴³ Mošin, Vladimir. “Akti bratskog sabora iz Hilandara,” *Godišnik Skopskoga filozofskog fakulteta* 4 (1940): 193–194.

⁷⁴⁴ Troicki, “Ktitorsko pravo,” pp. 91–92, 97–98; Živojinović, Mirjana. “Ktitorska delatnost Svetoga Save,” in: *Sava Nemanjić — Sveti Sava. Istorija i predanje*, ed. V. Đurić (Belgrade: SANU, 1979): 15–26; Korać, Dušan. “Novčani darovi Stefana Dušana svetogorskim manastirima,” *Istorijski časopis* 38 (1991): 5 – 18; Soulis, George. “Tsar Dušan and Mount Athos,” *Harvard Slavic studies* 2 (1954): 125–139; Korać, “Sveta Gora pod srpskom vlašću”; Zachariadou, “A Safe and Holy Mountain”; Marković, Miodrag. “Serbia in Byzantium – the patronage of Serbian ktetors in the Byzantine empire,” in: *Byzantine heritage and Serbian art, vol. II: Sacral art of the Serbian lands in the Middle Ages*, eds. D. Vojvodić, D. Popović (Belgrade : 2016): 57–73 (with prior bibliography).

Finally, in the Byzantine Commonwealth, the second *ktetoria* received an additional political function. Its best illustration is the two re-foundation acts of St. George monastery on Serava river near Skopje. In 1258-1277, Bulgarian Tsar Konstantin Asen Tikh issued a charter stating that he found the monastery “made by holy emperor Romanos (Lekapenos), the first ktetor... fallen in ruin.” He rebuilt it, following the example of this place’s previous benefactors, “holy and orthodox emperors, who have been before me, and of kings, and of Holy Emperor Romanos and Emperor Diogenes, and Holy Emperor Peter, and Kyr Emperor Nikephoros, and others, and of Holy Emperor Alexios, and of Emperor Kaloian, and of Kyr Emperor Manuel, Kyr Emperor Theodore, Kyr Emperor Isaak, and of St. Simeon Nemanja, the grandfather of my Majesty, Emperor Vatazes, and Emperor Kaliman.”⁷⁴⁵ Some years later, about 1300, Serbian King Stefan Uroš Milutin occupied this territory and issued a chrysobull, almost identical in its content to the one of his Bulgarian predecessor. He insisted on the confirmation of the previous deeds issued by the earlier rulers:

I’ve read all their documents, orders and chrysobulls, and my majesty nicely corrected and confirmed them, more firmly than all above-mentioned emperors and kings. And with help of this saint I renewed and created, and raised from the very grounds and glorified for the eternal commemoration of my majesty, and made what was written in the chrysobulls of the above-mentioned holy and orthodox emperors and kings, and I made as much as I could, and I confirmed it and recorded for eternity what I offered to this holy church.⁷⁴⁶

King Milutin added a couple of new names to the list of St. George’s benefactors (of Emperor Asen, King Uroš I, and kyr Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos) and established the eternal commemoration for himself.⁷⁴⁷ In his chrysobull, Stefan Milutin referred to his predecessors as *ktetors* (“Holy Emperor Roman, the first ktetor,” “holy emperor kyr Alexios, the second ktetor”), inheriting, thus, this honorary status from a long row of royal authorities. In both cases, the Balkan sovereigns tried to establish themselves through the act of benefaction as legal successors and continuators of earlier powers. The long list of previous rulers was meant to demonstrate the legitimacy of the present Balkan sovereigns, who expressed the power of their authority in the same form of a donation deed confirming the earlier documents.

Thus, the conducted analysis of sources led to several important conclusions concerning the term of *second ktetor*. First of all, in the eyes of the Byzantines, it seems to be an umbrella term encompassing many forms of participation in the life of a foundation. The only common ground for

⁷⁴⁵ *Zbornik srednjovekovnih ćirilćkih povelja*, p. 254-255 (no. 74).

⁷⁴⁶ Тѣхъ всѣхъ исправленіа и оутвърждениіа и хрісовоуле нхъ прочтѣ, любезно краљевство ми исправивъ и крѣпчаніе оутвърдихъ паче всѣхъ царь и краљъ вишеписанныхъ и съ помощію светаго того ѡбновихъ и създахъ и ѡт ѡснованіа въздвигохъ и прославихъ въ помень вѣчни краљевства ми, сътворихъ иже се ѡбрѣте записано оу хрісовоулахъ светыхъ и правовѣрнихъ царь и краљъ вишеписанныхъ, и паче исправи краљевство ми елико могохъ, потвърдихъ въ и записахъ вечно, иже приложише светому храму сему... - *Zbornik srednjovekovnih ćirilćkih povelja*, no. 92, p. 317.

⁷⁴⁷ *Zbornik srednjovekovnih ćirilćkih povelja*, no. 92, pp. 315-329 (esp. p. 317).

these forms was their posteriority to the activities of a first founder. The appellation of the second ktetor was equally used in relation to the following categories of persons:

- immediate successors and students of the first founders;
- assistants of the main founders executing their orders
- hegoumenoi investing their private funds in the reconstruction or rebuilding;
- lay patrons supplying foundations with significant funds, gifts, and advocating for the monasteries' political or economic interests;
- rulers confirming the rights of a monastery and assuming the duties to protect the monasteries' interests
- lay or religious reconstructors of the physical appearance of monasteries.

All these various categories of second founders received the rights for commemorations in their monasteries equally, however, the coverage of their other rights varied. The disciples-successors (like Timothy or Nikolaos Maliassenos), the direct appointees of the monastic leaders (John Kantakouzenos), and important investors becoming themselves hegoumenoi (Stephan-Symeon or John Ioalites) could alter the Typikon and spiritual rules of a foundation. The second founders taking monastic habit could also expect to be buried in their monasteries (like George and Gabriel from Bačkovo, John Ioalites or Joachim from Manastir) or be represented in the murals adornment of a foundation (Archbishop Danilo and hegoumenos of Dečani Arsenije). Royal and aristocratic second ktetors (King Milutin or Empress Jelena) could direct the political course of an important monastery and might appoint or, at least, confirm a hegoumenos. Finally, laic outsiders could expect only to be remembered, timely and lavishly, during the special monastic offices. The motivations of the second founders could also vary greatly. Most often, they wanted to succeed their physical or spiritual ancestors; however, other motivations were present, too: political influence through the monasteries' support, honour of the acquired title, veneration of the first ktetor as a saint, and desire to be commemorated in a prestigious and spiritually powerful foundation.

3.4. Patterns of Collective Patronage

This subchapter focuses on the problem of cooperation between individuals or groups of individuals for the purpose of building, reconstructing, or endowing ecclesiastic institutions, as well as the reasons which determine these collaboration strategies. More precisely, here, I attempt at offering a classification of the various methods of collaboration between founders, secondary founders, founders and sponsors, or between several sponsors.

Most often than not, many ecclesiastic institutions were established with the participation of more than one founder, from the very beginning. Even though the corpus of literature dedicated to the problem of private patronage and religious foundation in medieval Orthodox countries is truly

vast, only a few works focus on the phenomenon of collaboration between founders. S. Kalopissi-Verti compared similar cases of collective patronage from Laconia and Crete, observed minor differences in the expression of the donors' participation,⁷⁴⁸ and proposed to divide the instances of patronage into individual, co-operative (two or more donors), and collective (many donors, sometimes an entire village or large, anonymous groups). In another study,⁷⁴⁹ the scholar points to the existence of similar cases in the early-Ottoman Slavic villages and towns, and suggests that those instances of collective patronage by peasants exemplified the "collectivism" and "coherence" of agrarian society. S. Kalopissi-Verti's conclusions can be supplemented by the observations of S. Petković,⁷⁵⁰ who noted that the appearance of collective peasantry foundations was the consequence of the disappearance of a Christian noble class. He came to conclusion that, during the Ottoman time, the leading role in artistic patronage belonged to the clergy and, even in those cases of collective village foundations, the peasants were organized by their local priests. B. Cvetković⁷⁵¹ defined the visual expressions of *joint ktetorship* as the depiction of two founders holding together one church model or of several founders holding his own church model. He proposed to regard the images of *joint ktetorship* as conveying one of two ideas, namely, simultaneous cooperation between individuals ("double ktetorship") and successive ktetorship. However, the examples he analyzed refer mainly to the cases of cooperation between the royal authorities and the members of nobility (Rudenice, Kalenić, Lapušnja) on medieval Serbian territory. In her article devoted to the participation of noble women in church foundations, T. Kambourova considered difficult to see any general reasons behind the depiction of patrons as a group,⁷⁵² even though she acknowledged that the initiator of a gift was always depicted holding the church model; in those cases when the wives participated in the foundation, the ladies held the model together with their husbands.⁷⁵³

In this subchapter, therefore, I want to find the reasons for (i.e., economic, political, personal, and ideological), as well as the outcome of those strategies of collective patronage. All the above-mentioned authors relied mainly on visual and epigraphic sources. Moreover, their observations were often made with regard of regional social and political conditions, such as Greek peasantry in Laconia and Crete, the popularity of villagers' patronage in the region of Ohrid, the relations between the royalty and the nobility in Serbia during the Despotovina period, or family relations in the 13th- and

⁷⁴⁸ Kalopissi-Verti, "Collective Patterns of Patronage".

⁷⁴⁹ Kalopissi-Verti, "Church Foundations by Entire Villages," p. 339.

⁷⁵⁰ Petković, Sreten. "Art and patronage in Serbia during the early period of Ottoman rule (1450-1600)," *BF* 16 (1991): 401-414 (esp. pp. 403, 412-413).

⁷⁵¹ Cvetković, Branislav. "The Portraits in Lapušnja and Iconography of Joint Ktetorship," *Niš and Byzantium* 11 (2013): 295-308; Id. "Rudenice i Kalenić: „dvojna,“ grupna ili sukcesivna ktitoria?," *Saopštenja* 41 (2009): 79-98. The art historian also noted the connection of associated ktetorship with the political situation of regency: Id. "Iconography of Female Regency: An Issue of Methodology," *Niš and Byzantium* 10 (2012): 405-414.

⁷⁵² Kambourova, "Le don de l'église." On p. 228, the author notes: "Nous avons rencontré beaucoup de variations, qui rendent difficile la systematization."

⁷⁵³ Kambourova, "Le don de l'église," p. 228.

14th-century Balkans. In the present text, therefore, I also take into consideration some written sources and juxtapose them with the visual data. This way, I am going to establish several patterns of collaboration between individual ktetors and sponsors. The development of these patterns will help to discuss the strategies and motivations relevant for some patronal groups analyzed in the later chapters, and to avoid partial conclusions on the nature of associated patronage. For constructing these definitions, I employ partially the terminology proposed by B. Cvetković.⁷⁵⁴ Consequently, I am going to outline the following types of association:

1. Group ktetorship exercised by relatives;
2. Associated sponsorship (one main founder and several smaller sponsors);
3. Joint ktetorship exercised by founders with equal social status;
4. Double ktetorship (aristocratic founder and royal sponsor).

In all these cases, I will address questions pertaining to participation measure, founders' rights, and their motivations. These issues can be either deduced from the written sources (charters, typika, and dedicatory inscriptions) or visually represented with help of founders' portraits and their spatial arrangement.

3.4.1. Group ktetorship exercised by relatives

Family foundations were one of the most widespread forms of ecclesiastic patronage in the Byzantine Empire.⁷⁵⁵ Moreover, with the passage of time, during the Palaiologan epoch, they became the predominant form of private religious institutions, and the number of such cases known only from written sources counting more than a thousand instances.⁷⁵⁶ There is no such estimation made for the Balkan Slavic countries; however, one may assume that the situation there was quite similar with the Byzantine one. According to I. Đorđević,⁷⁵⁷ the number of Serbian aristocratic patrons depicted with their families rises significantly in the end of the 13th century, together with the expansion of the state.

One must admit, however, that the phenomenon of a foundation made by a group of relatives appears in several contexts quite different from each other. On the one hand, starting from 11th century on,⁷⁵⁸ and, especially, during the Komnenian time,⁷⁵⁹ the members of Byzantine imperial families and aristocracy founded numerous private ecclesiastic institutions in Constantinople, as well as in the

⁷⁵⁴ Cvetković, Branislav. "The Portraits in Lapušnja"; Id. "Rudenice i Kalenić".

⁷⁵⁵ Talbot, "The Byzantine Family and the Monastery," pp. 121-123.

⁷⁵⁶ Herl, Sylvie. "Auf der Suche nach weiblichem Stiftertum im 'Prosopographischen Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit' – eine erste Auswertung," in: *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. L. Theis, M. Mullett, M. Grünbart (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014): 249-252.

⁷⁵⁷ Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, p. 14.

⁷⁵⁸ Morris, *Monks and laymen*, pp. 120-142; Eadem, "Byzantine aristocracy and the Monasteries," in: *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. M. Angold (Oxford: BAR, 1984): 112-137.

⁷⁵⁹ Angold, *Church and Society*, pp. 273-344; Galatariotou, "Byzantine ktetorika typika"; Kazhdan, Alexander, Epstein, Ann Wharton. *Change in Byzantine culture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1985): 86-110.

provinces. One of the main functions of these richly-endowed and ktetor-managed foundations was to become family mausoleums and, subsequently, younger family members often completed the monasteries initiated by their parents and continued to exercise their care and administration.⁷⁶⁰ The *typika* preserved from these monasteries contain extensive chapters dedicated to burials and commemoration of the founding family, which in turn demonstrates the hereditary nature of the founders' right.⁷⁶¹ Moreover, by the Komnenian period, the transfer of the title of *ktetor* started to be hereditary if the heirs took care of the foundation they received as a part of their patrimony.⁷⁶²

On the other hand, during the last centuries of Byzantium, the number of conflicts concerning the hereditary rights and division of patrimony grew among the members of lower aristocracy;⁷⁶³ this was also true for the raising number of family portraits in the Palaiologan art.⁷⁶⁴ Seemingly, these two processes should be considered as the two effects of the same phenomenon, namely, the co-existence of several ways of patrimony transmission.⁷⁶⁵ In his classical study, J. Von Zhishman regarded several cases of dissimulation and partition of ktetorial rights among the family members belonging to the nobility of Constantinople, and came to conclusion that ktetorial rights could be inherited, transferred and partitioned as other property rights.⁷⁶⁶ In this situation, an ecclesiastic institution –being the subject of transmission – could simultaneously become the proof for the order of inheritance; a heir appointed as co-ktetor and/or depicted together with the first founder in votive compositions, obtained the primacy in the transmission of property.

⁷⁶⁰ Such were, for instance, the cases of Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople, commissioned by John and his wife Eirine with the participation of their son Alexios, – see *BMFD*, pp. 725-781 and Ousterhout, Robert. "Architecture, Art and Komnenian Ideology at the Pantokrator Monastery," in: *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu (Boston-Leiden-Koeln: Brill, 2001): 133-150. Similarly, Kecharitomene monastery was started by Empress Eirene Doukaina with the participation of two her daughters, Eudoxia and Anna – *BMFD*, pp. 649-724. Angold, *Church and Society*, pp. 303-309. For similar functions of monasteries in Palaiologan Constantinople, see: Macridy, Theodore. "The Monastery of Lips and the burials of the Palaeologi," *DOP* 18 (1964): 253-277; Talbot, "Building Activity in Constantinople".

⁷⁶¹ See *BMFD*, pp. 740, 756, 759, 697-698, 700-702, 1555, 1561-1562.

⁷⁶² Herman, "Chiese private," pp. 302-321 (esp. 318-319); Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 175-179; 253-258. See also a case of 1401, when the *ktetorial* rights over the Church of Theotokos Amolyntos were passed to the third generation of heirs and were extremely fragmented, a fact that led to a long-lasting court conflict (MM, Vol. II, pp. 455-458; Darrouzes, *Les regestes*, Vol. VI, no. 3182).

⁷⁶³ Macrides, "The Transmission of Property"; Laiou, Angeliki. "Family Structure and the Transmission of Property," in: *A Social History of Byzantium*, ed. J. Haldon (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009): 51-75.

⁷⁶⁴ Velmans, Tania. "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues," in: *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues, Venise 1968*, s.ed. (Venice: Institut hellénique d'études byzantines et post-byzantines, 1971): 91-148 (esp. pp. 94-97 and 123-132 for the discussion of the greater social diversity of the Palaiologan portrait).

⁷⁶⁵ Macrides, "Dowry and Inheritance in the Late Period"; Kyritses, *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, pp.180-192; Laiou, Angeliki E. "Marriage prohibitions, marriage strategies and the dowry in thirteenth century Byzantium," in: *La transmission du patrimoine. Byzance et l'aire méditerranéenne*, eds. J. Beaucamp, G. Dagron (Paris: Boccard, 1998): 129-160. The main problems discussed in connection with inheritance strategies are the fragmentation of familial patrimony and the dependancy between dowry and inheritance (whether a son/daughter endowed at the point of marriage still participated in inheritance after the death of parents) and the issue of collation of dowry.

⁷⁶⁶ Zhishman, *Das Stifterrecht*, pp. 75 – 89. On pp. 86-89, he regarded the cases when heirs belonging to second and third generations who established the measure of their rights in court (cases from MM, Vol. II, pp. 455-458 and pp. 391-393).

The depiction of wives or children as co-founders could also receive a political tone being an indication of family unions (made inside and outside of a ruling house), an appointment of a successor, or of international ruling alliances. After having concluded an advantageous political marriage with the Byzantine Princess Simonis, Serbian King Milutin depicts her as co-founder in all his ecclesiastic foundations: Sts Joachim and Anna Church at Studenica Monastery (1313-1315), St. George Church at Staro Nagoričane (1315-1317), and Annunciation Church at Gračanica Monastery (1318-1321) (fig. 3.34.-3.35).⁷⁶⁷ Later on, Stefan Dušan, another Serbian ruler, repainted the founders' portraits in the monastery of Dečani (fig. 3.36-3.37), which was erected by his father, and re-issued the Dečani charter (between 1343 and 1345).⁷⁶⁸ The goal of these actions was to represent Stefan Dušan as a co-founder of the monastery along with the old king, and to diminish the role of Dušan's younger half-brother (from the second marriage of Dušan's father), whose kinship with the Byzantine royal family could be considered as potentially dangerous for his throne succession.⁷⁶⁹

As one can see, these three aspects of associated family foundership (alliances, succession, and political statements) are connected with the issue of inheritance and patrimony (in either spiritual, material, or political sense) and, therefore, the depiction of founders as a group of relatives became a tool of the successor's appointment. This strategy (the depiction of a family in the framework of a votive portrait) was equally employed by the rulers, aristocratic families, and members of the lower nobility. In what follows, I propose to contrast two examples of family patronage, in order to see how the founders presented their political statements, personal hopes, and family structure by means of portraits, inscriptions, and documents.

3.4.1.1. *The Dormition Monastery in Dobrun: Succession and Salvation*

The depiction of several generations of the same family was connected with the organization of noble households or *oikoi*,⁷⁷⁰ especially in the case of Balkan provincial nobility. Noble and peasant families consisted of several (usually three) generations and included sometimes side members. In the case of the votive portraits of Dobrun monastery (c. 1343),⁷⁷¹ the main founder, *župan* Pribil,

⁷⁶⁷ Todić, Branislav. *Serbian medieval painting: the age of King Milutin* (Belgrade: Draganić, 1999): 12, 48-49, 55-60, 323-325, 328, 333;

⁷⁶⁸ Blagojević, Miloš. "Kada je kralj Dušan potvrdio Dečansku hrisovulju?," *Istorijski časopis* 16-17 (1970): 70-86.

⁷⁶⁹ Todić, Branislav, Čanak-Medić, Milka *Manastir Dečani* (Belgrade: Museum at Priština - centre for protection of heritage of Kosovo and Metochia-mnemosyne, Serbian orthodox monastery of Dečani, 2005): 439, 519.

⁷⁷⁰ On the increasing importance and social role of aristocratic *oikos*, see: Magdalino, Paul. "The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos," in: *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XII Centuries*, ed. by M. Angold (Oxford: BAR, 1984): 92-111. Concerning the development of aristocratic houses and their intermarriages and alliances during the Palaiologon period, see: Kyritses, *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, pp. 216-250, 260-262. Concerning the structure of a villager's house which may be also applied to the households of lower nobility, see: and Lefort, Jacques. "La transmission des biens en milieu paysan dans la première moitié du XIVe siècle en Macédoine," in: *La Transmission du Patrimoine*, eds. J. Beaucamp, G. Dagron (Paris: Bocard, 1998): 161-177.

⁷⁷¹ Popović, Marko Đ. "Srednjovekovni Dobrun," *Starinar* N.S. 52 (2002): 106-109; Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, pp. 143-145 – once the procession addressed the image of the Virgin with the Child, nowadays lost.

holds the church model. He is accompanied by his sons, Stefan and Petar, and another person, *protovestiar* Stan, who stands in a row behind the three family members (fig. 3.38). The relations of Stan with Pribil's house are unclear; however, since he is included in the hierarchy of ktetors, one may suggest that he was also a family member.⁷⁷² The ktetorial portraits face the images of Stefan Dušan's royal family (fig. 3.39), situated on the opposite, northern wall. Typical for Serbian ecclesiastic foundations, the image of a ruler legitimized somebody's possessions and title of noblemen and, symbolically, sanctioned the transfer of properties to an ecclesiastic institution.⁷⁷³

The dedicatory inscription (nowadays lost) was written in the name of *veliki župan* Petar (1 person singular), who was renamed John after the taking of monastic vows. In the text, he addressed the brotherhood of his hereditary monastery ("the fathers and brothers") and anybody "who reads these words;" he narrated the succession in the construction works and directed his pleas to the Virgin. The inscription inform that the naos of the church was built and painted by *župan* Pribil, Petar's father, whereas Petar himself was responsible for the construction and decoration of the narthex. Petar tells that his family regarded the church patronage as "a small gift" to the Virgin and in order to acquire her "assistance and advocacy" on the "terrible hour of the Judgement."⁷⁷⁴ Written in a quite unusual way, this inscription relies on two important concepts which became the moving force of the successive patronage: that are the continuation of a family project and the intrafamilial competition. As Petar himself expresses it, "I got jealous on my parent" that he had acquired help of the celestial powers for the Last Judgement. Thus, Petar constructed the narthex in his hope to acquire the same celestial assistance as his ancestor did. Petar acknowledged the primacy of his father in the ktetoria and the family procession, depicted in the narthex commissioned by Peter, is headed by his father Pribil holding the church model and being in charge of the household.

⁷⁷² Milosavljević Dragiša. *Srednjovekovni grad i manastir Dobrun* (Belgrade-Priboj: Dereta, 2006): 104, 174-178.

⁷⁷³ Babić, Gordana. "O portretima u Ramači i jednom vidu investiture vladara," *ZLU* 15(1979): 154-168 (esp. p. 161).

⁷⁷⁴ Недостонитонни нареши се раба его іѡа(на) а зовомъ мирскимъ жоупана петра сик малок приношеник приносѣ господи можи и прѣснодѣви да потребує ѡт не помощи и застоупкиниа въ страшни час(ъ) соудѣ тѣмже и поревновахъ господиноу ми родителю жоупану прыви(а)оу и създахъ припратоу сию и пописахъ съ помощию божи(к)ю и прѣчистик и богоматере и прѣдиче и крѣстителѣ іѡана и оусерднимъ моимъ прилѣжаніемъ и божимъ поспѣшениемъ създахъ и пописахъ съ ѡтѣкоупомъ и ѡци и братии(а) и кто прочитають сѣ словца простѣте ме и благословѣте раба божи(а) смѣренаго іѡана и зовомъ мирскимъ великаго жоупана петра и васъ богъ да прости аминъ и въ то врѣме прѣдражешоу игоуменоу неѡр[осима] ... и богомъ дабра ... (s) ѡа поп(и)сахъ а марта —unworthy to be called of his servant John, called *župan* Peter by the laic name, brings this small offering to my Lady and the Always-Virgin... that he would ask for her help and protection on the terrible hour of the Judgment, and I got jealous on my parent, lord *župan* Pribil and I created this narthex and painted (it) with the help of God and his Most-Pure Mother and the Forerunner and Baptist John, and by my zeal and efforts and God's assistance, I have created and painted (it) with expenses. And fathers and brothers and those who read these words, pardon and bless me, the servant of God, humble John, called by laic name *veliki župan* Petar, and let God pardon you. Amen. And during this time the hegoumenos Jefrosim held ... by God Dabar... [6]851, I have painted on March 1. – Stojanović, *Zapisi i natpisi*, Vol. I, p.149, no. 154 (with incorrect date); Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, p. 143. This was not the only dedicatory inscription in Dobrun; there were probably two or three more (some of them in Greek), but they were all destroyed in 1875 (Milosavljević, Dragiša. *Srednjovekovni grad i manastir Dobrun* (Belgrade-Priboj: Dereta, 2006): 129-130).

These ktetorial efforts of several family members, as well as their order of succession are attested by the Memorial book (nowadays lost) of the Monastery. The Book of commemorations from Kruševo had a special rubric called: *Holy ktetors of the Annunciation Monastery called Kruševo*. Here, the ktetors are introduced in the same hierarchical order (parents, sons, grandchildren, etc.) and are accompanied by the name of Jefrosin, the first hegoumenos of the monastery (his portrait was once painted in front of the procession of ktetors, but nowadays is lost).⁷⁷⁵ The Memorial lists, without a specific day, the commemorations to be made on behalf of “the souls of great župan Pribil, [renamed] Varnava the monk, the pious lady Boleslava, and their sons: pious župan Petar, [renamed] Ioann the monk, pious *veliki župan* Stefan, and their wives and children, and their daughters and their children... and the first holy man of prayer of this holy church Jefrosin, *hegoumenos* and *hieromonk*, and his brotherhood.”⁷⁷⁶ Besides expressing the hierarchy within the family and the line of succession through the order of figures in both, the church painting and the Memorial book, the association of all family members in texts and images, associated with Dobrun monastery, had a pious purpose, too. This way, several generation of Pribil’s heir became united in the eternal life due to the common commemoration performed by the monastic brotherhood.

3.4.1.2. The Family Enterprise of the Maliasenoi

The group family *ktetoria* can be based on the idea of successive care of a foundation, between the generations, as well as on a simultaneous collaboration between two or more family members. Patronage activities of the Maliasenoi family, rich landowners from Thessaly, extended through three generations.⁷⁷⁷ In the beginning of the 13th century, Constantine Maliasenos⁷⁷⁸ founded the male monastery of Theotokos Oxeia Episkepsis in Makrinita.⁷⁷⁹ In a letter, the Bishop of Demetriadis designates Constantine as founder of the Monastery and guarantees him the independent status of his foundation.⁷⁸⁰ The heading of the Bishop’s Letter, denoting Constantine as the first founder (πρῶτος κτίτωρ), was added to the Cartulary of the Maliasenoi’s monasteries, manuscript Gr. 237 (c.

⁷⁷⁵ Milosavljević, Dragiša. *Srednjovekovni grad i manastir Dobrun* (Belgrade-Priboj: Dereta, 2006): 192-194.

⁷⁷⁶ Novaković, Stojan. *Srpski Pomenici XV-XVIII Veka* (Belgrade: Državna štamparija, 1875): 18; Milosavljević, Dragiša. *Srednjovekovni grad i manastir Dobrun* (Belgrade-Priboj: Dereta, 2006): 192-194.

⁷⁷⁷ For the Meliasenoi’s prosopography, origins, political characteristics, and wealth, see: Charanis, Peter. “The Aristocracy of Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century,” in: *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson*, ed. ed. P.R. Coleman-Norton (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951): 346-349; Ferjančić, Božidar. “Porodica Maliasina u Tesaliji,” *Zbornik Filozofskog Fakulteta* 7/1 (1963): 241-249 and Id., “Posedi porodice Maliasina u Tesaliji,” *ZRVI* 9 (1966): 33-48; Polemis, Demetrios. *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London: University London Historical Study, 1968): 142-143. The diplomatic codex from two monasteries of the Meliasenoi, that of the Virgin Oxeia Episkepsis and of St. John at Nea Patra on Mt. Pelion, is published in MM IV, 330-430. See also, Laurent, Vitalien. *Les registes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople, Vol. 1/4: Les registes de 1208 a 1309* (Paris: Institut Français d’Etudes Byzantines, 1971): nos. 1402, 1403, 1411, 1412.

⁷⁷⁸ Polemis, Demetrios. *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London: University London Historical Study, 1968): 142-143.

⁷⁷⁹ MM, Vol. IV, pp. 342, 373.

⁷⁸⁰ MM, Vol. IV, pp. 382-383.

1281-1282)⁷⁸¹ which is presently destroyed. Around 1271/2, Constantine's son, Nicholas Maliasenos,⁷⁸² together with his wife, Anna Palaiologina Maliasene,⁷⁸³ the niece of Emperor Michael VIII, erected another monastery, a nunnery dedicated to St. John Prodromos at Nea Petra, near today's Portaria, Pelion. Nicholas also inherited the ktetorial rights over the foundation of his father, Theotokos Oxeia Episkepsis at Makrinitza, and the Cartulary's documents call him a "heir and ktetor" (ὡς κληρονόμου καὶ κτήτορος ὄντος)⁷⁸⁴ who received the foundation as hereditary property (γονικὸν κτῆμα).⁷⁸⁵

The Imperial Chrysobull (1274) by Michael VIII considers both, Anna and Nicholas, the founders of Nea Petra, acknowledging thus the joint participation of the spouses. By this document, the Emperor confirmed the transfer of goods to the monastery, which "was built from the very grounds by him (Nicholas Maliasenos) and his wife, a cousin of my majesty, Anna Komnene Palaiologine Meliasene."⁷⁸⁶ Similarly, a sale deed signed by the villagers of Dryanoubaine named Anna as *ktetorissa*.⁷⁸⁷

The Maliaseans couple took the monastic habit after September 1274 and, probably, withdrew themselves from the world to the monasteries of Makrinitza and Nea Petra.⁷⁸⁸ On this occasion, their son, John Maliasenos,⁷⁸⁹ inherited the ktetorial rights over the foundations, as his father appointed him "ephoros as an heir" (ἐφορος ὡς κληρονόμος) of both monasteries.⁷⁹⁰ The transfer of rights was confirmed by the *Ypomnema* of Patriarch Joseph (1274) stating: "as much as [it is built] by his ancestors, it passes to him, and he becomes and should be called the ktetor of the monasteries," namely, those, built by his grandfather, Constantine, and by his parents.⁷⁹¹ John was, therefore, already the third generation of ktetors originating from the same family.

John also made his contribution to the foundations. According to G. De Gregorio,⁷⁹² the luxurious Cartulary⁷⁹³ containing all the constitutive deeds of the two foundations was commissioned

⁷⁸¹ De Gregorio, "Epigrammi e documenti," pp. 87-96.

⁷⁸² *PLP*, no. 16523.

⁷⁸³ *PLP*, no. 21351.

⁷⁸⁴ *MM*, Vol. IV, p. 351.

⁷⁸⁵ *MM*, Vol. IV, p. 333.

⁷⁸⁶ *MM*, Vol. IV, p. 333-336.

⁷⁸⁷ *MM*, Vol. IV, pp. 391-393 (quoted p. 391).

⁷⁸⁸ Nicholas and Anna took the vows between September and November 1274 and received the monastic names of Joasaph and Anthousa: *MM*, Vol. IV, pp. 336-337, and the *sigillion* by Patriarch Joseph, *MM*, Vol. IV, pp. 361-362. In a document dated to September 1274, they are referred to with their secular names (*MM*, Vol. IV, pp. 333-336), while a letter by Bishop Michael Panaretou from November 3 addressed Nicholas Maliasenos as Joasaph (*MM*, Vol. IV, p. 417).

⁷⁸⁹ *PLP*, no. 16522; *MM*, Vol. IV, pp. 334-336, 339, 375.

⁷⁹⁰ *MM*, Vol. IV, pp. 334-336 (here quoted p. 334).

⁷⁹¹ ὅσα παρὰ τῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν διαβαίνει καὶ κτήτορα εἶναι καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι τῶν μονῶν – *MM*, Vol. IV, pp. 371-376 (here quoted p. 375).

⁷⁹² De Gregorio, "Epigrammi e documenti," pp. 58-96.

⁷⁹³ The cartulary was kept in the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino as *Codex Taurinensis graecus* 237 until 1904, when it was burnt during a fire (Barišić, "Diplomatar tesalijskih manastira," pp. 69-70). The composition of the codex can be reconstructed on the basis of two editions made before this fire, namely, the catalogue description of Pasini,

and executed in Constantinople between 1281 and 1285, as it contains the deeds by Michael VIII, but bear the autograph signatures of Patriarch John and Emperor Andronikos II.⁷⁹⁴

The sequence of the documents is arranged in accordance with the hierarchy of the issuing institutions: *chrysobulls* and *prostagmata* by Michael VIII Palaiologos, documents of the Epirote despots, Patriarchal deeds, letters by the *sebastokrator* (later, *despotes*) John Palaiologos,⁷⁹⁵ and *kaisar* Alexis Komnenos Strategopoulos,⁷⁹⁶ and, finally, a group of private acts “according to the order.”⁷⁹⁷ The codex is supplied with the composer’s remarks in form of two forewords.⁷⁹⁸ Being aware of the unusual composition of the Codex, the composer (called by G. De Gregorio as *conditor codicis* or ὁ τὴν βίβλον συντάξας) added the “foreword (προθεωρία) concerning why the documents of one monastery are not grouped in one part and of another in another one, but are scattered here and there,” which was intended to emphasize the individual structure as a consequence of the patron’s special demand. The composer’s second introduction, προοίμιον, “says about the goals set by the ktetors for this book, in order to provide benefit and development for the monasteries to improve them” and includes a “short praise to the ktetors.”

Short, dodecasyllabic iambic commentaries, written in golden ink and situated in-between the parts of the Cartulary, “established connections and determined a contextual link between individual documents” and served as mnemonic devices for the readers.⁷⁹⁹ One of these poems is entitled ‘*In the name of the ktetor*’.⁸⁰⁰ It contains a prayer addressed by Nicholas to the Logos, in which he asks to grant salvation to him, his wife, and child in exchange for the completed works and through the advocacy of the Virgin Episkepsis. Similarly, in the collection’s very end, the composer uses the epilogue for praising Michael VIII, the founders and monks working on the foundation’s improvement.⁸⁰¹

The final page bears the founders’ portrait (fig. 3.40-3.41), visually expressing the idea of joint ktetorship of the spouses. On the basis of a drawing reproduced in the catalog of J. Pasini and a

Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis, pp. 319-362, and the publication with omission in MM, Vol. IV, pp. 330-430.

⁷⁹⁴ Barišić, “Diplomatar tesalijskih manastira,” pp. 69-103.

⁷⁹⁵ *PLP*, no. 21487.

⁷⁹⁶ *PLP*, no. 26894.

⁷⁹⁷ Consequently these groups in the edition MM, Vol. IV, pp. 330-341, 342-352; 353-383; 384-390; 391-429.

⁷⁹⁸ Τὸ προοίμιον, ὑπόθεσιν ἔχον τὸν σκοπὸν τῶν κτητόρων, ὃν προέθεντο εἰς τὸ συντάξαι τὴν βίβλον ἐπὶ ὠφελείᾳ καὶ συστάσει τῶν μονῶν πρὸς τὸ εἶναι βελτίω · ἐν ᾧ καὶ παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων κτητόρων βραχὺς ἔπαινος. (The prooimion has as topic the purposes of the ktetors, which they followed in the putting together of this book for the help and maintenance of the monastery that it would become better, which are also short lauds to these ktetors) - Pasini, *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis*, p. 320; De Gregorio, “Epigrammi e documenti,” p. 60.

⁷⁹⁹ De Gregorio, “Epigrammi e documenti,” pp. 78-79.

⁸⁰⁰ Pasini, *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis*, p. 335; De Gregorio, Giuseppe. “Epigrammi e documenti,” pp. 62-64;

⁸⁰¹ Εἶτα ὁ ἐπίλογος περιέχων, κατὰ τινα διαστήματα, τοῦ θεοστεφοῦς ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως ἐπαίνους· ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ τῶν κτητόρων τῶν μονῶν βραχέα τινά, ἐπαίνου χάριν... (Here is the epilogue including some praises to God-crowned, kind Emperor, written at some length. There is another short one about the ktetors of the monasteries in it, for the reason of grace...) Pasini, *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis*, pp. 322-323.

photograph belonging to the Collection of Gabriel Millet,⁸⁰² one may recover the miniature. It depicts Nicholas and Anna as a monk and a nun holding the model of the church together; they are inscribed with their monastic names and the titles of ktetor. St. John the Baptist blesses the couple above the image of the foundation. The choice of the holy patron, as well as the foundation was not occasional, it was the convent of Nea Petra, which they “erected from the grounds,” whereas they were only hereditary patrons for the monastery of the Virgin Oxeia Episkepsis. This portrait is placed after all the documents and the royal signature, being a symbol of the highest celestial authentication of the manuscript’s content and deeds of the founders.

All scholars dealing with the Codex noted its unusually luxurious aspect⁸⁰³ and characterized it as a “highly official copy executed perhaps by the imperial chancery.”⁸⁰⁴ The last supposition was confirmed by the poem-authentication⁸⁰⁵ composed on behalf of the *logothetes ton agelon*⁸⁰⁶ and stating directly that it was made “according to the clear order of the three-time ruler Michael named Angel Palaiologos” by the founder “gathering all the *chrysobulls*, *horismoi*, and patriarchal *ypomnemata* properly in one place.” This way, all these specific features suggest that the manuscript was not made for the monasteries’ needs, but rather for use by the monasteries’ founder Nicholas-Joseph Meliassenos or his son John. However, because the founder took the monastic vows in his foundation, the codex was probably kept in the chief monastery of Makrinitissa.

Nicholas and Anna were the main investors of both monasteries, as one may assume on the basis of the Cartulary containing the establishing, confirming, and endowing documents issued on behalf of the founding couple. They also were responsible for the commission of a group of marble sarcophagi found as *spolia* at the churches of Ano Volos, Makrinitissa, and Portareia.⁸⁰⁷ All the sarcophagi are adorned with reliefs bearing figures of animals, bicephalous eagles, and cross motives, and they are supplied with dodecasyllabic epigrams narrating about the deeds of the deceased. Anna’s tomb inscription is the simplest and contains her monastic (Anthousa) and lay (Anna Angelina Doukaina Maliasene) names.⁸⁰⁸ The epigram of Nicholas (Joseph/Neilos)⁸⁰⁹ represent Nicholas as splendid courtier and a monk at the same time, calling him “a sprung of Komnenoi and Doukai, glory of monks // Maliassenos, branch of the Bryennioi // Neilos, monk of noble birth // flowering tree in

⁸⁰² Pasini, *Codices manuscripti Bibliothecae Regii Taurinensis*, p. 362; Spatharakis, *The Portrait*, p. 189, fig. 141.

⁸⁰³ Barišić, “Diplomatar tesalijskih manastira,” p. 71; Magdalino, Paul. “Notes on the Last Years of John Palaiologos, Brother of Michael VIII,” *REB* 34 (1976): 144-145; De Gregorio, “Epigrammi e documenti,” p. 96.

⁸⁰⁴ Magdalino, Paul. “Notes on the Last Years of John Palaiologos, Brother of Michael VIII,” *REB* 34 (1976): 145.

⁸⁰⁵ MM, Vol. IV, pp. 359, 429-430; De Gregorio, “Epigrammi e documenti,” pp. 85-96.

⁸⁰⁶ *ODB*, p. 1247.

⁸⁰⁷ Pazaras, *Ανάγλυφες σαρκοφάγοι*, pp. 38-41, 68-70. Avraméa, Feissel, “Inscriptions de Thessalie,” pp. 377-379, nos. 19-20; Rhoby, Andreas. *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014): 280-289, nos. 81-83 and 339-340. no. 104.

⁸⁰⁸ Pazaras, *Ανάγλυφες σαρκοφάγοι*, pp. 38-40, nos. 45A-D; Avraméa, Feissel, “Inscriptions de Thessalie,” p. 377, no. 19.

⁸⁰⁹ Pazaras, *Ανάγλυφες σαρκοφάγοι*, pp. 40-41, no. 47; Rhoby, Andreas. *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014): 284-289, no. 83.

the palaces.” The poem also describes his activities as a ktetor, “the one who had built the church, shining with light // which reaches to the heavens and the most lovely // which is garlanded in many bright colors.” Two other plaques with epigrams referred, probably, to the death of other Maliassenoi family members receiving their burials in one of the family shrines. One of these epigrams glorified a deceased as “one who descended from the Komnenoi and named after grace (John?) and a sprung of the Doukai and venerable Palaiologoi.”⁸¹⁰

Nicholas-Neilos supplied the monastery with various movable religious objects. A marble icon of the Mother of God (fig. 3.42–3.43), commissioned on behalf of the Makrinitissa church, has the Platytera iconography and the figure of a monk laying in proskynesis in the lower part. This bas-relief image is framed with a metrical epigram in which Neilos, “falling down to the feet” of the Virgin, asks to “pull him from the fire and darkness” and to admit him “a lot of the celestial army”, as he commissioned the “icon in royal marble for the Empress.”⁸¹¹ The iconographic scheme of the image (Virgin Platytera with Christ in a medallion on her chest) as well as its material are associated with the Blachernitissa marble icon venerated in Constantinople. Simultaneously, the dedication of the Maliassenoi Monastery to the Virgin Oxeia Episkepsis echoes another image from the Blachernai complex called *Episkepsis*, which was especially worshipped by the emperors during their visits.⁸¹² It seems that the Monastery established by the Maliassenoi in Thessaly also had a purpose to imitate its Constantinopolitan royal prototype. The dedication of the Thessalian foundation was associated closely with the imperial icon, it bore a visual similarity with the Constantinopolitan images (the Platytera iconography) whereas the specially-underlined choice of material, i.e., “royal marble,” produced similar tactile effect as the Virgin of Blacherna. In a like manner, for the contemporaries, the dedication of the monastery to St. John the Baptist called *Nea Petra* evoked the association with the monastery of Petra in Constantinople, as well dedicated to St. John.⁸¹³

Taking all the above together, one may notice that the Maliassenoi followed the pattern of royal and aristocratic family shrines known from the Byzantine capital;⁸¹⁴ they constructed not one, but

⁸¹⁰ Rhoby, Andreas. *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein* Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014): 280–283, no. 81.

⁸¹¹ Rhoby, Andres. *Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010): no. 1k29, 96–97; Talbot, Alice-Mary. “Epigrams in Context: Metrical Inscriptions on Art and Architecture of the Palaiologan Era,” *DOP* 53 (1999): 81.

⁸¹² The Epithet of the Virgin Episkepsis was associated with the reliquary shrine of the maphorion of the Virgin (the Holy Soros) in Blachernai, which was a place of some imperial pilgrimages, see: *ODB*, pp. 2170–2171 (Virgin Blachernitissa); Belting, Hans. *Likeness and Presence. A History of the Image Before the Era of Art* (University of Chicago Press, 1994): 186, 510; Grumel, Venance. “Sur l’ Episkepsis des Blachernes”, *Échos d’ Orient* 29 (1930): 334–336.

⁸¹³ Janin, Raymond. *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l’Empire byzantin. Ière Partie, Le Siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat œcuménique. Vol. III : Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1969): 420–429; Malamut, “ Saint-Jean-Prodrome de Pétra”.

⁸¹⁴ Talbot, “The Byzantine Family and the Monastery”; Marinis, Vasileios. “Tombs and Burials in the Monastery tou Libos in Constantinople,” *DOP* 63 (2009): 149–156; However, D. Kyritses considers that there is no real expression of aristocratic alliances through the organization of burials and commemoration: Kyritses, *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, pp. 238–247.

two closely-situated and gender-specific monasteries. Following the Constantinopolitan fashion, they made every effort to underline their connections with royalty and the Byzantine capital. First of all, in all documents and epigrams, the long chains of their aristocratic surnames⁸¹⁵ are present, no matter whether they already took monastic vows or not. Secondly, the documents and epigrams specify the degree of kinship between every member of the Meliasenoi and the Emperor (Nicholas was the *gambros* of the emperor; Anna is named as the niece of the Emperor, and John as the *oikeios* of the Emperor). In addition, the reliefs commissioned for the tombs of the family explicitly employ the royal motive of bicephalous eagles. Even the dedications of the family monasteries (Virgin Episkepsis and St. John Nea Petra) and their artistic adornment reminded one about the Constantinopolitan shrines at Blachernai and Petra. In a way, the Maliassenoi strove to recreate the memory of the sacred topography of the capital on their domain in Thessaly.

On the other hand, the works of the three generations of the Maliassenoi show the meaning implied in the term ktetor, as all family members are invested with it: Constantine established the monastery; Nicholas supplied it with new territories, made another foundation, commissioned church utensils, and arranged the burials; Anna managed and supervised the establishment of Nea Petra, whereas John became an *ephoros* of both monasteries and supplied them with the imperial confirmation of their properties and, possibly, commissioned the luxurious manuscript. However, except for playing their part in the succession line of ktetorship, Nicholas and Anna also exercised the double ktetorship over the Nea Petra foundation, which is reflected in the votive portrait decorating the Cartulary and naming Anna as the ktetorissa.

To conclude the comparison between the ktetorial families belonging to two different strata of the Balkan society, I would like to underline their common features and differences. One family originates from the milieu of Serbian provincial nobility and it is headed by a local governor, *župan* (a much devaluated title by the 14th century).⁸¹⁶ The second comes from the Byzantine aristocratic circles related to the Emperor by kinship ties and it employs the patronage strategies, typical for the rich and influential houses. In both cases, one can observe the pattern of successive patronage employed over several generations and expressed in the transmission of the title of ktetor down to the heirs. However, the noble family uses the strategy of unification of all church patrons under the auspices of the eldest member of the family, whose priority is expressed both ways, visually (in the portrait) and textually (in the Memorial book). Meanwhile, the aristocratic family underlines the priority of the generation being in power presently and its connections with the royal family. In both cases, the ktetors voice their main goals as to achieve salvation through the pious gifts; however, the noblemen display a certain competition between generations, whereas the aristocrats barely mention

⁸¹⁵ On the tradition of augmenting aristocratic surnames, see: Kyritses, *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, pp. 230-238.

⁸¹⁶ Blagojević, Miloš. *Državna uprava u srpskim srednjovekovnim zemljama* (Belgrade: Službeni list, 1997): 56-57.

the participation of the first founder. The noblemen also seem more grounded locally and bound to the members of the monastic communities: the first hegoumenos was depicted with the ktetors equally and the dedicatory inscription addressed the members of the brotherhood. Oppositely, the aristocrats, even when building their monasteries in Thessaly, keep their ties with the capital, both symbolically and practically: they commissioned the Cartulary in the imperial chancellery, named the foundations in accordance with the sacral topography of Constantinople, and transferred the commissioned copy of the venerated Constantinopolitan image. Finally, in these two particular cases, women also had different roles. Anna Palaiologina took active part in the administration of the foundation along with her husband, acquired the title of ktetorissa and employed the strategy of double ktetorship. The female members of the *župan* family are not present in the votive portrait and dedicatory inscription, even though their names are inserted in the Memorial book.

3.4.2. Associated sponsorship (one main founder and several smaller sponsors)

Associated sponsorship differs from other foundation strategies in the measure of contributions made by participants. I propose to include under this term those sponsors who made some modest investments during the construction or decoration of a church. In the difference with the equal-ktetor group, these people added their funds to assist the main founder, who bore the greatest part of expenses on behalf of a foundation (the main ktetor). At first sight, economic scarcity seems to have been the main reason behind such actions; however, in many cases, sponsors endowed some foundations in addition to having their own monasteries. In this sense, the great monasteries of the Holy Mont enjoyed the highest popularity: during their entire history, multiple sponsors contributed to their development with donations of different size and importance.

Smaller sponsors appeared in many foundations of the Balkans, with a great geographic variation. Usually, they receive either small portraits next to a venerated saint or simply an inscription (the prayer of the slave of God...).⁸¹⁷ For example, in the church of Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou founded c. 1105 by Nikephoros Magistres (fig. 3.44),⁸¹⁸ the narthex was painted during in the 14th

⁸¹⁷ In more details the problem of depiction of minor sponsors will be regarded in the Chapter 4.1. of this dissertation. For such inscriptions, see: Gerola, Giuseppe. *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, Vol. 4 (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1932): 390-593, and Stylianos, Andreas and Judith. "Donors and dedicatory inscriptions, supplicants and supplications in the painted churches of Cyprus," *JÖB* 9 (1960): 97–128.

⁸¹⁸ Stylianos, Andreas and Judith. *The painted churches of Cyprus: Treasures of Byzantine art* (Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1997): 114-116; Weyl Carr, AnneMarie. "Murals of the Bema and the Naos: The Paintings of the Late Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in: *Asinou Across Time: Studies in the Architecture and Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, ed. A. Weyl Carr and A. Nicolaïdes (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2012): 291-298; Ševčenko, Nancy. "Metrical inscriptions in the murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa," in: *Asinou Across Time: Studies in the Architecture and Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, ed. A. Weyl Carr and A. Nicolaïdes (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2012): 77-80.

century with the help of 15 persons, depicted or only mentioned in votive inscriptions (fig. 3.45).⁸¹⁹ These people invested some funds or efforts (especially, because the majority of them are ecclesiastic persons) for the improvement of the foundation with the purpose of being eternally represented near their celestial patrons. One of the following chapters of this work will deal in more detail with this kind of images, but for now I would like to turn the attention only to the written sources.

It seems that these sponsors were not invested with the founder's rights and duties in their entirety. In the end of the 14th century, the nun Theodoule Tzouroulene "endowed and erected" the Church of our Holy Mistress and Theotokos "from her own expenses and with the *contributions of others*."⁸²⁰ However, the nun appeared on her own in front of the Synod for defending the property rights of the institution (against Kaballarios Kontostephanos). Later on, after she won the case, Theodoule alone got the rights of *ephoreia* (care) and *ktitoreia* (of founder) over this church.

In what the sponsors of great monasteries are concerned, their motives are quite different from simply economic. These people were interested in the establishment of the spiritual bounds with and commemorations at a venerable and famous institution. Demetrios Tzamlakon donated a quarter of his estate to Vatopedi, under the condition that the monks "will commemorate" him "in their prayers to God." On Sundays, in course of the *orthroi* during the minor *ekteneis*, monks should pronounce three times "God have mercy" for "his poor soul." Moreover, he expected that the brotherhood of Psychosostria Monastery (a metochion of Vatopedi in Constantinople) would conduct the proper commemorations above his future tomb, until God excuses him.⁸²¹ Even though – as one finds out from his testament – Demetrios Tzamlakon preferred to be buried in another monastery, that of Zoodochos, also a *metochion* of Vatopedi.⁸²² This way, the rich noblemen endowed three foundations altogether, with a purpose of commemoration, but he used only one of them for his burial. This case can help to understand the motivations of minor sponsors. Being interested in extensive memorial rites for his soul, the sponsor invested in a maximum number of ecclesiastic institutions. This strategy provides a greater number of frequent prayers for him and can improve his chances in the final salvation. However, in his choice, the sponsor targets a certain group of institutions showing, thus, his personal affiliation with them (Vatopedi and its *metochia*). These ties with certain groups of foundations could also be hereditary: several family generations could become the sponsors of the

⁸¹⁹ Stylianou, Andreas and Judith. *The painted churches of Cyprus*, 136-137; Id. "Donors and dedicatory inscriptions," 104-106.

⁸²⁰ ἀνεκτίσατό τε τοῦτον καὶ ἀνωκοδόμησε τὰ μὲν ἐξ οἰκείων ἐξόδων προσαναλώσασα τὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐτέρων προσερανισμένη - MM, Vol. II, p. 395, Darrouzes, *Les regestes*, Vol. VI, no. 3138.

⁸²¹ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, p. 294 no. 118,.

⁸²² Theocharides, Georgios. "Eine Vermächtnisurkunde des Gross-Stratopedarchen Demetrios Tzamlakon," in: *Polychronion. Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Wirth, P. (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1966): 490.

same institution. Thus, both father and son, George and Michael Astras Synadenoi, made their donations to Vatopedi between 1359 and 1366.⁸²³

Usually, the sponsors of Athonite monasteries required only one right, typical for the main founders, that is their commemoration. The commemoration demands are often described in donation documents and, occasionally, take a very detailed form. Except for the case of Demetrios Tzamlakon, the *epi tes trapezes* Stephan Radenos asked the monks of Vatopedi to “inscribe his name in the holy *brebion*,” and to commemorate him every week on the liturgy by bringing a “prosphora for his name for the redemption of his sins and the redemption of his soul.”⁸²⁴ Sebastes Peter Doukopoulos demanded from Iviron monastery to commemorate eternally all his family in exchange for the donation of a mill. His list included eight persons: him and his wife, their parents, Peter’s uncle and his daughter, who became a nun. Their names were to be inscribed in the diptychs and announced every day during the services. However, once a year, on the evening of January 15th and the morning of January 16th the family of the sponsor was to receive a proper commemoration with psalmodies, candles, *kolyba*, and distribution of food. He also underlined that, if he and his wife enter religion, their names should be corrected in the diptychs.⁸²⁵

Serbian political realities brought to life a very specific pattern of sponsorship, namely, minor contributors assisting to the royal foundations. They added some possessions (fields, villages, etc.) to the list of properties given by the king or tsar to the monastery established by him, motivating – in the Serbian charters’ wording – that the donations are “za dušu” (for their souls) or “za grob” (for the burial). In the Chrysobull issued for the establishment of the Monastery of the Holy Archangels (1349), Tsar Stefan Dušan included six additional donations, made by his noblemen, a noble lady, and a monk. Thus, the *kesar* Grgur gave an usurer Dabiživ providing 18 foxes annually; the monk Gregory gave the church of St. Peter in the village of Koriša with vineyards; the *župan* Radoslav provided the village of Klčevište with a church, a hamlet, vineyards, and gardens; the noblemen Nikola Utoličić with his mother donated the hereditary village of Ljubočevo with a church, a hamlet, a garden, and a mill, under condition of *donatio cause mortis*; Radenko and his mother transferred the Church of the Holy Archangels at Veles, with inhabitants, vineyards, and mills; and mother of Bratoslaj gave the village of Pločica for the burial of her son.⁸²⁶ Obviously, except for the pious reasons, some of these people had another idea motivating their gifts. They could elevate their status

⁸²³ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, pp. 322-325, no. 125.

⁸²⁴ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, p. 329, no. 126.

⁸²⁵ *Actes de Iviron*, Vol. III, pp. 128-129, no. 66.

⁸²⁶ *Svetoarhandelovska hrisovulja*, pp. 91 (l. 220-222, 240-243), 98 (l. 495-501, 509-524), 109 (l. 966-969), 110 (l. 1008-1010).

by the association with the royal patron and could receive his benevolence on account of their donations transferred to his private monastery and mausoleum.

On the basis of the discussed examples, one can preliminarily assume that the donations of minor sponsors were caused by a great variety of reasons. Poor economic circumstances also could make people to choose donations over their private foundations as a less costly way of expressing their piety. In addition, sponsors of multiple foundations could be motivated by their desire to accumulate spiritual support from many monastic institutions. The Serbian examples vividly demonstrate that making donations to a foundation established by a ruler could bring an honorary burial place and, possibly, the benevolence of his sovereign to a nobleman.

3.4.3. Joint ktetorship exercised by founders of equal social status

The association of several ktetors having equal social status was analyzed by S. Kalopissi-Verti on the basis of the material of the late-Byzantine provinces of Laconia, Crete, and Macedonia.⁸²⁷ However, all the regarded examples belonged to the village and town milieu, or to the provincial nobility of the early-Ottoman period. Subsequently, the scholar's conclusions concerning "the modesty of the economic resources" and "peasantry collectivism" can't be regarded as the only moving force behind the efforts of collective foundation. The so-called community foundations were quite similar with those made by families, especially because rural communities often consisted of distant relatives. The main difference between the two proposed models is the number of households. I consider donations made by one oikos as belonging to the type of family donations, whereas several households participated in the communal donations, being often guided by the participating priests.

In some situations, family and communal foundations are almost inseparable. At one instance, a family member demanded his ktetorial rights, because the church was to be passed to distant relatives. On demand of his cousin Anna Aspietissa, Manuel Taronites gave a piece of land to a church owned by her.⁸²⁸ The land was intended for building a chapel and housing an icon. After Anna's death, her spiritual daughter, another Anna, received the church, and then Manuel Taronites brought the case to court. He demanded either to alienate the land or to assign him the status of ktetor. Ruth Macrides is inclined to explain Manuel's sudden change of mind by a distant degree of kinship between him and the second Anna.⁸²⁹

⁸²⁷ Kalopissi-Verti, "Collective Patterns of Patronage"; Kalopissi-Verti, "Church Foundations by Entire Villages".

⁸²⁸ Macrides, "The Transmission of Property," p. 187.

⁸²⁹ MM, Vol. II, pp. 404-405, Darrouzes, *Les registres*, Vol. VI, no. 3142.

In 1321, a group of several villagers donated the church of Archangel Michael⁸³⁰ in the village of Palaion Pegadion to the Monastery of Zographou.⁸³¹ The donation deed mentions only three persons under the title of founder: Peter Tzernes, the initiator of the benefaction and main builder, his wife Rhoedo, the “ktitorissa,” and the priest Constantine, who undersigned the deed. For endowing his small foundation, Peter Tzernes bought several properties (gardens, fields, etc.) from his neighbors; however, some of these neighbours (Nicholas Kryoneres and Michael Karbounas) seized the opportunity and adjusted their own smaller endowments (a field and vineyard) to Peter’s donation, in order to commemorate their deceased relatives.

As one can see, the associated foundation or donation allowed the participants to contribute even with small portions of property, which otherwise would be too insignificant. What matters here is the presence of the initiator or main ktetor, whose status is acknowledged even by the villagers themselves. Their charters referred to the donated properties as situated in relation to those of the ktetors (“a garden close to the well of the ktetor”).⁸³² Probably, in this case, the main reason behind the association of smaller donors was economic, but one should not overlook other motives completely. Community feeling and neighbourship could also prompt the desire to join to the pious act performed by an acquaintance.

Spiritual bounds can bring another reason for the joint ktetorship. In 1409/10, three monks went to a deserted shore of Migale Prespa Lake and constructed a church dedicated to the Theotokos Eleousa.⁸³³ As they state in the dedicatory inscription, the church was “built and painted through the toils and expenses of the most venerable among hieromonks kyr Sabbas, and Jakobos, and Barlaam, the ktetors, while Bloukasinos (Vukašin) was a ruler.” Two of these three ktetors are depicted in the votive composition, which is placed on the southern wall (fig. 3.50). Two monks stand on both sides of the enthroned Virgin; only one of them, i.e., the hieromonk Sabbas, labeled with the respectable “kyr” epithet, holds the model of the church. This way, the ktetors’ association appeared due to their co-habitation in the desert and involvement in the same small monastic community or spiritual family.

Finally, the political and social alliances (friendship) could motivate the members of the higher class to participate in joint foundation act. Thus, two aristocratic families from Northern Macedonia united their forces to renovate the Virgin’s church in the village of Kučevište (1332-1337).⁸³⁴ The dedicatory inscription (greatly damaged in the end) mentions a group of three founders (*ktitoritsa*

⁸³⁰ *Documents of Zographou*, pp. 269 – 276, no. 25 (esp. 272-274 for the texts of three donation deeds) .

⁸³¹ Pavlikyanov, Kiril [Павликянов, Кирил]. *История на българския светогорски манастир Зограф от 980 до 1804 г.* (Sofia: Sofijski Universitet Kliment Ohridski, 2005): 42.

⁸³² τ(ὸν) κή(πον) μου πλη(σίον) τὸ πυγά(δι) κ(αὶ) τ(οῦ) κτή(τωρος), see: *Documents of Zographou*, p. 274.

⁸³³ Pelekanides, Stylianos [Πελεκανίδης, Στυλιανός]. *Βυζαντινά και μεταβυζαντινά μνημεία της Πρέσπας* (Thessaloniki: Etaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, 1960): 125-126; Paissidou, “The hermitage of Panagia Eleousa,” esp. pp. 310-311; Bogevska-Capuno, *Les églises rupestres*, pp. 487-540 (esp. pp. 493-495).

⁸³⁴ Đorđević, Ivan. “Slikarstvo XIV veka u crkvi Svetog Spasa u selu Kučevištu,” *ZLU* 17 (1981): 77-110.

Marena, Radoslav, and Vladislava), whereas the murals display two groups of founders (fig. 3.46-3.49), *voivod* Dejan and *voivodica* Vladislava on the southern wall, and Marena, Vladislava and Radoslav, on the northern one. According to the reconstruction proposed by Z. Rasolkoska-Nikolovska,⁸³⁵ Marena and Vladislava hold together the model of the foundation, expressing thus their joint patronage, whereas young Radoslav followed them as their future heir. However, the depiction of Vladislava with her husband on the southern wall has an additional political meaning: being a feudal family changing sides after the Serbian-Bulgarian conflict,⁸³⁶ the Bulgarian *voivod* showed his loyalty by making an alliance with the local Serbian nobility, and by arranging a common act of piety.

For Constantinopolitan aristocracy, politics went hand in hand with friendship, and political allies could share similar tastes in ecclesiastic art and the practice of joint patronage. In Chora monastery, renovated by the high-rank courtier Theodore Metochites, the southern *parekklesion* is occupied by several burials. One of them (the so-called tomb A) belonged probably to the main founder, whereas others to his relatives and associates. Subsequently, tomb D bears the portraits of *megas kontostaulos* Michael (Makarios) Tornikes⁸³⁷ and his wife, Eugenia (fig. 3.51), as laymen and monks.⁸³⁸ Both Tornikes and Metochites were the supporters of Andronikos II and his grand courtiers. Possibly, Tornikes participated in the renovation of the monastery in a certain way and, therefore, received the right to establish his tomb there. An epigram denoting his tomb starts with the words: "However, many dead celebrities one may collect here" and, indeed, judging by the preserved monuments, one can consider the *parekklesion* of Chora to be the chapel of celebrities, who demonstrated their unity and elitism even being in the teeth of death.

In Serbian milieu, a tradition of successive royal ktetorship was associated a legal succession in power. Namely, on the walls of the *katholika* of royal monasteries, Serbian kings tended to commission their portraits together with the image of their predecessor who were the first ktetors of the same foundations.⁸³⁹ These images sometimes extended to more than one generation,⁸⁴⁰ but in many cases (Monasteries of Žiča, Dečani, Sveti Arhanđeli in Prilep, Bogorodica Ljeviška Church in Prizren (fig. 3.52-3.53), and Markov manastir) the addition of the image of second sovereign witnessed about his hereditary rights, as a ruler as well as a ktetor of a certain church. This way, actual

⁸³⁵ Rasolkoska-Nikolovska, Zagorka. "O ktitorskim portretima u crkvi Svete Bogorodice u Kučevištu," *Zograf* 16 (1985): 49-50; Kambourova, "Le don de l'église," pp. 222-223.

⁸³⁶ Gerov, Kirin, "New Data on the Church of Sveti Nikola in Kalotina."

⁸³⁷ *PLP*, no. 29132.

⁸³⁸ Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, Vol. I, pp. 272-276 and Vol. IV, pp. 534-536.

⁸³⁹ Mandić, Svetislav. "Dvojno ktitorstvo," in: Idem, *Drevnik. Zapisi konzervatora* (Belgrade: Slovo Ljubve, 1975): 146-154; Vojvodić, "Personalni sastav slike vlasti," p. 416.

⁸⁴⁰ Vojvodić, Dragan. "Od horizontalne ka vertikalnoj genealoškoj slici Nemanjća," *ZRVI* 44 (2007): 295-311.

successive patronage was represented as an act of joint ktetorship, though the depicted rulers belonged to different epochs.

This pattern of collaboration (joint ktetorship exercised by founders of equal social status) seems to be the most diverse in motives and reasons driving founders and sponsor to cooperate. It includes simple adaptation strategies in the conditions economic scarcity as well as spiritual bonds, friendship, sense of community, and political alliances. Often, within such groups, some founders took positions of leaders and invested more than their fellows, but, in the difference with the previous group (one main founder and several smaller sponsors), all joint ktetors continued to exercise their rights and duties in relation to the established church institutions.

3.4.4. Associated sponsorship (aristocratic founder and royal sponsor)

In Byzantium and the Balkan Slavic states, one can encounter several examples of collaboration between royal authorities and their subjects, in order to construct or to endow an ecclesiastic institution. Examples related to this pattern are quite rare and appear only between the rulers and high aristocrats or church authorities. Because I have partially regarded similar cases in the previous subchapter, I bring here only a couple of examples reflecting the dynamics of the analyzed relations.

One of the most overlooked examples of associated royal sponsorship is the famous monastery of Chora in Constantinople.⁸⁴¹ As Theodore Metochites⁸⁴² wrote in his First poem, the emperor (Andronikos II) “desired to raise it up and restore it... and he urged me on to this work with force.”⁸⁴³ In other words, the emperor himself was the initiator of the ktetorial act, but, neither in the poem, nor in Chora mosaics, Andronikos II received the official title of founder. Indeed, in his poem, Metochites underlines his own immense role in the erecting, furnishing and supplying of the monastery with “very fruitful arable land bearing bread in many villages,” flocks of cattle, vineyards, silver and gold, church furniture, icons, vestments, and books of different kinds.⁸⁴⁴ He boasts with his great achievements in the erection and adornment of the church with mosaics in the name of Christ and the Virgin.⁸⁴⁵ Compositionally, the emperor’s role is diminished throughout the poems. Among thousands of lines devoted to the self-promotion and description of his own toils, Metochites mentions the emperor only in a couple of lines as the one who “endowed the monastery with great revenues from lands, most of them near-by but others more distant, ample reserves secure for all ages...

⁸⁴¹ I am very grateful to Prof. Dr. Jeffrey Michael Featherstone for bringing this example to my attention.

⁸⁴² *PLP*, no. 17982.

⁸⁴³ Treu, “Dichtungen des Gross-Logotheten Theodoros Metochites,” p. 28; translation given from: Featherstone, “Metochites’s Poems,” p. 223.

⁸⁴⁴ Treu, “Dichtungen des Gross-Logotheten Theodoros Metochites,” pp. 29-35; Featherstone, “Metochites’s Poems,” pp. 224-227.

⁸⁴⁵ Treu, “Dichtungen des Gross-Logotheten Theodoros Metochites,” pp. 47-49; Featherstone, “Metochites’s Poems,” pp. 230-231.

confirming and donating everything in solemn and irreversible wise.”⁸⁴⁶ In what the visual aspect of church decoration is concerned, the well-known composition above the entrance to the naos leaves no doubts that Theodore Metochites wanted to represent himself as the only founder. Kneeling with the model of the foundation in front of Christ (fig. 3.54), he bears the inscription announcing his high office and status: “the ktetor and logothetes of the treasury Theodore Metochites.”⁸⁴⁷ His monograms appear all over the foundation.⁸⁴⁸ Even though he left some reminders about the earlier founders of the monastery (Isaak Komnenos⁸⁴⁹ and nun Melanie⁸⁵⁰ are kneeling next to the figures of the Virgin and Christ in the inner narthex (fig. 3.55)), their portraits seem lost and unnoticeable in the luxury of Metochites’ design, similarly to the meagreness of lines dedicated to the role of the emperor in the poems.

Nevertheless, due to the imperial patronage,⁸⁵¹ Chora monastery obtained the status of imperial foundation. Probably, the *despotes* Demetrios Palaiologos, the younger son of the imperial benefactor (Andronikos II), received his tomb in the southern *parekklesion* on the basis of his father’s right of founder.⁸⁵² However, the *logothetes* of the treasury tries to persuade his readers and the visitors of Chora of his sole merits of the foundation.

Essentially, two forms of acknowledgement of royal contribution existed in the Serbian space. On the one hand, an aristocrat could represent or, at least, mention his ruler as a source of authority distributing power to the members of his administration, a guarantor of legal transmission of titles and properties, and a donor of lands and possessions. On the other hand, a ruler could be immediately involved in the construction or endowment of a foundation. The first case includes several variants of relations between Serbian noblemen and their ruler (especially, from the period of Tsar Dušan’s reign),⁸⁵³ but in all these situations the depiction or inscription of royal authority has ceremonial and

⁸⁴⁶ Treu, “Dichtungen des Gross-Logotheten Theodoros Metochites,” p. 35; Featherstone, “Metochites’s Poems,” pp. 227-228.

⁸⁴⁷ For Theodore Metochites’ portrait, see: Ševčenko, Nancy Patterson. “The Portrait of Theodore Metochites at Chora,” in: *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantine*, eds. J.-M. Spieser and E. Yota (Paris: 2012): 189–205.

⁸⁴⁸ Ousterhaut, Robert. *The Art of the Kariye Camii* (London-Istanbul: Scala, 2002): 12-14.

⁸⁴⁹ Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, Vvol. I, pp. 11-13.

⁸⁵⁰ Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, Vol. I, pp. 46-47; Underwood, Paul. “The Deisis Mosaic in the Kahrie Cami at Istanbul,” in: *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A.M.Friend*, ed. K. Weitzmann (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1955): 254-260.

⁸⁵¹ Ousterhout, Robert. *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks research Library, 1982): 34; the author suggested that Theodore Metochites was the “first non-imperial ktetor of vasilike mone” and explains this fact by the high position of the founder and his kinship with the imperial family.

⁸⁵² Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, Vol. I, p. 298.

⁸⁵³ This complex of ideas was analyzed by T. Papamastorakis (Papamastorakis, Titos [Παπαμαστοράκης, Τίτος]. “Εικαστικές εκφάνσεις της πολιτικής ιδεολογίας του Στέφανου Dusan σε μνημεία της εποχής του και τα βυζαντινά πρότυπα τους,” in: *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία κατά τον ΙΔ΄ αιώνα / Byzantium and Serbia in the 14th century*, eds. E. Papadopoulou, D. Dialeti (Athens: Instituto Byzantinon Ereunon, 1996): 140-157 (esp. p. 147)), who came to the conclusion of the emergence during the rule of Emperor Dušan of two types of relations of Serbian nobility with the highest authority: one group, those who were promoted to power by the emperor himself and received lands in the newly-acquired southern territories, perceived the Emperor as a supreme authority heading the hierarchy of power, whereas another group from Northern Serbia, represented by members of old nobility, commissioned monuments where the Emperor appeared as the first among equals.

political character rather than describes real economic investments. The second group of royal-noble collaboration comprises cases of the ruler's immediate participation in the foundation's establishment. Such occurrences took place in the times of the Serbian Despotovina (1389-1459) and were regarded in detail by B. Cvetković and T. Starodubcev.⁸⁵⁴

A good illustration for the first model is the monastery of Archangel Michael at Lesnovo (fig. 3.56). It was founded by Jovan Oliver, Serbian *voievod* and, later, *despot*; however, the actions of Tsar Dušan helped to elevate its status (Lesnovo became a bishopric) and to endow it with truly vast land properties.⁸⁵⁵ These relations between the despot-ktetor and investor and the emperor confirming the endowments or granting new ones are expressed in the iconographic program of the narthex frescoes.⁸⁵⁶ In hierarchical manner, the family of Stefan Dušan occupies the upper register, whereas the family of the ktetor stays directly under the royal figures, conveying visually the idea of supremacy and distribution of power.

A possible explanation for the demonstration of this hierarchy on the walls of ecclesiastic institutions, as well as for the mandatory presence of the ruler's portrait or name in almost all aristocratic foundations of the epoch⁸⁵⁷ can be found in Dušan's legislation. Article 25 of his Law Code reads "Only lord Tsar, and the Patriarch, and *logothetes* own churches, and nobody else,"⁸⁵⁸ which essentially means that only the Ruler and the Patriarch – through the assistance of the head of Chancellery – can make decisions about the foundation, transfer, and endowment of ecclesiastic institutions.

This way, the collaboration between the royalty and the aristocracy for the purpose of ktetorship can balance the strict hierarchy of powers in favour of true collaboration. It can also develop either in favour of a courtier or, oppositely, grant extra privileges to a ruler. However, whatever forms this collaboration took, it allowed to ensure ties between royalties and their immediate surroundings,

⁸⁵⁴ The initial study concerning this topic was undertaken by Babić, Gordana. "Društveni položaj ktitora u Despotovini," in: *Moravska škola i njeno doba*, ed. V. Đurić (Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet, 1972): 143-153. The main difference in the positions of B. Cvetković and T. Starodubcev lies in the problem of social strata collaborating with the ruler. Whereas T. Starodubcev's more traditional point of view considers that it was church authorities who attracted the assistance of the ruler, the comparative point of view of C. Cvetković suggests that the nobility also collaborated directly with rulers for establishing ecclesiastic foundations: Cvetković, Branislav. "The Portraits in Lapušnja and Iconography of Joint Ktetorship," *Niš and Byzantium* 11 (2013): 295-308; Id. "Rudenice i Kalenić: „dvojna," grupna ili sukcesivna ktitoria?," *Saopštenja* 41 (2009): 79-98 and Starodubcev, Tatjana A. "Zadužbinarstvo i ktitori u Srbiji u doba Lazarevića," *Saopštenja* 42 (2010): 39-60; Starodubcev, Tatjana. *Srpsko zidno slikarstvo u zemljama Lazarevića i Brankovića* (Belgrade: University of Belgrade, 2016): vol. I, pp.55-123.

⁸⁵⁵ Gabelić, *Manastir Lesnovo*, pp. 27-37.

⁸⁵⁶ Gabelić, *Manastir Lesnovo*, pp. 155-156; Papamastorakis, Titos [Παπαμαστοράκης, Τίτος]. "Εικαστικές εκφάνσεις της πολιτικής ιδεολογίας του Στέφανου Δουσάν σε μνημεία της εποχής του και τα βυζαντινά πρότυπα τους," in: *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία κατά τον ΙΔ' αιώνα / Byzantium and Serbia in the 14th century*, eds. E. Papadopoulou, D. Dialeti (Athens: Instituto Byzantinon Ereunon, 1996): 145-146

⁸⁵⁷ Out of the 32 preserved Serbian aristocratic foundations, 26 have the ruler's portrait or his name in the dedicatory inscription; in those remaining 6, the painting and inscriptions are damaged – information given according to the catalogue in Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, pp. 131-181.

⁸⁵⁸ *Dušanov Zakonik*, ed. Đ. Bubalo (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010): 80, article 25.

bound them by common activities, religious and burial rites, and allowed them to display the dynamics of power by means of pious propaganda, in visual as well as in written form.

3.5. Conclusions

As the conducted research proves, during the period from the 13th to the 15th century the term “ktetor” was applied to a broad range of patronage practices, such as the initial foundation of an institution, the endowment it with lands and other properties, the donation of various gifts such as art objects, cash, books etc. as well as the reconstruction, rebuilding or repainting of a church or monastic premises. This title was awarded to various categories of benefactors who committed efforts on behalf of a church and made considerable donations.

As the diplomatic and epigraphic material proves, the Byzantines and Balkans Slavs didn't differentiate between the initial founder and second and/or secondary founders of various types. The rights of both categories were quite similar, but they could slightly vary depending on the circumstances. The status of ktetor could be transferred or shared in several ways: through hereditary lines; because of the ties of respect, apprenticeship, or friendship; for the political benefits received by foundations; due to a shortage of funds; by the appointment of a Patriarch etc. In this new paradigm, *ktetoria* became the denomination of financial sponsorship, patronage, protection, but also preserved its initial meaning of (re)foundation, (re)construction and (re)building.

The regarded case studies confirm my point of view on the *ktetoria* as a group effort being undertaken by several persons in association as well as consecutively, with the passage of time. These sponsors had numerous motives for participation in such joint establishments (the most common of them being family relations, spiritual bounds, economic conditions and political alliances), but the most certain outcome of their investments was the acquisition of commemorations and the performance of religious rites on their behalf. And from this point of view, the difference between the establishment of a foundation, its restoration and making a donation was rather a gradual scale of benefactions, than acts of different legal nature. Undoubtedly, in such groups one or several persons were the initiators and/or leaders of the undertaken patronage deed. Usually, the position and role of these leading persons were underlined and emphasised specifically, by the means of iconography (figures holding the model of the church),⁸⁵⁹ rhetoric (the persons whose names stay first in dedicatory inscriptions) and legal disposition of a deed (the persons whose names appears in the beginning of a donation contract or in the first contract in a donation file). Judging on the information preserved in some donation acts like that of Peter Tzernes to Zographou (1321), the leading ktetors invested the

⁸⁵⁹ Marinković, Čedomila. “Ktitor sa crkvom kao likovna predstava ktitorskog prava,” in: *Srednjovekovno pravo u Srbia u ogledalu istorijskih izvora*, eds. S. Ćirković, K. Čavoški, (Belgrade: SANU, 2009): 321-336.

greatest sums or made the most important property donations. As the result, the main ktetor or ktetors got the most prominent ceremonial rights from foundations under the patronage. Similarly, the initiators of the establishment of a foundation (first ktetors) could invest more than their successors and receive more important statutory right (regulations of a Typikon, appointment of a hegoumenos), however, this was not always a rule. As the case of the Maliasenoi family proves, the person making the greatest investments could be the successive second ktetor as well, and in such cases his rights could be equal or even greater than that of the first ktetor.

Whatever the combination of the main ktetor(s) and simultaneous or successive sponsors was, the ktetorial rights were distributed between them, equally or in different shares. And, therefore, these rights, so clearly seen in legal studies, were de facto a group of privileges given by ecclesiastic institution to benefactors in various measures and in different degrees, depending on the measure of their investment and the importance of their social status.

4. Founders or Donors? Portraits of Supplicants and Children and the problems of the inheritance in Byzantium, Serbian and Bulgaria

Byzantine donor portrait is a theme which over-studied and understudied simultaneously. On the one hand, the bibliography on the topic is immense and diverse, and its overview can be itself a theme for an independent dissertation. Some of the authors working on the Byzantine portraits concentrate on specific regions,⁸⁶⁰ media,⁸⁶¹ images' functions,⁸⁶² or chronological periods.⁸⁶³ Others tend to focus on more theoretical aspects of donors' depictions⁸⁶⁴ or individual monuments. However,

⁸⁶⁰ Stylianou, Andreas and Judith. "Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions, Supplicants and Supplications in the Painted Churches of Cyprus," *JÖB* 9 (1960): 97-128; Rodley, Lyn. *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Jolivet-Lévy, Catherine. *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce: le programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses abords* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1991); Radojčić, *Portreti srpskih vladara*; Tatić-Đurić, Mirjana. "L'iconographie de la donation dans l'ancien art serbe," in: *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, eds. M. Berza, E. Stănescu, Vol. III (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1975): 311-322; Vojvodić, Dragan. "Vladarski portreti srpskih despota," in: *Manastir Resava. Istorija i umetnost*, ed. V. Đurić (Despotovac: Narodna biblioteka, 1995): 65-98; Preobrazhensky, Alexandr [Преображенский, Александр]. *Ктиторские портреты средневековой Руси. XI - начало XVI века* (Moscow: Severnyj Palomnik, 2012); Bacci, Michele. "Images "votives" et portraits de donateurs au Levant au Moyen Âge Tardif," in: *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantine: Actes du colloque international de l'Université de Fribourg (13-15 mars 2008)*, eds. J.-M. Spieser and E. Yota (Paris: Desclée De Brouwer, 2012): 293-308.

⁸⁶¹ The most detailed study of manuscript donor portraits is Spatharakis, *The portrait*; See also: Belting, Hans. *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitäts Verlag, 1970). For the donors on the icons, see: Ševčenko, Nancy. "The Representation of Donors and Holy Figures on Four Byzantine Icons," *DChAE* 17 (1994): 157-164; Carr, Annemarie Weyl. "Donors in the Frames of Icons: Living in the Borders of Byzantine Art," *Gesta* 45 (2006): 189-198; Mouriki, Doula. "Portraits de donateurs et invocations sur les icônes du XIIIe siècle au Sinaï," *Études balkaniques* 2 (1995): 103-135.

⁸⁶² For example, funerary or imperial portraits. For the funerary portraits, see: Marsengill, Katherine. "Imperial and aristocratic funerary panel portraits in the middle and late Byzantine periods," in: *Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and its Decoration*, eds. M. Johnson, R. Ousterhout, A. Papalexandrou (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2012): 203-220; Semoglou, Athanasios. "Contribution à l'étude du portrait funéraire dans le monde byzantin (14e-16e siècle)," *Zograf* 24 (1995): 5-11; Weissbrod, *Hier Liegt Der Knecht Gottes*; Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead*; For the imperial portrait, see: Maguire, Henry. "Style and Ideology in Byzantine Imperial Art," *Gesta* 28/2 (1989): 217-231; Djurić, Vojislav. "L'art impérial serbe: marques du statut impérial et traits de prestige in: *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία κατά τον ΙΔ' αιώνα / Byzantium and Serbia in the 14th century*, eds. E. Papadopoulou, D. Dialeti (Athens: Instituto Byzantinon Ereunon, 1996): 23-56; Eastmond, Anthony. *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); Magdalino, Paul. "The emperor and his image," in: Id., *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993): 413-488; Vojvodić, Dragan. "Od horizontalne ka vertikalnoj genealoškoj slici Nemanjća," *ZRVI* 44 (2007): 295-311; Negrău, Elisabeta. "The ruler's portrait in Byzantine art a few observations regarding its functions," *European Journal of Science and Theology* 7/2 (2011): 63-75.

⁸⁶³ Panagiotidi, Maria. "Donor personality traits in 12th century painting: Some examples," in: *To Βυζάντιο ώριμο για αλλαγές: επιλογές, ευαισθησίες και τρόποι έκφρασης από τον ενδέκατο στον δέκατο πέμπτο αιώνα*, ed. Ch. Angelidi (Athens: Institutouto Byzantinon Ereunon, 2004): 145-166; Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia. "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: The Metropolitan Museum of Arts, 2006): 76-97; Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits*; Tomekovic-Reggiani, Svetlana. "Portraits et structures sociales au XIIe siècle: Un aspect du problème le portrait laïque," in: *Actes du XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Athens 1976*, Vol. II/B (Athens: Association Internationale des Études Byzantines, 1981): 823-836; Bakalova, Elka. "Ктиторските портрети на цар Иван Александър като израз на политическата и религиозната идеология на епохата," *Problemi na izkustvoto* 4 (1985): 45-57; Velmans, Tania. "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues," in: *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues, Venise 1968*, s. ed. (Venice: Institut hellénique d'études byzantines et post-byzantines, 1971): 91-148; Đurić, Vojislav. "Društvo, država i vladar u umetnosti u doba dinastije Lazarević-Branković," *ZLU* 26 (1990): 13-46; Babić, Gordana. "Društveni položaj ktitora u Despotovini," in: *Moravska škola i njeno doba*, ed. V. Đurić (Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet, 1972): 143-153.

⁸⁶⁴ Kambourova, Tania. "Ktitor: Le sens du Don des panneaux votifs dans le monde byzantin," *Byzantion* 78 (2008): 261-287; Dimitropoulou, Vassilaki. "Giving Gifts to God: Aspects of Patronage in Byzantine Art," in: *A Companion to*

among these numerous studies, there is just a few works regarding this phenomenon in its complexity, taking into consideration the historical circumstances, cult functions, and religious expression.

Undoubtedly, donor portraits bore multiple functions. They served as tools of imperial propaganda, helped to express political ambitions and to display the high social status, showed wealth and artistic taste of the commissioners, promoted the founders as exemplary members of the community, attested piety and generosity of the benefactors, etc. But all these functions are secondary in comparison with the main purpose of the Byzantine donor portrait: it represented the act of religious worship, veneration of the divinity with a gift or a prayer. This way, the ktetorial portraits were not created as artworks complying with certain aesthetical canons and fitting into the framework of artistic conventions, but rather, they were images being able to replace and to substitute the portrayed. In other words, whereas the portraits depict or, rather, imitate the prototype, being different in its essence, the images, as media, facilitate the presence of the prototype in the sacred space.⁸⁶⁵ In this sense, the Byzantine portrait did not simply reflect the patron's self, but it *was* the patron venerating the divinity, in eternity and in every historical moment; and the act of prayer could activate the prototype whenever a beholder gazed at the image. Thus, the ktetorial image conveyed the hope of achieving salvation through piety and ecclesiastic benefactions.

However, the majority of the above-referred studies concentrates on the main donors and their images, leaving aside various irregularities and questionable instances. Therefore, in this chapter I am going to investigate the portraits which do not fit into the established paradigm: a person who contributed to the construction, restoration or embellishment of an ecclesiastical foundation receives the title of ktetor and a set of rights including the portrait and the tomb. The Byzantine monuments provide a significant number of portraits depicting personages who were not the main founders and, because of various reasons, they couldn't contribute sufficiently to the budget of a foundation to acquire a set of the founders' rights. Despite this fact, these benefactors represented and their voices monumentalized as inscriptions. Consequently, I will focus here on two types of the 'misfit' ktetors: portraits of sponsors and images of children. I assume that conducting analysis of these 'irregularities' I can understand deeper the essence of the donor portrait, to introduce a selection of poorly-known monuments, and to reinterpret some well-studied cases.

Byzantium, ed. L. James (Chicester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010): 161–170; Ševčenko, Nancy. "Close Encounters: Contact between Holy Figures and the Faithful as Represented in Byzantine Works of Art," in: *Byzance et les images: cycle de conférences organisé au musée du Louvre par le Service culturel du 5 octobre au 7 décembre 1992*, eds. A. Guillou, J. Durand (Paris: La Documentation française, 1994): 257–285; Frances, Rico. *Donor Portraits in Byzantine Art: The Vicissitudes of Contact between Human and Divine* (Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

⁸⁶⁵ The fundamental distinction between the functioning of images and the artworks was made by H. Belting (Belting, Hans. *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (University of Chicago Press, 1994): esp. pp. 1-29). The image, as it was understood before the Renaissance, was essentially identical with the depicted person. Depicting the archetype, the image turns to be not a copy, but a substitute sharing with the archetype a number of common features.

4.1. Images and Inscriptions of Sponsors-Suplicants

The Byzantine laws in majority of cases refers to a *ktetor* as only the initial founder, whereas the literary sources, charters, and visual sources, regarded in the previous chapter, witness the foundations, made by a group of people, simultaneously or successively. These texts and inscriptions applied the term to indicate a person or a group of people participating into the establishment of a foundation, its commission, endowment and beautification.⁸⁶⁶ Indeed, the means for the construction and mural decoration of a foundation may come from budgets of several founders, and these acts of patronage were reflected in the arrangement of votive portraits of the church walls. According to the commands of the famous Justinian law, Basilica, a *ktetor* of a church can establish his tomb there or ornate it up to his taste,⁸⁶⁷ therefore, not one, but several patrons might receive the right for portrait and burial. Subsequently, the present subchapter addresses the status of these depicted individuals, and poses the question whether they can be considered church founders (κτήτορες, χορηγοί) or simply sponsors (δωρητές, αφιερώτριες).⁸⁶⁸

4.1.1. Kteters and Donors in Byzantine Law and Documents

According to Byzantine Law (i.e., the Justinian Code supplemented with later imperial *novella*, legal commentaries, and patriarchal decision),⁸⁶⁹ church founders acquired a set of practical and honorary duties and rights in relation to the institution they established (rights of burial, residence in case of poverty, occasional approval of clerical appointment or choice of first hegoumenos, entrance to their foundations for relatives, etc.).⁸⁷⁰ On the other hand, the gifts were considered voluntary donations, whose cost did not exceed a certain monetary limit (initially, 500 *solidi*); they were made

⁸⁶⁶ In addition to the discussion from the previous Chapters 3.2. and 3.3., see the application of the term *ktetor* to the commissioners of manuscripts: Krumbacher, “Κτήτωρ”. See also: Kalopissi-Verti, “Collective Patterns of Patronage”; Kalopissi-Verti, “Church foundations by entire villages.”

⁸⁶⁷ Δύναται ὁ κτίζων τάφον καὶ στήλην ἐπιθεῖναι ἢ ἕτερον ὃν βούλεται κόσμον – *Basilicorum libri LX*, ed. Karl Wilhelm Ernst Heimbach, Vol. V (Lipsiae: Barth, 1850): p. 225, §59.3.6,

⁸⁶⁸ For distinguishing between these two groups see: Etzeoglou, “Quelques remarques,” p. 518.

⁸⁶⁹ Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 54-58 (early legal framework of *ktetors*' rights) 228-238 (Theodore Balsamon's commentaries) and 253-263 (the Palaiologan legal initiatives), for the Matthew Blastares' Syntagma, see: Ralles&Potles, Vol. II, pp. 262-265, 267-271 and 276-277 (letter E, chapters 12, 16, 22). For Balsamon's commentaries, see: *PG* Vol. CXXXII, col. 1115; For reception of Matthew Blastares' Syntagma in South Slavic Law: Matija Vlastar. *Sintagma*, ed. T. Subotin-Golubović (Belgrade: 2013), pp. 200-201, 204-207, 210; Alexandrov, Victor. *The Slavic Destiny of the Syntagma of Matthew Blastares: Dissemination and Use of the Code from the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Century*. PhD Thesis, Central European University, 2002.

⁸⁷⁰ In more details about *ktetorikon dikaion*, see: Zhishman. *Das Stifterrecht*, esp. pp. 47-81, where the author discusses the rights and duties of *ktetors* during the 14th century; Herman, “Chiese private”; Thomas, John. “In Perpetuum. Social and Political Consequences of Byzantine Patrons' Aspirations for Permanence for their Foundations,” in: *Stiftungen in Christentum, Judentum und Islam vor der Moderne*, “Auf der Suche nach ihren Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschieden in religiösen Grundlagen, praktischen Zwecken und historischen Transformationen”, ed.M. Borgolte (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005): 123-135. For comparing Byzantine and Serbian law and practice of *ktetoria*, see: Troicki, “Ktitorsko pravo,” pp. 79-133.

by persons with legal capacity and structured as a mutual agreement, based on the model of sales law, which supposed some form of limited reciprocity.⁸⁷¹

Subsequently, the ktetor's obligation toward his/her ecclesiastic institution included the following: to finance the construction of church and/or monastery buildings; to equip the foundation with icons, books, and other objects; to legalize its status; to establish its administration; and to endow it with necessary possessions. A donor's obligations were established in accordance with a contract concluded between parties and varying from case to case. Accordingly, pious gifts and foundations of religious institutions seem to be two distinct practices differently shaped in terms of law. However, as it was demonstrated in the previous chapter, medieval Balkan reality knew many instances of granting a second ktetor's rights⁸⁷² to a monastic sponsor, distinguished by many or significant gifts.

Returning to already discussed example, a former grand *droungarios* Stephan (monk Symeon) became the second ktetor of Xenophon monastery on the grounds of the construction and agricultural works at the monastery and its surroundings, landed donations, and legal protection of the foundation.⁸⁷³ Under some imperial pressure, the Athonite Council decided to "entrust" the monastery and the "mastership over its property" to this generous donor.⁸⁷⁴ Similarly, a relative of the imperial family, *protobestiarios* and *protesebastos* Andronikos Angelos Palaiologos,⁸⁷⁵ whom Emperor Andronikos II considered his "nephew" (*anepsios*),⁸⁷⁶ received the founder's rights concerning the *ephoreia*⁸⁷⁷ (κτητορικὸν δίκαιον εἰς τὴν ἐφορεία) over the monastery of Philotheou through his intervention on behalf of the monastery for acquiring several properties, as well as the status of imperial monastery.⁸⁷⁸ As for Serbian cases, in 1348, after having visited the Holy Mount,⁸⁷⁹ *tsaritsa*

⁸⁷¹ Morris, Rosemary. "Reciprocal Gifts on Mount Athos," in: *The language of gift in early middle ages*, eds. W. Davies and P. Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010): 171-193; Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 76-83; Matović, Tamara. "Μετὰ θάνατον δῶρον u svetogorskim aktima," in: *ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΣ, Mélanges offerts à Mirjana Živojinović*, eds. B. Miljković and D. Dželebdžić, Vol. II (Belgrade: SANU, 2015): 427-441. For the concept of gift adopted by Serbian medieval Law, see: Šarkić, Srđan. "Poklon u srednjovekovnom srpskom pravu," *Istraživanja* 17 (2006): 7-15; Đurđević, Marko and Mirković Zoran. "Pravila o poklonu u srpskom srednjovekovnom pravu," *Anali Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu* 59 (2011): 68-89.

⁸⁷² Concerning the differences between the rights and treatment of the initial and second ktetors, see; Popović, Marko. "Les funerailles du Ktitor: Aspect archeologique," in: *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, 21-26 August 2006*, eds. E. Jeffreys, F. K. Haarer, J. Ryder, Vol. I (Aldershot, Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2006): 99-130.

⁸⁷³ Morris, "Symeon the Sanctified"; *Actes de Xénophon*, pp. 13-16, 59-75 (no. 1).

⁸⁷⁴ *Actes de Xénophon*, p. 71, no. 1, l. 55-57 and l. 198-201.

⁸⁷⁵ *PLP*, no. 21435. He was the governor of Berat fortress in Epirus. On his career, see: Guiland, Rodolphe. "Le protovestiaire," *REB* 2 (1944): 202-220 (esp. pp. 217-219); Guiland, Rodolphe. *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, Vol. I (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1967): 225-226; Pavlikianov, *The Medieval Aristocracy*, pp. 122-123. According to Demetrios Kyritses, the office of *protobestiarios* was often given to close relatives of the emperor (Kyritses, *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, p. 37). See also: Verpeaux, Jean. "Hiérarchie et préséances sous les Paléologues," *TM* 1(1965): 421-437.

⁸⁷⁶ *Actes de Philothée*, p. 18, no. 6.

⁸⁷⁷ Concerning *ephoreia* as administrative office for independent monasteries, see: Herman, "Ricerche sulle istituzioni," esp. pp. 335-339; Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 218-221; Papagianni, "Legal Institutions," esp. p. 1063.

⁸⁷⁸ Allison, "Founders and Refounders of Philotheou," esp. pp. 485-493).

⁸⁷⁹ Belyakova, Taisiya [Белякова, Тансия]. "Сербская царица Елена и Карейская келья св. Саввы: к интерпретации источников," *Славянский альманах* 2015/1-2 (2015): 13-24; Smolčić-Makuljević, Svetlana. "Žene priložnice

of Serbia Jelena, wife of Stefan Dušan, persuaded her husband to endow the Cell of St. Sabbas in Karyes with the village of Kosorići, 100 Venetian hyperpyra, and various donations in kind. For this intervention the royal lady received the position of second ktetor, confirmed by the hegoumenos of Hilandar Dorotej.⁸⁸⁰ This way, the great donors and benefactors of monastic establishments could acquire also rights, equal to those of the initial founders, which included, among others, commemorations, burials, and changes to typika.

On the other hand, practically all great monasteries received small- or even micro-size land donations.⁸⁸¹ In the difference with the great benefactors, these minor donors didn't acquire the majority of the ktetorial rights, but rather commemorations of various types and the supplications of the brotherhood. For example, in 1327, John, son of Sisinius, and his wife Kale, "thinking about this terrible day of judgment as being sinful, wanted to put partially in order [the things] concerning the salvation of souls in commemoration (μνημόσυνον) of our parents and of ourselves."⁸⁸² Consequently, they gave a quarter of a mill near Rebethiana for the salvation of their souls (ψυχικὴν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν). Yet, the couple, actually, received a small remuneration (τίμημα μικρὸν) of four *hyperpyra* from the *oikonomos* kyr Maxim. This way, the difference between the market price of the property and the received remuneration was the actual donation of John and Kale. Similarly, in 1303, in Hierissos, a brother and a sister handed a field of twelve *modioi* to Vatopedi, which constituted a part of their inheritance reserved by their father for the salvation of his soul. The choice of the monastery belonged to the children.⁸⁸³

Another attested strategy was to endow several monasteries with gifts in order to ensure continuous commemoration in several foundations. Such steps could be taken for various reasons, but the most probable ones seem the following. First of all, since many monasteries could fall into decay, especially during the 13th century,⁸⁸⁴ multiple investments gave a certainty that at least some of the endowed foundations would avoid default and continue to exist performing the

svetogorskih manastira u srednjem veku," in: *Deveta kazivanja o Svetoj Gori*, eds. A. Fotić, Z. Rakić (Belgrade: Prosveta, 2016): 184-186; Živojinović, Mirjana. "De nouveau sur le séjour de l'empereur Dušan à l'Athos," *ZRVI* 21 (1982): 119-126; Grujić, Radoslav. "Carica Jelena i ćelija sv. Save u Kareji," *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva* 14 (1935): pp. 43-57.

⁸⁸⁰ Initially, Jelena also had a right to appoint the hegoumenoi of the Cell, but the right was not mentioned in the later charters concerning the ktetoria over St. Sabbas' cell: Živojinović, Dragić. "Skopska hrisovulja"; Živojinović, Dragić. "Velika prilepska hrisovulja"; Mošin, Vladimir. "Akti bratskog sabora iz Hilandara," *Godišnik Skopskogo filozofskog fakulteta* 4 (1940): 193-194.

⁸⁸¹ Kravari, Vassiliki. "Les actes prives des Monasteres de l'Athos et l'unite du patrimoine familial," In: *Eherecht und Familiengut in Antike und Mittelalter* (Munchen: Oldenbourg, 1992): 77-88.

⁸⁸² ἐνθυμηθέντες τὴν φοβερὰν ἐκείνην ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως ὥς ὅτι ἀμαρτωλοὶ ὄντες, ἠθελήσαμεν τί μερικὸν διατάξασθαι περὶ ψυχικῆς σ(ωτη)ρίας, εἰς μνημόσυνον τῶν ἐμῶν γονέων καὶ ἡμῶν. – *Actes de Kutlumas*, pp. 66-67, no. 13.

⁸⁸³ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. I, pp. 216-218, no. 35.

⁸⁸⁴ Talbot, Alice-Mary. "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII," *DOP* 47 (1993): 243-261; Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia. "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: The Metropolitan Museum of Arts, 2006): 76-97.

commemorations. Secondly, as monasteries had different spiritual patrons, the offering of donations to several of them would provide the posthumous assistance of several holy persons. The donation strategy of Thessalonikian nobleman Demetrios Spartenos⁸⁸⁵ (d. 1265) is exemplary in this sense. The sons of the departed Demetrios (monk David) endowed Hilandar monastery with some possessions in the village of Lozikion, in accordance with their father's will to ensure commemoration of the donor, his parents, and the emperor (Michael VIII Palaiologos). So, the sons explained their gift in the following way:

When our ruler and father, mentioned above, was still alive, this most blessed deceased kyr David, taking much care about his salvation, he accomplished also many other good and god-pleasing things for various monasteries, inside and outside of this city of Thessaloniki, as everybody knows, and he intended to give a donation also to your above-mention monastery for the sake of the salvation of his soul and the commemoration.⁸⁸⁶

Among the Serbian cases, the *brebion* of the Virgin's Monastery in Htetovo offers some examples of small land gifts (usually, in size of one field). Being composed in 1343,⁸⁸⁷ it lists the fields and meadows received by the monastery from the local inhabitants. Many of them left the lands for the sake of their soul (ЗА ДОУШΟΥ), but some others made the gift because of being childless (КРЕ НЕМѢШЕ ПОРОДА) or following examples of their friends and relatives (Redir wanted to imitate the good deeds of Pardo and Teodor).

Moreover, during the Late Palaiologan time, on the periphery of the Empire and the Greek-inhabited islands, the practice of the establishment of the communal foundations appeared. Several families or an entire village participated with minor contributions in the building and endowing of a foundation.⁸⁸⁸ What were the rights and obligations of these minor sponsors one doesn't know precisely. Probably, they were commemorated and, sometimes, buried in these foundations or, most likely, on their premises.⁸⁸⁹ However, the occurrence of portraits of small-scale donors and commemorative inscriptions next to depictions of saints in the 13th to 15th century art may be connected with such communal church patronage.

⁸⁸⁵ *PLP*, no. 26495; *Actes de Chilandar*, Vol. I, no. 7, pp. 122-125.

⁸⁸⁶ ἔπει ζῶν ἔτι ὁ ῥηθεὶς αὐθ(έν)της καὶ π(α)τήρ ἡμῶν ὁ μακαρίτης ἐκεῖνος(ς) κύ(ρ) Δαυίδ, τῷ πολλῷ τ(ῆς) ἑαυτοῦ σ(ω)τηρί(ας) πόθῳ κινούμενος(ς), πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἐν διαφόρ(οις) τῶν ἐντὸς(ς) τῆ καὶ ἐκτὸς(ς) μονῶν τ(ῆς)δε τ(ῆς) πόλ(εως) ἀγαθὰ καὶ θεοφιλῆ διεπράξατο, ὡς ἴσασιν ἅπαντες(ς), ἔφθασει δὲ καὶ τῇ ὑπὸ σὲ εἰρημ(έ)νη ἁγία μονῇ δῶρον δωρήσασθαι ψυχικ(ῆς) ἔνεκα σ(ω)τηρίας ἐκείνου καὶ μνημοσ(ύ)νου, *Actes de Chilandar*, Vol. I, p. 125.

⁸⁸⁷ Slaveva, Lidia, ed. "Popis na imotite na htetovskiot manastir od 1343 godina," in: *Spomenici na srednovekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija*, Vol. III (Skopje: Institut za istraživanje na staroslovenskata kultura, 1980): 277-299.

⁸⁸⁸ For the Byzantine periphery, see: Kalopissi-Verti, "Collective Patterns of Patronage"; Eadem, "Church foundations". For Greek-inhabited islands, see: Stylianou, Andreas and Judith. "Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions, Supplicants and Supplications in the Painted Churches of Cyprus," *JÖB* 9 (1960): 107-109, no. 7 (the church of the Holy Cross at Pelendri); Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia. "The Murals of the Narthex: Late 13th and 14th Century," in: *Asinou Across Time: Studies in the Architecture and Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, ed. A. Weyl Carr and A. Nicolaïdes (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2012): 115-130 and 176-190 (Church of Panagia Phorbiotissa, Asinou).

⁸⁸⁹ Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, pp. 8-9, 66, 72-77, 105-108, 165-169.

4.1.2. The types of inscriptions next to the small votive portraits

Small-size images of donors or supplicatory inscriptions pleading for the commemoration and assistance in salvation appeared next to holy figures. These inscriptions, placed independently or accompanying portraits of lay- or churchmen, usually, were shaped in one of two following wordings:

1) They either pointed out to the act of the prayer (“The supplication of the servant of God.../“Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ.../ моление раба божіа) or,

2) asked for the commemoration of the supplicant (Remember, Lord (the soul) of your servant... / Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, (τὴν ψυχὴν) τοῦ δούλου σου.../ Помѣни Господи (душоу) раба).

The wording of the first type was, probably, is the simplest formula of a prayer, constructed on a Biblical example (Reg. III (I), 8:52). Addressed to the Lord or to a saint,⁸⁹⁰ it describes the commissioners’ supplicatory actions directly, and, by naming the action it re-enacts the performance of a prayer beyond the life of the depicted personage (ideally, in eternity). In other words, every time when such inscription was read, the donor’s supplication was performed.

The latter formula, too, was not merely an epigraphic *topos*, but a quotation from an *intercessio*⁸⁹¹ of the liturgy’s anaphora. More precisely, it was the wording used by the priest to commemorate people written in the Memorials, after the liturgical prayer on the transformation of bread and wine. Several examples of these commemorations are preserved in Byzantine (primarily, Athonite) liturgical scrolls,⁸⁹² dated from the 11th to the 15th century.⁸⁹³ In these scrolls, the names of commemorated persons could belong to laymen and even women (e.g., Lavra scroll no. 19 and Vatopedi scroll no. 19 mentioning “Joachim and Zenobia the monk and nun and their children”),⁸⁹⁴ and one may assume that the inscribed people were the donors and benefactors of these monasteries.

⁸⁹⁰ For example a certain Kontostephanos, who pleaded St. Maximos Kausokalybites for curing his headache, “do not neglect the prayer of your unworthy servant” (μὴ ἀπόσῃ δέησιν ἀναξίου δούλου σου) - Halkin, François, ed “Deux Vies de S. Maxime le Kausokalybe, ermite au Mount Athos,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 54 (1936): 52.

⁸⁹¹ Taft, Robert. “Prayer to or for the Saints? A Note on the Sanctoral Intercessions/Commemorations in the Anaphora,” in: *Ab Oriente et Occidente (Mt 8, 11): Kirche aus Ost und West: Gedankenschrift für Wilhelm Nyssen*, eds. M. Schneider and W. Berschin (St Ottilien: Eos Verlag, 1996): 439-455; Winkler, Gabriele. “Die Interzessionen der Chrysostomusanaphora in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung,” *OCP* 37 (1971): 333-383 (esp. pp. 363-366); Taft, Robert. *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. The Diptychs* (Rome: 1991).

⁸⁹² For the use of liturgical scrolls in the Later Byzantium, see: Gerstel, Sharon E. J. “Liturgical Scrolls in the Byzantine Sanctuary,” *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 35 (1994): 195-204.

⁸⁹³ For manuscripts preserving such expressions inside the liturgical commemoration, see: Dmitrievsky, *Описание литургических рукописей*, Vol. II: Ευχολόγια, pp. 268, 824, 960 etc.; Politis, Linos [Πολίτης, Λίνος]. “Κατάλογος λειτουργικών ειληταρίων της Ιεράς Μονής Βατοπεδίου,” *Makedonika* 4 (1960): pp. 403-408, nos. 1, 12, 19, 20; Chrysostomos mon. Lauriotis [Χρυσόστομος μον. Λαυριώτης]. “Κατάλογος λειτουργικών ειληταρίων της Ιεράς Μονής Μεγίστης Λαύρας,” *Makedonika* 4 (1960): 391-402, nos. 3, 9, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 26, 30, 31, 32, 47, 49.

⁸⁹⁴ Politis, Linos [Πολίτης, Λίνος]. “Κατάλογος λειτουργικών ειληταρίων της Ιεράς Μονής Βατοπεδίου,” *Makedonika* 4 (1960): 406-407; Chrysostomos mon. Lauriotis [Χρυσόστομος μον. Λαυριώτης]. “Κατάλογος λειτουργικών ειληταρίων της Ιεράς Μονής Μεγίστης Λαύρας,” *Makedonika* 4 (1960): 397.

This way, the supplicatory inscriptions interacted with the images they were attached to and became a part of rituals taking place in the spaces where these inscriptions appeared.

Undoubtedly, the present subchapter can't overview all existing examples of supplicatory inscriptions and small-scale portraits preserved at the late-medieval Orthodox monuments. Thus, choosing as case studies several examples from different regions of the Later Byzantine Commonwealth, I shall try to clarify the status of these people whose names appear in additional supplicatory inscriptions. Accordingly, one can distinguish three situations when such inscriptions and figures appear:

- they co-exist with the main votive images or inscriptions of founders;
- they are the only depictions of sponsors;
- there are several small images and epigraphs of supplicants coexisting in one foundation.

4.1.3. The founder and additional sponsors (clerics)

Often, small portraits and personal inscriptions co-existing with the main votive images or dedicatory inscriptions appeared, and the majority of examples belonging to this type appears when the main sponsors were laymen and the small-scale figures were priests or monks. One can assume that in such situations the founders passed a part of their administrative and managerial obligations concerning the ecclesiastic establishments to the clerics, which, in turn, provided the latter with certain rights, including the right for the portrait.

The church of the Virgin in Karan (1337-1342 or 1332-1337)⁸⁹⁵ was a family foundation having the character of mausoleum,⁸⁹⁶ built by *župan* Brajan. The founder is depicted with his wife Struja and four daughters in a procession heading toward the Virgin, on the northern wall of the naos (fig. 4.1). They are accompanied by inscription ("Lord God... your servant, noble first ktetor Peter, called *župan* Brajan with his spouse Struja and his children").⁸⁹⁷ However, there are three additional minor sponsors who participated in the foundation. In the lower part of the apse wall, a presbyter George Medoš accompanied by a servant kneels toward the altar table (fig. 4.2). The inscription around him is a Slavic translation of the typical Greek wording "Δέησις τοῦ δούλου" and it reads: "The supplication of the servant of God *presbyteros* George called Medoš."⁸⁹⁸

⁸⁹⁵ The dating depends on the interpretation of the boy's figure near the portrait of King Stefan Dušan. G. Babić ("Portret kraljevića Uroša u Beloј crkvi Karanskoј," *Zograf* 2 (1967): 17-19) considered it was the image of little Uroš, the king's son, and, therefore, dated it with 1340-1342, whereas Dragan Vojvodić turned the attention to the fact that the boy has no halo or suppendion, and suggested he can be an armor-bearer, which shifts the dating of the ensemble to 1332-1337 (Vojvodić, Dragan. "O živopisu Bele crkve karanske i suvremenom slikarstvu Raške," *Zograf* 31 (2006-2007): 135-151).

⁸⁹⁶ Cvetković- Tomašević, Gordana. "Bela crkva u Karanu – mauzolej župana Brajana. Arheološka iskopavanja u crkvi 1975. godine," *Saopštenja* 22-23 (1990-1991): 159-176.

⁸⁹⁷ Г(осподи)и б(о)же ... раба б[лаго]родив[огъ] ктитора првога петра а зовомъ жоупана браіана и съ подроужиемъ сі съ строуwmъ и съ чеди своими – see: Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, pp. 140-141.

⁸⁹⁸ моленіе раба бож(и)а прозвѣтера геургіа а зовомъ медошъ - Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, p. 141.

In the niche of the stone altarscreen, the Tricheirousa Virgin is worshipped by a kneeling nun,⁸⁹⁹ whereas a third suppliant (currently destroyed) was the hieromonk John. His image once occupied a place on the northern wall, near the image of St. Paul the Apostle (fig. 4.3). Only the inscription which accompanied once his depiction has survived: “The supplication of the servant of God John, hieromonk of the monas...”⁹⁰⁰

This way, one can definitely distinguish between the main donor, i.e., the *župan*, and other personages who, probably, made some contributions to this foundation – hence their right to be depicted. Moreover, all these minor donors are clerics (a priest, a hieromonk, and a nun). If priest George can be considered the spiritual guide of the Karan village community, the two others made probably their contributions at the point of becoming monk/ nun, and chose to be depicted in the company of a holy figure. Finally, the presence of these minor sponsors may explain the denomination “first ktetor,” used in the inscription of the *župan*: it points to his as the “main” and not the “initial” founder⁹⁰¹ in comparison with the other, secondary, sponsors.

Similarly to George Medoš, some clerics were depicted in the apsidal space of the Byzantine mural ensembles and, usually, they took on the proskynesis pose, too. In the Church of Panagia Mavriotissa, Kastoria (1259-1264?), certain Manuel, called “the constructor” of the church,⁹⁰² kneels near the throne of the Virgin in the conch of the apse (fig. 4.4). In the Church of the Savior at Rubik (1272), painted by Byzantine artists for the Latin commissioners, the Abbot Innocent (fig. 4.5) is placed next to the throne of Christ in the altar.⁹⁰³

In other cases, the presence of a portrait and a supplicatory inscription, as well as the proximity to the altar space can underline the importance of a certain patron (usually, a cleric) among others minor sponsors. This did not mandatorily mean that the patrons-clerics made large endowments, but they could be responsible for the construction and painting of the monuments. For instance, St. George Church in Troula (Crete) was founded in the 15th century with the participation of numerous donors,⁹⁰⁴ and the names of one hieromonk and seven families are recorded in the framed dedicatory inscription on the northern wall. On the western and southern walls, the additional patrons are listed

⁸⁹⁹ Mandić, Svetoslav. “Jedna ktitorica Bele crkve karanske,” *Starinar* 9-10 (1958–1959): 223–225; Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, p. 141.

⁹⁰⁰ мо[леніе] раба бож(и)а іувана ієромонаха мана... – Đorđević. *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, p. 142.

⁹⁰¹ The adjective “пръвъ,” may be understood as “the first” in the temporal (“the initial”) as well as in the hierarchical (“the main”) meaning, see: Tseytlin, Ralya, Blagova, Emilia, Vecherka, Radoslav [Цейтлин, Ралія, Благова, Емілія, Вечерка, Радослав] eds. *Старославянський словарь: по рукописам X-XI веков* (Moscow: Russkij Yazyk, 1994): 532.

⁹⁰² ιτος ιερο[μόναχος] [ἀ]γίας μον[ής] ...γίδας, ὁ ἀνοικοδομήσ[ας] // Μανου[ήλ?] – Drakopoulou, Η πόλη της Καστοριάς, p. 80.

⁹⁰³ Dharmo, Dhorka. “Piktura e vjetër murale e kishës së Rubikut dhe datimi i saj i ri,” *Studime Historike* 18/2 (1964): 87-96; Campobasso, Gianvito. “Alcune fonti per lo studio del Regnum Albaniae degli Angiò: documenti, epigrafi, araldica e visual evidences,” *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 128/2 (2016): <http://mefrm.revues.org/3291> (DOI: 10.4000/mefrm.3291)>

⁹⁰⁴ Gerola, Giuseppe. *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, Vol. IV (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1932): 441-443; Gerstel, Kalopissi-Verti, “The Agency of the Village Widow,” p. 206.

by names, at least seventeen families altogether. However, the only depicted donor is a certain Ioannikios, a monk kneeling near the church's templon. He bears an inscription of the "Supplication of the servant"-type (Δέησις τοῦ δουλοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰω(α)νηκίου μοναχοῦ), but his name doesn't appear in the other lists of donors.

The small Koimesis Church at Alikampos, a mountain village in Crete, was painted in 1315-1316. Here, several donors' families (at least five) were listed by name in the dedicatory inscription,⁹⁰⁵ which is greatly damaged nowadays. The main sponsors, Michael and his wife (fig. 4.6), whose names appear on the first place in the list of donors, are distinguished by a votive composition situated on the western wall.⁹⁰⁶ They hold the church model together alluding to the joint participation in the endowment. However, on the northern wall, under the legs of the horses ridden by holy warriors, a kneeling nun is depicted (fig. 4.7-4.8). This small figure bears a commemorative inscription ("Remember, Lord, the servant of God, Martha the nun")⁹⁰⁷ and addresses the enthroned Virgin with the Child. Due to the damaged condition of the main dedicatory inscription, one cannot be sure whether this nun was or not listed among the church sponsors. Possibly, Martha, similarly to those clerics depicted in the Karan church, could have made some small donation to the foundation for her to be represented this way.

The collaboration between a cleric and laymen can be found also in the urban space of Beroia (Byzantine Macedonia province). Here, the Anastasis Church was the *katholikon* of a small monastery (*monydrion*) within the town borders. The dedicatory inscription, placed above the entrance, informs that the church was erected by Xenos Psalidas for the "redemption of his many sins", and completed by his spouse, Euphrosyne, who commissioned the murals to George Kalliergis, "the best painter in all of Thessaly." Afterwards, the church was consecrated in 1315, under the rule of Andronikos II,⁹⁰⁸ by a Constantinopolitan patriarch.⁹⁰⁹ The murals, however, do not bear images of the spouses-

⁹⁰⁵ Gerola, Giuseppe. *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, Vol. IV (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1932): 430.

⁹⁰⁶ Spatharakis, Ioannis. *Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete* (Leiden: Alexandras Press, 2001): 48-49.

⁹⁰⁷ μνήσθητι κ(ύρι)ε τὴν ψυχ(ή)ν τῆς δούλης σου Μάρθας μον(α)χῆς, see: Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, pp. 68, 149.

⁹⁰⁸ Ξένος Ψαλιδάς ναὸν Θεοῦ ἐγείρει // ἄφεσιν ζητῶν τῶν πολλῶ[ν ἐγκλ]ημάτων // τῆς Ἀναστάσεως Χριστοῦ ὄνομα θέμενος // [Εὐ]φροσύνη σύνευνος τοῦτον ἐκπληρεῖ // ἱστοριογράφος ὄνομα [Καλιέργης] // τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ κοσμίους αὐταδέλφους μου // ὅλης Θετ<τ>αλίας ἄριστος ζωγράφος // πατριαρχικὴ χεὶρ καθιστᾷ τὸν ναὸν // [ἐπὶ] τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Ἀνδρονίκου // Κομνηνοῦ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου ἐν ἔ[τει] ς[ω]κγ'. – Pitsakis, Konstantinos [Πιτσάκης, Κωνστάντινος]. "Καὶ πάλι γιὰ τὴν κτητορικὴ ἐπιγραφή τοῦ Χριστοῦ Βεροίας," in: *Aureus. Τόμος αφιερωμένος στον καθηγητὴ Εὐάγγελο Κ. Χρυσό*, eds. T. Kolias, K. Pitsakis (Athens: Ethniko Idryma Ereunon, 2014); Translation: Xenos Psalidas builds a church of God Seeking redemption from his many sins Giving it the name of the Anastasis of Christ. His wife, Euphrosyne, completes this. The name of the painter is Kallierges, among my good and decent brothers, the best painter in all of Thessaly. A patriarchal hand consecrates the church in the reign of the great emperor Andronikos Komnenos Palaiologos, in the year 6823 (= 1314/15).- Gerstel, Sharon E.J. *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries: Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary* (Seattle: College Art Association, in association with University of Washington Press, 1999): 105. See also: Drpić, *Epigram, Art and Devotion*, pp. 72-74.

⁹⁰⁹ Probably, Niphon I, see: Pitsakis, Konstantinos [Πιτσάκης, Κωνστάντινος]. "Καὶ πάλι γιὰ τὴν κτητορικὴ ἐπιγραφή τοῦ Χριστοῦ Βεροίας," in: *Aureus. Τόμος αφιερωμένος στον καθηγητὴ Εὐάγγελο Κ. Χρυσό*, eds. T. Kolias, K. Pitsakis (Athens: Ethniko Idryma Ereunon, 2014): 676-677.

commissioners, which even made some scholars to suggest that they were not responsible for the decoration of the foundation.⁹¹⁰ Nevertheless, on the southern wall, next to the depictions of Sts Arsenios and Anthony, one finds a kneeling monk (fig. 4.9-4.10) accompanied by the following inscription: “Accept the Supplication of the kneeling ktetor Ignatios, who established the patriarchal *stauropoleion* for your words.”⁹¹¹

Indeed, Ignatios Kalothetos and his father Andreios are mentioned in a chrysobull by Andronikos II issued in 1314,⁹¹² which confirms the ownership of the monastery to the *hieromonk* Ignatios. According to its text, the Athonite *hieromonk* Ignatios Kalothetos had got the monastery of the Anastasis at Berroia on the basis of the patriarchal letter, and he also had already received an imperial *prostagma* allowing him to hold the monastery during his lifetime. However, the chrysobull grants the permission to hold the monastery “without disturbance” to Ignatios and to dispose it at his own will, so that the hieromonk could stay on the Holy Mount, while the foundation at Berroia would be administered by his father Andreios.

Putting all this information together, one may suggest that the Xenoï couple exercised patronage over the monastery and built the church. In the process of building, the husband died and, before 1314, it was completed by his wife Euphrosyne, who, afterwards, passed the foundation to the Patriarch. By the patriarchal letter, monk Ignatios received the monastery and raised it to the *stauropoleion* status. He obtained from the emperor the right of life-long possession, appointed his father as administrator of the foundation, and accomplished its painting by 1315. Papazotos identified the kneeling monk’s figure with Ignatios Kalothetos,⁹¹³ and suggested that the addressing of St. Arsenios by the monk is motivated by his position in the Arsenite controversy. Even though Ignatios is depicted as a minor figure, he is called “ktetor” and, judging by the written evidence, he played the role of a second patron after the Xenoï family, since he got the patriarchal status for the foundation and completed its painting.

The Monastery of the Presentation of Jesus at Meteora is associated with the important personality of a local monastic leader, *hieromonk* Neilos, who was “the protos” of Stagion and the *hegoumenos* of the *skete* of Doupiani.⁹¹⁴ His figure is depicted kneeling (fig. 4.11) at the throne of the Theotokos Eleousa on the southern wall of the monastery’s *katholikon* dedicated to the Ascension. The portrait of Neilos is accompanied by an inscription underlining his status and the pious act:

⁹¹⁰ Papazotos, *H Béroia kaí oi vaoí tis*, p. 172.

⁹¹¹ Τοῦ προσπε[σόντος] κτήτορος [Ι]γ[νατίου] δέησιν δ[έξαι, ὃς ὑπὲρ] τῶν σῶν [λό]γων σταυροπίγην τέθηκεν πατριαρχικόν - Papazotos, *H Béroia kaí oi vaoí tis*, p. 102.

⁹¹² *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. II, pp.159–161 (no. 103).

⁹¹³ Papazotos, Thanasis [Παπαζώτος, Θανάσης]. “Ο Ιγνάτιος Καλόθετος ιδρυτής του ναού του Αγίου Βλάσιου στη Μεγίστη Λαύρα,” *Makedonika* 19 (1979): 426–429.

⁹¹⁴ Nikonanos, Nikos [Νικονάνος, Νίκος]. *Μετέωρα. Τα μοναστήρια και η ιστορία τους* (Athens: Ekdotiki Athinon, 1987): 83.

“Supplication of the servant of God Neilos, hieromonk, ktetor, and *protos* of the *skete*.”⁹¹⁵ There are two more inscriptions in the naos. The first is situated on the lintel of the western wall and states the following:

“This holy and divine church of the Ascension of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ was built and painted by the efforts and expenses of the most revered among the hieromonks *kyr* Neilos and the *protos* of Stagoi *skete* and the hegoumenos of Doupeianos monastery, during the rule of our most pious emperor *kyr* Symeon Palaiologos Uroš and autocrat of the Romans, Serbia, and Romania, and during the episcopacy of our lord Besarion, in the year 1366/7.”⁹¹⁶

Judging by this evidence, one may assume that Neilos, though being depicted as a small figure with supplicatory inscription, was in fact the only ktetor of the foundation. However, the third inscription clarifies the situation: “... the expenses for the painting of the holy church were given by the most noble and glorious *kyr* Constantine ... renamed as Kyprian the monk in the holy and angelic schema ... year 1367/8.”⁹¹⁷ This way, the sponsor of the murals was certain Constantine, probably a Serbian aristocrat,⁹¹⁸ who took monastic vows, while Neilos, being an active manager and administrator of the monastic life of Meteora, commissioned and supervised the execution of the fresco-decoration. This division of labour between the monastic leader and noble sponsors is similar with the one observed in the case of Holy Savior Monastery in Beroia. The resemblance becomes even more obvious in the arrangement of inscriptions and images. Thus, the noblemen sponsoring financially the church are mentioned in the dedicatory inscription, but they are not depicted, whereas the monks, who were the works’ administrators, managers of the foundations, and spiritual leaders of the communities are depicted being accompanied by the supplicatory inscriptions in which they are called “ktetor.” However, these monks do not appear in typical votive compositions holding church models, but rather kneeling near the holy figures.

Indeed, the importance of the administration and management provided by a clergyman was acknowledged even by important church founders, such as the Serbian kings. As it mentioned before,⁹¹⁹ Serbian king, St. Stefan of Dečani, asked Archbishop Danilo II to participate in the establishment of Dečani and promised to appoint the Archbishop as “the second ktetor of this place,

⁹¹⁵ Δέησις τοῦ δοῦλου τοῦ θεοῦ Νεΐλου ἱερομονάχου κτήτωρ κ(αὶ) πρῶτος τῆς σκήτεος – Beis, “Σύνταγμα επιγραφικῶν μνημείων Μετεώρων,” p. 574; Subotić, “Počeci monaškog života,” p. 150.

⁹¹⁶ Ἀνηγέρθει ἐκ βάθρου κ(αὶ) ἀνηστορίθει ὁ πάνσεπτος κ(αὶ) θεῖος ναὸς τ(ῆς) Ἀναλείψεως τοῦ Κ(υρίου) κ(αὶ) Θ(εοῦ) κ(αὶ) Σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ος) ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰ(ησοῦ) Χ(ριστοῦ) διὰ σ(υν)δρομ(ῆς) κ(αὶ) ἐξόδου τοῦ τημειωτάτου ἐν ἱερομονάχοις κῡ(ρ) Νεΐλου κ(αὶ) Πρῶτου τ(ῆς) Σκήτεως Σταγ(ῶν) κ(αὶ) καθηγουμένου τῆς σεβασμίας μονῆς Δουπειάνου βασιλέβ(ον)τος δὲ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμ(ῶν) βασιλέως κῡ(ρ) Σιμε(ῶν) τοῦ Παλαιολόγου κ(αὶ) αὐτοκράτορ(ος) Ρομαίων, Σερβεΐ(ας) κ(αὶ) Ρομανεΐ(ας) τοῦ Οὐρεσι, ἐπεισκοπεύ(ο)ντος δὲ τοῦ παναγιωτάτου δεσπότη ἡμ(ῶν) Βησαρίων, ἔτ(ου)ς ,ζωσε’ (=1366/7). – Beis, “Σύνταγμα επιγραφικῶν μνημείων Μετεώρων,” p. 574; Subotić, “Počeci monaškog života,” p. 150.

⁹¹⁷ ...ἐδόθη ὁ ἐξοδος δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ θεῖου ναοῦ παρὰ τοῦ πανευγενεστάτου κ(αὶ) ἐνδοξοτάτου κῡ(ρ) κωνσταντίνου.....ὁστις ἐπονομάστην διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κ(αὶ) ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος Κυπριάνου μοναχός ἔτ(ου)ς ΣΩΟΕ – Beis, “Σύνταγμα επιγραφικῶν μνημείων Μετεώρων,” p. 574; Subotić, “Počeci monaškog života,” p. 150.

⁹¹⁸ Subotić, “Počeci monaškog života,” p. 151.

⁹¹⁹ Chapters 3.3. and 4.1.3 of this dissertation.

together with me,”⁹²⁰ Moreover, the subsequent hegoumenoi of this monastery, Arsenije and Danilo, were distinguished with their portraits (fig. 3.29) in the mural ensemble of Dečani and by their mentioning in inscriptions.⁹²¹ Even the discussed Constantinopolitan Patriarch Niphon, for establishing his private monastery (Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki, completed around 1334), appointed a person for its administration (προϊστάμενος), namely, the monk Paul,⁹²² represented in the *proskynesis* in front of the enthroned Virgin (fig. 3.28). Consequently, the position of such administrators might have been similar to that of the main founder and even equal to “the second founder.” However, as they acknowledged their roles as managers and successors of the first establishers, these people were not depicted holding church models.

In some cases, the presence of a kneeling figure and a prayer addressed to a holy figure may indicate a donor’s less important role in comparison with his predecessor. The church of St. Demetrios at Peć Patriarchate was built by the Serbian Archbishop Nikodim (1317-1324) as his burial place, but the founder did not finish its decoration.⁹²³ The church received its murals (c. 1345) under another Serbian Archbishop, Joanikije (1338-1346, and 1346-1354 Patriarch), whose works on the completion of the decoration are marked by an inscription placed on the western wall. Here, the sponsor’s patron, St. Joannicius (fig. 4.12), kneels in front of the Virgin Orans replacing the actual sponsor.⁹²⁴ Nevertheless, the inscription next to the saint concerns the archbishop: “oh, most Holy Theotokos, accept the prayers of your servant, Archbishop Joanikije.”⁹²⁵ This way, the humbleness of the kneeling position, the replacement of the actual portrait with the image of the patron saint, the petitioning tone of the inscription, and the absence of the term “ktetor”, all these facts indicate that the sponsor of the murals regarded his role as rather secondary in relation with the first founder of the church, the Archbishop Nikodim.

In all these cases, the small-sized portrait depicted clerics. Even though the measure of their endowment and participation in the construction and decoration varied (e.g., donations made on behalf of churches, supervision of works, completion of established foundation, or actual building

⁹²⁰ Daničić, Đure, ed. *Arhiepiskop Danilo i drugi: Životi kraljeva i Arhiepiskopa srpskih* (Zagreb: Svetozar Galac, 1886) 202.

⁹²¹ Subotić, Gojko. “Prilog hronologiji dečanskog zidnog slikarstva,” *ZRVI* 20 (1981): 111-127 (esp. pp. 113, 125-126, 127); Popović, Bojan. “Program živopisa u oltarskom prostoru,” in: *Zidno slikarstvo manastira Dečana, Grada i studije*, ed. V. Đurić (Belgrade: SANU, 1995): 96; Vojvodić, Dragan. “Portreti vladara, crkvenih dostojanstvenika i plemića u naosu i priprati,” in: *Zidno slikarstvo manastira Dečana. Gradja i studije*, ed. V. J. Djurić (Belgrade: SANU, 1995): 276–277, 285; Todić, Branislav, Čanak-Medić, Milka *Manastir Dečani* (Belgrade: Museum at Priština - Mnemosyne 2005): 19–20, 443–444.

⁹²² Παῦλος(ς) μοναχός [καὶ] προϊστάμενος τῆς σεβασμίας μονῆς ταύτης καὶ μαθητῆς τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου οἰκουμενικοῦ π(α)τριάρχου καὶ κτίτορος κῦρ Νίφωνος καὶ) δεύτερος κτίτωρ - Stephan, Christine. *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble. Die Mosaiken und Fresken der Apostelkirche zu Thessaloniki* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986): 117.

⁹²³ Subotić, Gojko. *Crkva Svetog Dimitrija u Pečkoj patrijaršiji* (Belgrade: Jugoslavija, 1964): II-VI, X.

⁹²⁴ Todić, Branislav. “Patrijarh Joanikije - ktitor fresaka u crkvi Sv. Apostola u Peći,” *ZLU* 16 (1980): 89-93.

⁹²⁵ ὁ πρῆς(ве)га Б(огороди)це прими молби раба својого архієп(иско)па Іоаникіѧ – Todić, Branislav. “Patrijarh Joanikije - ktitor fresaka u crkvi Sv. Apostola u Peći,” *ZLU* 16 (1980): 92.

and full-scale decoration), the iconographic scheme remained quite identical. Probably, one can speak in these cases about the secondary role of such ecclesiastic patrons toward either the first *ktetor* or the economic sponsor of the establish institution.

4.1.4. The founder and additional sponsors (laymen)

In a lesser number of monuments, one main patron was assisted by one or several less important donors, who probably made some investments in the construction or, more likely, the monuments' decoration. The difference in status between the main and the additional patrons was usually underlined either with the help of differently-scaled portraits, through the presence of a church model in the *ktetor*'s hands, or through the absence of images of minor sponsors. However, even in the latter case, the role of a sponsor was expressed in the choice of an image or saint worshipped by means of a supplicatory inscription.

The iconography of the northern aisle of the Old Metropolis in Berroia reflects, in its Old-Testament allusions, the political program of the ruler of Epiros, Theodore Komnenos Doukas (1215-1230) who had aspirations for gathering all territories of the destroyed Byzantine state under his rule. Dated on stylistic grounds with the 1220s, this ensemble might have been executed during Theodore's presence in the city.⁹²⁶ On the western face of the northern pillar of the church, there is the depiction of a layman, who turns toward the large-scale figure of St. Eletherios. Christ blesses the donor from the segment of Heaven, and a short inscription points out to his name and pious deed: "Supplication of the servant of God John Amarianos."⁹²⁷ As John Amarianos is unknown from other sources, L. Fundić suggested that he could be a military commander from Epiros on the basis of his choice for a rare saint, whose name, however, can be translated as freedom or liberation. Most probably, the donor sponsored this particular image during the painting campaign of the 1220s.

St. Demetrios Church at Prilep (painted before 1284)⁹²⁸ is an example of such collaboration between the main founder and additional donors. Bearing the indication of "ktetor," one of the heirs of the original founder (fig. 4.13)⁹²⁹ is depicted without a church's model, but in a full scale, in a praying pose, and addressing his namesake military saint on the northern wall of the southern aisle:

⁹²⁶ Fundić, Leonela. "Art and Political Ideology in the State of Epiros During the Reign of Theodore Doukas (1215–1230)," *Byzantine Symmeikta* 23 (2013): 232-239.

⁹²⁷ Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θ(ε)οῦ Ἰω(άννου) τοῦ Ἀμαριάνου - Papazotos, *Ἡ Βέροια* pp. 92, 243-244. Fundić, Leonela. "Art and Political Ideology in the State of Epiros During the Reign of Theodore Doukas (1215–1230)," *Byzantine Symmeikta* 23 (2013): 237-239.

⁹²⁸ In more details on the dating see: *Natpisi istorijske sadržine*, pp. 70-75 (with further bibliography).

⁹²⁹ Concerning of the identification of Demetrios Mesenopolites with a heir and not original founder, see: Babić, Gordana. "Pokušaj utvrdjivanja mesta i granica Panagirišta Prilepa druge četvrtine XIV veka," *Starinar* 20 (1969): 2; Babić, Gordana. "Tri grčka fresko natpisa na zidinama crkava srednjovekovnog Prilepa iz druge polovine XIII veka", *ZLU* 5 (1969): 26-28.

“Supplication of the servant of God Demetrios Mesenopoletes and *ktetor* of this church.”⁹³⁰ Besides Demetrios, there were other donors taking part in the decoration of the church. The couple of Andronikos and Eirene left their votive inscription (fig. 4.14) on a painted cornice, below the image of the Virgin and above the representation of St. Elijah, on the north-eastern pillar: “Supplication of the servant of God Andronikos and Eirene.”⁹³¹ The unusual choice and placement of both images could be motivated by the sponsors’ pious preferences, as it was the case of St. Eletherios in Berroia. Finally, a full-scale image of saint *anachoret* Onouphrios, placed on the eastern facet of the southern-east pillar, is worshiped by a small, prostrated monk (fig. 4.15) whose name is not preserved. Since in both cases the saints are rare and their placement is exceptional, one may suggest that minor patrons imposed their pious choices and sponsored the images of these particular saints.

The Church of St. John the Baptist at Archangelo (Rhodes) is a good example of collaboration between the main and additional founders expressed by means of differences in the scale of portraits. A three-member family (George and his wife Eirine “*ktetorissa*”, and a child) occupies the western wall: the spouses hold the model of the church together, expressing thus their joint investments into the monument (fig. 4.16).⁹³² Another sponsor, Nikolaos Kamanos (fig. 4.17), is depicted as a small-scaled figure near a large-scale image of Archangel Michael, on the south wall of the naos. The prayer of the sponsor is underlined by the short epigraphic note: “Supplication of the servant of God Nicholaos Kamanos and his wife.”⁹³³ He extends his hands toward the Archangel’s big image, and points out to the scroll held by the Heavenly commander, which reads: “The mortals seeing the exposed sword, those of you, who are wordly and careless in character, get humble for repentance.”⁹³⁴ As it seems, the choice of the image and the accompanying text was made intentionally; and they were selected to remind about the Last Judgement and the necessity of repentance before the death. Indeed, this richly-dressed donor is depicted as a very small figure in comparison with the grand stature of the archangel: the donor turns to the image and prays meekly, so the commission of such

⁹³⁰ Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Μησηνοπολήτου καὶ κτήτορ(ος) τοῦ ναοῦ - *Natpisi istorijske sadržine*, p. 70.

⁹³¹ [Δέησις] τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ [Ἄνδρο]νίκου καὶ Ἡρή[νης] - *Natpisi istorijske sadržine*, p. 70.

⁹³² Mpritha Ioanna [Μπίθα, Ιωάννα]. “Ενδυματολογικὲς μαρτυρίες στις τοιχογραφίες της μεσαιωνικῆς Ρόδου (14ος αἰ.–1523),” in: *Ρόδος 2.400 χρόνια: ἡ πόλη της Ρόδου ἀπὸ τὴν ἰδρυσὴ της μέχρι τὴν κατάληψη ἀπὸ τοὺς τούρκους (1523)*, ed. E.Kypraiou, Vol. II (Athens-Rhodes: Tameio Archeologikon poron, 2000): 440. For the iconography of husband and wife holding church together, see: Kambourova, “Le don de l’église.”

⁹³³ + Δ(έησις) τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ Νικόλαο Καμάνου κ(αὶ) [τῆς] συμ[βίου] αὐ[τοῦ] ἔτους [Σ]ᾶλς (=6936 = 1428). – Kollias, Elias [Κόλλιας, Ηλίας]. “Τοιχογραφία της υποτοκρατίας (1309-1522) εἰς Ρόδον,” *Archeologika analekta ex Athinon* 6/2 (1973): 274-275, figs. 7-8; Mpritha Ioanna [Μπίθα, Ιωάννα]. “Ενδυματολογικὲς μαρτυρίες στις τοιχογραφίες της μεσαιωνικῆς Ρόδου (14ος αἰ.–1523),” in: *Ρόδος 2.400 χρόνια: ἡ πόλη της Ρόδου ἀπὸ τὴν ἰδρυσὴ της μέχρι τὴν κατάληψη ἀπὸ τοὺς τούρκους (1523)*, ed. E.Kypraiou, Vol. II (Athens-Rhodes: Tameio Archaialogikon poron, 2000): 435.

⁹³⁴ Βροτοὶ βλέποντες τὸ ξίφος τεταμέν(ον), ὅσοι βέβηλοι κ(αὶ) ῥάθυ[μοι] τ(ὸν) τρό[πον], [ἢ] συσ[ταλεῖ]τε πρὸς [μετάνοιαν] - The damaged text on the Archangel’s scroll can be reconstructed with the help of the suitable inscription found in the Hermeneia of Dionysios of Phourna (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Athanasios [Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, Αθανάσιος], ed. *Διονύσιος ο ἐκ Φουρνά, Ερμηνεία της ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης* (St. Petersburg: Russkoe archeologicheskoe obsh’estvo, 1909): 231).

image itself can be considered an act of necessary humbleness allowing the acquisition of the spiritual benefits in the Afterlife.

In the church of Panagia in Sklavopoula (Paliochori, Crete), dated to the late 14th or early-15th century,⁹³⁵ the differences in status and measure of participation between sponsors are expressed through the absence of additional portraits. Only one donor is depicted with the model of the church and marked in the following way: “Supplication of the servant of God, John the *portares*.” Between his figure and the image of St. Demetrios on horseback, another inscription preserves the names of other patrons: “Supplication of the servant of God, Alexios... with his wife and children ... Theodore. Amen.”⁹³⁶ Even though the inscriptions are similar, one can see the differences in the donors’ status. It is John who bears the title of the *portares* (gate-guardian of fortress), wears a richly-decorated sword and is depicted as the main founder holding the model of the church; the minor sponsors Alexios with his family and Theodore are only mentioned in a collective inscription and do not have their personal portraits.

In the church of St. Kyriake at Lampiriana (14th century),⁹³⁷ the portrait of the main founder is not preserved due to the bad state of the murals. However, the dedicatory inscription states that the church was renewed and repainted “by the toils, efforts, and expenses” (συνδρομῆς καὶ κόπου καὶ ἐξόδου) of Michael Chortatzes. Nevertheless, around the walls in the lower register, there are five more donors (John, Maria, Eirine, probably Meletios, and Ypomone (fig. 4.18)), who are depicted in postures of prayer with open palms and are accompanied by short inscriptions formed in the “Δέησης του δούλου του Θεοῦ...” way.

As one can see, there was not a single way of expressing the differences between the main founder and the sponsors, but in all the situations when small-scaled images or supplicatory inscriptions are created on behalf of other persons than the actual church founder, the visual and textual means underline the inferior position of the supplementary donors vis-à-vis the main ktetor.

4.1.5. The small votive portraits without other donors

Small-scale figures as unique donors, unsupplemented by the mentioning of other sponsors, neither in the dedicatory inscription, nor in the short supplications next to saints’ images, are quite

⁹³⁵ Gerola, Giuseppe. *Monumenti veneti nell’isola di Creta*, Vol. II (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1908): 330; Maderakis, Stauros [Μαδεράκης, Σταύρος]. “Ἡ προσωπογραφία των δωρητῶν στις εκκλησίες της Κρήτης,” in: *Χανιά 1988* (Chania: Ekdosi Dimou Chanion, 1988): 40; Albani, “Church of the Virgin at Sklavopoula,” p. 168, fig. 41.

⁹³⁶ 1) [Δέη]σις [...] τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰω(άννου) τοῦ πορτάρη and 2) [Δέησις] τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἀλεξίου τοῦ [...] ἅμα καὶ τῇ συμβίῳ κ(αὶ) τ(οῖς) τέκνοις αὐτοῦ [...] Θεοδώρου. Ἀμὴν – Gerola, Giuseppe. *Monumenti veneti nell’isola di Creta*, Vol. IV (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1932): 433; Albani, “Church of the Virgin at Sklavopoula,” p. 168.

⁹³⁷ Gerola, Giuseppe. *Monumenti veneti nell’isola di Creta*, 4 Vols. (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1905-1932): Vol. IV, p. 456, Vol. II, p. 332.

rare. More precisely, they appear primarily when the mural decoration is not preserved completely, this always leaving the possibility for other portraits or depictions to have been originally present.

In the narthex of the Virgin's Church at Lipljan, a hollow arch is placed in the southern wall.⁹³⁸ A small, kneeling nobleman (fig.) addresses the massive figure of a saint, probably Nicholas. Other murals of the church are either in bad condition or replaced by later paintings, and no dedicatory inscription or another votive portrait is preserved.

The chrysobull issued by King Stefan Dušan on behalf of the pyrgos Chrusia on the Holy Mount (1336-1343),⁹³⁹ which passes the church in the ownership of the Athonite institution, gives an approximate period for the church's construction. However, the exact date and the commissioner of the murals are unknown, and the text of the document doesn't mention the founders of the church, but rather represents the transfer of the property as a deed accomplished by the ruler personally. One may suggest that the foundation could be painted under Hilandar's supervision or intended to be a donation to the Athonite pyrgos. In this case, the layman was either an *ephoros* or only a sponsor of the image of St. Nicholas, whom he addresses. Nevertheless, the western façade⁹⁴⁰ bears the portraits of the king and his wife pointing to the imperial power, exercised over the ownership or transfer of the foundation.

In the church of St. John Meroglites at Peukoi (Londos region, Rhodes), dated to between the late-14th and early-15th century, a similar small-size suppliant is situated near the depiction of a large-size image of winged St. John the Baptist in the northern cross arm. The inscription next to the figure is preserved partially and it reads: "The supplication of the servant of God George August[...],"⁹⁴¹ however, the fresco ensemble is not preserved in its entirety.

The Church of St. George at Pemonia, Crete, contains an image of a monk accompanied by an inscription which names him Laurentios (Δέσις τοῦ δοῦ(λου) τοῦ θεοῦ Λ(αυ)β(ρ)εντίου ἡερομοναχοῦ). The paintings of the church are again damaged and no dedicatory inscription survived, therefore, one cannot be sure that Laurentios was the only donor of the foundation.⁹⁴²

⁹³⁸ Ljubinković, Radivoje, Đokić, Dušan, Vučenović, Svetislav, Tomašević, Aleksandar. "Istraživački i konzervatorski radovi u crkvi Vavedenja u Lipljanu," *Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture* 10 (1959): 83; Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, pp. 55-56, 152-153.

⁹³⁹ Ivanović, Miloš "Hrisovulja kralja Stefana Dušana kojom hilendarskom pirgu u Hrusiji poklanja Crkvu Sv. Bogorodice u Lipljanu," *SSA* 13 (2014): 33-64.

⁹⁴⁰ Vojvodić, Dragan "Newly discovered portraits of rulers and the dating of the oldest frescoes in Lipljan," *Zograf* 50 (2013): 143.

⁹⁴¹ ΔΕΥC<IC> ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ{ΛΟΥ} ΤΟΥ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ ΓΕΟΡΓΙΟΥ (ΤΟ)Υ ΑΓΟΥCΤ[.]ΤΟΥ – see: Mpitha Ioanna [Μπίθα, Ιωάννα]. "Ενδυματολογικές μαρτυρίες στις τοιχογραφίες της μεσαιωνικής Ρόδου (14ος αι.–1523)," in: *Ρόδος 2.400 χρόνια: η πόλη της Ρόδου από την ίδρυσή της μέχρι την κατάληψη από τους τούρκους (1523)*, ed. E.Kypriaiou, Vol. II (Athens-Rhodes: Tameio Archaiologikon poron, 2000): 434, footnote 22.

⁹⁴² Gerola, Giuseppe. *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, 4 Vols. (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1905-1932): Vol. II, p. 329; Vol. IV, p. 429.

A 12th-century fresco from the diakonikon of Kalenderhane Camii depicts a clerical personage,⁹⁴³ once questionably indentified as John Geometres Kyriotes (fig. 4.21).⁹⁴⁴ He holds a scroll, nowadays unreadable, and petitions the Mother of God Kyriotissa with Christ-child on her chest. This small donor's depiction is somehow different from others, since the donor has a scroll with a certain prayer or petition addressing the Virgin, from whom he expects a response. The status and the participation measure of the cleric are also unclear, since the other decoration of the church is not preserved.

The cases when two small-scaled donors are depicted in one church, usually being connected by the ties of spiritual brotherhood or by family relations, are slightly more common than small-sized, single ktetors. In a chapel situated at Malagari, on the periphery of Corinthos, built in the 11th century, there are two images of monks bearing the same surname. In the standing deisis, situated in the northern arcosolium, the Virgin introduces a monk (fig. 4.22) called Sophronios Kalozoes (παρομηοθη(ς) Σοφρονιος μοναχος ο καλοζοης) to Christ *Photodotes*. He has a long, white beard and holds an obvolute scroll suggesting his primary role in the endowment of the foundation.⁹⁴⁵

The southern arcosolium of the same church is occupied by the Dormition scene including the Archbishop Dionysios Areopagite serving at the bed of the Virgin. There are two saints Theodores on the introdos and, at the feet of Theodore Teron, one can see another, younger monk Dionysios (fig. 4.23-4.24) (ο παρομηοθης Διονισιος μοναχος καλοζοης). Probably, the iconographic choice of two Theodores was motivated by the fact that the palladium icon of the Corinth region was that of Saints Theodores.⁹⁴⁶ On the other hand, the emphasis on St. Dionysios' figure in the Dormition scene (he is the only personage whose name is inscribed) can be directed by the namesake commissioner.

These two monks having the same surname were, possibly, a father and a son, as suggested by Eleni Ghini-Tsofopoulou.⁹⁴⁷ However, the beard's absence, the beads on Dionysios' neck, and his clothes (dark-brown robe, black cap, and white cloak) may suggest that he belonged to a Catholic monastic order (probably, Carmelites), as various catholic monasteries were present in the principality

⁹⁴³ Striker, Cecil, Kuban, Doğan. "Work at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul: Second Preliminary Report," *DOP* 22 (1968): 192; *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: The Buildings, Their History, Architecture, and Decoration: Final Reports on the Archaeological Exploration and Restoration at Kalenderhane Camii, 1966-1978*, ed. C. Striker and D. Kuban (Mainz: Zabern, 1997): pp. 7-17, 124-126, 142-143.

⁹⁴⁴ Trypanis, Constantine. "A Possible Portrait of Johannes Géomètres Kyriotes," *Μελετήματα στη μνήμη Βασιλείου Λαούρδα*, ed. L. Laourdas (Thessaloniki: Sfakianakis, 1975): 301-302.

⁹⁴⁵ Ghini-Tsofopoulou, Eleni. "6η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων. Χρονικά," *Archeiologiko Deltio* 36/B1 (1981):173-174; Athanasoulis, Demetrios. "Corinth," in: *Heaven and Earth. Cities and Countryside in Byzantine Greece*, eds., E. Albani and E. Chalkia, (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2013): 206; Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, pp. 30-31, fig. 20.

⁹⁴⁶ Nesbitt, John, Oikonomidès, Nicolas, McGeer, Eric et al., eds. *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, Vol. II (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1994): 78-79.

⁹⁴⁷ Ghini-Tsofopoulou, Eleni. "6η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων. Χρονικά" *Archeiologiko Deltio* 36/B1 (1981):173.

of Achaia at that time.⁹⁴⁸ Accordingly, the family relations between sponsors might have facilitated a bi-confessional use of the church.

Two donors bound by family ties are represented as small-scale figures in the arcosolia of Hagioi Theodores church in Ano Poula, Mani (1265-1270).⁹⁴⁹ Both arcosolia, situated on the southern wall, contain depictions of military saints, donors and monastic saints placed on the soffits of arches. The male sponsor (fig. 4.26) named Euthymios Lekousas the monk (“Supplication of Euthymios the monk”)⁹⁵⁰ holds an unfolded scroll with prayer addressing the saint and referring to a gift offered to the celestial powers (Δέξαι το δῶρον), namely, the foundation itself which was built by the efforts of the ktetor. This inscription in verse suggests that the patron as a relatively learned person. As P. Katsafados noted, this individual can be a landowner from the Karavas, who was also responsible for decorating other foundations. The lady (fig. 4.25) depicted in another niche offers to the saints a rolled-up scroll, which was considered to be the sign of her donation.⁹⁵¹ The inscription accompanying her, written in verse as well and describes the image as “παρομ(η)ιος” of Kyriake the nun,⁹⁵² daughter of Leo Ropounges and ex-wife of Euthymios Lekousas. In her text, she refers to the “many toils” which her spouse invested in erecting this foundation. Consequently, the small-scaled depictions of family members point out to the ktetorial rights of both spouses and the funerary character of the foundation.⁹⁵³ However, the superiority of the husband’s investments is underlined in both texts, as he was, probably, the main commissioner.

Another example of a collaboration between monks and relatives appeared in the three-cave hermitage of St. Gregory,⁹⁵⁴ situated 40 meters above the ground in Meteora mountains. It was established by the collaboration of brothers and monks Gregory and Theodosios. The small monastery consists of three, or perhaps more, superposed cave habitats supplied with wooden terraces. Like in the Malagari church, the cave chapel was intended as mausoleum for the founders, their graves having been carved in rock near the entrance. Gojko Subotić identified this chapel with the Virgin’s church

⁹⁴⁸ Ranner, Lori Frey. “Mendicant orders in the Principality of Achaia and the. Latin communal identity, 1204-1453,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 31/2 (2007): 157-169.

⁹⁴⁹ Katsafados, “New Evidence on the Dedicatory Inscriptions”; Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, pp. 139-142.

⁹⁵⁰ ΔΕΗCIC ΕΥΘΙΜΗΟΥ ΜΟ(ΝΑΧΟΥ) ΛΕΚΟΥΣΑ – Katsafados, “New Evidence on the Dedicatory Inscriptions,” pp. 287, 281; Katsafados, *Βυζαντινές επιγραφικές μαρτυρίες Στη Μέσα Μάνη*, 46-54; Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, p. 140.

⁹⁵¹ Katsafados, “New Evidence on the Dedicatory Inscriptions,” pp. 277-278.

⁹⁵² The word can be translated as an image, likeness, see; Katsafados, Panayotis. “New Evidence on the Dedicatory Inscriptions (13th century) in the Church of Hagioi Theodoroi, Ano Poula, Inner Mani,” *DChAE* 36 (2015): 277; Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, p. 140; Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits*, p. 106; Gerstel, Talbot, “Nuns in the Byzantine Countryside,” p. 486.

⁹⁵³ Though, Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, pp. 139-142, suggested that the place could be a small monastery, whereas Katsafados, “New Evidence on the Dedicatory Inscriptions,” p. 278 notes that it is not a funerary portrait. However, the placement of niches with the images of sponsors on the southern wall rather suggests that they were used as arcosolia for the tombs of founders. The same fact can explain the separate depiction of two spouses.

⁹⁵⁴ Subotić, Gojko. “Τα πρώτα ασκηταριά των Μετεώρων,” *Praktika tis Akadimias Athinon* 82/B (2008): 200–201. The church is rarely visited due to difficulties with its access. The ensemble can be seen in the following You-Ttube video: σκήτη Οσίου Γρηγορίου Θεοδοσίου Σάββατο 24-5-2014 (<https://youtu.be/wvTxmeQpEi0>) recorded by the Megale Meteora monks during their last visit. Last accessed on 28.08.2019.

“para to Pigadion” (παρά το Πηγάδιον) associated with Archimandrite Makarios, which appeared in the testament of Manuel Ioannaki. According to the dedicatory inscription:

“This holy and divine church of our Most blessed empress Theotokos was built by the efforts of sinful Gregory the founder with his brother hieromonk Theodosios, during the archiepiscopate of Matthew, the holiest bishop of Stagion, the year 1373, indiction 13.”⁹⁵⁵

The images of the monk founders are placed on the external southern wall and supplied with short inscriptions: “Supplication of the servant of God sinful Gregory and ktetor. Remember, Lord, my parent Manuel the priest and his wife Ana and their children,” and “Supplication of the servant of God Theodosios the hieromonk.”⁹⁵⁶ As it seems, that Gregory was the main founder of the chapel, as he bears the title of *ktetor* and leaves a short commemorative inscription on behalf of his parents. Theodosios was, probably, his collaborator or financial sponsor. However, both donors received equal places and similar commemorative texts. This status difference between monks-collaborators was also the case of the founders of the Virgin’s hermitage (1409-1410) at the lake of Megale Prespa, where the dedicatory inscription mentions three monks, two of whom bear the epithet “kyr” pointing to their noble origin: kyr Sava and kyr Jacob and Barlaam. The latter is not being depicted in the votive composition either.⁹⁵⁷

Thus, in those cases when small-scale images of donors appear to be the only votive portraits preserved, the explanation of their statuses and measures of endowment remains unclear due to the bad preservation state of the monuments. More commonly, two small-scale depictions of donors appear in foundations established as a result of collaboration between monks, who might have been connected by family ties, too. In these cases, the foundations are rather small and have, besides being hermitages, a burial function. However, the differences in age, status, and role between the monks-contributors are underlined by visual and textual means.

4.1.6. Multiple small founders and their portraits and inscriptions

Churches built or painted by several patrons having the same social background and providing equal or similar measures of endowments are especially common on the periphery of the Byzantine Commonwealth, on the Greek islands (Crete, Naxos, Kos, Cyprus), as well as on Mani and Laconia.

⁹⁵⁵ Ανηγέρθη ὁ θῆος κ(αὶ) πάνσεπτος ναός οὗτος τῆς ἡπερεβλογημέν[ης] δεσπινῆς ἡμὸν Θεοτόκου· διὰ κ(αὶ) (ἐ)ξόδου Γρηγόριου ἁμαρτολο[ῦ] [κ]τήτορος· μετὰ τοῦ ἀυταδέλφου Θεοδοσίου· ἱερομονάχου ἀρχιερατέβοντος Ματ[θέου] τῆς ἀγιοτάτης ἐπισκόπου Σταγίων [ζωπ]γῆς (δικτιώνος) ιγ - Subotić, Gojko. “Τα πρώτα ασκηταριά των Μετεώρων,” *Praktika tis Akadimias Athinon* 82/B (2008): 200.

⁹⁵⁶ 1) Δέσις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θε(ο)ῦ Γρηγόριου ἁμαρτολοῦ κε κτήτορος. Μνήστητι Κ(ύ)ριε τὸν γονέον μου Μανουήλ· ἱερέος· κα(ὶ) τῆς σ(υ)μβήου αὐτοῦ Ἄνης κα(ὶ) τὸν ται (=τέκνων?) αὐτῶ[ν] and 2) Δέσις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θε(ο)ῦ Θεοδοσίου ἱερομονάχου. - Subotić, Gojko. “Τα πρώτα ασκηταριά των Μετεώρων,” *Praktika tis Akadimias Athinon* 82/B (2008): 201.

⁹⁵⁷ For the discussion of the inscriptions and the votive composition of the monument see: Bogevska-Capitano, *Les églises rupestres*, pp. 487-495 (with analysis of prior bibliography).

Usually, these churches are quite modest in size and are erected with the participation of several families or entire villages. Many of the examples belonging to this group were recently studied⁹⁵⁸ and, therefore, I am going to point out to the main features of this pattern of collective patronage, illustrating them with several examples instead of providing an in-depth analysis of all known cases.

As it was once shown,⁹⁵⁹ the construction costs of such churches could be as low as 14.5 nomismata, whereas the average contribution from one peasant-donor could be a half-modios field, a half or quarter of hyperpyron, parts of crops, and products of olive trees. Usually, among such donors, some had slightly higher social status and wealth, and made greater investments in the foundations. I assume that such sponsors could select certain saints or images to be painted and paid for their execution, marking the selected images with supplicatory inscriptions. Some church donors could even expect to be buried in these churches and possessed painted arcosolia with elaborated selections of saints.

In his recent book, P. Katsaphados collected evidence of portraits and supplicatory inscriptions from seven churches of Mani region, dated from mid-13th to mid-14th century.⁹⁶⁰ In all the cases, these monuments contain, except for the main dedicatory inscriptions, additional small representations of donors or petitioning texts near images of selected saints. In this sense, St. Nicholas Church in Exo Nyphi (Mani)⁹⁶¹ is a typical example. Here, besides the main dedicatory text, six various inscriptions mention different donors between 1285 and 1326. The image of St. Prokopios bears the prayer of Nicholaos Therianos,⁹⁶² St. Nichetas (fig. 4.28) became the patron of Theodore Niphates and his son Niketas,⁹⁶³ the scene of the Baptism was selected by a local *nomikos*,⁹⁶⁴ whereas a big-scale figure of Archangel Michael was chosen by George Konstantinianos and his family (fig. 4.27)⁹⁶⁵ to pray for their salvation. The latter family also ordered their kneeling depictions next to the saint. Consequently, one may assume that the donors made their investments under the condition of being

⁹⁵⁸ Kalopissi-Verti, “Church Foundations by Entire Villages”; Kalopissi-Verti, “Collective Patterns of Patronage”; Gerstel, Kalopissi-Verti, “The Agency of the Village Widow”; Laiou, “The Peasant as Donor,” and, especially, Gerstel, *Rural Lives*.

⁹⁵⁹ Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits*, pp. 35-37.

⁹⁶⁰ Katsafados, *Βυζαντινές επιγραφικές μαρτυρίες Στη Μέσα Μάνη*.

⁹⁶¹ Katsafados, *Βυζαντινές επιγραφικές μαρτυρίες Στη Μέσα Μάνη*, p. 102-124; Agrevi, Maria [Αγρέβη, Μαρία]. “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 για τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη*, eds. E. Eleutheriou, A. Mexia (Sparta: Ipourgio politismou ke tourismou, 2008-2009): 171-196.

⁹⁶² Δέ(ησις) τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θε(ο)ῦ Νικολαῆος Θεριανοῦ τοῦ Νιφιότι ἅμα συνβίου αὐτοῦ ἀμὴν – Katsafados, *Βυζαντινές επιγραφικές μαρτυρίες Στη Μέσα Μάνη*, p. 104.

⁹⁶³ Δέ(ησις) Θεοδώρου τοῦ Νιφάτη κ(αὶ) τοῦ ἰοῦ αὐτοῦ Νικήτα ἅμα συμβίου κ(αὶ) τέκν(ων) αὐτοῦ ἀμὴν – Katsafados, *Βυζαντινές επιγραφικές μαρτυρίες Στη Μέσα Μάνη*, p. 105.

⁹⁶⁴ Δέ(ησις) τοῦ ἱστοριογράφου ἅμα συμβίου και ταίκνων αὐτοῦ ἀμὴν ἔτους , ω λ Δ – Katsafados, *Βυζαντινές επιγραφικές μαρτυρίες Στη Μέσα Μάνη*, p. 114.

⁹⁶⁵ Δέ(ησις) τοῦ δουλ(ου) Γεωργίου Κονσταντηνιά(νου) ἅμα συμβίου κ(αὶ) τέκνης αὐτοῦ ἀμὴν – Katsafados, *Βυζαντινές επιγραφικές μαρτυρίες Στη Μέσα Μάνη* p. 117.

depicted or mentioned near certain images: it could be either a namesake patron saint, like in case of Niketas Niphates, or a figure associated with the soul's afterlife, as Archangel Michael.

On Cyprus, the narthex of Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou,⁹⁶⁶ was repainted gradually, between 1332 and 1375, and contains more than ten individual portraits of donors, as well as a dedicatory inscription which mentions the participation of “common people” (κοινὸς λαός) in the decoration of the church. Among these donors named through the formula “Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θε(εο)ῦ,”/ “Supplication of the servant of God”, the majority are monks; however, there are also some laymen and Greek and Latin women. Other Cypriot churches of the late-medieval period (the Holy Cross at Pelendri, St. Nicholas tes Steges, St. Sozomenos at Galata, etc.) as well were established with the assistance of several donors belonging to various social groups.⁹⁶⁷

A great number of communally-founded churches is preserved in the villages of Crete, especially in the province of Selino. At Kephale, Kissamos (Creta), the church of St. Athasios was built through the efforts of several local donors (fig. 4.29). Unfortunately, the dedicatory inscription above the western entrance is not preserved in its entirety,⁹⁶⁸ but it mentions the year (1393) of the construction. However, two inscriptions of similar content and one portrait witness about at least two groups of donors participating in the building of the foundation. On the western part of the southern wall, one can see two standing female donors,⁹⁶⁹ Ana and Moskana, who are accompanied by an inscription mentioning their supplication (Δέησις τῆς δούλης τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀν(νης) καὶ Μοσκάννης. Ἀμήν). On the western part of the northern wall, there is another inscription mentioning the supplication of two other persons, Niketas Nikiphoropoulos and priest Bardas Theodoulos (Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ Νικίτ(α) τοῦ Νικιφοροπούλου... Βάρδ(α) τοῦ παπᾶ Θε(οδ)ούλου. Ἀμήν)⁹⁷⁰

The Church of the Annunciation at Kakkodiki on Crete (1331-1332)⁹⁷¹ is an example of simultaneous communal foundation made by the efforts of more than thirty sponsors, who are listed

⁹⁶⁶ Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia. “The Murals of the Narthex: Late 13th and 14th Century,” in: *Asinou Across Time: Studies in the Architecture and Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, ed. A. Weyl Carr and A. Nicolaïdes (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2012): 176-192.

⁹⁶⁷ Stylianos, Andreas and Judith. “Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions, Supplicants and Supplications in the Painted Churches of Cyprus,” *JÖB* 9 (1960): 107-109 (Pelendri); 116-117 (St. Sozomenos at Galata); Stylianos, Andreas and Judith. *The painted churches of Cyprus: Treasures of Byzantine art* (Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1997): 62-66 (St. Nicholas tes steges).

⁹⁶⁸ Gerola, Giuseppe. *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, Vol. IV (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1932): 417.

⁹⁶⁹ Gerola, Giuseppe. *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, Vol. II (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1908): 328, pl. 8.1; Spatharakis, Ioannis. *Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete* (Leiden: Alexandras Press, 2001): 415-417.

⁹⁷⁰ Gerola, Giuseppe. *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, Vol. IV (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1932): 418.

⁹⁷¹ Xanthaki, Thetis [Ξανθάκη, Θέτις]. “Ο ναῖσκος του Ευαγγελισμού στο Κακοδίκι Σελίνου. Οι τοιχογραφίες και η κτητορική επιγραφή,” *DChAE* 32 (2011): 65–84. Gerola, Giuseppe. *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, Vol. IV (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1932): 462, no. 41; Tsamakda, Vasiliki. *Die Panagia-Kirche und die Erzengelkirche in Kakodiki. Kunst- und kulturgeschichtliche Analyse byzantinischer Malerei Kretas im 14. Jh.* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012): 37-44.

in the dedicatory inscription, including some unnamed members of *Hetaireia* (a household or cooperative).⁹⁷² However, only five sponsors received small-scale portraits. Among the depicted persons, two are priests and three women. Nikephoros the *protopapas*,⁹⁷³ who is mentioned in the first place in the inscription, worships the enthroned Virgin on the north wall of the naos (fig. 4.31). On the left of the throne of the Mother of God, there is a female founder bearing the name Stamatini,⁹⁷⁴ who is usually considered to be the *protopapas*' wife. In the Deisis-like scene on the south wall, John, the priest and *nomikos* (fig. 4.32),⁹⁷⁵ named second in the dedicatory inscription, is placed in the foreground. He preferred probably to be placed under the patronage and intercession of his name-sake saint St. John the Baptist. Two other kneeling female donors are unnamed (fig. 4.32-4.33), they are placed next to Archangel Michael and St. Marina, but their votive inscriptions (Μνήστητι Κύριε τῇ ψυχῇ τῆς δούλης/Remember, Lord, the souls of the servants) does not preserve more details. These anonymos ladies belonged probably to the main founders' families.

This pattern of accompanying every donor's portrait with supplicatory inscriptions occurs also in the church of Archangel Michael in Kavalariana (1328).⁹⁷⁶ The dedicatory inscription refers only to the male heads of families, Theotokes Kotzes, Manuel Melesourgos, Niketas Sederas, and Demetrios; however, in the arcosolia (fig. 4.35-4.36) placed on the northern and southern side, the portraits of fourteen persons, including five women, are preserved. They are grouped according to the families they belonged to, the Kotzeis, the Sederai and the Melessourgoi, accordingly. The clothes of every family have distinctive geometric patterns which make their members to appear as single, unified groups. Each of the depiction is supplied with short inscriptions with the wording: "Supplication of...", and every personage is portrayed with extended hands in the posture of prayer.

Similarly, in the church of St. George in Malona (Rhodes), dated to the end of 14th century, two donors addressed their prayers to selected saints. In the southern cross arm, next to the depiction of the Virgin of the Kyriotissa, a kneeling, anonymous donor makes his petitions, whereas on the

⁹⁷² Xanthaki, Thetis [Ξανθάκη, Θέτις]. "Ο ναῖσκος του Ευαγγελισμού στο Κακοδίκι Σελίνου. Οι τοιχογραφίες και η κτητορική επιγραφή," *DChAE* 32 (2011):79-80; Tsamakda, *Die Panagia-Kirche und die Erzengelkirche in Kakodiki*, pp. 37-38.

⁹⁷³ Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ Νικηφόρου ἡερέως τοῦ προτοπαπᾶ - Tsamakda, *Die Panagia-Kirche und die Erzengelkirche in Kakodiki*, p. 94. Translation: "Supplication of the servant of God Nikephoros, the priest and *protopapas*".

⁹⁷⁴ Μνήστητι Κύριε τῇ ψυχῇ τῆς δούλης Σταματινῆς - Tsamakda, *Die Panagia-Kirche und die Erzengelkirche in Kakodiki*, p. 94. Translation: "Remember, Lord, the soul of your servant Stamanini".

⁹⁷⁵ Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰωάννου εἰερέως τοῦ νουμι(κοῦ) - Tsamakda, *Die Panagia-Kirche und die Erzengelkirche in Kakodiki*, p. 94. Translation: "Supplication of the servant of God John, the priest and *nomikos*".

⁹⁷⁶ Gerola, Giuseppe. *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, Vol. IV (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1932): 453-454; Lymberopoulou, Angeliki. *The Church of the Archangel Michael at Kavalariana: Art and Society on Fourteenth-Century Venetian Dominated Crete* (London: Pindar Press, 2006): 195-198.

opposite wall, St. George's depiction is supplemented with a prayer without portrait: "The supplication of the servant of God Basil K[.]tikos and his wife Kale and their children."⁹⁷⁷

These small-scale depictions do not follow the typical iconography of the ktetorial portrait and even the votive compositions, since the founders do not hold a church model and have significantly smaller scale. These images are better to be named supplicatory, since they address with prayers the chosen holy figures. The sponsors, probably, selected or commissioned certain images to be depicted with. Usually, such figures were the namesake saints or the sponsors' holy patrons, but the commissioners could also chose some scenes of the Christian feasts if those were relevant for the donors for some reasons (for, example, if the dates of these feasts coincided with some important events in the donors' lives).

The proposed hypothesis about the appearance of inscriptions next to images of saints as the indication of a commissioner can be confirmed by a case of the Virgin's Entry to the Temple at Dolac, dated to late-14th century.⁹⁷⁸ Here the brief inscriptions not only indicate the supplicants but also state that they commissioned ("painted") one or another image. The scene of the Raising of Lazaros, as well as the images of St. Lazaros of Jerusalem and St. Demetrios were ordered by Basil the ekklesiarch ("Basil ekklesiarch and ... painted these images of Lazaros' resurrection and of St. Lazaros and St. Demetrios. Let his memory be eternal").⁹⁷⁹ The image of St. Paraskeue was paid for by Bogdan Magol ("Bogdan Magol painted this image of St. Paraskeue. Let God pardon him"),⁹⁸⁰ whereas Rada with her son John commissioned the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul ("Rada with her son John painted these images of holy apostles Peter and Paul").⁹⁸¹

In some cases, the formula "Δέησις τοῦ δουλοῦ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ..." was applied to persons having the full range of founders' rights, although they participated in foundations together with members of their extended families. In such cases, every unit of ktetors could be displayed at the proper votive

⁹⁷⁷ ΔΕΗΧΗC ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ ΒΑΣΙΛΗΟΥ ΤΟΥ Κ[.]ΤΗΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΧΗΒΙΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΤΕΚΝΟ<N> ΑΥΤΟΥ – see: Mpritha Ioanna [Μπίθα, Ιωάννα]. "Ενδυματολογικές μαρτυρίες στις τοιχογραφίες της μεσαιωνικής Ρόδου (14ος αι.–1523)," in: *Ρόδος 2.400 χρόνια: η πόλη της Ρόδου από την ίδρυσή της μέχρι την κατάληψη από τους τούρκους (1523)*, ed. E. Κυπριαίου, Vol. II (Athens-Rhodes: Tameio Archaialogikon poron, 2000): 434-435. The author herself considers "very tempting" to identify the unnamed donor and the family mentioned in the inscription.

⁹⁷⁸ Subotić, Gojko. *Dolac i Čabići* (Belgrade: Mnemosyne - Muzej u Prištini, 2012): pp. 29-31.

⁹⁷⁹ Сїє вбразє Лаз[а]рев[о] вєскрєшєнїє и с(вє)таго Лазар(а) и с(вє)таго Димитрїа попїєса Васи(л)є еклєсїархъ и ра.. вєсп .їакъ в[ѣч]н[а м]оу [па]м[є]ть – Subotić, Gojko. *Dolac i Čabići* (Belgrade: Mnemosyne - Muzej u Prištini, 2012): 24.

⁹⁸⁰ Сїи вбразъ с(вє)тїє Петке попїєса Богданъ Маголь. Богъ да га прости. – Subotić, Gojko. *Dolac i Čabići* (Belgrade: Mnemosyne - Muzej u Prištini, 2012): 25.

⁹⁸¹ Сїє вбразє с(вє)тїхъ апостолъ Петра і Павла попїєса Рада са сїномъ с(и) Іваномъ. Богъ да хї прости – Subotić, Gojko. *Dolac i Čabići* (Belgrade: Mnemosyne - Muzej u Prištini, 2012): 25.

composition, but on a smaller scale. St. Anna's church at Anissaraki⁹⁸² (Kandanos, Crete) (1352)⁹⁸³ preserves the images of nine donors, depicted either as groups or individual figures.⁹⁸⁴ The dedicatory inscription mentions George Petro and his wife, Michael Petro and his wife (fig. 4.39), John the priest and his wife (fig. 4.38), John Kontoleon, Eirene Tzangarina, and Athanasios Boulakas with his wife.⁹⁸⁵ Among these ktetors, three couples bearing the surname Petro (George, Michael and presbyter John) are depicted in three groups inside the arcosolia. The pattern of portraits is repeated: the couples stand holding the model of the church between them and being accompanied by the inscription of the “Δέησις τοῦ δουλοῦ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ...” type.⁹⁸⁶ The family of John Petro (Δέησις τοῦ δουλοῦ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ Ἰωάννου ἱερέως καὶ τῆς συνβίου αὐτοῦ/Supplication of the servant of God John, the priest, and his wife) includes also the portrait of a younger man, probably, the son of the couple, labeled by his own inscription as Basil Petro (Δέησις Βασιλείου τοῦ Πέτρο/ Supplication of Basil Petro). Besides these three families, two more portraits appear in the foundation, but without church models or other indication of founder's rights. They are a youngman Nicholas and a man, usually identified as John Kontoleos. Such family mausoleums where all members have equal founder's rights are rather exceptional, since the financial means and the measure of involvement usually varied, even among the kins.

In this sense, the appearance of private portraits, even in the type of a suppliant and not a founder, or written petitions could be an indication of a deeper involvement of an individual in the administration or establishment of a communal foundation. In the church of St. George at Komitades (Sfakia, Crete, 1314), the dedicatory inscription preserves the names of two heads of family, three widows with children, one single man and one woman, and two monks, as well as other donors “whose names only God knows.”⁹⁸⁷ However, only two patrons received their depictions on the

⁹⁸² It was also compared with the Hagia Anna chapel in St. Stephanos, Kastoria by Thetis Xanthaki (Xanthaki, Thetis [Ξανθάκη, Θέτις]. “Ο ναός της Αγίας Άννας στο Ανισαράκι Κανδάνου: Ο κύκλος της αγίας, οι αφιερωτές, η χρονολόγηση,” *DChAE* 31 (2011): 71), see: Siomkos, Nikolaos. *L'église Saint-Étienne à Kastoria. Étude des différentes phases du decor peint (Xe-XIVe siècles)* (Thessaloniki: Kentron Vyzantinon ereunon, 2005): 290-291, who considers that the chapel should be dated to the end of the 13th century, whereas St. Anna feeding the Virgin should be considered c. 1300.

⁹⁸³ The church according to G. Gerola can be dated with 1457-1462, however thanks to recently revised reading of the dedicatory inscription, the church was redated to 1352 and attributed to the John Pagomenos' workshop (Xanthaki, Thetis [Ξανθάκη, Θέτις]. “Ο ναός της Αγίας Άννας στο Ανισαράκι Κανδάνου: Ο κύκλος της αγίας, οι αφιερωτές, η χρονολόγηση,” *DChAE* 31 (2011): 71-86); see also: Lassithiotakis, Konstantinos [Λασσιθιωτάκης, Κωνσταντίνος]. “Εκκλησίες της Δυτικής Κρήτης. Εισαγωγή Δ'. Επαρχία Σελίνου, αριθ. 57– 100,” *Kritika Chronika* 22 (1970): 190-191.

⁹⁸⁴ Xanthaki, Thetis [Ξανθάκη, Θέτις]. “Ο ναός της Αγίας Άννας στο Ανισαράκι Κανδάνου: Ο κύκλος της αγίας, οι αφιερωτές, η χρονολόγηση,” *DChAE* 31 (2011): 80-84. Gerola, Giuseppe. *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, Vol. IV (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1932): 451-452.

⁹⁸⁵ Gerola, Giuseppe. *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, Vol. IV (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1932): 451.

⁹⁸⁶ Xanthaki, Thetis [Ξανθάκη, Θέτις]. “Ο ναός της Αγίας Άννας στο Ανισαράκι Κανδάνου: Ο κύκλος της αγίας, οι αφιερωτές, η χρονολόγηση,” *DChAE* 31 (2011): figs. 11, 12, 14.

⁹⁸⁷ Gerola, Giuseppe. *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, Vol. IV (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1932): 472-473; Lassithiotakis, Konstantinos [Λασσιθιωτάκης, Κωνσταντίνος]. “Εκκλησίες της Δυτικής Κρήτης. Εισαγωγή Δ'. Επαρχία Σελίνου, αριθ. 57– 100,” *Kritika Chronika* 22 (1970): 111-114, no. 134; Spatharakis, Ioannis. *Dated Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete* (Leiden: Alexandras Press, 2001): 33-35.

southern wall of the church. As in many other cases, they are represented as kneeling supplicants accompanied by inscriptions of the “Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ...” type. Accordingly, Manuel Skordiles and monk Gerasimos Phorogiorges (fig. 4.40) are placed under the Orans half-figure of St. Sophia, who was usually perceived as a saint associated with wisdom and foresight, especially in the field of construction.⁹⁸⁸ The sponsors turn to the standing images of the Virgin (Manuel) and Christ (Gerasimos). One cannot be certain, however, why precisely these donors and not others received their portraits, but judging on St. Sophia’s gesture of open hands, they could be the people responsible for the building and decoration works.

In the church of St. Constantine and Helena at Avdou (Crete), 1445, one of several founders mentioned in the dedicatory inscription, namely, Manuel the priest, let a personal memo in the apsidal space. This painted text is associated with his private commemoration: “Remember, Lord, your servant, Manuel the priest.”⁹⁸⁹ Being situated right above the altar table, it could have been intended as a reminder of the donor’s commemoration who, besides this, was also the priest of this village foundation.

As the discussed examples show, the provincial churches of the Byzantine commonwealth were often decorated with the assistance of several local sponsors. Thus, one of the most obvious reasons for the adoption of this patronage strategy was the economic one: those who didn’t have enough to build a church might still pay for some decoration. These sponsors could subsidize one or several images and demand to be commemorated next to the selected saints of feast scenes. This way, they left the marks of their presence in the communal churches in order to attend eternally, together with their fellow villagers, the church services, to be commemorated by the future generations of beholders, and to venerate their patron saints or feasts.

4.1.7. The donors’ small portraits and inscriptions added to older foundations

The reason for the participation of numerous donors in the decoration of a church can be two-folded: on the one hand, they can participate with micro-donations simultaneously. On the other hand, new portraits of donors could be added with the passage of time, when the patronage over a foundation was exercised on different occasions. The perfect example of the long-lasting patronage is St. Stephen’s Church in Kastoria. Here, one can detect five secondary sponsors, responsible for the

⁹⁸⁸ Schibille, Nadine. *Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing: 2014): 67-68.

⁹⁸⁹ Μνίσθι(τι Κύριε τοῦ δούλου σου) Μανου(ἡλ ἱερέως) – Gerola, Giuseppe. *Monumenti veneti nell’isola di Creta*, Vol. IV (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1932): 513.

renovation of different parts of murals.⁹⁹⁰ According to the dating proposed by Ioannis Sissiou, the following stages can be distinguished:

- 1) Around the mid-11th century, the couple of Demetrios and Kale added the depiction of Sts Constantine and Helena: “Supplication of the servant of God Demetrios and his spouse Kale. Amen. God, save them.”⁹⁹¹ (fig. 4.41)
- 2) Later on, during the 12th century, Theodore Lemniotes, who, simultaneously, was the main patron of the Hagioi Anargyroi church, attempted to renovate the fresco cycle of the Christ’s feasts in St. Stephen’s church, but he died in the meantime, as it is attested by his funeral composition with the model of the church and his commemorative inscription: “The servant of god priest Theodore Limneotes died on January...”⁹⁹² (fig. 4.42)
- 3) The activity of the nun Marina is dated back to 1230-1250. She ordered the scene of Baptism (fig. 4.46), breastfeeding St. Anna’s image (fig. 4.47) on the upper gallery and the fresco of the enthroned Virgin with Marina’s figure bowing in the *proskynesis* (fig. 4.43). All images bear her “signature” in form of a petition: “Supplication of the servant of God Marina the nun.”⁹⁹³
- 4) In 1337-1338, George Barybylas ordered the image of the Virgin Gorgoepikoos (fig. 4.44): “I offer you a supplication, oh, pure Virgin, with all my soul binding my knees in front of you, George, the most insignificant petitioner of yours with my toils this deed [I bring], a son of Athanasios Babylas, the priest, in the year 6846”.⁹⁹⁴
- 5) Around mid-14th century, the couple Constantine and Anna commissioned the full-length figure of Christ Eleemon and Euplachnos (fig. 4.45): “The supplication of the servant of God Constantine and his wife Anna.”⁹⁹⁵

Thus, on every occasion when a sponsor wished to add a new image to the existing ensemble, he or she marked their pious additions by the means of portraits or votive inscriptions.

In a similar way, several donors who sponsored the images in the Virgin’s church at Mali Grad left their portraits or inscriptions near the images they paid for. Around mid-14th century, a pair of noble donors decorated the apsidal space and commemorated their joint efforts in a short text (fig. 8.6) surrounded by a red decorative band separating the conch from the wall of the apse: “Supplication of the servant of God, Bojko, and the noblest Eudokia and her child. The sanctuary was decorated by them in 6853 (1344-45).”⁹⁹⁶ The second stage of decoration (1368-1369) is marked by the dedicatory

⁹⁹⁰ Sissiou, Ioannis [Σίσσιου, Ιωάννης]. “Η μερική ανανέωση της ζωγραφικής του Αγίου Στεφάνου στην Καστοριά,” *Niš i Vizantija* 7 (2009): 273-290.

⁹⁹¹ Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θε(ε)οῦ Δημητρίου καὶ τῆς συμβίου αὐτοῦ Καλῆς. Ἀμήν. Θεὸς σόσι αὐτοὺς – Sissiou, Ioannis [Σίσσιου, Ιωάννης]. “Η μερική ανανέωση της ζωγραφικής του Αγίου Στεφάνου στην Καστοριά,” *Niš i Vizantija* 7 (2009): 273.

⁹⁹² Ἐκοιμήθη ὁ δούλος τοῦ Θε(ε)οῦ Θεόδωρος ἱερεὺς ὁ Λυμνεώτης μη(ν)ῖ Ἰανουαρίῳ, see: Sissiou, Ioannis [Σίσσιου, Ιωάννης]. “Η μερική ανανέωση της ζωγραφικής του Αγίου Στεφάνου στην Καστοριά,” *Niš i Vizantija* 7 (2009): 273.

⁹⁹³ Δέησις τῆς δούλης τοῦ Θε(ε)οῦ Μαρῆς (μον)αχ(ῆς) – Sissiou, Ioannis [Σίσσιου, Ιωάννης]. “Η μερική ανανέωση της ζωγραφικής του Αγίου Στεφάνου στην Καστοριά,” *Niš i Vizantija* 7 (2009): 276-277.

⁹⁹⁴ Δέησιν προσάγω σοι ἀγνή Παρθένε ἐξ ὅλης μου τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς σὲ τὸ γόνυ κλίνας Γεώργ(ιος) ὁ ἐλάχιστος κ(αὶ) σὸς ἱκέτης πόν(οις) ἰδί(οις) παιδὸς τοῦ Βαριβίλου ἔργ(ον) Ἀθανασίου ἱερέως ἔτος ΣΩΜΣ – Ibid., p. 276-277; Rhoby, Andreas. *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009): 179-181.

⁹⁹⁵ Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θε(ε)οῦ Κωνσταντίνου καὶ τῆς συμβίου αὐτοῦ Ἄννας – Sissiou, Ioannis [Σίσσιου, Ιωάννης]. “Η μερική ανανέωση της ζωγραφικής του Αγίου Στεφάνου στην Καστοριά,” *Niš i Vizantija* 7 (2009): 286.

⁹⁹⁶ Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θε(ε)οῦ Μπώεϊκου καὶ Εὐδωκείας τῆς εὐγενεστάτης καὶ τὸν τέκνοναύτης. Ἀνηστωρίθην τὸ βίμα παρ αὐτ(ῶν). Ἐτ(ου)ς ΣΩΝΓ – Bogevska-Capitano, *Les églises rupestres*, pp. 358-365 (here p. 359).

inscription situated on the western wall and the family portrait of *kesar* Novak⁹⁹⁷ placed on the western external façade of the church (fig. 4.49).⁹⁹⁸ The inscription, except for underlining the untrue fact that the foundation was built by the new ktetor “from the grounds,” also refers to the ruler (King Vukašin),⁹⁹⁹ the unnamed archbishop of Ohrid,¹⁰⁰⁰ and the hegoumenos of the monastery Jonas:

This divine and very venerable church of our Most Holy Lady and Mother of God was built from its grounds with efforts and toils and was decorated by the lord, blessed *kesar* Novak, himself, under the *hegoumenos* Jonah, the monk. During the reign of the highest kral Vukašin and the Archbishopric of the Most Holy Archbishop of Prima Justiniana. Year 6877 (1368-69).¹⁰⁰¹

Belonging to the same painting layer as the façade portrait and the inscription, St. Paraskeue is worshipped by a monk represented in small-scale (fig. 4.48), but his name is lost.¹⁰⁰² This composition is situated on the eastern part of the southern wall and is supplemented by an inscription framed by a painted border above the saint’s image: “The Father built this house, the Son consolidated this house, the Holy Spirit renovated this house, the one who illuminates, supports and sanctifies our souls.”¹⁰⁰³ The combination of these factors, namely, the mentioning of the hegoumenos in Novak’s dedicatory inscription, the small-scale portrait in the naos, and the presence of a quasi-dedicatory inscription whose content alludes to the activities connected with the renovation, may point out to the fact that the depicted monk was the hegoumenos of the foundation or, at least, he supervised its renovation.

Finally, some of the donors commissioned special images to selected foundations which had no contemporary painting or on-going renovation campaigns. Probably, in these cases, the choice of

⁹⁹⁷ For career of *kesar* Novak and attempts to identify him with Novak Mrasorović, see: Matanov, Hristo [Матанов, Христо]. *Югозападните български земи през XIV век* (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1986):151-152; Mihaljčić, Rade. *Kraj srpskog carstva* (Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod, 1989): 275-276; Šuica, Marko. *Nemirno doba srednjeg veka i vlastela srpskih oblasnih gospodara* (Belgrade: Službeni list, 2000): 40-41.

⁹⁹⁸ In more details about the portrait the entire stage of painting of 1368/9, see: Bogevska-Capitano, *Les églises rupestres*, pp. 372-446.

⁹⁹⁹ The despot Vukašin was proclaimed the king in 1363-1364 as a co-ruler of emperor Uroš. his reign spread over the territory of the valley of the Vardar River, Šar-Planina mountain range and included with the towns of Prizren, Skopje, Prilep and Ohrid – Maksimović, Ljubomir. “Srpski narod u drugoj polovini XIV i u prvoj polovini XV veka,” in: *Srpski narod u drugoj polovini XIV i u prvoj polovini XV veka: Zbornik radova posvećen šeststogodišnjici kosovske bitke*, ed. D. Ranković (Belgrade: SANU, 1989): 7-18; Aleksić, Vladimir. *Naslednici Mrnjavčevića i teritorije pod njihovom vlašću od 1371. do 1395. godine*, The University of Belgrade 2012, PhD Dissertation, pp. 22-28 (with prior bibliography and discussion of the date)

¹⁰⁰⁰ Bogevska-Capitano, Sashka. “Grégoire de Dévolis: carrière et réseaux d'un évêque du XIVe siècle,” *Patrimonium* 9 (2016): 125-136 (with previous bibliography) suggested that the reason why the name of the Ohrid Archbishop was not written in the inscription is the change occurred on the archbishopric see, namely, after the death of Gregory II in 1368-1369 his successor, Gregory of Devolis was not yet appointed.

¹⁰⁰¹ Ἀνηγέρθη ἐκ βάθρου κ(αὶ) κόπου κ(αὶ) μόχθου ὁ θε(ε)ῖος καὶ πάνσεπτος ναὸς οὗτος τῆς υπ(ε)ραγίας. δεσπίνης υἱ ἡμῶν θε(οτό)κου κ(αὶ) ἀνηγορεύθη παρὰ τοῦ αὐθεντικοῦ αὐτοῦ πᾶνευχεστάτου κέσαρος Νοβάκου ἡγουμενέβωντος δὲ Ἰωνᾶ (μον)αχ(οῦ). Αὐθεντεύβ(ον)τος πανυ(ψ)λο/τάτου κραλήου τοῦ. Βεληκασίνου. Ἀρχαγερατεύοντος δὲ τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἀρχιεπι/σκοπῆς τῆς Πρώτης Ἰουστινιανῆς, ετους ζωοῦ - Bogevska-Capitano, *Les églises rupestres*, p. 372.

¹⁰⁰² Bogevska-Capitano, *Les églises rupestres*, pp. 420-422; Cvetkovski, Sašo. “Beleške iz Bogorodičine crkve na Malom gradu,” *Zograf* 34 (2010): 112-118 – the author of the article considers that it is not enough evidences to recognize the hegoumenos of the monastery Jonas in the figure of the depicted monk.

¹⁰⁰³ Τοῦτον τὸν οἶκον ὁ π(α)τὴρ οἰκοδόμησεν τοῦτον τὸν οἶκον ὁ υἱὸς ἐστερέωσεν τοῦτον τ(ὸν) οἶκον τὸ πν(εῦμ)α τὸ ἅγιον ἀνεκένη(σεν) τὸ φωτίζων κ(αὶ) ἱστηρίζων κ(αὶ) ἀγαθίζων τ(ὰς) (ψ)υχ(ὰς) ἡμῶν – Bogevska-Capitano, *Les églises rupestres*, p. 422.

image-sponsors was motivated by the foundation's special role in the rural or urban environment, as well as by the sponsors' personal connections with the members of local clergy.

Short, individual commemorative inscriptions were usually added to icon-like images of saints inserted into the older sacral space. That is, for example, the case of nun Euphrosyne Glyka¹⁰⁰⁴ who, in the end of the 13th century, sponsored the image of St. Basil in the cave church of Ai-Giannaki located near the town of Hagioi Anargyroi (Zoupena), close to Geraki, and dated to the late-11th century. The commissioner left her demand for the commemoration near the image: "Remember, Lord, the soul of your servant Euphrosyne Glyka the nun and forgive her on the day of the Judgment."¹⁰⁰⁵

On the external western wall of the church of the Taxiarches of the Metropolis at Kastoria, two small figures stay on the sides of a large-scale depiction of the archangel represented with sword and armors (fig. 4.50). The church itself was built c. 900 and received then some mural decoration.¹⁰⁰⁶ However, the Archangel's image was commissioned by later donors of Bulgarian origin. The small figures of a middle-aged man and woman received several identifications, made on the basis of various readings of the inscription. Initially, they were considered Michael II Asen (1246-1256) with his mother Eirene Angelina: "The supplication of the servant of God Michael Asanes, the son of the great emperor Asanes, and of his mother Eirene of Theodore Komnenos."¹⁰⁰⁷ A more recent study brought a new way of reading the greatly damaged text: "Supplication of the servant of God Michael Asanes, the son of the great emperor Asanes and of his wife Anna,"¹⁰⁰⁸ and, consequently, a new identification of the couple was made – Michael II Asanes and his wife Anna, daughter of Rostislav Michailovich. Finally, Ian Mladjov¹⁰⁰⁹ turned the attention to the fact that the image is rather modest and that the depicted person doesn't bear a title. He dated the image broadly with 1304-1320s and identified the couple as the son of Ivan Asen III (1279-1280), Michael Asanes, a Byzantine subject, and his wife. Of primary importance for the present study is the fact that the depicted or inscribed persons were not the main or even the second ktetors of the church. However, they marked their contribution to the church by commissioning the portraits and inscriptions. This way, the appearance of these small-scale images was the means for indicating the commissionership of a particular image.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *PLP*, no. 93351.

¹⁰⁰⁵ +Μνήστη(τι) [Κ](ύρι)ε την ψυχή της δουλν σου Εφροσινης μονα χής την Γλήκα (καί) σιχορισον αυτή εν ήμερα κρισεος – Drandakis, Nikolaos [Δρανδάκης, Νικόλαος]. "Ο σπηλαιώδης ναός του Αι-Γιαννάκη στη Ζούπενα," *DChAE* 13 (1985-1986): 81; Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, p. 148 (translation of the Greek inscription).

¹⁰⁰⁶ Drakopoulou, *Η πόλη της Καστοριάς*, p. 78.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ Μιχαήλ [Α]σάνι υἱοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέ[ως τοῦ Α]σάνη καὶ τῆς μητρός [αὐτοῦ] Εἰρήνης Θεοδώρου Κομνηνοῦ. – Vasiliev, Asen [Василиев, Асен]. *Ктиторски портрети* (Sofia: BAN, 1960): 13-15; Dujčev, Ivan [Дуйчев, Иван]. *Стара българска книжнина*, Vol. II (Sofia: Hemus, 1944): p. 277, no. 82; Drakopoulou, *Η πόλη της Καστοριάς*, pp. 77-78; Bozhilov, *Фамилията на Асеновци*, pp. 108 -110, nos. 39 and 42.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Δέησις του δού[λ]ου του θε[ο]ῦ Μιχ[αήλ...] υἱου [τ]ου με[γ]άλου βασιλεος [τ]ου Ασάνι, κε της σιμβίου αυτού Ανις ...ω... –Subotić, Gojko. "Portret nepoznate bugarske carice," *Zograf* 27 (1998–1999): 93–102 (esp. pp. 97–98).

¹⁰⁰⁹ Mladjov, Ian. "The Children of Ivan Asen II and Eirēnē Komnēnē: Contribution to the Prosopography of Mediaeval Bulgaria," *Bulgaria Mediaevalis* 3/2012 (2012): 490-500.

Moreover, the choice of the fresco subject, i.e., the namesake of the commissioner Archangel Michael, and its placement on the external church wall were obvious tools of personal promotion, display, and association. By petitioning to the heavenly commander, dressed in military attire, one can suggest that Michael Asanes wanted to demonstrate the importance of his military career to the urban inhabitants. The same can be said about his royal origin stressed in the accompanying text.

Another image placed on the external wall in the urban milieu had more modest implications. In the church of St. John the Theologos at Berroia, the northern external wall bears a pseudo-arcosolium decorated with a Deisis (fig. 4.51). St. John the Baptist is replaced by St. John the Theologian, and the inscription reads: “Supplication of the servant of God Nikephoros Sgouros.”¹⁰¹⁰ The entire program of the church murals was made in the first half of the 13th century,¹⁰¹¹ and only this scene, framed by a carved arch, belonged to the later period (the beginning of the 14th century). The supplicatory content of the scene,¹⁰¹² its uniqueness in the church’s decoration, its emphasis by the means of a carved frame, and the praying inscription suggest that the image was executed by a special order of the commissioner, who had some affiliation with the church or its patron, St. John the Theologian. This commissioner desired to be commemorated by the visitors of the church within the funerary or penitential context. Nevertheless, the Deisis has no additional portrait to recognize its sponsor, who had other intentions. The text of the petitioning was placed in the very bottom of the composition, at the eye level, so that the prayer on behalf of Nikephoros could be reenacted easily at any time.

The addition of images to already-existing foundations, especially to the most popular and venerated ones, was a way of expressing piety, gratitude, and pleads to divinity. The latter was the case of the Đurđe Branković and Eirene Kantakouzene, whose son Todor Branković is depicted on the side of the entrance arch to the *diakonikon* of Gračanica monastery (before 1429).¹⁰¹³ Todor is depicted in royal dress with loros (fig. 4.52), but without a crown or title, and had an inscription which once referred to his royal origin and parents’ titles: “Supplication of the servant of God Todor, the son of ... and Christ-loving ... Đurđe and ... Eirine.”¹⁰¹⁴ The youthman is bowing and has his hands extended in the prayer gesture, addressing the image of the Virgin Platytera standing in the apse of

¹⁰¹⁰ + Δεί[σις] τοῦ | δούλου τοῦ | Θεοῦ Νικηφόρου τοῦ Σγούρου – Papazotos, *H Béroia kai oi vaoí της*, p. 95

¹⁰¹¹ Papazotos, *H Béroia kai oi vaoí της*, pp. 171-172, 257.

¹⁰¹² Cutler, Anthony. “Under the Sign of the Deesis: On the Question of Representativeness in Medieval Art and Literature,” *DOP* 41 (1987): 145-155. See also Walter, Christopher. “Two Notes on the Deesis,” *REB* 26 (1968): 311-336; Idem, “Further Notes on the Deesis,” *REB* 28 (1970): 161-187.

¹⁰¹³ Todić, Branislav. *Gračanica – slikarstvo* (Priština and Belgrade: Prosveta, 1989): 239-241; Cvetković, Branislav. “Portret Todora Brankovića u đakonikonu manastira Gračanice,” *ZLU* 29-30 (1993-1994): 75-88; Starodubcev, Tatiana. *Srpsko zidno slikarstvo u zemljama Lazarevića i Brankovića*, Vol. II (Belgrade: University of Belgrade, 2016): 179-182.

¹⁰¹⁴ моление ра<ба б(о)жи> тодора с(ы)на [...] и х(ри)с(т)ол(оу)бива<го>[...]гюрга и [...] ерин<е> - Starodubcev, Tatiana. *Srpsko zidno slikarstvo u zemljama Lazarevića i Brankovića*, Vol. II (Belgrade: University of Belgrade, 2016): 180.

the *diakonikon*. It was suggested that the image appeared as a consequence of a gift donated to the monastery for the health of Todor.

As one can see, by placing images or petitioning texts on the walls of pre-existing foundations, the sponsors aimed at recognition by a certain number of visitors, as the foundations were already known and well-established. They also strived to represent themselves in the most favorable way, knowing the expectations and moods of visitors to the places they chose. So, in the case of the hermitic monastery of Zoupena and of old and famous Gračanica, Euphrosyne Glyka and Todor Branković might have expected to be commemorated by the austere and pious monastic community. At the same time, Michael Asanes would become a well-recognized nobleman among the inhabitants of Kastoria, whereas Nikephoros could count on the reenactment of his prayer by a passerby.

4.1.8. Conclusions

Concluding this analysis, I would like to answer the question about the status and the measure of participation of persons depicted as small-scale figures or commemorated in additional inscriptions. First thing to note is that they were not represented as the founders, i.e. they didn't hold a model of foundation, even though, they were labelled as "ktetors" sometimes (e.g., churches of the Savior in Berroia, the Presentation of Jesus at Meteora or Holy Apostles at Thessaloniki, etc.). They were often depicted praying to a certain saint, but in all the cases, the minor sponsors do not address the main patron saints/feast of the foundation. The combination of the inscriptions, images, and historical circumstances led to the conclusion that the individuals, depicted as petitioning figures, were the successors of the initial ktetors or associates of other economic sponsors. Usually, it was only the leaders and managers of monastic communities that appeared in such positions of ktetors-suplicants.

In those cases, when one main patron was assisted by one or several less important donors, such donors left marks of their participation in the form of small images or texts, placed next to the saints venerated by them. The distinctions in visual and epigraphic expressions of piety, employed by the main and subsidiary donors, underlined the difference in their status. The main donors appeared to the beholders in the official, full-scale votive compositions, interacting with the foundations' patron saints (e.g. with St. Demetrios in the church of Prilep or with the Virgin in the compositions of Mali Grad and Karan), whereas the minor donors addressed their own chosen saints (e.g. St. Elijah, St. Onuphrios, St. Paraskeue, St. Paul etc.). However, the choice of venerating saint through his or her depiction could also be the minor donors' expression of pious preferences.

Small-scale figures almost never appear as the unique founders, except for those cases when they did not consider themselves responsible for the entire foundation (e.g. Archbishop Joanikije at St. Demetrios' church of Peć). In other situations (e.g. the church of Lipljan), the monuments'

preservation state does not allow one to make solid conclusions about the status of the sole small-scale supplicant.

In the case of collective foundations, especially on the periphery of the Byzantine Commonwealth, the small-scale images and supplicatory inscriptions became the tools of personalizing the devotional investments made by the most important sponsors. In other words, in the difference with the dozens of people listed in dedicatory inscriptions, the founders who made the biggest contribution among the other patrons, received their small portraits or personalized saints' icons which they could address with the prayers. Nevertheless, none of these "great investors" can be considered the proper ktetor, since these foundations were communal enterprises; so it is rather more accurate to call "important sponsors" the persons depicted or mentioned in this way.

As it seems, some people could contribute to the endowment of a foundation through the paying the cost of making one or more images. In these cases, the contributors, probably, selected a saint or a scene which afterwards was marked with an inscription mentioning their names, like it was in the churches of Dolac and Exo Nyphi.

Finally, there were situations when the small-scaled figures or inscriptions marked images added to the already decorated foundations (e.g. at Kastoria and Ai-Giannaki). I consider that these sponsors wanted their pious contributions to appear in certain contexts and, consequently, to be seen and venerated in a desired way and by a known audience. They also might choose to be depicted as performing continuous prayers in those places of worship which were important for them (like in case of Gračanica or St. John Theologos in Berroia).

Answering the question posed in the beginning of this subchapter, one should consider the persons depicted and mentioned in these ways to be rather contributors than founders, even though, depending on individual circumstances, the measure of their contribution and participation in the construction and decoration could vary greatly.

4.2. Children as Ktitors: The Portraits of Moneyless Patrons

Sometimes, among the represented ktitors, one may encounter not only adults who donated money out of their budgets, but also children, who, obviously, because of their age, couldn't actively participate in the erection of a church or a monastery. Thus, I would also like to examine the role of children and attitude toward them on the Medieval Balkans and Byzantium on the basis on their representations in votive compositions.¹⁰¹⁵

The Majority of studies devoted to the topic of children turned either to documents and problems of legal nature¹⁰¹⁶ or, oppositely, to the depictions of children in general (children saints, Christ-infant, and the children ktitors among others).¹⁰¹⁷ Only two works somehow touch upon the problem of appearance of children among adult ktitors. D. Vojvodić provides an overview of the images of the royal power in Byzantium and Slavic Balkan countries,¹⁰¹⁸ including the votive portraits, coins, and minor arts. And though, he observes changes occurring in the royal portraits of Palaiologan period (the inclusion of children not being appointed as co-ruler or throne heirs), the article doesn't provide historical analysis of social and political circumstances causing these changes. Another work, devoted to death and commemoration of children¹⁰¹⁹ turns to the analysis of the funeral monuments intended for young family members and their placement in churches. However, there is no study focused on the problems of ktitorial rights and duties associated with children. In this sense, I see a certain omission in the field, as the donor portraits, except for being the matter of visual arts, also belonged to the realm of law, since their appearance in the context of artworks was itself a right,¹⁰²⁰ while their composition depended on hereditary arrangements.

¹⁰¹⁵ The topic of children's appearance in ktitorial compositions was partially touched upon in studies dedicated to gender problems, namely in the articles on depictions of ladies as founders (Safran, Linda. "Deconstructing 'Donors' in Medieval Southern Italy," in: *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. L. Theiss, M. Mullett and M. Grünbart (Vienna: Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Universität Wien, 2014): 135-151; Karamaouna, Nota, Peker, Nilüfer, Uyar, B. Tolga. "Donors in Thirteenth-Century Wall Paintings in Cappadocia: An Overview," in: *Ibid.*, 231-242; Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead*, pp. 47-51, 145-159) or in the works dealing with the role of children in Byzantium (Hennessy, *Images of children*, pp. 105-110, 145-178).

¹⁰¹⁶ Christofilopoulos, Anastasios [Χριστοφιλοπούλος, Αναστάσιος]. *Σχέσεις γονέων και τέκνων κατά το βυζαντινόν δίκαιον: μετά συμβολών εις το αρχαίον και το ελληνιστικόν* (Athens, 1946); Patlagean, "L'enfant et son avenir,"; Eadem. "L'entrée dans l'âge adulte à Byzance aux XIIIe-XIVe siècles," in: *L'historicité de l'enfance et de la jeunesse dans la production historique récente*, ed. J. Gentil da Salva (Athens, 1986): 263-270; Beaucamp, Joëlle. "La situation juridique de la femme à Byzance," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 20 (1977): 145-176.

¹⁰¹⁷ Hennessy, *Images of children*; Hennessy, Cecily. "The Byzantine Child: Picturing Complex Family Dynamics," in: *Approaches to the Byzantine Family*, eds. S. Tougher and L. Brubaker (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013): 207-232.

¹⁰¹⁸ Vojvodić, "Personalni sastav slike vlasti."

¹⁰¹⁹ Talbot, "The Death and Commemoration."

¹⁰²⁰ Marković, Vasilije. "Ktitori, njihove dužnosti i prava," *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 5 (1925): 90-121 (esp. pp. 113-115).

4.2.1. Social Changed in Balkan Medieval Family

Byzantine social and legal practice distinguished several stages of childhood, which involved an increase in responsibilities of a person and a change in his/her role in the society. The age of childhood lasted until 13-15 years and was followed by the age of youth, then, the legal adulthood was reached at 25 years.¹⁰²¹ The same or very close age was established for marriage and for taking habit: in case of marriage, the legal age was 14 years for boys and 12 for girls; in case of monastic vows, it was 15 and 13 years, accordingly.¹⁰²² Since the state and the church considered the same to be the age of taking responsibility, one can conclude that after 12-15 years a person acquired another civic status, i.e. the adolescence. Here, I would like to notice that in the present chapter I consider the boys and girls of pre-marital age (i.e. before 13-15 years old) as children, but, in some cases, I use instances of depictions of so-called *ypexousioi* – adolescents, still living in the households of their parents.¹⁰²³

The period under consideration in this dissertation (from the late 13th to the mid-15th century) is characterized by numerous changes occurred in the Balkan (Byzantine, Bulgarian, Serbian) societies and affecting the family structures, the operation of households and the attitude toward children. On the one hand, a new tendency toward the popularity of a nuclear family appeared in Byzantium: this smaller, nuclear household got extended social networks and external alliances and became popular among both, the members of the middle and lower nobility, as well as the peasantry.¹⁰²⁴ However, a family being a dynamic unit tended to assume different forms with the passage of time, and, therefore, the nuclear households continued to coexist with the extended families comprising several generations of relatives.¹⁰²⁵ At the same time, in Slavic countries, an extended family in the form of *zadruga* was still the most common social institute,¹⁰²⁶ it meant the

¹⁰²¹ Patlagean, Evelyn. "L'entrée dans l'âge adulte à Byzance aux XIII^e-XIV^e siècles," in: *L'historicité de l'enfance et de la jeunesse dans la production historique récente*, ed. J. Gentil da Salva (Athens, 1986): 264-266; Prinzing, "Observations on the Legal Status," pp. 20-21).

¹⁰²² Patlagean, "L'enfant et son avenir," p. 87; Prinzing, "Observations on the Legal Status," pp. 28-30.

¹⁰²³ For the definition of the legal term, see: Prinzing, "Observations on the Legal Status," pp. 17-18.

¹⁰²⁴ Laiou, Angeliki. "Family Structure and the Transmission of Property," in: *A Social History of Byzantium*, ed. J. Haldon (Chichester-Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009): 60-61; Kyritses, *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, pp. 222-234 (for aristocracy); Kondyli, Fotini. "Changes in the structure and wealth of the Late Byzantine family," in: *Approaches to the Byzantine Family*, eds. S. Tougher and L. Brubaker (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013): 371-393 (for peasantry).

¹⁰²⁵ Laiou, Angeliki. "Family Structure and the Transmission of Property," in: *A Social History of Byzantium*, ed. J. Haldon (Chichester-Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009): 60-64.

¹⁰²⁶ For Slavic families living on the Byzantine territories see: Laiou-Thomadakis, Angeliki E. *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977): 80-82; For the prevalence of the extended families among both, noblemen and peasant in Serbia see: Taranovski, Teodor. *Istoriya Srpskog prava u Nemanjičkoj državi* (Belgrade: Službeni list, 1996): 446-457; Mišić, Siniša. "Srpska porodica u poznom Srednjem veku," *Etnoantropološki problemi* 10 (2015): 357-381; for cases of the Bulgarian territories see: Tsankova-Petkova, Genoveva [Цанкова-Петкова, Геновева]. *За аграрните отношения в средновековна България. XI—XIII в.* (Sofia: BAN, 1964): 28-29.

co-habitation of several generations under the same roof. But even in the Slavic states, toward the end of the 14th century, individual families started to occur.¹⁰²⁷

On the other hand, during the same period, especially after the Black Death and the famine 1350s, many families started to perceive the deaths of their offspring slightly in different manner: the fact that none of the children might survive sparked new strategies of coping with grief and future oblivion.¹⁰²⁸ Parents could find a kind of consolation into bequeathing their properties to monasteries in exchange for the commemoration of them and their deceased heirs. Thus, in the period between the end of the 13th c. and the 15th c. one can see the development of children-parental relations at two levels: legitimacy of power and property succession and emotional affection and commemoration.

Finally, during this period all three orthodox Balkan states developed a system of the joint governance to avoid the election of a throne successor.¹⁰²⁹ This practice was reflected into the appointment of eldest children as co-rulers and the endowment of younger ones with other high court titles. However, this system led to the growing competition between members of the ruling house(s), and, in a longer perspective, to the internal family conflicts and civil wars.¹⁰³⁰ However, the appearance of hierarchical relations within the ruling families received its reflection in both, the structure of legal documents¹⁰³¹ and visual representations.

Turning back to the problem of children depictions among the founders or sponsors of artworks, one should also consider the reasons standing behind such representations, the purposes of the composition's commission, the modes of the child's representation (i.e. as a child or as a young adult), persons accompanying a child and the ways of interactions between them. From this point of view, the preserved examples fall into several categories, namely: *royal portraits*, having political and propagandistic functions; *private portraits*, denoting the commissioned artworks by images of the

¹⁰²⁷ Mišić, Siniša. "Inokosne porodice i zadruga u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji," *Glasnik Zavičajnog muzeja* 10 (2015): 9-28 – Author argues that toward the end of the 14th – beginning of the 15th century more individual families appeared on the Serbian territories, among the noblemen as well as the villagers, accounting about 37-40% of the village families.

¹⁰²⁸ About the Black Death in Byzantium, see: Lefort, Jacques. "Population et peuplement en Macédoine orientale IXe-XVe siècle," in: *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin. Vol. II: VIIIe-XVe siècles*, ed. V. Kravari, J. Lefort, C. Morrisson (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1991): 79-80; Congourdeau, Marie-Hélène. "Pour une étude de la Peste noire à Byzance," in: *Eupsychia. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler*, ed. M. Balard, H. Ahrweiler Vol. I (Paris: Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation byzantines, 1998): 149-163; About strategies of coping with death of children Talbot, "The Death and Commemoration," pp. 288-298; Hennessy, Cecily. "Young people in Byzantium," in: *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. L. James (Chichester-Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010): 82-83.

¹⁰²⁹ On the joint governance in Serbia and Byzantium, see: Ferjančić, "Savladarstvo u doba Paleologa"; Blagojević, Miloš. "Savladarstvo u srpskim zemljama posle smrti cara Uroša," *ZRVI* 21 (1982): 183–212; Vojvodić, "Personalni sastav slike vlasti," pp. 409-430. About the broader problem of two competing principle of the power inheritance in Medieval Serbia, seniority and co-rulership, see: Taranovski, Teodor. *Istorija Srpskog prava u Nemanjičkoj državi* (Belgrade: Službeni list, 1996): 163-171.

¹⁰³⁰ On the civil wars in Byzantium, see: Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, pp. 185-208; Fine, John V. A. *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1987): 292-310.

¹⁰³¹ Dölger, Franz. "Die dynastische Familienpolitik des Kaisers Michael Palaiologos," in: *Festschrift Eduard Eichmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. E. Eichmann, W. Laforet, M. Grabmann, K. Hofmann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1940.): 179-190.

sponsors; and *burial portraits*, created to commemorate the depicted deceased.¹⁰³² Consequently, the mode of depicting a child was directly affected by function of a portrait. Whereas the royal groups tended to feature children in the age older than the real one,¹⁰³³ the portraits, commissioned by private families reflected a real age of their offspring. Finally, being minor and subordinate members of families, children are usually depicted accompanied by other relatives, and placed within a kind of domestic or power hierarchy.

4.2.2. Development of Children Portraits in the Byzantine Commonwealth

Undoubtedly, children were included into official and votive portraits long before the Palaiologan epoch. Thus, among of the earliest examples one can find the murals of the chapel of Sts. Kirikos and Julita in Santa Maria Antiqua church (fig. 4.53-4.54), dated with 741-752.¹⁰³⁴ The founder of the chapel, Theodotus, holding the offices of *primicerius* at the Papal chancellery, headed the deaconry of the church, and arranged there a space for his own burial and that of his family (wife and their two children).¹⁰³⁵ The composition on the right wall of the chapel depicts the family of donors approaching the Virgin, and, though the upper part of the fresco (the faces of Theodotus, his wife and the Virgin) didn't survive, the lower part contains the portraits of two children, a boy and a girl, with square-shape haloes. However, the message of the composition strongly differs from later examples, where children participate as co-sponsors with their parents into the commissioning of some art-objects. As it was noted by Hans Belting, the parents in Santa Maria Antiqua portrait are praying to the Virgin for the salvation of their offspring and bring the burning candles in their hands. The candles become the signs of devotion and prayers on the behalf of the children, who, in turn, bring no offering since they are themselves the subjects of intercession.¹⁰³⁶

The earliest example of children participating in the church's foundation comes from the middle of the 11th century, from the decoration of St. Sophia church in Kiev, dated with 1040s.¹⁰³⁷ The composition (fig. 4.55-4.58) occupied the southern, western and northern sides of the western arm of the cross, but, due to several repaintings, only the southern and, partially, the northern side survived.

¹⁰³² About different functions of portraits during the Palaiologan time, see: Velmans, Tania. "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues," in: *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues, Actes du Colloque organisé par l'Association Internationale des Études Byzantines* (Venice: Institut hellénique d'études byzantines et post-byzantines, 1971): 91–148; Vojvodić, "Personalni sastav slike vlasti."

¹⁰³³ About this tendency, see: Hennessy, *Images of children in Byzantium*, pp. 154-161.

¹⁰³⁴ Belting, "Eine Privatkapelle," pp. 55-56.

¹⁰³⁵ Klinkenberg, Emanuel S. *Compressed Meanings: the Donor's Model in Medieval Art to around 1300: Origin, Spread and Significance of an Architectural Image in the Realm of Tension between Tradition and Likeness* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009): 59; Rushforth, Gordon McNeil. "The Church of S Maria Antiqua," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 1 (1901): 105-106.

¹⁰³⁶ Belting, "Eine Privatkapelle," pp. 56-58

¹⁰³⁷ About dating of the composition see: Ророва, Ольга, Сарыбянов, Владимир [Попова, Ольга, Сарабянов, Владимир]. *Живопись конца X — середины XI века* [История Русского искусства в 22 томах. Том 1: Искусство Киевской Руси, IX-первая четверть XII века] (Moscow: 2007): 196.

The lost frescoes, known from the drawings of the 17th and 18th century, have several proposed reconstructions, but the hypothesis of A. Poppe is the most accepted one.¹⁰³⁸ He proposed to place the *knyaz* Yaroslav with the model of the foundation and his wife Irina on the sides of enthroned Christ and to reconstruct other praying figures standing behind the ruling spouses as their sons and daughters. However, the idea of A. Preobrazhensky looks even more convincing; he suggests that the western wall was occupied by the three-figure Deesis flanked by the royal couple of the donors¹⁰³⁹ followed by their sons and daughters. Although this example would be one of the earliest among the depiction of children in votive compositions of the Byzantine commonwealth,¹⁰⁴⁰ one cannot regard it as a typical or exemplary. This fresco appeared in specific conditions of Medieval Rus' state-building and reflected the *knyaz* Yaroslav's ideas about hereditary power. As the Primary Chronicle records, at his death-bed Yaroslav divided the realm between his sons by their seniority and appointed the eldest one, Izyaslav, as the *knyaz* of Kiev and the senior among his brothers.¹⁰⁴¹ Thus, he established a hereditary principle of power succession and hierarchy among his sons-princes.¹⁰⁴² Precisely in the same way, this hierarchy is depicted on St. Sophia's walls: Yaroslav's children are differentiated by their height and proximity to the father (from the senior to the youngest), thus demonstrating the order of succession visually. These principles of suzerainty and hereditary power belonged to the political reality of Rus', but not that of the 11th-century Byzantium,¹⁰⁴³ and, therefore, the depiction of children in this votive composition should be considered rather as a non-traditional iconographic feature which appeared under the national circumstances of Medieval Rus'.

In Byzantium itself, the ceremonial portraits of imperial descendants, dated before the Palaiologan epoch, survived on the miniatures (Paris MS gr. 510, 879-883; Paris MS gr. 922, ca.

¹⁰³⁸ Poppe, Andzej. "The Building of the Church of St. Sophia in Kiev," *Journal of the Medieval History* 7/1 (1981): 15-61 (esp. pp. 39-41).

¹⁰³⁹ Preobrazhensky, Alexandr [Преображенский, Александр]. *Ктиторские портреты средневековой Руси. XI - начало XVI века* (Moscow, 2012):84.

¹⁰⁴⁰ As typical and greatly influenced by the Byzantine examples it was regarded by Obolensky, Dimitri. *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500—1453* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971): 23-78 and Hennessy, *Images of children in Byzantium*, pp.163-168.

¹⁰⁴¹ Се же поручаю в собе мѣсто столь старѣйшему сыну моему и брату вашему Изяславу Кыевъ; сего послушайте, якоже послушасте мене, да той вы будете в мене мѣсто; а Святославу даю Черниговъ, а Всеволоду Переяславль, а Игорю Володимерь, а Вячеславу Смолинескъ – *The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles* [Полное собрание русских летописей], Vol. I (St. Petersburg: Eduard Pratz, 1846): 69-70. Translation: "Wherefore remain rather at peace, brother heeding brother. The throne of Kiev I bequeath to my eldest son, your brother Izyaslav. Heed him as ye have heeded me, that he may take my place among you. To Svyatoslav I give Chernigov, to Vsevolod Pereyaslavl', to Igor' the city of Vladimir, and to Vyacheslav Smolensk – *The Russian Primary Chronicle, Laurentian Text*. Tran. and ed. S. H. Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, 1953): 142.

¹⁰⁴² In more details about principles of hereditary power and suzerainty in Medieval Rus see: Shavelev, Alexandr [Щавелёв, Александр]. "Родовой сюзеренитет династии Рюриковичей в системе политического устройства Древней Руси," *Проблемы славяноведения. Сборник научных статей и материалов* 2 (2000): 13–24; Nazarenko, Alexandr [Назаренко, Александр]. "Порядок престолонаследия на Руси X—XII вв.: Сеньорат, наследственные разделы и попытки десигнации," В: *Из истории русской культуры*, ed. A. D. Koshelev, V. Ya. Petruchin, Vol. 1: Древняя Русь (Moscow: 2000): 500—519.

¹⁰⁴³ Dagron, Gilbert. *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 39-41.

1067), the Hungarian crown of king Geza (1073-1077), the Romanos ivory (945-949?), and the mosaic portrait of John II, Eirine and Alexios on the southern gallery of St. Sophia of Constantinople (ca. 1122). These examples were closely examined by Cecily Hennessy¹⁰⁴⁴ who concluded that, being represented in their official capacity as heirs and potential rulers, the imperial children were depicted older than their real age, usually as juveniles, and were subordinated members of the royal family. Moreover, the difference in age between the siblings was leveled in such cases. Therefore, in the present chapter I am not going to regard these monuments since they do not bear the depiction of children, but rather the images of children as adults, which was considered to be more suitable for the official purposes. In a similar way, the imperial panegyrics often described royal children in unrealistic way, as possessing the *charisma* of an adult and displaying skills, associated with their office.¹⁰⁴⁵

In her essay “Looking at the byzantine family” Leslie Brubaker suggested to apply a concept of “portrait as biography”¹⁰⁴⁶ for the Byzantine portraiture, which would outline the gender and age stereotypes, ascribed to different family members. Basing on this notion, one may suppose that the depictions of children as adults didn’t reflect their actual family role, but rather their ideal political status. Indeed, a few images of byzantine imperial offspring presented as actual children preceded the proposed framework of the Palaiologan period. This tendency toward depicting royal offspring as children in the visual arts coincided with more attentive depiction of imperial children in the Komnenian rhetoric, as they started to be discussed as occupied rather with education, than with such grown-up activities as military commandment.¹⁰⁴⁷

In the difference with the above-discussed case of Medieval Rus, the hereditary imperial office *per se* never existed in Byzantium, and the autocrats of the Romans used the co-rulership as a tool to insure the throne for their descendants, thus appointing their sons or other relatives as the younger emperors.¹⁰⁴⁸ Thus, Barberini Psalter (Vaticanus Barberinianus Grecus 372) opens with the miniature of the imperial family displayed as the commissioners of the manuscript; it consists of a bearded emperor, placed on the left, a mother empress – on the right, and a child between them, dressed like

¹⁰⁴⁴ Hennessy, *Images of children in Byzantium*, pp. 145-163.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Angelov, Dimitar. “Emperors and Patriarchs as Ideal Children and Adolescents: Literary conventions and cultural expectations,” in: *Becoming Byzantine: Children and Childhood in Byzantium*, ed. A. Papaconstantinou and A.-M. Talbot (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library: 2009): 102-104.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Brubaker, Leslie. “Looking at the Byzantine Family,” in: *Approaches to the Byzantine Family*, eds. S. Tougher and L. Brubaker (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013): 177-178. The notion of “portrait as biography” together with such meanings ascribed to portrait as “portrait as proxy and gift,” “portrait as document,” and “portrait as commemoration and memoria” were introduced by Shearer West in her book “Portraiture” (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹⁰⁴⁷ Angelov, Dimitar. “Emperors and Patriarchs as Ideal Children and Adolescents: Literary conventions and cultural expectations,” in: *Becoming Byzantine: Children and Childhood in Byzantium*, ed. A. Papaconstantinou and A.-M. Talbot (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library: 2009): 109-111.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, pp. 72-73; Nicol, Donald M. “Byzantine Political Thought,” in: *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350-c.1450*, ed. J.H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 63.

an older ruler (fig. 4.59). These figures were interpreted as Constantine X Doukas, Eudokia Makrembolitissa and their son Michael VII¹⁰⁴⁹ (ca. 1060) or as Alexios I Komnenos, Eirene and their son John II Komnenos (ca. 1092).¹⁰⁵⁰ The latter opinion seems to be more plausible now, as it can explain the discrepancies between the style of the miniatures, related to the end of the 11th century, and the codicological features, associated with the London Psalter of the year 1066.¹⁰⁵¹ Though the miniature was heavily restored,¹⁰⁵² one can still distinguish the main elements of the composition. It depicts a symbolized coronation ceremony, when the entire family receives their *insignia* (crowns) from angels, sent by the Lord (the enthroned figure in the heavenly segment who holds an ideal imperial crown in his hand). Moreover, the special attention is given to the figure of the boy, whose crown is brought by an angel directly from Christ and who occupies the center of the illumination, standing between his parents. Therefore, the miniature emphasizes the legitimacy of the new co-emperor, which was the necessity in the case of the appointment of John II by Alexios Komnenos. Alexios decided to make John II the co-ruler, though the emperor had promised to pass the throne to his potential son-in-law, Constantine Doukas (son of Michael VII).¹⁰⁵³ So, the pious act of ordering or illuminating of the Psalter became a pretext for the promotion of the new co-ruler and a tool of imperial propaganda. Albeit the book had limited circulation and could be meant as a gift for John himself,¹⁰⁵⁴ the miniature suggests that the text was intended for education of the new emperor and the Codex instructed him visually in political theory, explained him the idea of god-established power and the order of succession and seniority in the family.

4.2.3. Late Byzantine Political Portraits of Children

The common representation of a ruling parent and a child was used as a propaganda tool in the Despotate of Epiros. A marble slab (fig. 4.60-4.61) from the burial of St. Theodora (Arta), placed in the church dedicated to the saint, was usually interpreted as a portrait of later-canonized *basilissa* Theodora Petraliphina and her son, the future despot Nikephoros.¹⁰⁵⁵ However, an explanation,

³⁷ Spatharakis, *The Portrait*, pp. 33-34

¹⁰⁵⁰ De Wald, "The Comnenian Portraits": Anderson, Jeffrey C. "The Date and Purpose of the Barberini Psalter," *Cahiers archéologiques* 31 (1983): 35-67; Anderson, Canart, Walter, *The Barberini psalter*; Hennessy, *Images of children in Byzantium*, pp. 161-162.

¹⁰⁵¹ Anderson, Canart, Walter, *The Barberini psalter*, pp. 7, 30-31. The explanations proposed are the following: either the scribe had a long-lasting career or the miniatures were added later.

¹⁰⁵² Anderson, Canart, Walter, *The Barberini psalter*, pp. 10-12; Spatharakis, *The Portrait*, pp. 29-34.

¹⁰⁵³ De Wald, "The Comnenian Portraits," pp. 81-82; Garland, Lynda. *Byzantine Empresses: Women and Power in Byzantium AD 527-1204* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999): 185.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Spatharakis, *The Portrait*, pp. 26-27.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Grabar, André. *Sculptures byzantines du Moyen age (XIe – XIVe siècle)*, Vol. II (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1976): 144-145, figs. CXXI, a, b (with bibliography); Pazaras, *Ανάγλυφες σαρκοφάγοι*, pp. 42, 79-80, 90-91, 170-175; Parani, Maria. *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th Centuries)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003): 324; Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead*, pp. 94-95, 98-100,

proposed by B. Cvetković,¹⁰⁵⁶ seems more plausible. He suggested that since the marble slab represents only a woman and a child without an adult despot, the chosen iconographic scheme coincides with the regency of the mother over a young ruler. Consequently, this fact should exclude the interpretation of the carved personage as Theodora Petraliphina, who has never been a regent. As an alternative, B. Cvetković proposed to interpret the relief as an images of the Despot Thomas and his mother-regent Anna Kantakouzene Palaiologine.¹⁰⁵⁷

Anna Palaiologina acted as a regent between 1296 and 1313, i.e. after the death of her husband, despotes Nikephoros I, and until the marriage of her son with a granddaughter of the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II.¹⁰⁵⁸ In absence of an adult male ruler she defended the position of her son from the claims of Philip of Taranto, her son in law, who tried to establish the suzerainty over the Epirote despot.¹⁰⁵⁹ The *basilissa* is represented as receiving the investiture from the hand of God, carved in the corner of the relief, in the segment of Heavens. The image alludes that the *basilissa*, similarly with her Byzantine male counterparts, received her authority by God's blessing and on the legitimate grounds, which allowed her to secure the right of power succession for her young son. Being guarded on the both sides by the figures of angels, the ruling family underlines their hereditary legitimacy through the relations with the Angelos dynasty.¹⁰⁶⁰ Probably, during Anna's regency she added the narthex to the church built by her holy mother-in-law St. Theodora, ordered to paint it with frescoes and to carve the regarded slab for the burial of the saint. The relief was a votive offering to the grand-mother of the *despot* Thomas, and it represented the child-ruler who, actually, didn't participate in the endowment, as a pious, legitimate, god-chosen heir of Arta, protected by the local saint. Under Anna's rule the narthex also received the decoration (fig. 4.62) with scenes from the Old-Testament story of Jacob (Genesis, ch. 25-48) which was used to strengthen conceptually the legitimacy of hereditary power on the theological grounds:¹⁰⁶¹ Jacob bought the right of first-born from Esau and became the prototype of a younger family member ascending to power by God's will, i.e. exactly the same way as younger Thomas was represented as chosen by God over his brother-in-law (Philip of Taranto).

Thus, the royal children were represented among the ktetors or commissioners of art works for the purposes of public promotion of their legitimacy as future rulers and for promulgation of the ideas associated with just co-rulership and regency. Indeed, these were the tools for providing a peaceful

¹⁰⁵⁶ Cvetković, Branislav. "The Investiture Relief in Arta, Epiros," *ZRVI* 23 (1994): 103-114.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp. 49-50; *PLP*, no. 10933.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, p. 75; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, pp. 117-118.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Nicol, Donald M. *The Byzantine Lady: Ten Portraits, 1250-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 27-30.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Cvetković, Branislav. "Iconography of Female Regency: An Issue of Methodology," *Niš i Vizantija* 10 (2011): 405-414 (esp. 412-414).

¹⁰⁶¹ Fundić, Leonela. *Η μνημειακή τέχνη του Δεσποτάτου της Ηπείρου την περίοδο της Δυναστείας των Κομνηνών Αγγέλων (1204-1318)*, PhD. Dissertation, Thessaloniki University, 2013, pp. 82-85.

passage of power between the generations in the absence of hereditary system of succession and dynastic model of state governance:¹⁰⁶² depicting the younger members of a ruling family as god-chosen heirs, these images triggered a mechanism of their legitimization. In the Palaiologan age, heirs were still in the age of a child (often even under the 12-15 years) when they were appointed as the co-rulers.¹⁰⁶³ Andronikos II was born in 1259 and named the co-emperor in 1261;¹⁰⁶⁴ Michael IX was became the co-emperor when he was only five, but was crowned in 1294;¹⁰⁶⁵ Andronikos IV was born in 1348 and raised to the co-emperor c. 1352;¹⁰⁶⁶ John VII Palaiologos, son of Andronikos IV, was born in 1370 and named the co-emperor under his father's reign, in 1376–1377.¹⁰⁶⁷

Simultaneously, in the votive compositions, the number of participants grew up, since the royal commissioners started to include their other children.¹⁰⁶⁸ Probably, the presence of two competing dynasties in power (the Palaiologoi and the Kantakouzenoi) could explain these changes as each of them tried to promote its own hereditary lineage. Finally, the civil wars started from the inside of the imperial family led to the development of system of *appanages*,¹⁰⁶⁹ i.e. when an older emperor granted the provinces of empire (Morea, Thessaloniki, Thrace) to be administered and held semi-independently by his sons and relatives. This practice prompted the co-existence of two forms of succession (by appointment and by seniority), especially, after John V left for his journey to the West and appointed his sons to rule the different provinces in accordance with their seniority.¹⁰⁷⁰ So, the emperors established their elder children as the co-rulers, whereas the younger ones received the titles of *despots* and ruled over Thessaloniki or Morea, semi-independently. Thus, the question of inheritance and seniority in the ruling family appeared on agenda. As D. Vojvodić¹⁰⁷¹ noted, the Palaiologan epoch is characterized by the presentation of the non-crowned and not appointed as the co-rulers children on the portraits of the royal families.

In the Palaiologian time the ktetorial compositions receives further development, the number of participants grew up to two of three generations of families, and consequently the children depictions

¹⁰⁶² The discussion of, at least, formal electability of the imperial office, see: Kaldellis, Anthony. *The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome* (Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press, 2015): 89-116 (esp. pp. 114-115)

¹⁰⁶³ Ferjančić, "Savladarstvo u doba Paleologa."

¹⁰⁶⁴ *PLP*, no. 21436, though Andronikos II was claimed the co-emperor in 1261, he was crowned only upon his marriage in 1272 - Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, pp. 44, 94; Ferjančić, "Savladarstvo u doba Paleologa," pp. 314-319.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *PLP*, no. 21529; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, pp. 94, 102; Ferjančić, "Savladarstvo u doba Paleologa," pp. 324-330.

¹⁰⁶⁶ *PLP*, no. 21438; Ferjančić, "Savladarstvo u doba Paleologa," pp. 342-344.

¹⁰⁶⁷ *PLP*, no. 21480; Ferjančić, "Savladarstvo u doba Paleologa," pp. 347-348.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Vojvodić, "Personalni sastav slike vlasti," pp. 416-420.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Maksimović, Ljbomir. "Geneza i karakter apanaža u Vizantiji," *ZRVI* 14/15 (1973): 103-154; Barker, John Walter. "The Problem of Appanages in Byzantium during the Palaiologan Period," *Byzantina* 3 (1971): 105-123.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Barker, John Walter. "The Problem of Appanages in Byzantium during the Palaiologan Period," *Byzantina* 3 (1971): 114.

¹⁰⁷¹ Vojvodić, "Personalni sastav slike vlasti," pp. 416-418.

started to be more often. Thus, the ktetorial composition (fig. 4.64) on the eastern wall of exonarthex in Virgin's church in Apollonia (1275)¹⁰⁷² consists of the empress Theodora, Andronikos II, Michael VIII, the Virgin holding the church model and putting Her hand protectively on the shoulder of a figure, probably, the hegoumenos of the monastery. According to the observations made by Anna Christidou¹⁰⁷³ the restoration of the churches in Albania was an imperial project by Michael VIII Palaiologos, who, thus, tried to state legitimacy of his dynasty and to demonstrate the Byzantine supremacy on these territories claimed by Charles I Naples. Here, the depiction of the entire family, haloed and represented in two generations of younger and older rulers makes an emphasis on the dynastic continuity and legitimate succession of power. However, as C. Hilsdale¹⁰⁷⁴ pointed out, the division of the composition into two groups and the reference to the donation gift on the background stress imperial generosity and the image of gift-giving.

In 1408, a lavishly illuminated manuscript containing the works by St. Dionysios the Areopagite (Louvre MR 416)¹⁰⁷⁵ was sent by Manuel II Palaiologos to the Paris Abbey of St. Denis which he visited in 1400 on the occasion of his trip to the West.¹⁰⁷⁶ Here, on the folio 2r (fig. 4.63), one can find the royal family portrait blessed by the Virgin Blachernitissa. The elder son, John VIII, foreseen as a future heir,¹⁰⁷⁷ stands to the right side of Manuel II Palaiologos, dressed the same way as his father and inscribed as "basileus." Two other sons, Theodore¹⁰⁷⁸ and Andronikos,¹⁰⁷⁹ stand on the emperor's left, clad into the costumes of despots (the first receives Morea as his appanage, the latter – Thessaloniki). Theodore is labelled as the despot, whereas Andronikos is inscribed just as "a child of the ruler" (ΑΥΘΕΝΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ) which suggests that he has not yet been invested with the title of despot.¹⁰⁸⁰ The miniature was commissioned between 1403 and 1405;¹⁰⁸¹ at that time, John was a boy of 13 years at most, Theodore had the age between 4 and 9 years, whereas Andronikos, born in 1400, had hardly 5 years. The princes are arranged from left to right into the descending order, which visually expresses the ideas of the transmission of authority to the next generations, seniority among

¹⁰⁷² Buschhausen Heide, Buschhausen, Helmut. *Die Marienkirche von Apollonia in Albanien* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976): 143-182 (esp. pp. 146-155) propose as a date of the frescoes in Apollonia ca. 1281-1282, however, Christidou, Anna. *Unknown Byzantine art in the Balkan area: art, power and patronage in twelfth to fourteenth century churches in Albania*, PhD Dissertation, London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2011, pp. 151-160, proposes an earlier date, c. 1275, but in any case, in the time of producing the frescoes of Apollonia church Andronikos II, born in 1259, would be already considered a young adult; Hilsdale, *Byzantine Art and Diplomacy*, pp. 104-106

¹⁰⁷³ , Christidou, Anna. *Unknown Byzantine art in the Balkan area: art, power and patronage in twelfth to fourteenth century churches in Albania*, PhD Dissertation, London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2011, pp. 159-160.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Hilsdale, *Byzantine Art and Diplomacy*, p. 104.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Hilsdale, *Byzantine Art and Diplomacy*, pp. 263-264; Spatharkis, *The portrait*, pp. 139-144; Hennessy, *Images of children in Byzantium*, pp. 170-174; Hilsdale, *Byzantine Art and Diplomacy*, pp. 236-267.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Hilsdale, *Byzantine Art and Diplomacy*, pp. 236-239.

¹⁰⁷⁷ PLP, no. 21481; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, pp. 331, 339.

¹⁰⁷⁸ PLP, no. 21459; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, p. 342.

¹⁰⁷⁹ PLP, no. 21427; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, pp. 334-336.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Spatharkis, *The portrait*, p. 140.

¹⁰⁸¹ Spatharkis, *The portrait*, p. 143

brothers and their hierarchy. As C. Hilsdale suggested¹⁰⁸² the creation of this group portrait can be a reflection on Dionysios Areopagite's ideas of taxis (order) and hierarchy expressed in order to visualize the transmission of powers from God to the emperor and its dissemination between his family members. Since the manuscript was a diplomatic gift for a religious foundation, the depicted imperial family was perceived as an ideal image of the authority in the Byzantine state, and, simultaneously, as a representation of the family in the framework of ceremonial arrangements (as it was seen, for example, by a Spanish ambassador Ruy de Clavijo).¹⁰⁸³ Therefore, the way in which the children appear corresponds to their status in the hierarchy of power and their seniority.

In a similar manner, the hierarchy of power in family might have been represented on the mosaics ordered for the refectory of the Peribleptos Monastery in Constantinople (fig. 4.66). On the basis of travelers' descriptions and the engraving dated with 1601,¹⁰⁸⁴ it is possible to reconstruct the images.¹⁰⁸⁵ According to Monsier de Monconys,¹⁰⁸⁶ on the both sides, above the entrance to the hall, a royal family was depicted (though, the author doesn't specify whether it was frescoes or mosaics) and it included the emperor and several other family members:

...above the door, the Greek emperor was painted from one side and his wife from the other, each having a big daughter by their side and, between the emperor and his daughter there was a smaller figure representing a girl of from 10 to 12 years.¹⁰⁸⁷

The description seems to be very detailed, but, somehow, misleading, since Monsier de Monconys took the figure of Constantine Palaiologos (inscribed on the engraving of 1601 as “ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΣ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΣ Ο ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ”) for a girl “of ten or twelfth years.” Later, though, he noted that “she wears a crown of a Count” and a cloak (“paludamentum,” as Monsier de Monconys calls it) which coincides with the characteristics of Constantine's image. The figure of the emperor and a “big daughter” standing on his side can be understood as Michael VIII (ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ) and his wife Theodora (ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑ ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ ΠΙΣΤΗ

¹⁰⁸² Hilsdale, *Byzantine Art and Diplomacy*, pp. 248-263

¹⁰⁸³ Hennessy, *Images of children in Byzantium*, p. 173.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Du Cange, Charles du Fresne, *De Imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum, seu inferioris aevi vel imperii, uti vocant, numismatibus dissertation* (Rome/Vatican, 1755): pl. VI. “eiusdem Michaelis Palaeologi imagini Constantinopoli in Peribleptae Deiparae templo, versus occidentalem partem, ubi una cum Theodora Augusta pictus conspicitur, inter utrumque parentem collocato filio Constantino Porphyrogenito; quas quidem imagines delineari hoc loco curavimus” - Stichel, Rudolf. “«Vergessene Kaiserporträts» spätbyzantinischer Kaiser. Zwei frühpalaiologische kaiserliche Familienbildnisse im Peribleptos- und Pammakaristoskloster zu Konstantinopel,” *Mitteilungen zur spätantiken Archäologie und byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* 1 (1998): 78.

¹⁰⁸⁵ The reconstruction of the composition and identification of the personage was proposed by Stichel, Rudolf. “«Vergessene Kaiserporträts» spätbyzantinischer Kaiser. Zwei frühpalaiologische kaiserliche Familienbildnisse im Peribleptos- und Pammakaristoskloster zu Konstantinopel,” *Mitteilungen zur spätantiken Archäologie und byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* 1 (1998): 75-84, 98-99.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Monsieur de Monconys, *Journal des Voyages de M. de Montconys. Premiere partie* (Lyon: Liergues son fils, 1665): 405-406.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Monsieur de Monconys, *Journal des Voyages de M. de Montconys. Premiere partie* (Lyon: Liergues son fils, 1665): 405.

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΣΣΑ ΠΟΜΑΙΩΝ Η ΚΟΜΝΗΝΗ) presented on the engraving. As for two other figures, which both, Monsier de Monconys and Vincent De Stochove,¹⁰⁸⁸ considered females, R.Stichel proposed to see them as Andronikos II and his wife Anna of Hungary and dated the mosaics with 1272-1282.¹⁰⁸⁹ Taking into consideration the small size of Constantine's figure, as it is reflected on the engraving, it should denote his younger age, one may assume that the mosaic should be dated with an earliest possible date (1272-1273, i.e. when Constantine was still a minor).¹⁰⁹⁰ Moreover, there is still a problem with an identification of the two unnamed figures, if it was, indeed, Andronikos II with his wife Anna, the co-emperor should have been depicted at least with a small bear.¹⁰⁹¹ There are two possible solutions to this issue, either the image was not well preserved and both travellers didn't see the face of the figure clearly or Andronikos II was represented as a young man without a beard, the same way he was painted in the church of Apollonia.¹⁰⁹² The important feature of the Prebleptos images is the establishment of seniority by the means of scaling: though the difference in age between Andronikos and Constantine was just a year, Constantine was represented as a boy between his parents, whereas Andronikos, dressed like his father, was a full-scale figure. Albeit, it is difficult to make some certain conclusions on the basis of the descriptions and a partial copy only, I would suggest that the inclusion of Constantine into the same family unit with his father demonstrated his dependant status visually.

4.2.4. Portraits of Royal Children in Balkan Slavic Countries

In the difference with the Byzantine cases, the Bulgarian visual sources represent not only sons, but also daughters of a ruler.¹⁰⁹³ The Gospels of Ivan Alexander¹⁰⁹⁴ (British Library MS ADD 39627, fols. 2v-3r) demonstrate the order of power succession through the arrangement of children, their

¹⁰⁸⁸ Stochove, Vincent de. *Voyage du sieur de Stochove fait es annees 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633* (Brussels: H. A. Velpius, 1643): 52.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Stichel, Rudolf. "«Vergessene Kaiserporträts» spätbyzantinischer Kaiser. Zwei frühpalaiologische kaiserliche Familienbildnisse im Peribleptos- und Pammakaristoskloster zu Konstantinopel," *Mitteilungen zur spätantiken Archäologie und byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* 1 (1998): 82-83.

¹⁰⁹⁰ *PLP*, no. 21492- Constantine was born in 1260, and he would be considered a minor until 1273-1275.

¹⁰⁹¹ About beards in Byzantium as a symbol of age and status, see: Tougher, Shaun Fitzroy. "Bearding Byzantium: Masculinity, eunuchs and the Byzantine life course," in: *Questions of Gender in Byzantine Society*, eds. N. Bronwen and L. Garland, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013): 153-166. After crowning Andronikos as co-emperor Michael VIII started to issue a coin depicting both emperors, in this case both of them are represented as bearded – Grierson, Philip. *Byzantine Coinage* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Foundation, 1999): 105.

¹⁰⁹² Buschhausen Heide, Buschhausen, Helmut. *Die Marienkirche von Apollonia in Albanien* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976): 143-182 (esp. 146-155) propose as a date of the frescoes in Apollonia ca. 1281-1282, however, A. Christidou proposes an earlier date, c. 1275, but in any case, in the time of producing the frescoes of Apollonia church Andronikos II, born in 1259, would be already considered a young adult, see: Christidou, Anna. *Unknown Byzantine art in the Balkan area: art, power and patronage in twelfth to fourteenth century churches in Albania*, PhD Dissertation, London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2011, pp. 142-161 (esp. pp. 154-161).

¹⁰⁹³ Vojvodić, "Personalni sastav slike vlasti," p. 413.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Spatharkis, *The portrait*, pp. 67-70; Dimitrova, Ekaterina. *The Gospels of Tsar Ivan Alexander* (London: British Library, 1994): p. 16. Fig. 11.

costumes and inscriptions (fig. 4.65). On folio 2v, three daughters of the Tsar stand on the red cushions, placed in ascending order by their seniority and accompanied by the Tsar's son-in-law, the despot Constantine, standing as well on a brown-red cushion. The opposite folio 3r contains the portrait of Ivan Alexander (Iw(ан) Алексан(д)ръ в Х(рист)а б(ог)а вѣрны ц(а)рь и самодръжець вѣсѣмъ бългारѣмъ и грѣкомъ), accompanied by his wife Theodora (Θε(од)ωρα, в Х(рист)а б(ог)а вѣрнаа и новопросвѣщеннаа цар(и)ца и самодръжица вѣсѣмъ българѣмъ и грѣкомъ) and two sons: Ivan Shishman (Iw(ан) Шишма(н) ц(а)рь, с(и)нѣ велика(го) ц(а)рѣ Iw(ан)а Алексан(дра)) in imperial garb, labelled as the co-ruler, and Ivan Asen (Iw(ан) Асѣ(н) ц(а)рь, с(и)нѣ ц(а)рѣвъ).¹⁰⁹⁵ Ivan Alexander, his wife and his elder son, Ivan Shishman, stand on red cushions, while his younger son, Ivan Asen, though he is also named a tsar, looks differently: he is dressed in a manner, similar to that one of the despot Constantine, and stands on a brown-red cushion. However, this dynastic picture doesn't represent the entire Bulgarian royal family: the intended omissions reflect a new dynastic and political framework, established by the Bulgarian tsar. In the fall of 1347 Ivan Alexander abandoned his first wife and, at the end of the year or early in 1348, married a baptized Jewish woman, named Theodora.¹⁰⁹⁶ As a result, his son from the first marriage, Ivan Stratsimir, does not appear in the dynastic picture, though he was the oldest royal offspring and should have been considered a legal heir of the throne.¹⁰⁹⁷ The problems emerged in 1355-1356 with the birth of male children from the second marriage (Ivan Shishman and Ivan Asen),¹⁰⁹⁸ as Ivan Alexander wanted to promote them over his first son. By the time when the manuscript was commissioned, Ivan Stratsimir had already been appointed as the Tsar of Vidin province and, simultaneously, deprived from the further succession of the Tărnovo throne.¹⁰⁹⁹ Consequently, the oldest son from the second marriage, Ivan Shishman, was appointed as the young tsar. The co-rulership is reflected into the title given to him in the miniature, his proximity to the father (he stays right in-between the royal couple) and his garments, similar to that of the sovereign.¹¹⁰⁰ Being an image of new dynasty and new order of inheritance in the ruling house, this portrait includes a blessing hand of God (repeated twice and directed to both, the Tsar and his wife)

¹⁰⁹⁵ British Library MS. ADD 39627, fol. 3r (accessed at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_39627_fs001r)

¹⁰⁹⁶ Bozhilov, *Фамилията на Асеновци*, p. 168.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Bozhilov, *Фамилията на Асеновци*, pp. 195, 235.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Bozhilov, *Фамилията на Асеновци*, No. 44, pp.224-233; No. 45, pp. 234; Bozhilov, Ivan, Gyuzelev, Vasil [Божилов, Иван, Гюзелев, Васил]. *История на България Т.І: История на Средновековна България VII - XIV век*, (Sofia: Anubis, 1999) –accessed at <https://chitanka.info/text/30003/55>.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Bozhilov, *Фамилията на Асеновци*, p. 201; Bozhilov, Ivan, Gyuzelev, Vasil [Божилов, Иван, Гюзелев, Васил]. *История на България Т.І: История на Средновековна България VII - XIV век*, (Sofia: Anubis, 1999) –accessed at <https://chitanka.info/text/30003/55>.

¹¹⁰⁰ Bozhilov, Ivan, Gyuzelev, Vasil [Божилов, Иван, Гюзелев, Васил]. *История на България Т.І*; Kotseva, Elena [Коцева, Елена]. “Приписка 1350–1360 гт. в Сборнике Прывослава. Рукопись времени Йоанна Александра и Йоанна Шишмана,” *Byzantinobulgarica* 3 (1980): 252-253.

which legitimizes the new marriage and its offspring from the Heaven. However, the unusual presence of royal daughters underlines the importance of female family members for the establishment of alliances and the appointment of authorities. As I. Spatharakis suggested, the presence and position of the Tsar's son in law, the despot Constantine, might point out to the purpose of the manuscript which could have been ordered on the occasion of the marriage between Constantine and the Tsar's daughter, Tamara.¹¹⁰¹ Although the general composition alludes on the byzantine model,¹¹⁰² the miniature has some peculiarities; the moving force behind the iconography was to demonstrate legitimacy of the new queen and the superiority of her offspring in the throne succession over the ones from the previous marriage.

The concentration of royal votive portraits with the inclusion of children can be observed in Medieval Serbia, where the constant problems of the new rulers' legitimacy (the members of the same dynasty coming to power via a coup d'état) caused a need and a desire of every new ruler to underline his own lineage and legitimacy.¹¹⁰³ The topic of the joint depiction of the royal couples with their children in Serbian medieval mural painting was brought to notice by S. Radojčić in his famous study, dedicated to the portraits of Serbian rulers¹¹⁰⁴ and developed by G. Babić through studies dealing with the rulers' portraits accompanied by the signs of the divine investiture.¹¹⁰⁵ B. Todić made a list (through, not complete) of examples of the rulers' images with the children in connection with his study of an altered portrait of the queen Jelena and the king Uroš in the narthex of Gračanica monastery's *katholikon* (fig. 4.67).¹¹⁰⁶

Initially, the children were represented only as donors together with their parents, as in the composition (fig. 4.68-4.69) of the Holy Trinity in Sopoćani (c. 1263).¹¹⁰⁷ Here, on the eastern wall on the narthex, a royal votive group addresses the Virgin, who makes an inviting gesture. King Uroš, putting a hand on his son's shoulder, presents the first-born child, Dragutin, standing in front of his father, to the Theotokos. The Queen Jelena with their second son, Milutin, stands behind her husband. The elder son wears a semispherical crown with *perpendulia*, an embroidered tunic and a *loros*, these garments being similar to those of his father (the only difference is the number of *perpendulia*, the

¹¹⁰¹ Spatharkis, *The portrait*, p. 70.

¹¹⁰² Spatharkis, *The portrait*, p. 67.

¹¹⁰³ About Serbian political situation throughout the rule of the Nemanjići dynasty and general Serbian political circumstances of the 13th-14th centuries see Ćirković, Sima, ed. *Istorija srpskog naroda. Vol I: Od najstarijih vremena do Marii ke bitke [1371]* (Belgrade: SANU, 1981): 263-572.

¹¹⁰⁴ Radojčić, *Portreti srpskih vladara*, esp. pp. 22-23 and 28.

¹¹⁰⁵ Babić, Gordana. "O portretima u Ramaći i jednom vidu investiture vladara," *ZLU* 15 (1979): 151-177 (esp. 157-164) paid attention to the fact that depiction of children on the royal portraits with the investiture formula served to depict a lawful passage of power and to organize an order of the throne inheritance.

¹¹⁰⁶ Todić, Branislav. "Kralj Milutin sa sinom Konstantinom i roditeljima monasima na fresci u Gračanici," *Saopštenja* 25 (1993): 7-23 (esp. pp. 9-11).

¹¹⁰⁷ Radojčić, *Portreti srpskih vladara*, pp. 23-24, 55; Đurić, Vojislav. *Sopoćani* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1991): 27, 132, about dating of the monument see *Ibid.*, pp. 23-27.

crown of the king has four, whereas the less ornamented headpiece of Dragutin – two) and reminded the Byzantine imperial ceremonial clothes.¹¹⁰⁸ The younger son, Milutin, is dressed less solemnly, he has a diadem, a white belted tunic with ornaments and an embroidered cloak, these details of his costume distinguished him rather like a prince than a ruler. The different clothes of the king's two sons visually demonstrate their status in the hierarchy of power: if Dragutin is depicted either as a co-ruler or a proclaimed successor,¹¹⁰⁹ the younger son, Milutin, is excluded from the group of the ruling members of the family. He wears a simpler costume and stands next to his mother, behind the figure of the king. The purpose of this composition is twofold, it shows the parents bringing their descendants under protection of the Virgin, and, simultaneously, it demonstrates the order of seniority between the brothers and settles the question of future throne succession. Moreover, Dragutin, being born around 1250,¹¹¹⁰ at the time of the creation of this composition (1263 or later) was in the age of youth or close to it (13-15 years), but he is still depicted as a child, significantly smaller than his father. To explain this artistic convention one should take into consideration the purpose of the portrait: to demonstrate the passage of power between the generations of one family as legitimate, orderly, and blessed by the heavenly powers. Even the presence of this composition among the murals of the Holy Trinity church can be explained only by the motives connected with the appointment of the throne successor, since the scene does not represent the moment of donation (the founder has no church model in his hands) and appears to be supplementary toward the main votive composition (nowadays repainted) which occupied the western part of the naos. Therefore, the difference in age between the father and the son is amplified; however this fact is not a confirmation of Dragutin's co-ruling position, since Dragutin is not depicted in the age of adulthood (c. 21 year old), but in the age of a child.

After Dragutin's withdrawal from the Serbian throne (he himself used the term "ex-king" in the signatures), the iconography of succession has been separated from the votive compositions. In Dragutin's view his elder son, Vladislav, should have inherited the throne from Dragutin's brother,

¹¹⁰⁸ For *loros* as a part of Byzantine ceremonial dress see Parani, Maria. *Reconstructing the reality of images: Byzantine material culture and religious iconography (11th-15th centuries)* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003): 18-21

¹¹⁰⁹ The problem of co-rulership in the medieval Serbian state was raised in connection with the status of king Radoslav during the reign of his father Stefan the First Crowned and expanded to the questions concerning statuses of Dragutin, Stefan of Dečani and Uroš V during the reign of their fathers. And though mural images depict princes as co-rulers (in costumes identical to those of their fathers) some of Serbian historians suggest that "depiction of a successor to the throne with certain royal insignia doesn't mean that this status is officially confirmed by the title and coronation" (Bubalo, Đorđe. "Da li su kralj Stefan Prvovenčani i njegov sin Radoslav bili savladari?," *ZRVI* 46 (2009): 221), while art historians, oppositely, think that the age of a child can't use as a proof of chronology and, consequently, Dragutin here is depicted as a co-ruler, i.e. after 1271 (Todić, Branislav. "Apostol Andreja i srpski arhiepikopi na freskama Sopoćana," in: *Treća jugoslovenska konferencija vizantologa Kruševac 10-13. maj 2000*, eds. Lj. Maksimović, N. Radošević, E. Radulović (Belgrade– Kruševac: 2002): 369.

¹¹¹⁰ Ćirković, Sima. "Kralj Stefan Dragutin," *Račanski zbornik* 3 (1998): 11-12.

Milutin, who became the king after Dragutin's abdication in 1282.¹¹¹¹ In a chapel built after this event (in 1283-1285)¹¹¹² at St. George's monastery "Đurđevi Stupovi" (fig. 4.70-4.71), one can see that the votive composition, placed on the western wall, consists of two parts representing, accordingly, the founder's family and the ruling couple. On the left part of this group, the ex-king Dragutin brings the model to the enthroned Christ, situated on the neighboring wall. The founder is followed by his son, the prince Vladislav, and wife, Katalina, the daughter of the Hungarian king Stephen V,¹¹¹³ whose figures are as turned toward the Lord and depicted in the pose of prayer. Behind the founders, there are the frontal depictions of the new king Milutin and his wife (Elizabeth?),¹¹¹⁴ though the inscription next to Dragutin still marks him as the king and the ktetor.¹¹¹⁵ The presence of the frontal Milutin's figure with symbols of reign, the *supedion*, staff and *akakia* (?), underlines his senior authority over the brother; he is the only personage who doesn't participate into the supplicants' prayers and, thus, becomes the source of the legal authority for Dragutin as the founder.¹¹¹⁶ Moreover, in the difference with the case of the Holy Trinity in Sopoćani, Dragutin's son wears no royal garments and stands not in front of his father, but behind him, which, indeed expresses the idea of succession in ktetorial rights, but eliminates the idea of the presentation of the heir to the divinity and the blessing of the celestial authority of the future ruler. Simultaneously, the representation of succession is missing from Milutin's group as well, since his son, Stefan, who already had been born at that time is also absent from the composition.¹¹¹⁷

Though the elder son of Dragutin was agreed to succeed the Serbian throne after Milutin, during the reign of Dragutin's brother, none of Dragutin's offspring was appointed or even designated as a co-ruler or successor.¹¹¹⁸ The ambiguity of this situation is expressed in the decoration of the church of St. Ahilije in Arilje (1295-1297).¹¹¹⁹ Here, the votive composition (fig. 4.73) on the southern wall of the narthex includes the founders, Dragutin (inscribed as the king and first ktetor), his wife, the

¹¹¹¹ In more details about Dragutin's withdrawal from power in 1382 and his transfer of the throne to his brother Milutin, under condition of future returning of the throne to Dragutin's son, Vladislav, see: Dinić, "Odnos između kralja Milutina i Dragutina"; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija*, pp. 118-128.

¹¹¹² For the dating see Todić, *Srpsko slikarstvo*, pp. 33-36, with discussion of the dating with 1282 by Vojislav Đurić and Miodrag Purković as too early.

¹¹¹³ Radojčić, *Portreti srpskih vladara*, pp. 27-28; Vojvodić, *Zidno slikarstvo crkve Svetog Ahilija*, p. 167; About the date of birth of Vladislav and family affairs of Dragutin see Dinić, "Odnos između kralja Milutina i Dragutina," pp. 57, 64-67.

¹¹¹⁴ About identification of king Milutin's wife, see: Todić, *Srpsko slikarstvo*, p. 36.

¹¹¹⁵ Todić, *Srpsko slikarstvo*, p. 33.

¹¹¹⁶ About depictions of sovereigns in the votive compositions of noblemen, see: Velmans, Tania. "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues," in: *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues, Venise 1968*, s.ed. (Venice: Institut hellénique d'études byzantines et post-byzantines, 1971): 107-108.

¹¹¹⁷ Todić, *Srpsko slikarstvo*, p. 36.

¹¹¹⁸ Dinić, "Odnos između kralja Milutina i Dragutina," pp. 72-76; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija*, pp. 127-128.

¹¹¹⁹ Vojvodić, *Zidno slikarstvo crkve Svetog Ahilija*, p. 32.

queen Katelina, as well as the portrait of the supreme sovereign, Dragutin's brother Milutin,¹¹²⁰ both kings being blessed by Christ from the heavenly segment.¹¹²¹ However, Dragutin's sons, Vladislav and Urošić (fig. 4.72), are not even depicted in the same frame with their father; they are portrayed separately on the eastern wall of the narthex and bear no court titles, called simply "lord Vladislav / lord Urošić, sons of the king Stefan".¹¹²² Consequently, the idea of succession is missing here as well, whereas the equality of both brothers, Dragutin and Milutin, is underlined in their status of kings and bearers of power. Moreover, when the murals in the church were produced, the elder son, Vladislav, was in the age of youth (older than 15 years) and married to Constanza Morosini,¹¹²³ but he is depicted still as a beardless boy (as well as his younger brother) to illustrate his lower and subordinate status within the ruling family.

In a similar way, the son of Stefan of Dečani, the young king Stefan Dušan, being already 14 or 16 years old,¹¹²⁴ was depicted as a beardless boy (though, dressed in the ruler's costume with the crown and scepter), in a size smaller than his father, in the votive portrait (1322-1324) at St. Demetrios' church of the Peć patriarchate (fig. 4.74)¹¹²⁵ and the additional portraits of the Hilandar narthex.¹¹²⁶ Therefore, one may conclude that, in the votive compositions of the ruling families, the credible depiction of the heirs' age was less important than the depiction of the heir's status inside the hierarchy of power in the royal family. The later portraits of Stefan Dušan and his son Uroš which will be regarded below also confirm this opinion, but in the inverse manner, these compositions depict the young child Uroš rather as a teenager.

After the gradual removal of younger painting layers, the family portrait of the Serbian Emperor Stefan Dušan (fig. 4.75) was revealed in the Serres monastery of Prodomos (Menoikeion).¹¹²⁷ The composition includes the emperor himself, flanked on the left by a figure of the king Uroš bearing a

¹¹²⁰ There are two points of view concerning depiction of Milutin without a wife, one, proposed by B. Todić (Todić, *Srpsko slikarstvo*, p. 37) suggests that since 1292 Milutin divorced his second or third wife, Bulgarian princess Ana Terter, and was seeking a hand of a byzantine princess; the second point, proposed by D. Vojvodić (Vojvodić, *Zidno slikarstvo crkve Svetog Ahilija*, pp. 169-170) suggests that Milutin was present in the murals as a symbol of the supreme power and absence of a depicted wife doesn't mean that Milutin was not legally married during this time.

¹¹²¹ Vojvodić, *Zidno slikarstvo crkve Svetog Ahilija*, pp. 167-168.

¹¹²² Vojvodić, *Zidno slikarstvo crkve Svetog Ahilija*, p. 171.

¹¹²³ Vojvodić, *Zidno slikarstvo crkve Svetog Ahilija*, p. 171.

¹¹²⁴ Stefan Dušan was born in 1308 and became the young king together with the ascension to the throne of his father, *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije*, Vol. VI, p. 211; Ferjančić, Božidar, Ćirković, Sima. *Stefan Dušan kralj i car: 1331-1355* (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2005): 5-27. However, Đ. Bubalo (Bubalo, Đorđe. "Da li su kralj Stefan prvovenčani i njegov sin Radoslav bili savladari?," *ZRVI* 46 (2009): 223) considers that Stefan Dušan was represented in Peć only as a heir, while he became a young king in 1325.

¹¹²⁵ Todić, Branislav. "Srpske teme na freskama XIV veka u crkvi Svetog Dimitrija u Peći," *Zograf* 30 (2004-2005): 123-140 (esp. pp. 133-137). This composition initially was considered to be depiction of Stefan Dušan and his son Uroš (Subotić, Gojko. *Crkva svetog Dimitrija u Pečkoj patrijaršiji* (Belgrade: Jugoslavija, 1964): pp. X-XI; Đurić, Vojislav. *Vizantijske freske u Jugoslaviji* (Belgrade: Jugoslavija, 1974): 59) dated the images with 1343-1345.

¹¹²⁶ Vojvodić, Dragan. "Ktitorski portreti i predstave," in: *Manastir Hilandar*, ed. G. Subotić (Belgrade: Ministarstvo Culture Srbije, 1998): 252-253, 256-257.

¹¹²⁷ About the history of the monastery see Bakirtzis, *Hagios Ioannis Prodomos monastery*, pp. 22-80.

newer inscription naming him as Michael,¹¹²⁸ and a female figure on the right. The layout of the figures resembles the corresponding composition in Dobrun (1343-1344) and the family portrait of Stefan Dušan, Jelena and Uroš (fig. 4.76) at the exonarthex of Sopoćani (1342-1345),¹¹²⁹ which suggests that the image from the Menoikeion was created soon after the occupation of the city by the Serbian ruler (c. 1345-early 1346).

The portraits are not preserved in a good condition; they are painted over the first layer of frescoes depicting the initial monastery founder, Joachim offering the model of the katholikon to the winged John the Baptist. This recently revealed composition shows how the political circumstances affected the arrangement of the votive portraits: to prove their respect toward the initial founder, the monks who ordered the second layer of the frescoes, preserved the figure of Joachim,¹¹³⁰ however, they chose to replace other figures with the portrait of the new ruler, under whose control and care the Menoikeion monastery appeared during the autumn of 1345.¹¹³¹ This way, the new benefactors of the monastery¹¹³² are placed in the same row with the initial founder, alluding to the equality of their roles in the development of the foundation.

In the present portrait, Dušan's son, Uroš, already being honoured with the title of the young king,¹¹³³ is still depicted as a smaller figure between his parents, and, though his garments remind that of his father, his crown is smaller and less ornamented. The inscriptions next to the portraits are not preserved, but one can assume that they could be similar to those survived in the portraits of Stefan Dušan's family (fig. 4.76) in the exonarthex of Sopoćani (c. 1342 – 1345), where Dušan is called “the great king” and “autocrator” and Uroš is named the “king” and “the son of Dušan.”¹¹³⁴ Both of these images of the royal family depict the young king as a teenager, though he has not yet been even 10 years old. This change of visual age was, probably, conditioned by his status of the heir

¹¹²⁸ Uroš is identified as Michael in the Vienna print of 1761 representing this composition (Bakirtzis, *Hagios Ioannis Prodromos monastery*, p. 216). As it was suggested by I. Bakirtzis the change of name next to the figure of Uroš can witness the changes in the Balkan political situation.

¹¹²⁹ Milosavljević, Dragiša. *Srednjevekovni grad i manastir Dobrun* (Belgrade – Priboj: Dereta, 2006): 169-171; Radojčić, *Portreti srpskih vladara*, p.55; Đurić, Vojislav. *Sopoćani* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1991): 51.

¹¹³⁰ About Joachim and the circumstance of the founding of the monastery see: Bakirtzis, *Hagios Ioannis Prodromos monastery*, pp. 20-23; For his Testament, see: *BMFD*, pp. 1579-1612.

¹¹³¹ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. II, p. 551, l. 20-23; Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 147; Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. II, pp. 746, 13-16; Soulis, George. “Notes on the History of the City of Serres under the Serbs (1345-1371),” in: *Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη*, (Thessaloniki, 1960): 373-379; Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium during the Reign of Tsar Stephen Dusan*, pp. 276-293.

¹¹³² For the documents endowing St. John's monastery with new landed possessions, see: Guillou, *Les Archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, pp. 122-131.

¹¹³³ Stefan Uroš got the title of the young king in 1341/1342 when he had 7-8 years, see the references to Stefan Uroš bearing this title at the inscription of the Peribleptos church in Ohrid and the monastery of the Virgin of Htetovo (Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, pp. 657, 672). M. Blagojević (Blagojević, Miloš. *Državna uprava u srpskim srednjovekovnim zemljama* (Belgrade: Službeni list, 1997): 33-34) debates the date proposed by S. Novaković, and suggests that the earliest mentioning of the young king title in the relation to Uroš should be dated with 1343.

¹¹³⁴ For the inscriptions in Sopoćani, see: Radojčić, *Portreti srpskih vladara*, p. 55.

and co-ruler, and, therefore, the real, physical, age of Stefan Dušan's child became less important than a political age of the young king.

The role of the votive compositions in the demonstration of legitimacy of the throne succession was that important in Serbian medieval culture that the donors' portraits of the kings' competitors or deposed rulers were repainted. King Dragutin amended the votive composition in the naos of Sopoćani monastery (after 1276) to be present among ktetors, together with the king Uroš, Dragutin's father dethroned by him.¹¹³⁵ Probably, after coming to power in 1322, Stefan of Dečani, who eliminated his half-brother Konstantin in the fight for the throne,¹¹³⁶ ordered to paint out Konstantin's image from the scene of Christ's investiture in the naos of Gračanica church.¹¹³⁷

Guided by similar considerations, Stefan Dušan ordered to repaint (c. 1343-1348)¹¹³⁸ the founders' group on the south wall of Dečani naos and to replace the portrait of his half-brother with his own (fig. 3.37). Thus, the legitimate succession in the rule and ideas was expressed through the depiction of the joint efforts of the old and young kings in the erection of the monastery. The replacement of the previous throne heir with Stefan Dušan's own portrait underlines his association with the deceased royal father and ruler as well as his participation in the foundation of the monastery.

On the western wall, where initially the image of Stefan Dušan was placed, the portraits (fig. 3.36) of Dušan's wife, the Queen Jelena, with their son Uroš and Dušan's half-brother Simeon Siniša appeared. This composition states the hierarchy and order of succession in the royal family: the small boy Uroš is inscribed as the "young king" and dressed in the imperial costume; his mother Jelena points out to this boy as a heir; the same pointing gesture is repeated by Simeon Siniša dressed as the despotes.¹¹³⁹ Thus, for ktetorial compositions of ruling families, the inclusion of children was caused

¹¹³⁵ Todić, Branislav. "Sopoćani i Gradac: Uzajamnost funerarnih programa dve crkve," *Zograf* 31 (2006/2007): 59-67.

¹¹³⁶ Ćirković, Sima, ed. *Istorija srpskog naroda*. Vol. 1: Od najstarijih vremena do Maričke bitke (1371) (Belgrade: SANU, 1981): 497.

¹¹³⁷ Todić, Branislav. "Kralj Milutin sa sinom Konstantinom i roditeljima na fresci u Gračanici," *Saopštenja* 25 (1993): 17-22; However, D. Vojvodić considers that the portraits were not covered by paint, but added to already existing composition, therefore, they are later than the rest of frescoes and depict King Stefan Dečanski and Stefan Dušan (Vojvodić, Dragan. "Doslikani vladarski portreti u Gračanici," *Niš i Vizantija* 7 (2009): 251-265)

¹¹³⁸ Todić, Branislav. "O nekim preslikanim portretima u Dečanima," *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja* 11/2 (1982): 55-67 (esp. pp. 61-66); Todić, Branislav, Čanak-Medić, Milka. *Manastir Dečani* (Belgrade: Museum at Priština-Mnemosyne, Serbian orthodox monastery of Dečani, 2005): 19, 439; Other identifications of the figure on the southern wall which was remade as a Maria Palaiologina, wife of Stefan Dečanski, see: Subotić, Gojko. "Contribution à la chronologie de la peinture murale de Dečani," *ZRVI* 20 (1981): 111-138; For an overview of the existing points of view, see: Vojvodić, Dragan. "Portreti vladara, crkvenih dostojanstvenika i plemića u naosu i priprati," in: *Zidno slikarstvo manastira Dečana. Gradja i studije*, ed. V. J. Đurić (Belgrade: SANU, 1995): 270-272 (the author inclined to support the identification of repainted figure as Simeon Siniša, as it was proposed by B. Todić).

¹¹³⁹ Babić, Gordana. "Les portraits de Dečani representant ensemble Dečanski et Dušan," in: *Dečani i vizantijska umetnost sredinom XIV veka. Međunarodni naučni skup povodom 650 godina manastira Dečana*, ed. V. J. Đurić (Belgrade: SANU, 1989): 276-277, with previous bibliography; Todić, Branislav, Čanak-Medić, Milka. *Manastir Dečani* (Belgrade: Museum at Priština-Mnemosyne, Serbian orthodox monastery of Dečani, 2005): 439. Concerning Dušan's participation in decoration of the monastery see Todić, Branislav, Čanak-Medić, Milka. *Manastir Dečani* (Belgrade: Museum at Priština-Mnemosyne, Serbian orthodox monastery of Dečani, 2005): 19-25; Vojvodić, Dragan. "Portreti vladara, crkvenih dostojanstvenika i plemića u naosu i priprati," in: *Zidno slikarstvo manastira Dečana. Gradja i studije*, ed. V. J. Đurić (Belgrade: SANU, 1995): 266-270.

by the reasons of power succession. The votive compositions demonstrated the association of fathers and sons in the co-rulership or the seniority between family members.

4.2.5. Children on the Portraits of Nobility in Balkan Slavic Countries

During the rule of Stefan Dušan, a number of donor and votive representations grew significantly, primarily as a consequence of the noblemen¹¹⁴⁰ constructing their own foundations.¹¹⁴¹ Stefan Dušan, throughout his reign, headed the dynamic expansion of the Serbian state, which led to the conquest of a large part of the Byzantine Empire. This enlargement of the territory was prompted and supported by the Serbian nobility whose role in the governing apparatus and the decision-making processes increased tremendously during this time.¹¹⁴² Following the empowerment and enrichment, the Serbian, and, later, Greek, aristocratic supporters¹¹⁴³ of the Serbian Tsar (after 1345)¹¹⁴⁴ gained means for building their own private ecclesiastic foundations. In order to underline their political/administrative role into the new system of government, these noblemen ordered their portraits to be paired with those of the Serbian royal family who became a source of their power and wealth.¹¹⁴⁵

Thus, the noble lineages were juxtaposed with that of the Tsar's family (in the churches at Dobrun, Karan, Pološko etc.). However, the ways, in which the aristocratic families demonstrated their relations with the Serbian central authority, differed, depending the positions and origin of the

¹¹⁴⁰Usually, the increase of the role of aristocracy into the state structure, bureaucratization of government, higher degree of independence of nobility in an enlarged state under Dušan are considered to be the main reasons for the outburst of the aristocratic foundation in Serbian kingdom (later empire), see: Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, pp. 13-45; Concerning composition of the Serbian nobility see: Ostrogorski, Georgije. "Dušan i njegova vlastela u borbi sa Vizantijom," in: *Zbornik u čast šeste stogodišnjice Dušanova zakonika*, ed. N. Radojčić (Belgrade: SANU, 1951): 79-86; Ferjančić, Božidar, Ćirković, Sima. *Stefan Dušan kralj i car: 1331-1355* (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2005): 103-111, 132-153; On duties and honours of different offices, see: Ferjančić, Božidar. "Sevastokratori i kesari u Srpskom carstvu," *Zbornik filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu* 10/1 (1970): 255-269; Blagojević, Miloš. *Državna uprava u srpskim srednjovekovnim zemljama* (Belgrade: Službeni List, 1997); Ferjančić, Božidar. *Despoti u Vizantiji i južnoslovenskim zemljama* (Belgrade: SANU, 1960).

¹¹⁴¹ The only certain aristocratic foundations in Serbian kingdom before 1321 (the death of king Milutin) were the Hodegetria church in Mušutište founded in 1315 by the *veliki kaznac* (treasurer) Jovan Dragoslav (Stojanović, *Zapisi i natpisi*, Vol. I, p. 20; Tomović, *Morfologija ćirilčkih natpisa*, p. 48; Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, p. 131) and St. Elijah church given built by certain Kalomen and given by him to St. George church on Serava river, the foundation of king Milutin, in 1300 (*Zbornik srednjovekovnih ćirilčkih povelja*, p. 321).

¹¹⁴² For the expansion of Serbia under the reign of Stefan Dušan (1331-1355), the support of this policy by the Serbian nobility and the changes occurred in the system of government, see: Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*.

¹¹⁴³ For the role of the Greeks into the Empire of Stefan Dušan see: Ferjančić, Božidar. *Vizantijski i srpski Ser u XIV stoleću* (Belgrade: SANU, 1994): esp. pp. 95-100; Ostrogorski, Georgije. *Serska oblast posle Dušanove smrti* (Belgrade: Naučno delo, 1965): esp. pp. 80-103; Solovjev, Alexandr [Соловьев, Александр]. "Греческие архонты в сербском царстве XIV века," *Byzantinoslavica* 2 (1930): 275-287; On the legal system of Greek provinces: Živojinović, Mirjana. "Sudstvo u grčkim oblastima srpskog carstva," *ZRVI* 10 (1967): 197-249.

¹¹⁴⁴ General information concerning the proclamation of Stefan Dušan as a tsar and his subsequent coronation in April of 1346, see: Ferjančić, Božidar, Ćirković, Sima. *Stefan Dušan kralj i car: 1331-1355* (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike, 2005): 132-153; *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije*, Vol. VI, pp. 251-253, 262-273, 456-460, 470-472, 477-484; Ćirković, Sima. "Between Kingdom and Empire: Dušan's state 1346-1355 Reconsidered," in: *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία κατά τον ΙΔ' αιώνα / Byzantium and Serbia in the 14th century*, eds. E. Papadopoulou, D. Dialeti (Athens: Instituto Byzantinon Ereunon, 1996): 110-120; Ćirković, Sima, "Srbija i Carstvo," *Glas SANU* 384, Odeljenje istorijskih nauka vol. 10 (1998): 143-153.

¹¹⁴⁵ Papamastorakis, "Εικαστικές εκφάνσεις της πολιτικής ιδεολογίας," esp. pp. 146-147.

noble founders. Whereas the members of the old hereditary aristocracy from the North of the country preferred to express a “mutual dependency,”¹¹⁴⁶ certain equality or, at least, proximity between the ruler and the noble family; the new aristocracy who received their dignities from Stefan Dušan directly, owed him their wealth and honour, and were bounded by personal loyalty,¹¹⁴⁷ oppositely, accentuated the hierarchy of power descending from the sovereign to his subjects. These two positions were expressed via iconographic arrangements, and as T. Papamastorakis noted, the church donors belonging to the old hereditary nobility, *župan*¹¹⁴⁸ Brajan and *župan* Pribil, ordered their family lineages and portraits of the sovereign to be placed face-to-face, whereas Jovan Oliver, who was honoured with the titles of *sebastokrator* (1346) and despot (1347) by Stefan Dušan,¹¹⁴⁹ and the “brother” of Dušan, Jovan Dragušin,¹¹⁵⁰ who received the domain of Tikveš, depicted their votive portraits under the images of the Serbian royal family.

Therefore, the portraits of Stefan Dušan, his wife, Queen Jelena, and their child Uroš (born in 1336/1337) appear not only in the foundations, endowed by the royal family (The Holy Trinity Church’s narthex at Sopoćani, 1342-45;¹¹⁵¹ th naos and narthex of the Pantokrator church at Dečani, 1343 and 1346-47, accordingly;¹¹⁵² St. John Prodromos monastery near Serres, after 1345),¹¹⁵³ but also in the ecclesiastic institutions, commissioned by the Serbian aristocrats (St. Nicholas’ church at Ljuboten, 1337;¹¹⁵⁴ the Virgin’s Church at Karan, 1340-1342(?);¹¹⁵⁵ St. George’s Church at Pološko,

¹¹⁴⁶ The expression belongs to Titos Papamastorakis who considered that this dependency was a consequence of the support, provided to Stefan Dušan by the old aristocracy in the coup d’état organized against Stefan Dušan’s father, Stefan of Dečani, see: Papamastorakis, “Εικαστικές εκφάνσεις της πολιτικής ιδεολογίας,” p. 145.

¹¹⁴⁷ About the creation of a new social stratum of dignitaries by Stefan Dušan in imitation of Byzantine system and the issuing of legislation regulating the relations between the ruler and the new nobility, see: Ivanović, *Vlastela države srpskih despota*, pp. 33-53.

¹¹⁴⁸ About the title of *župan*, see: Blagojević, Miloš. *Državna uprava u srpskim srednjovekovnim zemljama* (Belgrade: Službeni list, 1997): 38-55.

¹¹⁴⁹ Ferjančić, Božidar. *Despota u Vizantiji i južnoslovenskim zemljama* (Belgrade: SANU, 1960): 159–166. B. Ferjančić turned attention to the fact that Jovan Oliver is called a despotes of „all Serbian lands,” and, therefore, he gained this title from Stefan Dušan and not from a Byzantine ruler (John Kantakouzenos). For a good summary of bibliography dedicated to Jovan Oliver’s biography and career, see: *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije*, Vol. VI, pp. 380-382.

¹¹⁵⁰ Bozhilov, *Фамилията на Асеневици*, pp. 185-186, 492-494; Matanov, Hristo [Матанов, Христо]. *Югозападните български земи през XIV век* (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1986): 30.

¹¹⁵¹ Radojčić, *Portreti srpskih vladara*, p. 55; Đurić, Vojislav. *Sopoćani* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1991): 51, fig. 24

¹¹⁵² Radojčić, *Portreti srpskih vladara*, p. 54; Vojvodić, “Portreti vladara, crkvenih dostojanstvenika,” pp. 288–289.

¹¹⁵³ Dadaki, Stavroula, Kapeti, Sophia [Δαδάκη, Σταυρούλα, Καπέτη, Σοφία]. “Η παράσταση του Στέφανου Δουσάν στη μονή Τιμίου Προδρόμου Σερρών,” 34^ο *Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης* (Athens, 2014): 41-42; Bakirtzis, *Hagios Ioannis Prodromos monastery*, pp. 216-218.

¹¹⁵⁴ Radojčić, *Portreti srpskih vladara*, p. 56; Rasolkoska-Nikolovska, Zagorka. “O vladarskim portretima u Ljubotenu i vremenu nastanka zidne dekoracije,” *Zograf* 17 (1986): 45-52; Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, pp.145-147;

¹¹⁵⁵ The dating with 1340-1342 was suggested by G. Babić (Babić, Gordana. “Portret kraljevića Uroša u Beloj crkvi karanskoj,” *Zograf* 2 (1967): 18–19) on the grounds of discovered representation of a small boy next to depiction of Stefan Dušan, however recently, D. Vojvodić (Vojvodić, Dragan. “O živopisu Bele crkve karanske i suvremenom slikarstvu Raške,” *Zograf* 31 (2006-2007):147-150) suggested that the representation of the boy is not a portrait of Dušan’s son Uroš, but rather a depiction of one of Dušan’s scepter, candle, sword or spear bearers, and on these grounds suggested to date the church’s murals with 1332-1337. However, the preservation of the boy’s image is rather bad and it allows neither to follow Dragan Vojvodić’s conclusions nor to contest them.

decorated in 1343-1345;¹¹⁵⁶ the Dormition Church at Dobrun, 1343-1344;¹¹⁵⁷ St. Michael the Archangel and Gabriel at Lesnovo, 1343-1349)¹¹⁵⁸ and Greek clergy (St. Nicholas' Bolnički Church (fig. 4.77-4.78), after 1346¹¹⁵⁹ and Archbishop Gregory's gallery, dated between 1350 and 1355).¹¹⁶⁰ This expression of loyalty by the members of nobility was also a demonstration of the political affiliation in the Balkan civil wars. Simultaneously, the juxtaposition of the royal and noble lineages assumed that the relations of political loyalty will be extended on the next generations of the Nemanjići and their subjects.

In such cases as St. George's church at Pološko (1343-1345) and the frescoes of the Lesnovo narthex (c. 1349), where the ruler's family and the group of sponsors are represented in the vertical arrangements, above each other, the murals turn to be a visual representation of the feudal hierarchy. The royal personages received their lordship from the Heavens, represented by Christ and angels in the most upper segments; the sovereigns endowed with power and wealth the noblemen, and this authority is meant to pass through the following generations. The two lineages, succession over the throne and over the landed properties, are juxtaposed by putting Tsar's and feudal's heirs on the same sides of the compositions.

In the church of Pološko (fig. 3.26-3.27), the son of Jovan Dragušin, the initial founder, is depicted under the model of the church held by his grandmother Maria/Marina, who became the main sponsor of the foundation, after the death of her son.¹¹⁶¹ This placement of the boy's figure can be

¹¹⁵⁶ For publication of Dušan's and the founders' family portraits and the inscriptions see: Grozdanov, Cvetan, Ćornakov, Dimitar "Istorijski portreti u Pološkom (I)," *Zograf* 14 (1983), 60-66; "Istorijski portreti u Pološkom (II)," *Zograf* 15 (1984): 85-93; Id. "Istorijski portreti u Pološkom (III)," *Zograf* 18 (1987), 37-42. The church in Pološko was founded by Dragušin, son of Bulgarian despotes Eltimir in 1340 and passed as a metochion of Hilandar monastery (Đurić, Vojislav. "Pološko. Hilendarski metoh i Dragušinova grobnica," *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja* 8 (1975): 327-342; Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja, Subotin-Golubović, Tatjana. "Povelja kralja Stefana Dušana o poklonu Hilandar crkve Sv. Đorđa i sela Pološko," *SSA* 6 (2007): 55-67). Probably, it was Dragušin's mother Maria (nun Marina) who ordered the murals of the church (Dimitrova, Elizabeta. "The Portal to Heaven, Reaching the Gates of Immortality," *Niš i Vizantija* 5 (2007): 370-371; Popova (Ristovska), Ana. *L'Eglise Saint-Georges de Pološko (Macédoine): Recherche sur le monument et ses peintures murales (XIV^e siècle)*, Thèse de Doctorat, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris, 2010, esp. pp. 26-45; Pavlović, Dragana. "Pitanje ktitorstva crkve Svetog Đorđa u Pološkom," *Zograf* 39 (2015): 107-116) and organized the burial place of her son within the naos (Popova (Ristovska), Ana. "Pogrebnata liturgija i freskote vo crkvata Sv. Gorgi Pološki," *Horizonti* 8 (2012): 179-186; Mikić, Živko. "Telo sina despota Jovana Dragušina u pološkom manastiru," *Zograf* 18 (1987): 44-45; Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, pp. 19-20, 147-148).

¹¹⁵⁷ Milosavljević Dragiša. *Srednjevekovni grad i manastir Dobrun* (Belgrade-Priboj: Dereta, 2006): 169-171.

¹¹⁵⁸ Gabelić, *Manastir Lesnovo*, pp. 168-172; Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, pp. 84-86, 122, 124, 159-160; Todić, Branislav. "Natpis uz Jovana Olivera u naosu Lesnovo - prilog hronologiji lesnovskih fresaka," *ZRVI* 38 (1999-2000): 373-382.

¹¹⁵⁹ St. Nicholas church was ordered by Nicholas, the archbishop of Ohrid (Grozdanov, Cvetan. *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo XIV veka* (Belgrade: Institut za istoriju umetnosti, 1980): 54-60; Subotić, Gojko. *Ohridskata slikarska škola od XV vek* (Belgrade: Institut za istoriju umetnosti, 1980): 104-110), who being a Greek supported Stefan Dušan and participated in his coronation ceremony (Grozdanov, Cvetan. "Ohrid i Ohridskata arhiepiskopija vo XIV vek," *Istorija*, 10/1 (1980): 179-183; Atanasovski, Aleksander. "Ohridskata arhiepiskopija vo XIV vek," *Godišen zbornik na Filozofski fakultet na Univerzitetot—Skopje* 56 (2003): 31-45).

¹¹⁶⁰ Živković, Miloš. "Vladarski portreti u Grigoriјеvoj galeriji Svete Sofije u Ohridu i njihov programski kontekst diskusija," in: *Vizantijski svet na Balkanu*, eds. B. Krsmanović, Lj. Maksimović, R. Radić, Vol. I (Belgrade: SANU, 2012): 169-187.

¹¹⁶¹ Đurić, Vojislav. "Pološko. Hilendarski metoh i Dragušinova grobnica," *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja* 8 (1975): 327-342; Dimitrova, Elizabeta. "The Portal to Heaven, Reaching the Gates of Immortality," *Niš i Vizantija* 5 (2007): 370-371;

interpreted as an expression of his patrimonial and hereditary rights as a ktetor. Later, when he died in the age of 20-25, this youth was buried in his father's tomb in the naos' south-western corner.¹¹⁶² In a similar way, one of the sons of Jovan Oliver was buried next to the southern wall of St. Archangel Michael church at Lesnovo,¹¹⁶³ whereas the depiction of the eldest son of the despot, Krajko, was in the same manner as in Pološko situated under the portrait of the royal heir (nowadays both their figures are damaged in a great extent).

However, the portraits of Lesnovo (fig. 3.56, 4.79) demonstrate the differences between the attitude toward the eldest and the younger sons. Thus, the eldest son, Krajko, was depicted on the left side of his father, right under the portrait of the young king Uroš, and bore a halo (nowadays only the parts of his elbow and the halo can be seen). The second son of the founders, Damjan, was placed behind his mother and was not haloed.¹¹⁶⁴ It was suggested that the reason for the absence of the halo is the fact that Damjan was too young to be considered a ktetor.¹¹⁶⁵ However, the pattern of the favouring of the eldest son is repeated in another foundation, made by Jovan Oliver, St. John the Baptist's chapel (fig. 4.80) on the western gallery of St. Sophia church at Ohrid.¹¹⁶⁶ Here, the image of Krajko heads the procession of the donors addressing the patron saint, he precedes the bishop of Ohrid, Nicholas, as well as the despot Jovan Oliver, and his wife, Ana-Marija. The procession of the supplicants with raised hands ends with the depiction of the couple's younger son, Damjan, the same way as it happened in the narthex of Lesnovo. Probably, such distinguished position of the eldest can be explained if one takes into consideration the fact that even Serbian noble families generally lived in a joint household (*kuća*), though some members could organize their own individual living places. Such a household should be headed by a senior member of the family, which can be a father, an eldest son or a widow, in the case if all children were minors.¹¹⁶⁷

Popova (Ristovska), *L'Eglise Saint-Georges de Pološko*, esp. pp. 26-45; Pavlović, Dragana. "Pitanje ktitorstva crkve Svetog Đorđa u Pološkom," *Zograf* 39 (2015): 107-116; Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, pp.19–20, 147–148.

¹¹⁶² Concerning the archeology of the burial of the young man in the naos of the church in Pološko see: Mikić, Živko. "Telo sina despota Jovana Dragušina u pološkom manastiru," *Zograf* 18 (1987): 44-45; Concerning the iconographic arrangement created with the regard of the themes of Resurrection and salvation of the soul see: Ristovska, Ana. "Pogrebnata liturgija...", *Horizonti* 8 (2012): 179–186; Popova (Ristovska), *L'Eglise Saint-Georges de Pološko*, pp. 130-137.

¹¹⁶³ Trajkovski, K. [Трајковски, К.] "Дали е откриен гробот на Јован Оливер?" *Macedoniae Acta Archeologica* 9 (1983-1984): 235-236 – according to the archeological findings the discovered grave belonged to a youth in the age of 16-18 years, who also had a ring with a two headed eagle. On the basis of this ring Bardžijeva suggested that it was son of despot Jovan Oliver (Bardžieva, Donka. "Prstenot na Jovan Oliver – Jovan Kalivit – ktitorot na crkvata vo Lesnovo," *Istorija* 1 (1985):177-184), however she mistakenly identified the deceased boy with a monk Jovan Kalivit known from a manuscript note (more details about Jovan Kalivit's identification see: Aleksić, Vladimir. "Srpski despot - monah Dorotej, velikoshimnik Jovan Kalivit," *Natpisi i zapisi* 1 (2015): 131-139).

¹¹⁶⁴ More details about this portrait, see: Gabelić, *Manastir Lesnovo*, pp. 168-172.

¹¹⁶⁵ Gabelić, *Manastir Lesnovo*, pp. 171-172.

¹¹⁶⁶ Gabelić, *Manastir Lesnovo*, pp. 170-172; Grozdanov, Cvetan. *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo XIV veka* (Belgrade: Institut za istoriju umetnosti, 1980): 62-64; Grozdanov, Cvetan. "Prilozi za proučavanje na Sv. Sofija Ohridska vo XIV vek," in: Id. *Živopisot na Ohridskata arhiepiskopija. Studii* (Skoplje: Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite, 2007): 85–92.

¹¹⁶⁷ More about the joint households see: Taranovski, Teodor. *Istorija Srpskog prava u Nemanjičkoj državi* (Belgrade: Službeni list, 1996): 446-459.

In this sense, the Law Code of Stefan Dušan foresees both situations, private and joint ownership of property, when it describes the responsibility of a nobleman in case of a treason;¹¹⁶⁸ so a joint household “a brother for a brother, a father for a son, a relative for a relative” bears punishment, whereas those who live “in their own households” pay nothing. Therefore, both types of ownership, joint and private, were possible during the Dušan’s period. However, if one thinks about the distinguished position of the eldest sons, such as Jovan Oliver’s Krajko, it should be assumed that the particular family kept the seniority principle in the administration of their property, as it was proven by the texts of the dedicatory inscription and the chrysobull issued on behalf of Jovan Oliver. The text of the inscription names three persons among the founders of the church, the despotes, his wife Ana-Mara, and their son Krajko.¹¹⁶⁹ In the document concerning ownership over the monastery, Stefan Dušan mentions only Jovan Oliver as an actual founder,¹¹⁷⁰ whereas his “children” have no rights over the foundation.

Serbian documents bring to light several examples of possessions, owned jointly by a family, but administered by its senior member. Thus, the Chrysobull by Stefan Milutin for the monastery of St. George on Serava¹¹⁷¹ mentions that the king bought a set of properties from three generations of a family of certain Lipsiot, and the deal was headed by Konstantine, Lipsiot’s son. In 1316, the same king confirmed the joint possessions of Andreja Lovretić “with his brothers” which they inherited from their mother’s uncle Marin, who, in turn, got it from Andreja’s father.¹¹⁷² This particular case points out that the seniority was the main principle of inheritance, as the oldest male family member became responsible for the property; it can be compared with the family arrangement made by Jovan Oliver as his first-born son Krajko would become the administer of the family property after the death of the father. The differences in the status of the two children as one encounter in the family of Jovan Oliver witness that one son was prepared to manage the hereditary possessions whereas the others would enjoy the use of this property. Serbian documents also witness several similar instances.

In 1360, *župan* Vukoslav donated to Hilandar monastery a church dedicated to the Virgin, next to Petrus. This ecclesiastic institution owned lands being a part of Vukoslav’s *baština* (hereditary family possessions).¹¹⁷³ As a consequence of the landed gift to the Athonite monastery, the entire family of Vukoslav, his sons and relatives, were deprived of their rights over the property. To be more specific, the Chrysobull describes precisely the case of the rights’ alienation: if “by God’s judgment

¹¹⁶⁸ *Dušanov Zakonik* (2010), pp. 85, 168.

¹¹⁶⁹ Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, p. 675.

¹¹⁷⁰ Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, pp. 676-681

¹¹⁷¹ Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, p. 610; *Zbornik srednjovekovnih ćirilčkih povelja*, p. 318

¹¹⁷² Solovjev, Aleksandar. *Odabrani spomenici srpskog prava (od XII do kraja XV veka)* (Belgrade, 1926): 88; Novaković, Stojan. *Zakonski spomenici*, pp. 451-452.

¹¹⁷³ About *baština* see: Mihaljčić, Rade and Ćirković, Sima. *Leksikon srpskog srednjeg veka* (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1999): 31–33; Ivanović, *Vlastela države srpskih despota*, pp. 163-375.

it happens that the children of Vukoslav lose the rest of the *baština*, that part which was given by Vukoslav, and which is written down in the chrysobull, belongs to the church.”¹¹⁷⁴ Moreover, the text assumes that the rest of hereditary family lands stay together (the word “*baština*” is used in the singular) being administered jointly by the children of *župan*.

The *hegoumenos* of Hilandar Gevrasije brought, before the Serbian king, a dispute with a *tepčija* Hardomil, whose rights were represented by his sons, Dmitri and Borislav jointly.¹¹⁷⁵ It seems that the brothers had the common property, which means that they lived in a joint household. The Charter of Gračanica monastery mentions several noble family units (*od valstel*), brought to the lands belonging to the monastery by the bishop Ignatije: Filip with his sons, Stefan with his sons, and Bogdan with his sons. Stefan Milutin added, on his side, certain Rad with his sons, Dobrohv with his sons and two brothers, Miloslav and Desimir.¹¹⁷⁶ This way, one can understand that majority of the noble households were headed by the fathers, however, in some cases, the brothers could also carry the common economic activities.¹¹⁷⁷

The families which didn't have male children found various solutions, usually transferring the rights and administration to their sons in law. The founder of the Virgin's church at Karan, local *župan* Peter Brajan¹¹⁷⁸ is depicted being accompanied with his wife and four daughters on the north wall of the church (fig. 4.1). The family of royal suzerains is depicted on the southern wall with their newly-born son (without a crown and, consequently, a halo), which was a rather unusual image as little children were not depicted in the official royal family compositions.¹¹⁷⁹ Not having male children, *župan* Brajan ordered the portraits of his female descendant, and even included the depiction of the youngest girl immediately behind her mother.¹¹⁸⁰ The girls might donate a part of their future dowries to the foundation or improve the position of their family through advantageous future marriages, therefore the solution proposed for the family composition of *župan* Peter Brajan still

¹¹⁷⁴ Mihaljčić, Rade. “Hrisovulja cara Uroša manastiru Hilandaru,” *SSA* 4 (2005): 152-154.

¹¹⁷⁵ Mišić, Siniša. “Hrisovulja kralja Stefana Uroša III Hilandaru o sporu oko međa Kruševske metohije,” *SSA* 3 (2004): 5.

¹¹⁷⁶ Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, p. 501.

¹¹⁷⁷ For other examples of the joint administration of the family properties see: Mišić, Siniša. “Srpska porodica u poznom Srednjem veku,” *Etnoantropološki problemi*, n. s. 10/ 2 (2015): 357-378.

¹¹⁷⁸ Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, p. 140; Vojvodić, Dragan. “O živopisu Bele crkve karanske i suvremenom slikarstvu Raške,” *Zograf* 31 (2006–2007): 146–147.

¹¹⁷⁹ Because the marriage of the King issueless was for long time, Uroš became very important. It seems that the birth of the heir stimulated the appearance of holy and, consequently, legitimate lineage in the fresco program: king Milutin, Simeon and Sava, saintly ancestors of King Dušan, are situated behind him on the southern wall. However, not all scholars agree that the depicted little boy is Uroš. G. Babić (“Portret kraljevića Uroša u Beloj crkvi Karanskoj,” *Zograf* 2 (1967): 17-19) considered it was the image of little Uroš, and, therefore, dated it with 1340-1342, whereas Dragan Vojvodić turned the attention to the fact that the boy has no halo or suppendion, and suggested he can be an armor-bearer, which shifts the dating of the ensemble to 1332-1337 (Vojvodić, Dragan. “O živopisu Bele crkve karanske i suvremenom slikarstvu Raške,” *Zograf* 31 (2006-2007): 135-151).

¹¹⁸⁰ Kašanin, Milan. *Bela crkva karanska, njena istorija, arhitektura i živopis* (Belgrade: Štamparski zavod “OPAO”, 1928): 14.

underlines the order of seniority among his female children. Moreover, the *župan* could invite his future sons-in-law to join his household which appeared to be a quite probable turn of events, as a double burial of two adult men (dated with the 14th century) was found under the donor portrait.¹¹⁸¹

For the cases like this, the Serbian medieval law foresaw a possibility of inheritance by the female line. The Law Code by the King Stefan Dušan (article 48) brings a case in which a daughter would inherit the possessions of her noble parent after giving a horse and the arms of her father to the ruler.¹¹⁸² A Chrysobull of the King Milutin to St. George on Serava (1300) mentions a daughter of Obrez who headed a house and made a contribution to the monastery;¹¹⁸³ the *Katastichon* of Htetovo mentions a field “which was sold by Pardo with his family, and his son-in-law Theodore, and the husband if his sister, Rob,”¹¹⁸⁴ which means that the lands can be administered with the participation of the sons-in-law. Some households could be also headed by a widow. In 1354, Stefan Dušan confirmed a donation of a village Leskovljane to Hilandar, made by the lady Višeslava and her sons, Bogdan and Bogoje.¹¹⁸⁵ Similarly, the Chrysobull, given by Dušan to the Holy Archangels’ Monastery, refers to the property at Ljubičevo and a church of St. Nicholas which were administered jointly by nobleman, vlastelin Nikola Utoličić, and his mother.¹¹⁸⁶ These examples demonstrate that even having only female offspring a nobleman could cherish some hopes that his property and, possibly, title, would be inherited by members of his family. Therefore, organizing the image of the family on the votive portrait, Peter Brajan arranged his children in a row according to their age; in the same manner they would receive their parts of inheritance and dowries.

The hereditary rights can be also distributed between various family units constituting a group of relatives or a clan sharing a common ecclesiastic institution under their patronage. In these cases the insertion of children into the donor portraits would visually declare which family line they got their rights from. There are four votive compositions in the church of Virgin at Donja Kamenica (1320-1330s).¹¹⁸⁷ Most probably, they depict two or three related family units who sponsored different parts of the church. On the western wall of second-floor gallery there is St. Nicholas’ chapel

¹¹⁸¹ Cvetković-Tomašević, Gordana. “Bela crkva u Karanu — mauzolej župana Brajana, Arheološka iskopavanja u crkvi 1975. godine,” *Saopštenja* 22–23 (1990–1991): 159–176.

¹¹⁸² *Dušanov Zakonik* (2010), pp. 85, 166.

¹¹⁸³ Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, p. 320.

¹¹⁸⁴ Slaveva, Lidia, ed. “Popis na imotite na htetovski ot manastir od 1343 godina,” in: *Spomenici na srednovekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija*, Vol. III (Skopje: Institut za istraživanje na staroslovenskata kultura, 1980): 288.

¹¹⁸⁵ Bojanin, Stanoje. “Povelja cara Stefana Dušana o darovanju sela Leskovljane manastiru Hilandaru,” *SSA* 4 (2005): 121–123.

¹¹⁸⁶ Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, p. 691.

¹¹⁸⁷ Kiel, Machiel. “The Church of Our Lady of Donja Kamenica (Dolna Kamenica) in Eastern Serbia (Some remarks on the identity of its founder and the Origin of its architecture),” in: *Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, eds. M. Berza, E. Stănescu (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1975): 159–166; Mavrodinova, Lilyana [Мавродинова, Лилиана]. *Църквата в Долна Каменица. Стенописи от времето на Михаил Шишман* (Sofia: B’lgarski hudozhnik, 1969).

which was sponsored by a noble family with two kids (fig. 4.81).¹¹⁸⁸ A richly dressed man and woman hold a model of the church between them and, in addition, the woman holds an object, possibly a pouch with money, with another hand. Next to the woman, right under the model, there is a girl eleating her hands in a gesture of prayer and pointing at the gift offered by her parents. The name of girl (вълкосава) survived, but it is not mentioned in the contemporary written sources. The second child, a boy, stands behind the man and, with his hands, points to the donation, made by his parents. The offering is addressed to Christ blessing the donors from the segment of heavens.

The second composition is situated in the naos on the southern wall (fig. 4.82). Here, two adult bearded and richly dressed men address the enthroned Mother of God “Eleusa”. The first of them holds the model of the church, the second stays behind extending his hands in the gesture of prayer, and the head of a boy is visible between the male figures. Probably, the boy was a son of one of these two ktetors, who, in turn, might be brothers, however, because the inscriptions are not preserved, it is hard to establish family relations between these three personages more precisely.¹¹⁸⁹ The church models look almost identical on these two compositions which suggest that both families invested funds into the construction simultaneously. The only difference is the arrangement of the towers: the model has towers on the right in the naos composition and on the left – in the portrait of St. Nicholas’ chapel.

A third composition, situated on the western wall of narthex, depicts two figures, female and male, dressed in the court costumes (fig. 4.84). These personages stay frontally, pointing with prayer to Christ blessing them from above. An inscriptions identify one of them as the despotes Michael (миханль дѣспо(тъ) въ Х(рист)а Б(ог)а вѣрѣнь синь миханла ц(а)рѣ)¹¹⁹⁰ and suggests that the lady was a daughter or a wife of a *despotes* (ъна дѣспотица ан ... дъщи). However, more precise historical identification of these figures is widely debated.¹¹⁹¹

¹¹⁸⁸ Panayotova, Dora. “Les portraits des donateurs de Dolna Kamenica,” *ZRVI* 12 (1970): 152–156.

¹¹⁸⁹ The idea about the family relations connecting the ktetors appeared in: Mavrodinova, Lilyana [Мавродинова, Лиляна]. *Църквата в Долна Каменица. Стенописи от времето на Михаил Шишман* (Sofia: B’lgarski hudozhnik, 1969): 19; D. Panayotova suggested that the ktetors from the naos were Ivan Stefan and Šišman, sons of Tsar Michael Šišman, whereas the boy, depicted between them was either their younger brother or son of one of them, see: Panayotova, Dora. “Les portraits des donateurs de Dolna Kamenica,” *ZRVI* 12 (1970): 156, 150-151 (for the description of clothes). Kambourova, “Le don de l’église,” pp. 217-218 considers two votive portraits as representing different families.

¹¹⁹⁰ Mavrodinova, Lilyana [Мавродинова, Лиляна]. *Църквата в Долна Каменица. Стенописи от времето на Михаил Шишман* (Sofia: B’lgarski hudozhnik, 1969):18.

¹¹⁹¹ The problem arose as no written sources mention *despotes* Michael being the son of *tsar* Michael. The proposed versions for identification of these ruling figures are the following: despotes Michael Anđelović of the beginning of 15th century (Ćorović, Mirjana, Ljubinković, Radivoje. “Crkva u Donjoj Kamenici,” *Starinar* n.s. 1 (1950): 53-85); Asen, mentioned in the colophon of Serdec gospels of 1328 or knez Michael noted in Life of St. Gabriel of Lesnovo (Kotseva, Elena [Коцева, Елена]. “Някои особености на надписите в църквата „Св. Богородица“ в с. Долна Каменица,” *Izvestija na Instituta po izkustvoznanie* 14 (1970): 233-249). L. Mavrodinova thinks that it is son of Michael III Šišman and the “daughter of despotes Peter, son-in-law of Ivan Asen II” (Mavrodinova, Lilyana [Мавродинова, Лиляна]. *Църквата в Долна Каменица. Стенописи от времето на Михаил Шишман* (Sofia: B’lgarski hudozhnik, 1969): 17-19); D. Panayotova suggests it is unknown son of Michael III Šišman with his mother, Anna, daughter of Milutin (Panayotova, Dora. “Les portraits des donateurs de Dolna Kamenica,” *ZRVI* 12 (1970): 143-144.) All these versions were critically regarded in Bozhilov, *Фамилията на Асеновци*, no. 31, p. 144-145.

Finally, two monks (fig. 4.83) whose names are not preserved are depicted in the pose of praying on the southern wall of the naos. These two could also participate in the construction of the foundation as, according to the archeological excavations, the presence of stone walls and buildings¹¹⁹² in the surroundings and monastic burials in the necropolis suggest that the church had initially monastic character.

It is possible that all donors were related between each other or, at least, the groups from the non-royal portraits. The theme of family relations is outlined in the iconographic program of the church as the vault of the narthex is occupied by the Joachim and Anna's cycle depicting the tender relations between the holy parents and the Virgin. In addition, a necropolis of a mixed character dated back to the medieval times (14-17th centuries) was discovered in and around the church.¹¹⁹³ It contained about 75 tombs, including a monk's tomb in the northern part of narthex and a burial of an unknown nobleman having a silver gilt diadem in the exonarthex (nowadays destroyed). This way, the depiction of children with two groups of the founders may indicate the lines of passage of the ktetorial rights over the church between successors. And besides, the founders may have felt a necessity to strengthen the kinship ties within the units of one generation and between the generations as the church was intended to be a family necropole and a place of the joint commemoration of the ktetors.

Here I would like to comment on the family structure and the distribution of property in a noble Balkan family, which affected the possibility of children's participation in the act of *ktetoria*. The Byzantine system of succession, partially inherited by the Slavs, was based on the partible inheritance, which meant that all of the children inherited. Many children should have been endowed at the moment of their marriage (the dowry or the marital gift), and, thus, partitioned the parental household.¹¹⁹⁴ This tradition was in possible conflict with the needs of noble families, since the providing for children diminished the property. Several strategies were used to cope with these problems: an extended family, the taking of monastic vows, or an exchange of endowed capital with so-called social capital (i.e. marrying children out with social promotion allowed a family in future

¹¹⁹² Deljanin, Bojana. "Crkva u Donjoj Kamenici - možda manastirska crkva?," *Glasnik Društva konzervatora Srbije* 6 (1982): 45-46.

¹¹⁹³ Jovanović, S. "Donja Kamenica kod Knjaževca, crkva Svete Bogorodice - srednjeevropska nekropola," *Arheološki pregled* 22 (1981): 161-162.

¹¹⁹⁴ Laiou, Angeliki. "Family Structure and the Transmission of Property," in: *A Social History of Byzantium*, ed. J. Haldon, (Chichester-Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009): 51-75; Cheynet, Jean-Claude. "Aristocratie et héritage (XIe-XIIIe siècle)," in: *La transmission du patrimoine: Byzance et l'aire méditerranéenne*, ed. J. Beaucamp and G. Dagron (Paris: Boccard, 1998): 53-80; Issue of dowry as finale or augmentable in future inheritance mode - Beaucamp, Joëlle. "Les filles et la transmission du patrimoine à Byzance: dot et part successorale," in: *La transmission du patrimoine: Byzance et l'aire méditerranéenne*, ed. J. Beaucamp and G. Dagron (Paris: Boccard, 1998): 11-34; Laiou, Angeliki E. "Marriage prohibitions, marriage strategies and the dowry in thirteenth century Byzantium," in: *La transmission du patrimoine: Byzance et l'aire méditerranéenne*, ed. J. Beaucamp and G. Dagron (Paris: Boccard, 1998): 129-160; Lefort, Jacques. "La transmission des biens en milieu paysan dans la première moitié du XIVe siècle en Macédoine," in: *La transmission du patrimoine: Byzance et l'aire méditerranéenne*, ed. J. Beaucamp and G. Dagron (Paris: Boccard, 1998): 161-177.

gain more assets through the social position of the new relatives). Nevertheless, such distribution of property inside a family was represented through the depiction of children as co-ktetors with their parents.

This mechanism of children's participation with their future inheritance is described by Constantine Akropolites in his *Typikon* for the Monastery of Anastasis in Constantinople. Thus, for the completion of the foundation, Constantine's father, George, reduced the inheritance of the latter, but the son together with it received the ktetorial rights over the monastery:

I was still a child when this project was completed... but I included myself in the project, and made his purely personal undertaking [of my father] common to both of us, not because I was born of him, nor because I happened to be his first-born son ..., but because he wished to bequeath to me as his first-born more than to the others. When I became involved in the project, he reduced my inheritance more than that of the others....

Thus once when I left my lessons and went to see him, when I learned that he was at the monastery, inspecting the progress... [he] took me by the hand and, entering the church, gazed at the icon of our God and Savior... Now for the sake of these [blessings of them] and on account of them, I have undertaken this great project and have spent a lot of money, and am willing to spend in the future; therefore I intend to reduce your inheritance significantly. For I originally proposed to give you more; but since I need more [money], subtracting one-seventh in addition to one half of the remainder, I will bequeath the rest to you. (The sum he originally planned to give me was 7000 gold pieces.).¹¹⁹⁵

There are no preserved monumental compositions with the children of nobility in the Byzantine Capital, however an illuminated manuscript, the *Typikon* for the Convent of Our Lady of Certain Hope,¹¹⁹⁶ shows the attitude of Byzantine aristocracy toward problem of inheritance and social role of children. As it was discussed in the previous chapter, the *Typikon* was written by Theodora Palaiologina and her daughter Euphrosyne jointly. The girl appears in the codex twice, initially as a child inscribed as “the daughter of ktetors” (ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΤΗΤΟΡΩΝ) and as a young nun accompanying her mother during the “ceremony” of the gifts offering to the Virgin: Theodora brings

¹¹⁹⁵ Ἐγὼ δὲ παῖς ἦν ἔτι καὶ πέρας ταῦτ' εἴληφε. Τῷ γοῦν ἔργῳ συνεπεισῆγαγον ἑμαυτὸν καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοῖν ἐποιησάμην τὸ ἐκείνου καθαρῶς ἴδιον, οὐχ ὅτι γε ἔφυν ἐξ ἐκείνου, οὐδ' ὅτι πρωτότοκος τοῦτω τῶν υἱῶν ἐτύγγανον ὦν..., ἀλλ' ὅτι μοι ὡς πρωτογενεῖ πλείω τῶν ἄλλων εἰς κλῆρον δοῦναι βεβούλητο. Τοῦ δ' ἔργου γενόμενος, ἐμοὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν κληρονομίαν ἐμείωσε:.... Καὶ γοῦν ποτε τῆς μαθήσεως ἀφεθείς καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνον ἰὼν, ὡς ἐν τῇ μονῇ πυθοίμην εὐρίσκεσθαι, τὰ καθ' ἐκείνην ἐπὶ σκεπτόμενον,....τῆς δὲ χειρὸς με λαβόμενος καὶ τὸν νεὼν εἰσιών, τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐνατενίσας εἰκόνι:..... Καὶ νῦν ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τῷ μεγίστῳ τῷ δ' ἔργῳ ἐπικεχειρήκα καὶ χρημάτων πλῆθος ἀνήλωκα καὶ ἀναλώσειν βεβούλημαι: τοιγάρτοι καὶ τὸν σὸν κλῆρον οὐ μετρίως μειῶσαι σκοπῶ: πλείω μὲν γὰρ προέταξα δοῦναι σοι: πλείονων δ' ἐν χρειᾷ γενόμενος, πρὸς τῷ τοῦ ἐλλειφθέντος ἀφελὼν ἡμίσει τὸ ἔβδομον, κληροδοτήσω σοι τὸ λοιπόν. (Ἦν δ' ὅ γε οἱ προδέδοκτο δοῦναι μοι χιλιοστύες χρυσίνων ἐπτά.) – Delehaye, Hippolyte, ed. “Constantini Acropolitae hagiographi byzantini epistularum manipulus,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 51 (1933): 280-281; Trans. In: *BMFD*, pp. 1378-1379.

¹¹⁹⁶ See: Talbot, Alice-Mary. “Bebaia Elpis: Typikon of Theodora Synadene for the Convent of the Mother of God Bebaia Elpis in Constantinople,” in: *BMFD*, pp. 1512-1578; For the original text: Delehaye, Hippolyte. *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921): 18–105. For depictions of family members see: Cutler Anthony, Magdalino, Paul. “Some Precisions on the Lincoln College Typicon,” *Cahiers Archéologiques* 27(1978), 179-198 and Spatharkis, *The portrait*, pp. 197-207 and the Subchapter 3.1. of this dissertation.

the church model and Euphrosyne – the book.¹¹⁹⁷ Thus, two depictions of Euphrosyne indicate her hereditary right of ownership over the monastery as well as her spiritual succession to her mother.

The interweaving of ktetorial and inheritance rights can be also found in the iconography of donors' portraits in such churches as St. Nicholas in Staničenje (fig. 2.12-2.13),¹¹⁹⁸ St. John in Zemen,¹¹⁹⁹ St. Nicholas in Kalotina (fig. 2.14-2.15).¹²⁰⁰ Being a part of undivided noble household involving several generations, children presumably participated with their future part of the patrimony into the endowment of foundations, and, consequently, enjoyed the entirety of ktetorial rights, including the right for portraiture. Thus, in Kalotina, every of three donor-units (a married couple, a priest and a widow), probably connected by the blood-ties, put their heirs in front of them, visually expressing the commonness of endowment act and patrimonial succession.

In St. Nicholas' church in Psača¹²⁰¹ three generations of the founders are united in a votive composition (fig. 4.85-4.86). The *sebastokrator* Vlatko and his wife Vladislava, on one side, and Vlatko's father, *knez* Paskač, with his wife Ozra, on another, elevate the model of the church to the icon of the patron saint, performing the symbolic act of the joint ktetorship. The children of the *sebastokrator* (Stefan, Uglješa and a small kid) are included into the composition: they stay behind Vladislava and in front of their parents and grandparents. The ladies tenderly touch the heads of their offspring (like queen Jelena in Dečani caressed the head of her son) promoting them in front toward the beholder. Thus, the composition shows the unity and concordance between generations, and continuity inside the household.

However, children couldn't inherit the ktetorial rights just as legal successors of other property. The First Canon of the First-Second Council of Constantinople (861) states that no one has a right to appropriate the ownership over a church or monastery,¹²⁰² but it should be passed to the ownership of a bishopric, which *de jure* means that the transfer of church institutions through generations is not possible. This Canon was repeated in the *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares, the main Legal collection of the 14th century Byzantium, translated also into Slavic languages.¹²⁰³ The result of this legislation one sees in the endowment documents given monasteries. Stefan Dušan's charter issued for Radoslava, the wife of Milša, states that nobody can possess a place (given to the monastery), "neither son, nor daughter, nor anybody from the family."¹²⁰⁴ Similarly, Stefan Uroš III confirmed the

¹¹⁹⁷ Spatharkis, *The portrait*, pp. 194, 198-199;

¹¹⁹⁸ Popović, Gabelić, Cvetković, *Crkva svetog Nikole u Staničenju*, pp. 79-112.

¹¹⁹⁹ Mavrodonova, Lilyana [Мавродинова, Лиляна]. *Земенската црква: Историја, архитектура* (Sofia: B'lgarski hudozhnik, 1980): 132-139.

¹²⁰⁰ Gerov, Kirin, "St. Nikola in Kalotina."

¹²⁰¹ Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, pp. 172-173; Rasolkoska-Nikolovska, Zagorka. "O istorijskim portretima u Psači i vremenu njihovog nastanka," *Zograf* 24 (1995): 39-51.

¹²⁰² Zhishman, *Das Stifterrecht*, p. 9.

¹²⁰³ Subotin-Golubović, Tatjana, ed. *Matija Vlastar. Sintagma* (Belgrade: SANU, 2013): 291-292.

¹²⁰⁴ Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja, Subotin-Golubović, Tatjana. "Povelja kralja Stefana Dušana Manastiru Hilandar. Potvrda o poklonu manastira Sv. Đorđa i sela Uložišta koji je priložila Milšina žena Radoslava," *SSA* 9 (2010): 65-66.

donation of the treasurer Dimitr to the church of St. Nicholas in Vranja (1321-1326) stating that after the husband's death his wife has no rights on the monastery.¹²⁰⁵ Identical practice is attested in Byzantium: here the nun Ipomoni,¹²⁰⁶ the spouse of *sakellarios* Mourmoura of Serres, endows her foundation, St. George monastery (1339) after she had distributed all dowries to children. And the possessions given to the monastery should stay in its "absolute dominion and unalienable ownership"¹²⁰⁷ and not subjected neither to the ktetress nor to her relatives:

When all the things of our own, being sufficient and independent from us, we distributed to these our children and we gave into dowry according to all the settings, as in the certain time we had agreed with them, but now differently with another occasion we gave the things, which left behind us, of our possessions as legacy, and as gift and in all the ways for their administration, only this monastery was assigned from the very beginning to God by us, a kind of a small testing of our earthly things, for salvation of our souls, now we passed it to aforesaid, as it is written, monastery for absolute dominion and unalienable ownership, that nobody will have a right, neither me myself, nor my children, nor somebody of my grandsons or anybody else who becomes related to me, in terms of family, through whoever people, or generally to bring forward any word of examination (trial) to the above-mentioned honored monks against dominion and unalienable ownership....¹²⁰⁸

Therefore the parents, in order to keep foundation inside family, preferred to make a common acts of endowment and to include the children as the secondary ktetors, which is a very commonplace in dedicatory inscriptions (such as expressions "... and his children"). Sometimes, together with the children the ktetors might order the portraits of their deceased relatives, and this decision was twofold. On the one hand, it provided the beloved dead ancestors with the commemorations and assisted in their salvation, on the other, it had an economic aspect: the present wealth of the donors came as an inheritance from the dead family members. For example the church of St. Nicholas in Staničenje (fig. 2.12-2.13) shows three generations of a family: founders Arsenije and Evfimija as a monk and nun, their son Constantine with his wife and sister or daughter Aretha and their grandson Kurban standing

¹²⁰⁵ Miclosich, Franz, ed. *Monumenta Serbica Spectantia Historiam Serbiae, Bosniae, Ragusii* (Vienna: Guilelmum Braumüller, 1858): 112-113.

¹²⁰⁶ *PLP*, no. 29505

¹²⁰⁷ Guillou, *Les Archives de Saint- Jean-Prodrome*, pp. 112-114.

¹²⁰⁸ Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἅπαντα πράγματα, ἱκανῶς ἔχοντα καὶ αὐτάρκως καθ' ἡμᾶς, τοῖς τοιούτοις ἡμῶν παισὶ διενείμαμεν καὶ εἰς προῖκα κατὰ τὸ πάντῃ ἀνελλιπὲς ἀποδεδώκαμεν, ὥς τοῦ τηλικαῦτα καιροῦ συμπεφωνήκαμεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐθις κατὰ καιροὺς ἀλλοτρίως καὶ ὥς λεγᾶτα καὶ ὥς δωρεὰς καὶ παντοίως εἰς κυβέρνησιν αὐτῶν τὰ ἐναπολειφθέντα ἡμῖν τῶν πραγμάτων δεδώκαμεν, αὕτη δὲ μόνῃ ἢ μονῇ ἀφιέρωται τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τῷ Θεῷ παρ' ἡμῶν, ἀπόποιρά τις μικρὰ τῶν κατὰ κόσμον ἡμετέρων πραγμάτων, ψυχικῆς ἕνεκα σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, νῦν δὲ ἐκδέδοται αὕτη <πρὸς> τὴν δηλωθεῖσαν, ὥς εἴρηται, μονὴν κατὰ τελείαν δεσποτείαν καὶ ἀναφαίρετον κυριότητα, οὐχ ἔξει τις ἄδειαν, ἢ ἐγὼ αὕτῃ ἢ τῶν παίδων μου τις καὶ ἐγγόνων ἢ ἄλλος οἰοσθητοῦν τῶν πρὸς γένος προσηκόντων μοι διὰ οἰουδήτινος ὄχλου γίνεσθαι ἢ ὅλως τὸν τυχόντα ἀνακρίσεως λόγον τοῖς εἰρημένοις τιμιωτάτοις μοναχοῖς ἐπαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ δεσποτείᾳ καὶ ἀναφαιρέτῳ κυριότητι, ὥς δεδήλωται, τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἀπὸ τοῦδε μετοχίου αὐτῶν, σωζομένου μόνου τοῦ μνημοσύνου ἡμῶν καὶ τινων εἰς ζωάρκειαν καὶ κυβέρνησιν ἡμῶν διδομένων ἡμῖν, ὥς συμπεφώνηται διδοσθαι παρὰ τῶν δηλωθέντων τιμιωτάτων μοναχῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἃ δὴ εἰσι ταῦτα – Guillou, *Les Archives de Saint- Jean-Prodrome*, pp. 112-113.

as a future heir of ktetorial rights below the church model.¹²⁰⁹ However the family is accompanied by the portraits of two dead men, one women and one monk.

This iconographic model pointing to the passage of ktetorial rights to a child was repeated several times in various places in all three Balkan countries. Thus, a heir was depicted under the model of the church held by his/her relatives in Rhodes, Bulgaria and Serbia. Except for the discussed examples of St. Nicholas Church in Staničenje and St. George in Polog, this solution is also repeated in a rock church of St. Marina in Karlukovo (fig. 4.87).¹²¹⁰ Here a family portrait depicts an unknown couple of ktetors who holds the model jointly, above a figure of a boy inscribed as “their son, Constantine.”¹²¹¹ The same compositional iconographic solution was employed at the Ascension Church of Ravanica (c. 1385), where the votive composition consists of *knez* Lazar and his wife Milica holding the model together,¹²¹² whereas their two sons, Stefan and Vuk, are placed under the model.

Possibly, this iconographic and compositional solution was one of the variants accentuating the joint participation of the entire household in the endowment. A case of family image from the church of St. John Prodromos in the village Archangelou (Rhodes) is very indicative in this sense. The church (1428) was created with the participation of a family (main founders) and an additional sponsor, Nicholas Kamanos (fig. 4.17).¹²¹³ The main ktetorial composition (fig. 4.16) is placed on the southern part of the western wall and is organized in a manner, similar to the above. The couple of “ktetors,” Eirene and George(?) (Ἡρή[νη] κτητόρι[σσα] καὶ ὁ δοῦλος [τοῦ θεοῦ] ..Ω...[κτῆ]τωρ),¹²¹⁴ supports the model of the church together, whereas a boy, placed below the foundation’s image, holds a pouch alluding, thus, on his financial participation in the establishment. Perhaps, the story of Constantine Akropolites, referred earlier, may explain this unusual iconographic detail (the pouch) as this child from Rhodes could also sacrifice a part his inheritance for the erection of the church, even before receiving his share from the parents.

¹²⁰⁹ Popović, Gabelić, Cvetković, *Crkva svetog Nikole u Staničenju*, pp. 84-111.

¹²¹⁰ The frescoes are extracted and kept in the Museum of Loveč, see: Ovcharov, Nikolai, Andreev, Christo [Овчаров, Николай, Андреев, Христо]. “Надписи върху стенописния фрагмент с ктиторската композиция отпещерната църква «Св. Марина» край Карлуково,” *Izvestija na Nacionalnija istoricheski muzej* 12 (2001): 58-63.

¹²¹¹ сынъ има (имя?) костанъдинъ - .Ibid., p. 59.

¹²¹² В Cvetković considers that the fact that the couple holds the model together is an expression of their joint ktetorship (Cvetković, Branislav. “Novi prilozi proučavanju ktitorske kompozicije u Ravanici,” *Saopštenja* 26 (1994): 37-51), while T. Starodubcev oppositely thinks that there is no evidences supporting the participation of Milica into the establishment of the monastery (Starodubcev, Tatjana. “O portretima u Ravanici,” *ZRVI* 49 (2012): 334-352).

¹²¹³ Christophoraki, Ioanna [Χριστοφοράκη, Ιωάννα]. “Χορηγικές μαρτυρίες στους ναούς της μεσαιωνικής Ρόδου (1204-1522),” in: *Ρόδος 2.400 χρόνια, Η πόλη της Ρόδου από την ίδρυσή της μέχρι την κατάληψη από τους Τούρκους (1523)*, Vol. II (Athens-Rhodes: Tameio Archaiologikon poron, 2000): 459-460.

¹²¹⁴ Christophoraki, Ioanna [Χριστοφοράκη, Ιωάννα]. “Χορηγικές μαρτυρίες στους ναούς της μεσαιωνικής Ρόδου (1204-1522),” in: *Ρόδος 2.400 χρόνια, Η πόλη της Ρόδου από την ίδρυσή της μέχρι την κατάληψη από τους Τούρκους (1523)*, Vol. II (Athens-Rhodes: Tameio Archaiologikon poron, 2000): 459, footnote 82.

The iconographies stating the patrimonial, hereditary and ktetorial issues and degrees of seniority between several generations of the same household would continue their existence for a long time. In a certain extent, these ktetorial portraits became the visual documents providing information about seniority of family members, and their position inside of household. Precisely in this way the ktetorial portraits would be understood in later Middle Ages. For example in Moldavia, where, according to Paul of Aleppo, such representations were quite common and served to the purposes of documenting family history:

Each convent is the burial-place of its founders: and withinside the door of the church are painted the portraits of those who built it; that is, of the Baron himself, his sons, father and brothers, one following the other, on the right as you enter: on the left are his wife and daughters, and the wives and daughters of his relatives. Their names are written over their heads; and all their ambition is this, that, in after-times, their children's children may look up at their portraits, and say, “ This is the portrait of our grandfather; this of our grandmother, etc.”¹²¹⁵

4.2.6. Funeral Portraits of Children

And yet, the development of ktetorial portraits happed in parallel with appearance of more openly displayed emotional affections toward the beloved people. This theme was regarded by A.-M. Talbot in details,¹²¹⁶ and here I would like just to add a couple of examples. The evidences of the written sources dated with the Palaiologan period are, indeed, more precise about children's deaths than during the earlier periods: the court official Theodore Metochites writes grieving poems about the death of his sons, whereas quite dried historian George Sphranzes includes the short notes about births and deaths of his children among his descriptions of battles and politics.¹²¹⁷

A similar attitude is attested by visual arts. The analyzed in the earlier chapter example of Theodore Sanrantenos from Berroia (Chapter 2.1.6 of this thesis) was not unique, and many Byzantines started to establish monasteries after the death of their offspring. On Rhodes, in church of St. Nicholas in Phountoukli (1497/98),¹²¹⁸ a votive image (fig. 4.88) of parents (the *pansebastos logothetes* Michael Bardoanes and his wife) is juxtaposed with a burial portraits of three children (the

¹²¹⁵ *The Travel of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch written by his attendant archdeacon, Paul of Aleppo*, trans. F.C. Belfour, vol. II (London: Oriental translation fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1836): 373.

¹²¹⁶ Talbot, “Death and Commemoration,” pp. 283- 308.

¹²¹⁷ Talbot, “Death and Commemoration,” pp. 292-294.

¹²¹⁸ Μπίθα Ιωάννα [Μπίθα, Ιωάννα]. “Ενδυματολογικές μαρτυρίες στις τοιχογραφίες της μεσαιωνικής Ρόδου (14ος αι.– 1523),” in: *Ρόδος 2400 χρόνια: η πόλη της Ρόδου από την ίδρυσή της μέχρι την κατάληψη από τους τούρκους (1523)* (Athens-Rhodes: Hypourgeio Politismou, 2000): 440 , pls. 172b , 172c , 173; 329-330; Acheimastou-Potamianou, Myrtali [Αχειμάστου Ποταμιάνου, Μυρτάλη]. “Οι τοιχογραφίες της οικογενείας Βαρδοάνη στον Άγιο Νικόλαο στα Φουντουκλί της Ρόδου,” in: *Θωράκιον· Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Παύλου Λαζαρίδη* (Athens, 2004): 247-260. For inscriptions, see: Christophoraki, Ioanna [Χριστοφοράκη, Ιωάννα]. “Χορηγικές μαρτυρίες στους ναούς της μεσαιωνικής Ρόδου (1204– 1522),” in: *Ρόδος 2.400 χρόνια, Η πόλη της Ρόδου από την ίδρυσή της μέχρι την κατάληψη από τους Τούρκους (1523)*, Vol. II (Athens-Rhodes: Tameio Archaialogikon poron, 2000): 463, footnotes 107-108.

preserved inscriptions mark the children as “ἐκοιμήθη” – deceased). This arrangement convey the intention of the founders to commemorate the souls of their deceased heirs whose portraits are placed on the floral background reminding the Paradise.¹²¹⁹ The depiction of the deceased donors and the connection of ktetorial portrait with the funeral practices was a specific feature of Later Byzantine art.¹²²⁰ K. Marsengill¹²²¹ suggested the existence of funerary portrait-icons in the Later Byzantium which depicted sometimes both, deceased and still living relatives, together. This combination was to express the care and remembrance of the dead provided by the living in form of a church or an art object.

In the church of Dormition of Longanikos (fig. 4.89), dated to the late 14th century,¹²²² on the southern end of the west wall a flat niche holds a portrait of a man in monastic garment and a boy addressing the Virgin with the Child. The adult man presents the boy standing in front of him to the Virgin, while the both supplicants address the holy figures with prayers. The Virgin raises her right hand toward the monk and favorably looks at him, accepting, thus, his petitions, and her Son gives them the blessing. This way, both themes, that of the parenthood and the offering-acceptance relations are present in the composition: while the Virgin gives to the world her child, the adult man, possibly father of the boy,¹²²³ presents his own son to the holy personages; yet, at the same time, both supplicants, visually, offer their prayers to the Theotokos and her Son, while the holy personages demonstrate the gestures of acceptance. This offering-accepting dialogue receives a new meaning if one takes into consideration the fact that it is very likely that a sarcophagus intended for the boy who passed away was situated below the composition.¹²²⁴ So, the prayers of the depicted become the final act of human piety being a plea for posthumous salvation, while the blessing of Christ and the acceptance of Mary give hope to be taken to the Paradise.

Indeed, dead children were considered somehow less sinful and closer to the Paradise and, therefore, buried in areas which were considered more sacred. Recent studies by P. Tritsaroli¹²²⁵ on

¹²¹⁹ Contrary to what S. Brooks writes (Brooks, Sarah. “Women's Authority in Death: The Patronage of Aristocratic Laywomen in Late Byzantium,” in: *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. L. Theis, M. Mullett, M. Grünbart (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014): 329, footnote 28) the church dedicatory inscription doesn't commemorate the death of children, but it attests the spendings of Nicholas Bardoanes. More precisely, the expression “διὰ ἐξόδου..” should be understood not as because of departure (death) of children, but as a standard wording “it was built ...by expenses.”

¹²²⁰ Velmans, Tania. “Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues,” in: *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues, Venise 1968*, s.ed. (Venice: Institut hellénique d'études byzantines et post-byzantines, 1971): 136-148.

¹²²¹ Marsengill, Katherine. “Imperial and aristocratic funerary panel portraits in the middle and late Byzantine periods,” in: *Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and its Decoration*, eds. M. Johnson, R. Ousterhout, A. Papalexandrou (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2012): 203-220.

¹²²² Papamastorakis, “Επιτύμβιες παραστάσεις,” pp. 290-291; Chassoura, *Les peintures murales*, pp. 336-337; Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead*, pp. 361-364.

¹²²³ Chassoura, *Les peintures murales*, p. 394; Papamastorakis, “Επιτύμβιες παραστάσεις,” p. 290; Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead*, p. 363.

¹²²⁴ Chassoura, *Les peintures murales*, pp. 391-413; Papamastorakis, “Επιτύμβιες παραστάσεις,” p. 290; Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead*, pp. 49-51; 363-364.

¹²²⁵ Tritsaroli, Paraskevi and Valentin, Frédérique. “Byzantine Burials Practices for Children: Case Studies Based on a Bioarchaeological Approach to Cemeteries from Greece,” in: *Nasciturus, infans, puerulus vobis mater terra: la muerte*

the Middle Byzantine funerary sites in Attica and Beotia (10th–14th centuries) show “overrepresentation of the children less than 4 years of age in the narthex” and the concentration of children around the church itself. Similarly, the Middle-Byzantine necropolis around the church of Zoodochos Pege near village Alikianos (Crete) demonstrates the concentration of infant burials at the eastern side of the building near the apse.¹²²⁶ In Byzantine Euchologia children were a special category (along with laymen, monks and nuns) and received their own prayer for the Saturday commemoration.¹²²⁷

Also the desire of adult family members to be buried together with their offspring can be seen as a sign of attachment and desire to be resurrected together during the Last Judgment. In this sense, two monuments are very indicative, the letter of Constantine Akropolites and a votive composition in Kremikovtsi Monastery (1493).

Byzantine courtier, Constantine Akropolites,¹²²⁸ who held title of the *logothetes tou genikou* and the *megas logothetes* at the court of Andronikos II, had extended networks at the court and several correspondents belonging to the Byzantine elite. In one of his letters, dated before 1295, he describes the grief which seized him and his wife on the occasion of the death of their daughter. Constantine compares the feelings with burning flame and complains that he can’t find a suitable consolation. The family was outside of Constantinople, somewhere in Thrace, in a village called Agridion, when the child died. So, her mother insisted onto the transfer of the coffin to the capital:

Her mother now wanted to transfer the coffin of the daughter and to install it somewhere where we will see our dead when the end of our life will approach. So, the maternal soul desired to see the transfer of the [remains] of the child. And in which other place to bury it? Before all other monasteries, close to us, I myself would choose the monastery of blessed and holy man Athanasios, that’s because that dead one have much of virtue, by which he dared to have open speech to God (*parresia*)¹²²⁹

This passage demonstrates that the care about a proper commemoration of the dead child and a suitable placement of the tomb, i.e. in a famous and holy place, under the protection of a saint, was

en la infancia, ed. by F. Gusi Jener, S. Muriel, and C. Olària (Castellon, Servei d'Investigacions Arquelògiques i Prehistòriques, 2008): 93–116.

¹²²⁶ The author suggests that it could be area for burial of non-baptized children – Bourbou, Chryssi “The Cemetery Excavation at the Middle Byzantine Cemetery of Zoodochos Pigi,” Grant report for Project Grant 2010/11 - accessed at the web-page of Dumbarton Oaks (<http://doaks.org/research/byzantine/project-grants/10-11/bourbou/report>).

¹²²⁷ It starts with words: “Oh, Lord, guard the children, in the present life and in the future one” (φυλάσσω τὰ νήπια, Κύριε, ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ, ἐν δὲ τῷ μέλλοντι) and is present in majority of euchologia –Velkovska, Elena. “Funeral Rites according to the. Byzantine Liturgical Sources,” *DOP* 55 (2001): 29, 35, 36.

¹²²⁸ *PLP*, no. 520; Nicol, Donald M. “Constantine Akropolites, A Prosopographical Note,” *DOP* 19 (1965): 249–256.

¹²²⁹ Τὴν δὲ γε τῆς παιδὸς σορὸν ὅπη γε τοὺς ἡμετέρους νεκροὺς σκοποῦμεν τεθήσεσθαι, ἐπὰν τὸ τοῦ βίου τέλος ἡμῖν ἐπιστῇ, μετακομισθῆναι νῦν ἢ μήτηρ αὐτῆς βούλεται. τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ μητρῶα σπλάγχνα πείθει καὶ μεταστάσης τῆς παιδὸς σκέπτεσθαι· εἰ δ’ ἦν ἀλλαχῇ ταφῆναι, πρὸ πάσης ἄλλης τῶν ἑγγιστα καὶ παρ’ ἡμᾶς τούτων μονῶν τὴν τοῦ μακαρίτου καὶ θείου ἀνδρὸς Ἀθανασίου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνέκρινα ἄν, τοῦτο μὲν διὰ τὸν πολὺν ἐκεῖνον τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ ἦν ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς θεὸν ηὔχῃσε παρρησίαν – Romano, Roberto, ed. *Costantino Acropolita Epistole. Saggio introduttivo, testo critico, indici* (Naples: D’Auria, 1991): 174–175, no. 85.

the main concern of the grieving parents. They also insisted onto the preservation of the family unity, even after the death, as Akropolites wanted to see *their* dead after the end of life. However, the personality of the child is nowhere to find in this letter, as the father even doesn't mention the daughter's name.

So, the text of Constantine Akropolites belongs to the beginning of the regarded period exactly. In the very end of this period, one can find a family portrait of the Bulgarian late medieval boyars. In the Church of St. George built in 1493 by a family group consisting of *boyars* Radivoj and Danko and their father, Metropolitan Kalivit,¹²³⁰ one can find unusual details of the votive portrait. Here, on the northern wall of the narthex, in a sculptured nich, the boyar with his wife, on one side, and the Metropolitan, embraced by St. George, elevate the model of foundation to the Lord. In front of the married couple, two children with crossed hands are depicted and accompanied by the following inscriptions: "deceased the servant of God, Todor, son of Radivoj, in the year 7001, on the month of August" and "deceased the servant of God, Dragana, daughter of Radivoj... on the month of August."¹²³¹ However, if one compares these dates with the date of the dedicatory inscription (January 31, 7001),¹²³² it can be easily calculated that the portraits of children were added later, about 8-9 months after the dedication of the church. Moreover, these deceased children are the only ones who received their names in the votive portrait.

Probably, during the regarded period, the relations within a Balkan family passed through certain transformation: children started to appear from anonymity, whereas the parents became inclined to show their affection. This way, the appearance of the dead children in the votive composition can be regarded as a strategy of retaining family memories, uniting with the deceased in the afterlife, and being commemorated together.

4.2.7. Conclusions

This study of images of children in private religious foundations in Byzantium and Balkan countries not only demonstrated why and how children were included as ktetors among their adult relatives, it also brought forward more general problems, namely, the meaning of ktetorial portraits and their visual rhetoric. If one assumes that the main audience of the portraits was the monastic

¹²³⁰ Paskaleva-Kabadaieva, Kostadinka. [Паскалева-Кабадаиева, Костадинка], *Църквата Св. Георги в Кремиковския манастир* (Sofia: B'lgarski hudozhnik, 1980): pp. 125-129 (dedicatory inscription) and pp. 15-19 (portrait); For discussion of the inscriptions, see: Kirin, Asen. [Кирина, Асен]. "Ктиторският надпис от 1493 г. В Кремиковския манастир," *Paleobulgarica* 13 (1989/2): 87-100.

¹²³¹ Прѣстави се рабъ бѣжи тодѣр син радивоевъ въ лѣто 3А мѣца августу and Прѣстави се раба бѣжиа драгана дѣщи радивоева въ ...мѣца августу, see: Kirin, Asen. [Кирина, Асен]. "Ктиторският надпис от 1493 г. В Кремиковския манастир," *Paleobulgarica* 13 (1989/2): 90-91.

¹²³² Kirin, Asen. [Кирина, Асен]. "Ктиторският надпис от 1493 г. В Кремиковския манастир," *Paleobulgarica* 13 (1989/2): 89-92.

brotherhoods or sisterhoods of the founded monasteries and the usual communities of village churches, why was it so important to represent the relations of succession, hierarchy, seniority, inheritance, and the parental feelings? I think that the reasons should be looked in two areas, that of law and memory.

As a development of the concept of collective memory, introduced by Maurice Halbwachs, the anthropologists H. Weltzer¹²³³ and J. and A. Assmann¹²³⁴ elaborated the ideas about communicative and cultural memory. Thus, the communicative memory is limited to the oral tradition of the previous three generations, and lasts, as A. Assmann assessed, around 80 years.¹²³⁵ It is close to everyday life and binds immediate groups of people, such family, village, religious community. On the other hand, in comparison with the communicative memory, cultural memory surpasses these three-generations by the means of writings. Being fixed in textual form, it binds many generations, “describes the tradition in us, the texts, images and rites hardened over through generations...and shapes our time and history consciousness, our selves and world view.”¹²³⁶ However, this type of memory is characterized by an increased degree of formality and is associated with the tradition and repetition (of forms, rites, actions etc.).

Now, if one applies these concepts to the images under consideration, their function can be seen a bit clearer. At the level of the communicative memory, the portraits served many immediate purposes: they demonstrated an order of inheritance, they proved the legal ownership over a church belonging to a certain family, they hinted to the titles and offices occupied by the depicted and expressed the political subjection of the ktetors in the relation to his/her ruling authority etc. In other words, these images conveyed a concentrated identity of a ktetor(s) as the members of society, family, ruling class or church community. Such image could be indeed used by a couple of successive generations in order to prove their legitimacy, ownership, or even to display it as a matter of hereditary pride and class.

But, at the same time, images, being media lasting longer than a span of human life, these portraits could convey more general, formalized and important information about commissions. Namely, they could introduce the depicted persons into the collective memory as eternally pious and generous Christian individuals, thanks to whose benefactions a community (monastery, village, town, and neighborhood) could enjoy having a place of cult. After certain time the importance of immediate

¹²³³ Welzer, Harald. *Das kommunikative Gedächtnis: Eine Theorie der Erinnerung* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2002).

¹²³⁴ Assmann, Jan. *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1992); Assmann, Aleida: *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2006).

¹²³⁵ Assmann, Jan. *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1992): 49-51.

¹²³⁶ Assmann, Aleida: *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2006): 19.

communicative memory can disappear, but the remembrance by a community as a part of cultural memory provided the founders with such important benefit as commemorations lasting “as long as Christianity lasts,”¹²³⁷ being necessary steps to founders’ salvation.¹²³⁸ Indeed, the Liturgical Typikon of Philotheos Kokkinos as many of its predecessors, prescribed to perform daily commemorations for ktetors, during the *proskomidia* and *anaphora*.¹²³⁹ And for these pious purposes, ktetors were seen by the religious communities as eternally praying to god, communicating with Him during the act of donation, depicted on a church wall, and potentially-saved due to their religious zeal.

And a similar dichotomy of the present and existential, legal and memorial, can be seen in the relations of the ktetors with the divinity. Depicted as transferring their foundations to God or holy personages, the ktetors appointed the Lord as an ultimate here-and-now owner of a physical church institution. As Theodora Synadene pointed out in her Typikon, after the consecration, the monastery “has become once and for all a holy dedication to and possession of the Lady of all.”¹²⁴⁰ Theodora Palaiologina entrusted the convent of Lips, from the very grounds, “to our common Mother and Protectress and Mistress.”¹²⁴¹ At the same time, the divinity was the Judge and the Lord of all, who owns the world; and, therefore, the human gift was just a return of a debt.¹²⁴²

Thus, children being depicted in the framework of ktetorial compositions were simultaneously introduced into two paradigms, legal and memorial. Legally, they were represented as heirs, parts of society, with its hierarchical structures and social stratification, but, existentially, depicted children appeared to be the participants of ecclesiastic benefactions providing the remembrance by community and assisting on the way to salvation.

¹²³⁷ This expression was used by one of the donors of Xeropotamou monastery as a demand for the duration of her commemoration (see: *Actes de Xeropotamou*, no. 30, p. 216).

¹²³⁸ For the importance of commemoration in Byzantine theology, namely about its role into improving life of a remembered person, see: Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium*, pp. 93-106.

¹²³⁹ Dmitrievsky, *Описание литургических рукописей*, Vol. II: Ευχολόγια, pp. 309, 609, 614, 957.

¹²⁴⁰ *BMFD*, p. 1527.

¹²⁴¹ *BMFD*, p. 1265.

¹²⁴² *BMFD*, pp. 1377-1378.

5. Private and Public Roles of a Foundation: Two Cases of Founders' Privileges

The present chapter is going to look at the mechanism of the application of some rights and duties, usually assigned to the church founder. The traditional *ktetorika dikaia* being several times described and analyzed,¹²⁴³ and, except for the matters of property, they were regarded in relations to the management,¹²⁴⁴ appointment of priests and hegoumenoi and administration,¹²⁴⁵ representation,¹²⁴⁶ and burial.¹²⁴⁷ On the other hand, the works of Évelyne Patlagean,¹²⁴⁸ Rosemary Morris¹²⁴⁹ and Michael Angold¹²⁵⁰ showed that monks and clergy established both, spiritual and economic, connections with laity, and promoted interests of their aristocratic and royal patrons. In these interdependent relations, the great monasteries benefited most, as they became the richest landowners of the Empire, in the provinces as well as in Constantinople.¹²⁵¹ Thus, the relations of patronage greatly affected the social fabric and economic activities of Byzantium, and shaped such spheres of public life as social mobility, trade, land ownership, and even a budget and military capacity of the Empire.¹²⁵²

¹²⁴³ Zhishman, *Das Stifterrecht*; Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, esp. pp. 244-258 for the founders' rights in the Palaiologan period; Chitwood, Zachary. "Griechisch-orthodoxe Christen," in: *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften, Vol. 1. Grundlagen*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014): 57-70, 212-228.

¹²⁴⁴ Smyrlis, Kostis. "The Management of Monastic Estates: The Evidence of the Typika," *DOP* 56 (2002): 245-261

¹²⁴⁵ Galatariotou, "Ktetorika Typika."

¹²⁴⁶ Marinković, Čedomila. "Principles of the Representation of the Founder's (ktetor's) Architecture in Serbian Medieval and Byzantine Art," in: *Serbia and Byzantium: proceedings of the international conference held on 15 December 2008 at the University of Cologne*, eds. M. Angar and C. Sode (Frankfurt am Main - New York: PL Academic Research, 2013): 57-74 (with prior literature).

¹²⁴⁷ Weissbrod, Hier Liegt Der Knecht Gottes, esp. pp. 14-43 for the discussion of the founders' right for the burial.

¹²⁴⁸ Patlagean, Évelyne. "Ancienne hagiographie byzantine et histoire sociale," *Annales* 23/1 (1968): 106-126; Patlagean, Évelyne. "Sainteté et pouvoir," in: *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (San Bernardino, Calif.: Borgo Press, 1983): 85-105.

¹²⁴⁹ Morris, "The Byzantine Aristocracy and the Monasteries"; Morris, *Monks and Laymen*.

¹²⁵⁰ Angold, *Church and Society*.

¹²⁵¹ For the period of the 10th to 12th century, see: Kaplan, Michel. *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI^e au XI^e siècle* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1989): 294-310; Kaplan, Michel. "Les moines et leurs biens fonciers à Byzance du VIII^e au X^e siècle: acquisition, conservation et mise en valeur," *Revue Bénédictine* 103 (1993): 209-223; for the Palaiologan period, see: Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monasteries*.

¹²⁵² Charanis, "Monastic Properties"; Bryer, Anthony. "The Late Byzantine Monastery in Town and Countryside," in: *The Church in Town and Countryside*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979): 219-241; Živojinović, Mirjana. "The Trade of Mount Athos Monasteries," *ZRVI* 29-30 (1991): 101-116; Laiou, Angeliki. "The Agrarian Economy, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries," in: *The Economic History of Byzantium: from the seventh through the fifteenth century*, eds. A. Laiou and Ch. Bouras, Vol. I (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2002): 311-375; Kioussopoulou, Antonia [Κιουσοπούλου, Αντωνία]. "Η Παρουσία των Μοναστηριών μέσα στις Πόλεις κατά τους Παλαιολόγειους χρόνους," in: *Χρήμα και αγορά στην εποχή των Παλαιολόγων*, ed. N. Moschonas (Athens: Ethniko Hidryma Ereunon, 2003): 273-282; Kondyli, Fotini. "Tracing Monastic Economic Interests and Their Impact on the Rural Landscape of Late Byzantine Lemnos," *DOP* 64 (2010): 129-150.

The relations of patronage in different social groups such as emperors,¹²⁵³ impresses,¹²⁵⁴ bishops, and aristocrats,¹²⁵⁵ were usually regarded in terms of royal propaganda, gendered or class strategies of raising a personal status, the establishment of networks of friendship and influence, the provision of economic support, and personal piety.

However, the referred and many other studies still overlooked some aspects of the founder-foundation relations, namely those where self-identity of a ktetor was expressed. Thus, in the present study I am going to discuss two privileges which were related to the personal choices of founders and could distinguish a proper founder from the variety of patrons and donors, discussed in the previous chapters. Namely, I will look at the choice of holy patron for a renovated or newly built foundation as well as the mentioning of the royal powers in the dedicatory inscriptions of churches and monasteries. These two privileges, as it seems, have not received sufficient studies, though they fall in what can be broadly described as founders' ceremonial rights. Looking at these two aspects of ktetorial activities I am going to investigate how the matters of identity (social, political, or religious) and personal devotion affected the appearance and development of ecclesiastic institutions. At the same time, I am going to see how decoration and dedication of a church or monastery could affect and/or shape a public image and status of a founder and how the ecclesiastic public spaces were used for the promotion of founders' views and political standing.

5.1. Choice of the dedication for a Church: a Case study of the Hodegetria dedication

The honorary duties of a founder included the choice of the dedication for his/her church. Often, if a founder reconstructed a church, he/she kept the same dedication as before, that is why the majority of the foundations renovated in Constantinople after 1261 had the original holy patrons.¹²⁵⁶ However,

¹²⁵³ Benoit-Meggenis, Rosa. *L'empereur et le moine. Les relations du pouvoir impérial avec les monastères à Byzance (ix^e-xiii^e siècle)* (Lyon: MOM Éditions, 2017); Soulis, George. "Tsar Stephen Dušan and Mount Athos," *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954): 125-139; Christidou, Anna. *Unknown Byzantine art in the Balkan area: art, power and patronage in twelfth to fourteenth century churches in Albania*, PhD Dissertation, London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2011.

¹²⁵⁴ Hill, Barbara. *Imperial Women in Byzantium 1025-1204: Power, Patronage and Ideology* (Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 1999): 153-180; Popović, Mihailo. *Mara Branković: Eine Frau zwischen dem christlichen und dem islamischen Kulturkreis im 15. Jahrhundert* (Mainz und Ruppolding: Rutzen, 2010): 134-154.

¹²⁵⁵ For bishops' patronage, see: Laiou, Angeliki. "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire," in: *Charanis Studies: Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, ed. A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis (New Brunswick, N.J., 1980), 84-114; Rautman, Marcus. "Notes on the Metropolitan Succession of Thessaloniki, c. 1300," *REB* 46 (1988): 147-159; In his study of the Macedonia province of the Palaiologan period M. Rautmann balanced the role of clergy and aristocracy in the patronage of monastic foundations (Rautmann, Marcus. "Aspects of monastic patronage in Palaeologan Macedonia", in: *The Twilight of Byzantium*, eds. S. Čurčić and Doula Mouriki (Princeton: Princeton University, 1991): 53-74). For aristocracy, see: Kyritsis, *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, pp. 238-247; 271-278; Pavlikianov, *The Medieval Aristocracy*; Morris, "The Byzantine Aristocracy and the Monasteries" Laiou, Angeliki. "The Byzantine aristocracy in the Palaiologan period: a story of arrested development," *Viator* 4 (1973): 131-151; Oikonomides, "Patronage in Palaiologan Mt. Athos"

¹²⁵⁶ Talbot, "Building Activity in Constantinople".

in case a founder needed to build a church truly “ἐκ βάθρων” (from the very grounds), how was the dedication determined then? Of course, there are several external and private spiritual factors which could define the decision of a *ktetor*. In this chapter, I would like to find out the mechanism of making this choice and to understand in what extent the personality of the main founder, his/her pious preferences, ambitions, and affiliations affected this choice. On the other hand, what was the role of the supernatural (or considered as such) interventions?

5.1.1. How to choose a holy patron?

One of the factors affecting the choice of the church dedication was a discovery or transfer of relics of a saint. Definitely, the most famous example of a dedication chosen due to relics' discovery is St. Demetrios Basilica in Thessaloniki.¹²⁵⁷ It was constructed by Leontius, the eparch of Illyricum, who decided to build a church on the place where the saint was imprisoned and executed.

In later period, a discovery of relics also could urged pious owners of these treasures to venerate the saints in proper ways, including the construction of a building where the relics can be displayed and kept. The fellow monks of St. Sabas the Younger (d. 995), who built his monastery on Sicily, discovered the relics of St. Laurentius hidden in an old tomb. Their hegoumenos initially placed them in a temporary structure and soon “from the very foundations, he built a new church in the name of this saint with his own hands”.¹²⁵⁸ An obvious reason for the creation of such churches, dedicated to saints whose relics were just found, was to enhance their cults and to allow the pilgrims to visit the saints.

Especially, this strategy was important in case of holy healers having their “specializations” which attracted certain types of ill visitors. Thus, St. Photeine being a “professional” in sight diseases attracted many pilgrims to her church near Chalkoprateia.¹²⁵⁹ However, her relics were discovered on the occasion, when a blind ox driven to a market, was healed after drinking water from a well where the bones of the saint were later found.¹²⁶⁰

¹²⁵⁷ There is long discussion concerning the place of origin of St. Demetrius' cult (in Sirmium or in Thessaloniki), for this problem see: Vickers, Michael J. “Sirmium or Thessaloniki? A critical examination of the St. Demetrius legend,” *BZ* 67 (1974): 337-350. Otherwise, the bibliography dedicated to the cult of St. Demetrios is abundant, I point here only to the most important works, where further bibliography can be found: Skedros, James. *Saint Demetrios of Thessaloniki Civic Patron and Divine Protector (4th-7th c. CE)* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999): esp. pp. 8-11, 149-156; Woods, David. “Thessalonica's Patron: Saint Demetrius or Emeterius?” *Harvard Theological Review* 93 (2000): 221-234; Walter, Christopher. *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot - Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2003): 76-93.

¹²⁵⁸ ...ἐκ βάθρων ναὸν καινὸν ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ ῥηθέντος μάρτυρος οικείαις ἀνεγείρει χερσὶ - Cozza-Lozi, Giuseppe, ed. *Historia et laudes ss. Sabae et Macarii Juniorum e Sicilia* (Rome/Vatican: Typis Vaticanis, 1893): section 9, l. 34-36.

¹²⁵⁹ Kazhdan, Alexander and Alice-Mary Talbot. “The Byzantine Cult of St. Photeine,” *BF* 20 (1994): 103-112.

¹²⁶⁰ Halkin, Francois. “Invention des reliques et miracles de Sainte Photeine la Samaritaine,” in: Id., *Hagiographica inedita decem* (Turnhout-Leuven: Brepols, 1989): 117.162-118.203.

Besides the ordinary citizens, primarily, it was the emperors who were responsible for the organization of churches with an intention to house saint's relics. Empress Pulcheria transferred the arm of St. Stephen the Protomartyr from Jerusalem to Constantinople, and built a church dedicated to his name in the old palace of Daphne.¹²⁶¹ Emperor Leo VI, according to Skylitzes, built a church in the name of St. Lazaros, where he deposited the relics of the saint transferred to the capital from Crete.¹²⁶²

All the above discussed cases certainly motivated the choice of the founders in defining the dedication of their churches, however, during the 13th and later centuries, the relics became scarcer and started to be used rather as diplomatic gifts, while new saints didn't appear so easily due to stricter canonization procedures.¹²⁶³ It may have happened that in the monastery of St. Andrew *eis Krisei* Theodora Raoulaina made a chapel to house St. Patriarch Arsenios' relics since she insisted to receive them,¹²⁶⁴ though later Russian travellers saw the body of the patriarch in St. Sophia.¹²⁶⁵ But this case was not a rule, and, therefore, I propose to look for other explanations as well.

Some lucky founders didn't need to think twice concerning the dedications for their churches, as they were directly informed by holy figures where they should build a foundation and to whom it should be dedicated. Usually, such instructions were given in a dream¹²⁶⁶ and if a founder was not fast enough to follow the commands, (s)he even can be punished, as it happened to St. Nikon "ho Metanoeite." During his visit to Crete after 961, he fell asleep near a ruined church and saw St. Photeine who ordered to reconstruct the building in her name. Since St. Nikon was not very quick, he was punished with temporary blindness until he performed the things he had promised.¹²⁶⁷

¹²⁶¹ For this ceremony and other transfers of relics to Constantinople in early and middle-Byzantine periods see: Kalavrezou, Ioli. "Helping Hands for the Empire: Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court," in: *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1994): 53-79.

¹²⁶² Wortley, John, ed. *John Skylitzes: A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811–1057: Translation and Notes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010): 175.

¹²⁶³ On relics in the Palaiologan time, see: Shepard, Jonathan. "Imperial Constantinople: relics, Palaiologan emperors, and the resilience of the exemplary centre," in: *Byzantines, Latins, and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150*, ed. J. Harris, C. Holmes, E. Russell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 61-92.

¹²⁶⁴ Pachymeres, *Historia* (1835), pp. 85-86.

¹²⁶⁵ Majeska, George. *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1984): 218-222.

¹²⁶⁶ For Dream visions as justification of foundations in the West see: Carty, Carolyn M. "The Role of Medieval Dream Images in Authenticating Ecclesiastical Construction," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 62/1 (1999): 45-90. Apparently, this way of communication between saints and founders was quite ancient. One of the earliest stories following this pattern is a legend concerning the building of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. On August 5, 356, under the pontificate of St. Liberius, Mary appeared to a rich Roman patrician John and ordered him to build a church on a spot which next morning would be marked by snow during a summer day, see: Luciani Roberto. "Anamnesi degli interventi," in: *Santa Maria Maggiore e Roma*, ed. R. Luciani (Rome, 1996): 13.

¹²⁶⁷ Sullivan, Denis, ed., *The Life of Saint Nikon: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1987): ch. 21, pp. 84-86; Kazhdan, Alexander and Alice-Mary Talbot. "The Byzantine Cult of St. Photeine," *BF* 20 (1994): 109-110.

In many cases, it is the Virgin who appears in the visions and commands the construction enterprise, and, sometimes, even raises funds for her churches. Thus, William II of Sicily was also forced to start the development of the famous Monreale cathedral after he saw the Virgin in his dream.¹²⁶⁸ Mary appeared to him and ordered to make a church in her name with those money which his father (William I) stole from people and hid in the palace, so after receiving the agreement of the young king, she showed him where to look for the treasure.

In case of Russian prince Andrei Bogolyubski, the Virgin visited him in reality. When he was transferring the famous Vladimir icon from Vyshgorod to Vladimir, the cart caring the image stopped on the bank of Klyazma river, not so far from Vladimir, and the horses were unable to move. Then, the prince ordered to perform a service in front of the icon, and afterwards retreated to his tent:

...and when he was praying with tears of humility, the Most Holy Theotokos, a warm intercessor for the entire world, appeared to him in reality, in his tent, and she stood holding a charter in her hand, and she told him: “I do not want you to bring my image to Rostov, but establish it in Vladimir, and erect a stone church in the name of my nativity on this place and create a dwelling for monks”¹²⁶⁹

This text, although it appeared in the late chronicles of the 18th century, was, probably, copied from much earlier sources,¹²⁷⁰ as it reflects a change of the capital in the Vladimir-Suzdal principality as well as the origins of the so-called Bogolyubskaya Virgin’s iconography. Nevertheless, the monastery in Bogolyubovo (c. 1157), indeed, was dedicated to the Nativity of the Virgin, and this fact might have been caused by the prince’s vision.

As a rare occasion, the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Asen explained the choice of dedication with his own voice. The church of the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia in the capital of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom, Veliko Tŕrnovo, was the main cathedral of the town and its patron saints were chosen as helpers to the Tsar during the Klokotnitsa battle (March 9, 1230), about which the ruler informed the visitors of his foundation by the means of a lengthy inscription placed on one of the columns:

In the year 6738 [1230], I, Ioan Asen, in Christ God faithful Tsar and autocrat of the Bulgarians, son of the old Tsar Asen, built from the very grounds and adorned with paintings the entirety of this most honourable church in the name of the Holy Forty Martyrs with whose help, on the twelfth year of my reign, when this temple was

¹²⁶⁸ Matranga, Finella. “Una leggenda antica. Il sogno del re come manifesto di un regno,” in: *Monreale e la sua cattedrale: Novellare normanno nel segno di Guglielmo*, eds. A. Musco, F. Cusimano, S. D’agostino (Palermo: Oficina di Studi Medievali, 2011): 37-44.

¹²⁶⁹ ...и молящуся ему со слезами умильнѣ явился сама Пресвятая Богородици теплая о всемъ мирѣ предстательница, очевидно въ шатрѣ его стоящая и въ единой руцѣ хартію держащая, и рече ему: «не хочу, да образъ мой несеши въ Ростовъ, но во Владиміръ постави его, а на семь мѣстѣ во имя моего рождества церковь каменную воздвигни, и обиталище инокомъ состави» - *Chronicles of Bogolyubovo Monastery, from 1158 to 1770*, composed on the basis of monastic acts and records by the abbot of this monastery, hegoumenos Aristarches in 1767 – 1769 [Летопись Боголюбова монастыря с 1158 по 1770 год, составленная по монастырским актам и записям настоятелем оной обители игуменом Аристархом в 1767-1769 гг.],” *Чтения в Обществе истории и древностей российских при Московском университете* 1878/1 (1878): 1-2.

¹²⁷⁰ Voronin, Nikolai [Воронин, Николай]. “Из истории русско-византийской церковной борьбы XII в.,” *VV* 51 (1965): 190—218 (esp. pp. 200-201).

painted, I went to war in Romania and routed the Greek army and captured Tsar Theodore Komnenos himself and all of his boljars, I conquered his entire land, from Adrianopolis to Drach, the Greek [part], as well as the Serbian and Albanian parts....¹²⁷¹

So, apparently, the building was already constructed and painted when the Tsar made up his mind concerning the dedication. In order to present himself as the God's elect who was helped by the martyrs, he preferred to commemorate this date with the help of the church's dedication. It is also possible, that initially, there was a different dedication in his plans which were changed after the successful battle.

Another quite popular motive for the selection of a church's patron was the expression of gratitude or the fulfilment of a promise given to a saint. To fulfil his promise given in the battle, John Tzimiskes built a church to St. Theodore as an expression of gratitude for the saint's military help against Russian prince Sviatoslav.¹²⁷² The Cretan saint, Agios Phanourios, whose cult was developed during the Late Byzantine period on Crete and Rhodes, received his first chapel on Crete, in the Varsomonero monastery, after the saint helped to cure a serious infection in feet of the hegoumenos, Ionas Palamas.¹²⁷³

The nations in the Byzantine *oikoumene* as well practiced this custom of the selection of patron saints for their foundations. Serbian prince Stefan (Simeon) Nemanja, being imprisoned by his brothers prayed to St. George to deliver him from the captivity. After being released, the Serbian prince started to implement his obligations toward the saint and, in 1170/1, erected the church in his name, so-called Đurđevi Stupovi (St. George's Pillars).¹²⁷⁴

The cathedral of Cefalù was also made as an *ex-voto* gift to Christ and his Apostles, Peter and Paul. In 1130, Roger II took a sea voyage from Palermo, and during the night, there was a terrible storm. The king prayed to the Lord reminding Him: "you, have delivered Peter who had denied You and Paul, the persecutor of the church, from sinking into the waves and the deep sea." The king also promised that if Christ "saved [him] from the waves of the sea and <...> [he] reach the land's shore

¹²⁷¹ В(ъ) лѣто ꙗ ꙗ л и Инд(икта) Г азъ Іw(аннь) Асѣнь Вѣ Х(риста) Б(ог)а вѣрны Црѣ и самодръжець блѣгаромъ с(ы)нѣ старого Асѣнѣ црѣ създахъ вѣ зачала и писаниемъ(ъ) оукрасіхъ до конца прѣч(ъ)стнѣж сѣж црѣквѣ вѣ имѣ с(ве)тыхъ М м(ж)ч(ъ)н(и)къ ихъже помощіхъ вѣ ІВ лѣто црства моего в ѣже лѣто писааше сѣ храмъ сѣ излѣзохъ(ъ) на бранѣ вѣ Рѣманиж и разбихъ воіскѣ грѣцкѣ и самого црѣ кюр(а) Оодора Комнина ѣхъ(ъ) сѣ всѣми болѣрь ѣго а зема всѣ прѣахъ вѣ Одрина и до Драчѣ – text: Popkonstantinov Kazimir, Kronsteiner, Otto. *Старобългарски надписи* = *Altbulgarische Inschriften*, vol. II (Salzburg: Salzburg by Institut für Slawistik der Universität, 1994): 166-168; Translation: Petkov, Kiril. *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, Seventh-Fifteenth Century: The Records of a Bygone Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2008): 425.

¹²⁷² Wortley, John, ed. *John Skylitzes: A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811–1057: Translation and Notes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010): 292-293; Walter, Christopher. *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot - Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2003): 61-62.

¹²⁷³ Vassilaki, Maria. "Saint Phanourios: Cult and Iconography," *DChAE* 10/1 (1980): 223–238 (esp. pp. 226-227).

¹²⁷⁴ Đurić, Vojislav. "Posveta Nemanjinih zadužbina i vladarska ideologija," in: *Studenica u crkvenom životu i u istoriji srpskog naroda* (Belgrade, 1987): 13-25 (esp. p. 17- about the choice of St. George as a patron). For the original text of the Life of St. Stefan (Simeon) describing this event, see: Juhas-Georgijevska, Ljiljana, ed. *Stefan Prvovenčani. Sabrana dela* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1999): 26-28.

safely, in the very same place” Roger would “build a temple to Your honour and glory, Saviour, and to that of the Apostles.” And indeed, “they arrived in Sicily with joy and song at Cefalù on the day of the Transfiguration of the Lord. And descending happily [Roger] immediately measured with the royal sceptre where the church dedicated to the Saviour and the apostles Peter and Paul would be built”.¹²⁷⁵ So, this and many other stories concerning personal salvation, delivery from a danger or illness, rescue from enemies, and expulsion of daemons or spells can be quite strong motives for making a decision about a holy patron, especially, in cases when founders gave a promise. This way, they became bind by an agreement concluded with influential and just supernatural powers.

There are also well-attested cases when the name of a saint to whom a monastery or a church was dedicated coincided with the name of founder, whether a lay name or one in monastic habit. Sakellarios from Serres Georgios Mourmouras (1313-1333) founded a small monastery of St George Kryonerites not far from Serres, which, after his death, his wife gave to the monastery of Prodromos.¹²⁷⁶ In 1358-1364, Nikola Radonja, a courtier of Stefan Dušan, became a founder of a chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas and placed on the upper floor of the *katholikon* of the St. John Menoikeon monastery next to Serres.¹²⁷⁷ Similarly, Serbian despotes Jovan Oliver paid the murals made in St. John Prodromos’ chapel in the tower of St. Sophia in Ohrid (1347-1350).¹²⁷⁸ In 1389, brother of King Marko Mrnjavčević, Andrijaš, ruler of the lands to the North from Skopje, built a monastery dedicated to St. Andrew,¹²⁷⁹ obviously, his namesake saint.

In some other cases, founders could choose a saint homonym with their monastic name, either as simple monks or as bishops. A founder of a small urban church in Prizren, “the servant of God Nicholas, and Dragoslav Tutić by the laic name” dedicated his foundation to St. Nicholas.¹²⁸⁰ As for bishops, almost all of those who were associated with the Ohrid seat practiced this custom. In 1364-1365, the Bishop of Devolis Gregory built a chapel dedicated to St. Gregory Theologian in St. Sophia

¹²⁷⁵ For the source text see: Carini, Isidoro. “Una pergamena sulla fondazione del Duomo di Cefalù,” *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, n.s. 7 (1882 [1883]): 136-138; for the translation and discussion of this and other similar sources: Johnson, Mark J. “Church Building and Miracles in Norman Italy: Texts and Topoi,” in: *Approaches to Byzantine Architecture and its Decoration: Studies in Honor of Slobodan Ćurčić*, ed. M. J. Johnson, R. Ousterhout, and A. Papalexandrou (Farnham, 2012): 67-80 (67-68).

¹²⁷⁶ Bénou, *Le codex B*, pp. 284-285 and 287-288.

¹²⁷⁷ Subotić, Kisas, “Nadgrobni natpis sestre despota Jovana,” pp. 178-179; Đorđević, Kyriakoudis, “The Frescoes of St. Nicholas,” esp. pp. 183-186; Bakirdzis, *Hagios Ioannis Prodromos monastery*, pp. 220-225.

¹²⁷⁸ Grozdanov, Cvetan. *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo XIV veka* (Belgrade: Institut za istoriju umetnosti, 1980): 62-73. Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, pp. 157-159.

¹²⁷⁹ Nošpal-Nikuljska, Nada. “Prilog za manastirov Sv. Andreja na r. Treska — na bregot na ezeroto Matka,” in: *Spomenici za srednovekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija*, eds. K. Ilievska; V. Mošin, Vol. I (Skopje: Arhiv na Makedonija, 1975): 387-400.

¹²⁸⁰ “...азь рабъ Хр(и)стоу Николае а зовомъ мирьскимъ Драгославъ Тоутиць.” — see: Tomović, *Morfologija ćirilčkih natpisa*, pp. 52-53, no. 31.

Church of Ohrid.¹²⁸¹ The church of St. Nicholas (Bolnički) in Ohrid was erected “by toils and zeal” of the Archbishop of Ohrid, Nicholas in 1335-1345.¹²⁸²

Besides the personal patrons, some founders preferred to venerate saints associated with their relatives. In this sense, the most striking is the dedication of St. Stephan’s church¹²⁸³ at Kruševac, which was built by prince Lazar c. 1377. The author of Life of Stefan Lazarević, Konstantin the Philosopher, narrates concerning the father (Prince Lazar) of his protagonist:

And during his lifetime he built fortified cities, and also built the one which is called Kruševac, and there he built a very beautiful church dedicated to archdeacon Stephen the Protomartyr as a prayer for his always commemorated son.¹²⁸⁴

Other reasons affecting the choice of saint for a dedication can be extremely personal and not pronounced by sources. For example, it is difficult to suggest the reasons standing behind the dedication of a chapel, built by a Constantinopolitan courtier for St. Euthymios, to a Palestine monastic saint. This small church adjusts the main basilica of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki, and it was constructed in 1303 by an aristocratic couple, Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes and his wife Maria Palaiologina. So unusual dedication was debated by scholars, as G. Theocharides proposed that the couple was childless, and therefore they chose the saint, who was a son of elderly parents, hoping to get an offspring.¹²⁸⁵ While Sh. Gerstel suggested that due to the great influence which the Athonite monks had in the city in the beginning of the 14th century, the chapel was created as a small monastic oratory to house the Athonites on occasion of great services.¹²⁸⁶

The reasons related to private piety, however, are not always hidden. Some of them can be delivered to modern readers in the founders’ Typika. In one of them, written by Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos for his St. Demetrios’ monastery in Kellibara (1282), the author explains the reasons which prompted him to renew this foundation under the patronage of the military saint:

I owe them [mercies] to the supplications of all my holy patrons, but especially to those of my great defender, I mean Demetrios [whose body] exudes scented oil. As an ambassador he is always, I am certain, presenting my case to God. I know too that from long ago and up to the present God has sent him as a shield to protect my life and the empire, and I have no doubt that he bestows his own favor on me. Of all the things

¹²⁸¹ Grozdanov, Cvetan. *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo XIV veka* (Belgrade: Institut za istoriju umetnosti, 1980): 79-101. For the dedicatory inscription see: Ivanov, *Български старини*, p. 39.

¹²⁸² Subotić, Gojko. “Vreme nastanka crkve sv. Nikole Bolničkog u Ohridu,” *Zograf* 3 (1969): 16-17; Grozdanov, Cvetan. *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo XIV veka* (Belgrade: Institut za istoriju umetnosti, 1980): 53-59.

¹²⁸³ Besides this church there is also a church in Banjska dedicated to St. Stephen by king Stefan Uroš Milutin in 1314-1316, however in case of Milutin, the name Stefan is a titular and not personal name – see: *Zbornik srednjovekovnih ćirilskih povelja*, pp. 455-469.

¹²⁸⁴ Въ свормъ убо животъ създа грады твѣды създа же и Крушевьць глаголрмыи, въ нрмъже създа красънѣишую црковь великому пръвомученику, архидиякону Стефану въ мольбу о присънопомънимѣмъ сынѣ свормъ. – Jagić, Vartoslav, ed. “Konstantin Filosof, Život Stefana Lazarevića,” *Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva* 42 (1875): 262.

¹²⁸⁵ Theocharides, Georgios [Θεοχαρίδης, Γεώργιος]. “Μιχαήλ Δούκας Γλαβάς Ταρχανειώτης (Προσωπογραφικά),” *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Philosophikes Scholes Panepistemiou Thessalonikes* (1957): 161-214 (esp. 202-203)

¹²⁸⁶ Gerstel, Sharon E.J. “Civic and Monastic Influences on Church Decoration in Late Byzantine Thessalonike,” *DOP* 57 (2003): 225-239 (esp. 229).

I have done as emperor <...> there is not one in which when I called upon him to come he did not immediately give me the sensation of his actual presence and assistance. Because he has so often and in such significant ways come to our aid, we have continuously been mindful of him and have expressed our gratitude to the Martyr of Christ.¹²⁸⁷

Generally, the Typikon of Michael VIII has quite a personal tone which made the editor, Henri Grégoire, to call it “an autobiography.” Nevertheless, this text is a set of rules for a monastic community with a long preface. Since the cloister was creation of emperor’s ancestors, except personal grounds, Michael VIII also acknowledged his hereditary obligations of patronage. But the reasons related to personal protection provided by the saint to the ruler were most important for the choice of the foundation’s holy patron, as well as Archangel’s Michael’s support in the affairs of the state, which was understood by Michael VII as his successes in military campaigns contributing to the renovation of the Empire.

For other founders like Isaak Komnenos who, in the end of his stormy life, decided to retire in the restored by him Kosmosoteira monastery, the primarily reasons for the choice of a patron were associated with piety, faith and eschatological expectations of the afterlife:

...I have set forth in burning faith for my Benefactress, the Mother of God and Kosmosoteira. A flawless ally in every way, I now invoke thee, since it is with thine aid, O all-seeing universal Queen, that I would express the wishes nourished in this at present so wretched mind of mine <...> Now since I have dedicated practically all my resources, both movable and immovable, to the Mother of God here, for my spiritual salvation—on account of which I, the unfortunate, eagerly await [her] intercession with her Son our God for my wretched soul¹²⁸⁸

So, many of the above-discussed reasons for the creation of church foundations, such as the discovery of relics, the receiving of direct commands from holy figures, the celebration of memorial dates, the expression of gratitude to a saint and the offering of a church as a votive gift are, in fact, related to some extraordinary events in the life of a person, and one can’t be sure that the occurrences like these stood behind choices made by all those numerous founders across the Byzantine commonwealth. These instances are atypical and, possibly, as such, they found their ways to

¹²⁸⁷ ... γεγονότα μὲν καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἁγίων καὶ προστατῶν ἐμῶν ἱκεσίαις, γεγονότα δὲ μάλιστα ταῖς τοῦ μεγάλου μου προμάχου, τοῦ μυροβλύτου φημὶ Δημητρίου. ὃν οἶδα πρέσβυν ἐγὼ πρὸς θεὸν αἰεὶ προβαλλόμενον, οἶδα δὲ καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐς δεῦρο ὑπερασπιστὴν καὶ τῆς ζωῆς μου προβεβλημένον καὶ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν χάριν ὡς ἐναργῶς παρεχόμενον. ἔν γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστι σχεδὸν τῶν τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας ἔργων <...> ἐν ᾧ περ ἐπικληθεὶς οὗτος παρῆναι, οὐκ αἰσθησὶν αὐτίκα τοῆς παρουσίας διὰ τῆς ἐπικουρίας παρέσχετο παρὸ καὶ τῶν πολλῶν τούτων καὶ μεγάλων ἀντιλήψεων ἢ μὲν ἀνύμνησις καὶ εὐχαριστία ἐτελεῖτο διηλεκτῶς τῷ χριστομάρτυρι παρ’ ἡμῶν, - Grégoire, Henri, ed. “Imperatoris Michaelis Palaeologi De vita sua,” *Byzantion* 29-30 (1959-60): 461-463. Translation: *BMFD*, pp. 1246-1247.

¹²⁸⁸ ἐξεθέμεθα πίστει ζεούση τῇ πρὸς τὴν ἡμῶν εὐεργετιδὰ τε Θεοτόκον καὶ κοσμοσώτειραν, ἣν οὕτως ἐν ἅπασιν ἀρραγῇ συνεργὸν προκαλούμεθα, ἐπειδὴ περ, ᾧ πανόπτρια παμβασίλισσα, λέξαιμι τῇ σῇ ἐπικουρίᾳ τὰ τοῦ ἀθλίου κατὰ τὸ παρὸν νοός μου γεννήματα καὶ βουλήματα <...> Τοῖνυν ἐπειδὴ περ περιουσίαν μου σχεδὸν πᾶσαν, κινητὴν καὶ ἀκίνητον, ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας μου ἔνεκεν, ἀνεθέμην ἐνταῦθα τῇ Θεομήτορι, δι’ ᾧ καὶ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς καὶ Θεὸν ἡμῶν μεσῖτιν τῆς ἐμῆς ἀθλίας ψυχῆς ὁ τάλας ἐγὼ ταύτην ἀπεκδέχομαι... - Petit, Louis, ed. “Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d’Aenos (1152),” *IRAİK* 13 (1908): 19-20 and 22. Translation: *BMFD*, no. 29, pp. 798-799 and 800-801.

literature. The practices related to the name-sake saints and holy protectors seems more probable: they, indeed, represent the choices made by a founder on more personal grounds. However, many churches in both, Byzantium and countries of the Commonwealth, were dedicated to Christ or Mary or were associated with their feasts. So, how the choice was made in those cases? In what follows I would like to regard one particular case related to the choice of the church patron, who was popular and unusual at the same time, I mean the Theotokos Hodegetria.

5.1.2. The *Hodegetriai*: Replicating the Icon of the Hodegetria by Means of Church Dedications

Being proud of their history and ancient church, the inhabitants of Vasilopoulo, a village near Aetos, published on the webpage of RadioAetos¹²⁸⁹ the early-20th century notes of the local priest George Papaspyros, collected by the village schoolteacher Athanasios Tragomalos. Accordingly, the local Hodegetria Church, called Holy Tuesday (*Agia Triti*) and erected during the Byzantine period, celebrated on the Holy Tuesday after Easter with a gathering of people from all neighboring villages. The legend explains this strange name in the following way. More than a thousand years ago, there was a bishopric in the town of Aetos and the local bishop discovered that his flock was extremely illiterate, “distinguished from animals only by their ability of speech.” He tried, thus, to find a way to approach them and established a fair (*panagyris*), where locals, occupied normally with pasturing and hunting, could come and stay together. The fair started on the Holy Monday and continued until the Holy Tuesday, when the bishop came to preach and instruct his gathered flock. Due to the multitude of people, a place slightly outside the village was chosen for the fair, and because this was conducted by the bishop, the inhabitants decided to build a church dedicated to the Hodegetria (the Virgin-Guide), who was supposed to “direct the flock” to the fair’s place. The church received also the name “of the Holy Tuesday,” because of the time, set for the gathering, and it became famous for the numerous miracles curing blind people and sterile women.

A fascinating mash-up of historical and invented elements, this folkloric story carries, nevertheless, ancient motives, typically encountered in the Byzantine narratives associated with the miracle-working icon of the Hodegetria in Constantinople.¹²⁹⁰ First, it accounts for a fair held on Tuesday due to a holy event, which echoes the Tuesday miracle happening amidst a fair, held next to

¹²⁸⁹ Tragomalos, Athanasios. “Ναός Παναγίας Οδηγήτριας στο Βασιλόπουλο Ξηρομέρου” in RadioAetos - <https://radioaetos.com/%CE%B5%CE%BD%CF%84%CF%85%CF%80%CF%89%CF%83%CE%B9%CE%B1%CE%BA%CF%8C-%CE%BF%CE%B4%CE%BF%CE%B9%CF%80%CE%BF%CF%81%CE%B9%CE%BA%CF%8C-%CE%B1%CF%86%CE%B9%CE%AD%CF%81%CF%89%CE%BC%CE%B1%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%8C/> (accessed on 13/06/2018).

¹²⁹⁰ There are numerous studies dedicated to the Constantinopolitan Hodegetria and her cult, I will point out here only the most recent and significant of them: Angelidi, Papamastorakis, “The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria”; Pentcheva, “The Activated Icon”; Lidov, “The Flying Hodegetria”; Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, pp. 109-143.

the walls of the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople. Moreover, indeed, the dedication of the village church to the Hodegetria is explained through her guiding qualities.¹²⁹¹ Like its Constantinopolitan prototype, the Hodegetria sanctuary in the village can cure blindness and sterility. Finally, the villagers' collective efforts to erect the church recall the brotherhood serving to the icon in the Hodegon.

5.1.2.1. The Cult of Hodegetria and the Icon Copies

The fame of the Constantinopolitan icon generated many replicas which were worshipped in a way similar to their prototype. The presence of these Hodegetria copies in different provinces and towns of the Byzantine Empire and beyond its borders led to the emergence of numerous Hodegetria-dedicated foundations, which were usually described in sources as churches or monasteries made “for the name of the Most Holy Mother of God Hodegetria.” They, probably, were established for the purpose of imitating the Byzantine capital's veneration practices and for the housing of copies of the Constantinopolitan icon. This can be inferred on the basis of their dedication, which reflects a shift in the Hodegon cult from the curing water-fountain to the icon, presumably painted by Evangelist Luke.¹²⁹²

Such foundations were aimed mostly at the transfer of a part of the famous icon's miracle-working power through the worshipping of the icon's copies and the imitation of rituals and religious practices associated with the Hodegetria (confraternities, processions, etc.). The existing sources and monuments offer, more often than not, only faint traces of these practices and cults. The present subchapter analyzes, therefore, a bulk of known evidence about Hodegetria-associated foundations, trying to understand how the transfer of the icon-cult functioned.¹²⁹³

The earliest and most famous case of cult-transfer is the Hodegetria of Thessaloniki, a miraculous icon housed in a chapel of St. Sophia, which was daily taken in a solemn procession to the ambo of the church for participation in the service.¹²⁹⁴ Michele Bacci noted already that, similarly “with its archetype,” the Thessalonikian icon “was involved into solemn procession on Tuesdays” and became a palladium of the city, possessing supernatural powers.¹²⁹⁵ During the Norman siege of

¹²⁹¹ In the Byzantine legends the monastery of Hodegon received its name due to the guides who directed the blind people to the miracle-working source, see Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, p. 126.

¹²⁹² Angelidi, Papamastorakis, “The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria,” pp. 377-378.

¹²⁹³ A similar study concerning the Italian replicas of the Hodegetria was conducted by M. Bacci (Bacci, Michele. “The legacy of the Hodegetria: holy icons and legends between East and West,” in: *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. M. Vassilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004): 321-336).

¹²⁹⁴ Darrouzes, Jean. “Sainte-Sophie de Thessalonique d'après un rituel,” *REB* 34 (1976): 45-78, concerning the placement of the chapel see pp. 71-72.

¹²⁹⁵ Bacci, Michele. “The legacy of the Hodegetria: holy icons and legends between East and West,” in: *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. M. Vassilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004): 323.

1185, the icon alarmed the citizens about the approaching conquest by refusing to return to its chapel.¹²⁹⁶ In this episode, a brotherhood (ἡ ἀδελφότης) carrying the icon during the procession is also mentioned, making the similarity with the Constantinopolitan prototype even closer.¹²⁹⁷ This way, the prototype and replica shared a number of common features: participation in Tuesday processions, the icon's brotherhood, its function as a palladium, and its involvement in city politics,¹²⁹⁸ as well as miraculous powers.

Even though the Constantinopolitan cult of the Hodegetria emerged in the post-iconoclast period,¹²⁹⁹ it passed through several formative stages with emphases on different aspects of the cult: either a place centred around the blindness-curing water source, the palladium-housing monastery, or a pilgrimage centre, where the brotherhood served the Virgin's miraculous image. During the Palaiologan period, the veneration of the Hodegetria icon became widespread, the origin and supernatural power of the icon having been described in a corpus of miracle stories.¹³⁰⁰ Possibly, after the dedication of the month of August to the Hodegetria icon (1297) and the re-establishing of its public veneration under the Palaiologoi,¹³⁰¹ the cult of the image spread throughout the Empire, leading to the establishing of numerous churches dedicated to the Hodegetria. The size and importance of these foundations varied from family chapels on distant Byzantine periphery to rich and spacious ensembles as in Mystras.

It is impossible to regard all cases of churches dedicated to the Hodegetria across the Byzantine Commonwealth within the framework of a single chapter. I analyze instead a number of selected

¹²⁹⁶ PG Vol. CXXXVI, cols. 125-127.

¹²⁹⁷ About the confraternity of the Hodegon see: Zeitler, Barbara. "Cults Disrupted and Memories Recaptured: Events in the Life of the Icon of the Virgin Hodegetria in Constantinople" in: *Memory and Oblivion. Proceedings of the XXIX International Congress of the History of Art*, ed. W. Reinink and J. Stumpel (Dordrecht : Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1999): 701-708; Patterson-Sevcenko, Nancy. "Servants of the Holy Icon," in: *Byzantine East-Latin West, Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, eds. Ch Moss, D. Mouriki, K. Kiefer (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University, 2005): 547-555.

¹²⁹⁸ Concerning politicians' appellations toward the abilities of the icon in Thessaloniki see PG Vol. CXXXVI, col. 41. As expression of the political might of the icon and its protective power, Michael VIII introduced the procession with the Hodegetria during the triumphal entrance in the capital in 1261: Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, Vol. I, pp. 216-217; *Georgios Akropolites, Annales*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn: Weber, 1837): 196-197; Gregoras, *Historia*, Vol. I, pp. 87-88. Weyl Carr, Annmarie. "Court Culture and Cult Icons in Middle Byzantine Constantinople," in: *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1997): 97-99.

¹²⁹⁹ For the cult of the Icon of the Hodegetria and its development during the Palaiologan time see: Babić, Gordana. "Les images byzantines et leurs degres de signification: l'exemple de l'Hodigitria" in: *Byzance et les images: Cycle de conferences organise au musee du Louvre par le Service culturel du 5 octobre au 7 decembre 1992*, ed. A. Guillou and J. Durand (Paris: La Documentation française, 1994): 189-222; Angelidi, Papamastorakis, "The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria," pp. 373-387; Angelidi, Christine and Papamastorakis, Titos. "Picturing the spiritual protector: from Blachernitissa to Hodegetria," in: *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. M. Vassilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004): 209-223.

¹³⁰⁰ Published by Angelidi, "Le «Discours narratif»".

¹³⁰¹ About the dedication of the entire month of August to the Virgin see: Grumel, Venance. "Le mois de Marie des Byzantins" *Échos d'Orient* 31/167 (1932): 257-269. The decree of Andronikos II concerning this legislation came down to us among works of Nikephoros Choumnos, see: *Anecdota Græca e codicibus regiis descriptis annotatione illustravit*, ed. Jean François Boissonade, Vol. II (Paris: Regio Typographeo, 1830): 107-136. Concerning the veneration of the image in the Palaiologan time see: Angelidi, Papamastorakis, "The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria," pp. 83-85.

examples representing the Byzantine urban milieu and rural periphery, the Serbian and Bulgarian states, as well as foreign-ruled Greek territories. By doing so, I shall try to find the reasons standing behind the practice of dedicating ecclesiastic institutions to the Hodegetria.

5.1.2.2. The Early Hodegetria Centres: Jerusalem, Sicily, Cyprus

The earliest monastery with such a dedication attested outside Constantinople is a convent in Jerusalem.¹³⁰² Its dedication was first mentioned in 1353/4 by an anonymous Byzantine pilgrim,¹³⁰³ who was also the first to account for the holy event marked by this foundation, namely, its building on the place where the Virgin stood during the Crucifixion.¹³⁰⁴ This is confirmed by another anonymous Byzantine pilgrim, who visited the city between 1250 and 1350. This source is somehow more specific about the place, calling it the monastery “where the nuns are living” and ascertaining that it is found at “one stadium from the holy Sepulchre.”¹³⁰⁵ In the 15th century, Russian deacon Zosima¹³⁰⁶ mentioned the church of the Hodegetria in Jerusalem, adding that, in his time, it was situated inside of a monastery inhabited by monks. A number of 16th-century Greek travellers, namely, the authors of the *Narration about the Holy Sepulchre*, of the poetic *Proskynetarion*, and of the *Narration about Jerusalem*, noted that the monastery was in fact a Greek nunnery placed on the West of the Holy Sepulchre.¹³⁰⁷ They all confirmed that it was the place where the Theotokos looked at the Passion from, and added that it was destroyed by the Arabs in the middle of the 16th century. Nowadays, the place is associated with the Nunnery of Megale Panagia (Dair al-Banat), dedicated to the Presentation of the Virgin.¹³⁰⁸ However, Gustav Kühnel¹³⁰⁹ suggested that the nunnery was dedicated initially to the Hodegetria as it might have had a copy of the famous icon.

¹³⁰² Pringle, Denys. *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*. Volume III: The City of Jerusalem (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993): 314-316.

¹³⁰³ Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Afanasios and Destunis Gabriil. [Пападопуло-Керамевс, Афанасий, and Дестунис, Гавриил], eds. “Краткий рассказ о святых местах Иерусалима и о Страстях Господа нашего Иисуса Христа и о других безымянного, написанный в 1253/4 г.” *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik* 40 (1895): 7. Translation in: Pringle, Denys. *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012): 193.

¹³⁰⁴ Information about the Greek monastery as standing on the place occupied by the Virgin during the Crucifixion is given only by the authors belonging to the Orthodox tradition. The Western travellers referred to a place of the Virgin during the Crucifixion as situated “on the very spot where the altar of the church” of Mary Latina is. See: Saewulf’s account in: Willis, Robert. *The Architectural History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem* (London: Parker, 1849): 144-146. About the church of Mary Latina see Pringle, Denys. *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*. Volume III: The City of Jerusalem (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993): 236-243.

¹³⁰⁵ *PG* Vol. CXXXIII, col. 981, Pringle, Denys. *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*. Volume III: The City of Jerusalem (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993): 383.

¹³⁰⁶ Prokofiev, Nikolai [Прокофьев, Николай], ed. *Книга хождений. Записки русских путешественников XI-XV вв* (Moscow: Sovetskaya Rossiya, 1984): 310.

¹³⁰⁷ Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Afanasios [Пападопуло-Керамевс, Афанасий], ed. “Восемь греческих описаний святых мест XIV, XV и XVI вв.” *Православный Палестинский сборник* 56 (1903): 28, 71, 123.

¹³⁰⁸ Pringle, Denys. *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*. Volume III: The City of Jerusalem (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993): 314.

¹³⁰⁹ Kühnel, Gustav. *Wall Painting of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1988): 27-28.

One fact should be underlined: namely, the connection established between the monastery's dedication to the Hodegetria and the evangelic event commemorated in that place of the Holy City. As all pilgrims agree, the nunnery was built on the spot from which the Virgin witnessed the passion of her son on Golgotha. According to A. Lidov's observation, being a bilateral icon with a Crucifixion on its back, the two images of the Constantinopolitan Hodegetria merged during the Tuesday processions into a complex spatial image perceived by beholders "as a single one."¹³¹⁰ This complex image served as the model for several bilateral icons having the Hodegetria on the front panel and the Crucifixion or the Man of Sorrows on the back.¹³¹¹

In this sense, one may suggest that the dedication to the Hodegetria of the Jerusalem monastery was motivated by its legendary location inside of the city's Bible-related topography (the place where the Virgin witnessed the Crucifixion from), and by the link between this location and the theological concept expressed by the double-sided icon of the Hodegetria (juxtaposition of the Mother's and Christ's sacrifices).

A number of images bearing the epithet Η ΟΔΗΓΗΤΡΙΑ appeared in the Empire's different regions at about the same time the icon in Constantinople started to receive imperial and aristocratic donations, to participate in royal commemorative ceremonies in the Pantokrator Monastery, to protect the Capital's walls, to witness imperial oaths, and to be considered as painted by Evangelist Luke.¹³¹² It is precisely this shift from simple replication of the icon in the same medium (wooden board) to the depiction of Mary in mural decoration, labelled as the Hodegetria, that indicates a new stage in the cult's development. This is when the Hodegetria icon started to be understood not only as miracle-working object, but also as a concept, as a reference to certain qualities of the Theotokos.

Already in the late-11th or early-12th century, both mural images and icons of the Hodegetria started to be venerated in Southern Italy. The "Cripta" of Santa Maria delle Grazie, situated below the Sicilian Capella Palatina, dates back to 1105-1130. It was the place of Roger II's coronation as King of Sicily,¹³¹³ but its main purpose was to contain royal burials.¹³¹⁴ The Enthroned Virgin with

¹³¹⁰ Lidov, "The Flying Hodegetria," pp. 286-288.

¹³¹¹ Pallas, Demetrios. *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz. Der Ritus — das Bild* (Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie, 1965): 308-323.

¹³¹² Angelidi, Papamastorakis, "The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria," pp. 377-385.

¹³¹³ Dittelbach, Thomas. "La chiesa inferiore" in: *La Cappella Palatina a Palermo*, ed. B. Brenk (Modena: Antique Collecto, 2010): 283-293 (esp. p. 283) considers that the church was built immediately after the royal court was moved from Messina to Palermo, while W. Tronzo (Tronzo, William. "L'architettura della Cappella Palatina" in: *La Cappella Palatina a Palermo*, ed. B. Brenk (Modena: Antique Collecto, 2010): 79-99) argues for 1102-1115 as the construction dates of the Palatine chapel.

¹³¹⁴ Dittelbach, Thomas. "La chiesa inferiore" in: *La Cappella Palatina a Palermo*, ed. B. Brenk (Modena: Antique Collecto, 2010): 284 considers that it was intended for William II, while Tronzo, William. "L'architettura della Cappella Palatina" in: *La Cappella Palatina a Palermo*, ed. B. Brenk (Modena: Antique Collecto, 2010): 93 suggests that it was a burial place for Roger II.

Child on the north-eastern wall is the only piece of original decoration.¹³¹⁵ The Virgin's depiction bears the identifying inscription "Η ΟΔΗΓΙ[ΤΡΙΑ]" and, stylistically, belongs to Byzantine-Sicilian art of around 1100.

Bearing the same epithet, the image of the Virgin found its place among the mosaic decoration in the upper Capella as well. On the northern side of the eastern wall, above the balcony, arranged by Roger II for himself in the northern aisle, there is a standing figure of the Virgin Η ΟΔΗΓΗΤΡΙΑ with the Child, whose blessing is addressed to St. John the Baptist. This one holds a scroll with the text: Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world / Ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου (Jh. 1:29),¹³¹⁶ and, thus, these two figures create a kind of a textual-visual dialogue, which reminds the sacrifice of Christ taking place in the proskomidion below.

Even though the two full-length images of the Virgin from the Capella Palatina do not strictly belong to the type of Hodegetria, they witness, nonetheless, the presence of the cult of this particular image in Sicily during this period. The replica of the Hodegetria was brought there by Bartholomew di Simeri, who founded a monastery dedicated to the Hodegetria (Nea Odigitria)¹³¹⁷ and placed it under Roger II's royal patronage.¹³¹⁸ This way, the appearance in the royal frescoes and mosaics of the Virgin with this epithet was motivated by the veneration of the mobile image which replicated the Constantinopolitan prototype. Simultaneously, the Virgin's epithet can be explained through the theological understanding of the Hodegetria icon: in both, the Cripta and upper Capella, the Hodegetria image is placed near the proskomedia, where the preparation of bread and wine for the liturgical sacrifice takes place. Hence, as it was pointed out previously, the central concept of the redemptive sacrifice unifies the iconography of the Hodegetria with the rituals taking place in the prothesis.

The veneration of the Hodegetria in Cyprus dates back to the 12th century, too, when an image of the Virgin inscribed "Η ΟΔΗΓΗΤΡΙΑ" appeared in the murals of the Church of St. Nicholas tis Stegis.¹³¹⁹ Nowadays, there are no widely worshipped replicas of the Constantinopolitan icon in Cyprus, but traces of its veneration are preserved in the dedications of churches, in icons belonging to the Hodegetria iconographic type (e.g., the icon from the Panagia Moutoullas Church),¹³²⁰ and in

¹³¹⁵ Testa, Antonella. "L'affresco dell' Odigitria nella Cappella Palatina di Palermo," *Sicilia archeologica* year 28/ nos. 87/88/89 (1995): 125-128.

¹³¹⁶ Kitzinger, Ernst. "The Mosaics of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo: An Essay on the Choice and Arrangement of Subjects" *The Art Bulletin* 31/4 (1949/Dec.): 269-292 (esp. pp. 273, 285).

¹³¹⁷ Bacci, Michele. "The legacy of the Hodegetria: holy icons and legends between East and West," in: *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. M. Vassilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004): 324; Holtzmann, Walther. "Die ältesten Urkunden des Klosters S. Maria del Patir," *BZ* 26 (1926): 328-351.

¹³¹⁸ Pratesi, Alessandro. "Per un nuovo esame della «Carta di Rossano»,» *Studi Medievali* 11 (1970): 209-235 (esp. pp. 216-217).

¹³¹⁹ Stylianou, Andreas and Judith. *The painted churches of Cyprus: treasures of Byzantine art* (Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1985): 62.

¹³²⁰ Mouriki, Doula. *Thirteenth Century Icon Painting in Cyprus* (Athens: Gennadius Library, 1986): 63ff., fig. 26.

a later cult of the Kykkotissa icon,¹³²¹ which was invested with the Hodegetria's power and meaning. In the 1422 narrative on the Kykkos icon created by the Cypriot hieromonk Gregory of Kykkos, many features and miracles echo the much-venerated Hodegetria,¹³²² while several churches of Cyprus had the same dedication.

Even though it was built during the Lusignan and Venetian periods,¹³²³ the main cathedral of the Orthodox population in Leukosia/Nicosia, known today as Bedestan, was dedicated to the Hodegetria, starting at least from the 14th century. The notes in the Parisinus Graecus 1589 indicate that, during the 14th century, the Greek Orthodox priests George, Basil, and Stylianos Horkomosiates inherited the office in the cathedral of Hodegetria in Leukosia,¹³²⁴ whereas a note in the Vaticanus Graecus 2194 witnesses that the Cathedral of the Hodegetria also had about the same time its confraternity (συναδέλφοι τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας),¹³²⁵ typically established in the cases of worshipping the Hodegetria copies.¹³²⁶

The parochial church in Arediou, known as the Church of the Hodegetria, celebrates the Presentation of the Theotokos as its patron feast. Even though no wooden icons of the Virgin are preserved in the church, there is a depiction of the Hodegetria-type figure on the southern wall, which can be dated to the 14th century. This image copies the iconographic pattern of an earlier fresco discovered underneath.¹³²⁷ Being the focus of the local cult of the Virgin, the church is surrounded by numerous folkloric legends associated with the protection of Cyprus by the Virgin.¹³²⁸ Similar legends are connected with the 15th-century Hodegetria Church in the village Choli, which is supplied with a contemporary icon of Hodegetria type.¹³²⁹ Finally, a 16th-century chapel added to the 13th-

¹³²¹ The Kykkos icon's cult was developed starting from the 15th century, though the icon itself is mentioned for the first time in 1365 (Hackett, John. *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus* (London: Methuen, 1901): 331–335; Weyl Carr, Annmarie. "Reflections on the Life of an Icon: the Eleousa of Kikkos" *Epeterida Kentrou Meleton Ieras Mones Kykkou* 6 (2004): 103–162).

¹³²² Bacci, Michele. "With the Paintbrush of the Evangelist Luke" in: *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. M. Vassilaki (Athens-Milan: Skira Editore, 2000): 87.

¹³²³ Olympios, Michalis. "Resting in Pieces: Gothic Architecture in Cyprus in the Long Fifteenth Century," in: *Medieval Cyprus. A Place of Cultural Encounter*, eds. S. Rogge and M. Gruenbart (Muenster-New York: Waxmann, 2015): 340–343; Papacostas, Tassos. "In Search of a Lost Byzantine Monument: Saint Sophia of Nicosia," *Epeterida tou Kentrou Epistemonikon Ereunon* 31 (2005): 11–37.

¹³²⁴ Darrouzès, Jean. "Notes pour servir à l'histoire de Chypre (premier article)," *Kypriakai Spoudai* 17 (1953): 89–90; *PLP*, nos. 21106, 21107, 21109.

¹³²⁵ Darrouzès, Jean. "Notes pour servir à l'histoire de Chypre (deuxième article)," *Kypriakai Spoudai* 20 (1956): 55.

¹³²⁶ Patterson-Sevcenko, Nancy. "Servants of the Holy Icon," in: *Byzantine East-Latin West, Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, eds. Ch Moss, D. Mouriki, K. Kiefer (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University, 2005) 547–551.

¹³²⁷ Loulloupis, M. *Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, for the year 1988* (Nicosia, 1990): 18.

¹³²⁸ Panagis, Georgios [Πανάγης, Γεώργιος]. "Εκκλησία της Παναγίας της Οδηγήτριας" at Κοινοτικό Συμβούλιο Αρεδιού - <http://arediou.com/portfolio-item/thriskeftiki-zoi/#toggle-id-2> (Accessed on 14/06/2017).

¹³²⁹ Gwynneth der Parthog, *Medieval Cyprus: A Guide to the Byzantine and Latin Monuments* (Moufflon Publications, 2006), 101.

century main Church of Panagia Katholiki in the village Kouklia¹³³⁰ was, possibly, dedicated to the Hodegetria as well.¹³³¹

5.1.2.3. The Hodegetria Cult in Urban Centres: Mystras and Monembasia

Similarly with Thessaloniki, the main urban centres of the Byzantine Empire must have had their own replicas of the Protectress of the City, at least as it can be understood from the known church dedications. One of the most important Byzantine towns of the Palaiologan period,¹³³² Mystras, had a *katholikon* of the Brontocheion Monastery dedicated to the Hodegetria. Initially, the monastery was dedicated to Sts Theodores, whose church was the first *katholikon*.¹³³³ in 1296, a note in the Parisinus graecus 708 mentions Pachomios,¹³³⁴ the future founder of the Hodegetria church, as the hegoumenos of Sts Theodores.¹³³⁵ The first mentioning of the Brontocheion Monastery as associated with the Virgin may have come from the period of the second patriarchate of Ahtanasios I (1303-1309), when Pachomios received the titles of archimandrite and *protosynkellos*.¹³³⁶ The note

¹³³⁰ Stylianou, Andreas and Judith. *The painted churches of Cyprus: treasures of Byzantine art* (Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1985): 233. The author mentions the church under its present-day name as Panagia Katholiki and dates its entirety with the 16th century. M. Loulloupis (Loulloupis, M. *Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, for the year 1988* (Nicosia, 1990): 27) distinguishes several stages in the building of the church and dates the additional chapel with the 16th century.

¹³³¹ The present-day tradition mentions that the chapel of the Katholiki church was associates with the Hodegetria icon (the Official site of the Kouklia village - http://www.kouklia.org.cy/churches_odigitria.shtm (accessed on 14/06/2017)), however, the tradition as well mentions several other epithets for the venerated Virgin in this village: Χρυσοπολίτισσα, Γαλακτοφορούσα, Αφροδίτισσα (Maier, Franz Georg, and Karageorghis, Vassos. *Paphos: History and Archaeology* (Nicosia A. G. Leventis Foundation, 1984): 354-355).

¹³³² About history and development of Mystras and its importance in the Palaiologan epoch see: Chatzidakis, Manolis. *Mystras. The Medieval City and the Castle* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1981); Eugenidou, Despoina, Jenny Albani, Pari Kalamara, Angeliki Mexia, Anna Avramea et al. *The city of Mystras: [Exhibition catalogue] Mystras, August 2001-January 2002* (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2001); Papamastorakis, Titos. "Myzithras of the Byzantines / Mistra to Byzantinists," in: *Οι βυζαντινές πόλεις: 8ος-15ος αιώνες. Προοπτικές της έρευνας και νέες προσεγγίσεις*, ed. T. Kioussopoulou (Rethymno: Philosophiki Scholi Panepistimiou Kritis, 2012): 277-296; Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia. "Mistra. A Fortified Late Byzantine Settlement," in: *Heaven and Earth. Cities and Countryside in Byzantine Greece*, eds. J. Albani and E. Chalkia (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2013): 224-239.

¹³³³ Orlandos, Anastasios [Ορλάνδος, Αναστάσιος]. "Δανιήλ ο πρώτος κτίτωρ των Αγίων Θεοδώρων του Μυστρά," *Epeteris Etaireia Byzantinon Spoudon* 12 (1936): 443-448.

¹³³⁴ *PLP*, no. 22220.

¹³³⁵ Etzeoglou, Rodoniki [Ετζεόγλου, Ροδονίκη]. *Ο Ναός της Οδηγήτριας του Βροντοχίου στον Μυστρά. Οι Τοιχογραφίες του Νάρθηκα και η Λειτουργική Χρήση του Χώρου* (Athens: Graphion Dimosieumatou tis Akademias Athenon, 2013): 30. Pachomios is mentioned in the epigram and dedicatory colophon of a manuscript with homilies by St John Chrysostom, which was copied by Basilakes Nomikos in 1296 see: Lampros, Spyridon [Λάμπρος, Σπυρίδων]. "Λακεδαιμόνιοι βιβλιογράφοι," *Neos Ellenomnemon* 4/2 (1907): 160-160b.

¹³³⁶ The *sigillion* of Athanasios is not preserved, but mentioned in another document of 1366 (Laurent, Vitalien. *Les registes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople, Vol. 1/4: Les registes de 1208 a 1309* (Paris: Institut Français d'Etudes Byzantines, 1971): 464-465, no. 1672; *MM*, vol 1, pp. 479-483) with a possible quotation of the earlier text, see: Papamastorakis, "Reflections of Constantinople," pp. 372-374; Etzeoglou Etzeoglou, Rodoniki [Ετζεόγλου, Ροδονίκη]. *Ο Ναός της Οδηγήτριας του Βροντοχίου στον Μυστρά. Οι Τοιχογραφίες του Νάρθηκα και η Λειτουργική Χρήση του Χώρου* (Athens: Graphion Dimosieumatou tis Akademias Athenon, 2013): 31.

of Nikephoros Moschopoulos on the Gospel book¹³³⁷ given to “the monastery of the Most Holy Theotokos Brontocheion” can establish with certainty the year 1311 as the *terminus ante quem* for the new dedication of the foundation. However, neither source refers to Brontocheion as the Hodegetria monastery, but rather as to a foundation, dedicated to the Virgin. Subsequently, the first mentioning of Brontocheion as the monastery “in the name of the Most Holy Virgin Hodegetria”¹³³⁸ appears in the chrysobull of 1314-1315 by Andronikos II, which is inscribed on the wall of the southern chapel of the church’s narthex.

Even though they are greatly preserved, the murals of the church do not contain any image of the Virgin inscribed as Hodegetria. In the frescoes of the narthex, there is a depiction of the Virgin belonging to the Zoodochos Pege type,¹³³⁹ whereas in the southern gallery, there are the extended cycles of Christ’s Childhood and the Virgin’s Dormition.¹³⁴⁰ These may be associated with the famous Constantinopolitan cults of the Virgin from Zoodochos Pege Monastery, Chalkoprateia, and Blachernai. There is also an image of the Virgin with the Child accepting the model of the foundation from the hands of a monk (presumably, Pachomios himself) in the arcosolium of the northern chapel.¹³⁴¹ This funerary image of the Virgin preserves the iconographic type of the Hodegetria, but it is not labelled this way. One may, thus, assume that the *katholikon* was initially dedicated to the Virgin simply, and, possibly, celebrated the Dormition as its patron feast, whereas the dedication to the Hodegetria appeared around 1315. A possible explanation for this fact can be the presence of a movable and much-worshipped replica of the Constantinopolitan prototype, which was kept in the *katholikon*, but is no longer preserved. Moreover, one may even agree with the hypothesis of Elias Anagnostakis who, regarding one case of litigation initiated by nun Euphrosyne-Marina over a Hodegetria icon, suggested that this icon (which was appropriated by Nikephoros Moschopoulos) was housed in the Brontocheion Monastery and prompted the Hodegetria cult there.¹³⁴²

¹³³⁷ Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Athanasios [Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, Αθανάσιος]. “Νικηφόρος Μοσχόπουλος” *BZ* 12 (1903): 220.

¹³³⁸ ἐπ’ ὀνόματι... τῆς πανυπεράγνου ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς ὁδηγήτριας - Millet, “Inscriptions byzantines de Mistra,” p. 102. For the same expression encountered in the chrysobulls of 1319, 1320, 1322, see: Millet, “Inscriptions byzantines de Mistra,” pp. 108, 113, 114, 115, 116.

¹³³⁹ Etzeoglou, Rhodoniki. “The Cult of the Virgin Zoodochos Pege at Mistra,” in: *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. M. Vassilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004): 239-245

¹³⁴⁰ Papamastorakis, “Reflections of Constantinople”, pp. 371-395 proposes to date the frescoes of the southern gallery with the same period as the frescoes of the *chrysobull* chapel, i.e. soon after 1322. M. Chatzidakis (Chatzidakis, *Mystras*, p. 67) proposed a date c. 1366; while A. Tantsis (Tantsis, Anastasios [Τάντσης Αναστάσιος]. “Η χρονολόγηση του ναού της Οδηγήτριας στο Μυστρά,” *Byzantiaka* 31 (2014): 179-204) proposes to date the entire galleries with c. 1407.

¹³⁴¹ Papamastorakis, “Επιτύμβιες παραστάσεις,” pp. 290-293; Weissbrod, “*Hier liegt der Knecht Gottes*,” pp. 106-108. Etzeoglou, “Quelques remarques,” pp. 514-515. Though, A. Tantsis (Tantsis, Anastasios [Τάντσης Αναστάσιος]. “Η χρονολόγηση του ναού της Οδηγήτριας στο Μυστρά,” *Byzantiaka* 31 (2014): 190-193) considers that the depicted monk is *despotes* of Mystras Theodore I Palaiologos (*PLP*, no. 21460).

¹³⁴² Anagnostakes, “Από την εικόνα της μοναχής Ευφροσύνης,” pp. 179-189. The hypothesis is supported by T. Papamastorakis (Papamastorakis, “Reflections of Constantinople”, p. 393).

The presence of a church dedicated to the Hodegetria in another important urban centre, Monembasia, is attested by several sources which call the foundation Η ΟΔΗΓΗΤΡΙΑ. The earliest mentioning is found in the Life of St. Martha, the monastery's *hougoumene*, written in the 10th century by Archbishop Paul.¹³⁴³ Dated to 1606, a note by Ioannes Likinios in the Koutloumous 220 Manuscript informs that the Hodegetria church had then 456 years and, consequently, it was built in 1150.¹³⁴⁴ Finally, compiling in the 16th century the genealogy of his wife Carola Kantakouzene de Flory, Hugues Busac mentions that a certain ruler had his burial in the Hodegetria church of Monembasia, on the hill.¹³⁴⁵ One can add to this, the evidence of a graffito that made Haris Kalligas to propose the identification of the present-day St. Sophia church with the Hodegetria church in Monembasia.¹³⁴⁶ According to a local tradition, preserved in the Synaxarion of Zakynthos, Andronikos II sent a lavishly-decorated Hodegetria icon, later called "Monambasiotissa," to the city as its guardian in the absence of the ruler.¹³⁴⁷ One can conclude, therefore, that the city had a church dedicated to the Hodegetria icon starting, at least, with the second half of the 10th century. This church, rebuilt around 1150, housed a copy of the Constantinopolitan palladium and contained at least one royal burial. The presence of the Hodegetria icon was a matter of identity for the inhabitants of Monembasia. In the composite manuscript Koutloumousiou 220 (its different parts are dated to the 15th-17th centuries) dedicated to the history of the city in great part,¹³⁴⁸ one can find the Narration about Pulcheria and the discovery of the Hodegetria icon.¹³⁴⁹ This 10th-century church dominating the town from the top of a hill can be considered the earliest known Hodegetria foundation. One cannot be sure that it was established for housing an icon, as the latter appears only in a story of Palaiologan time; however, one can state that the legend of the miracle-working palladium was for the inhabitants of Monembasia a part of their self-identity and local history.

¹³⁴³ "περί τῆς μακάριος Μάρθας, τῆς Ἡγουμένης τοῦ πανσέπτου ναοῦ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ἐν τῇ θεοφρουρήτῳ πόλει Μονεμβασίας, κάτωθεν τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάστρου" - Athanasios Kominis, "Paolo di Monembasia" *Byzantion* 29/30 (1959-1960): 247; Kalligas, "The Church of Haghia Sophia," p. 218.

¹³⁴⁴ Schreiner, Peter, ed. *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, Vol. I (Vienna: Verlag der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975): p. 320, no. 41.6.

¹³⁴⁵ "vasilef ehi enan thamenon is ton goulan tis Monovasiis is tin Odiitrian eclisian Omorfi"- Brayer, Edith, Lemerle, Paul, and Laurent, Vitalien. "Le Vaticanus latinus 4789: histoire et alliances des Cantacuzènes aux XIVe-Xve siècles," *REB* 9 (1951): 71, 74.

¹³⁴⁶ Kalligas, "The Church of Haghia Sophia"; Kalligas, Haris. *Monemvasia: Byzantine City State* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010): 19-21, 118-121.

¹³⁴⁷ Kalligas, Haris. *Monemvasia: Byzantine City State* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010): 32; Katramis, Nikolaos [Κατραμής, Νικόλαος]. *Φιλολογικά ἀνάλεκτα ἐκ Ζακύνθου* (Zakynthos, 1880): 188.

¹³⁴⁸ For the history and composition of the manuscript see: Lemerle, Paul. "La Chronique improprement dite de Monemvasie: le contexte historique et légendaire," *REB* 21 (1963): 6.

¹³⁴⁹ Lampros, Spyridon [Λάμπρος, Σπυρίδων]. "Τρεῖς παραδοξογραφικαὶ διηγήσεις," *Neos Ellenomnemon* 4/2 (1907): 129-151.

Even though no material evidence has yet been found, the Proceedings of the Patriarchal Synod attest in 1340 that another important imperial town, Didymoteichon,¹³⁵⁰ had its own monastery “in the glorious name of the Most Holy Mistress and Mother of God Hodegetria.”¹³⁵¹

5.1.2.4. The Hodegetria Cult in Rural Milieu

The cult could be transferred from the centre to rural periphery by exiled clergy and refugees. This was the case of Neilos Erichiotes, initially a monk of the Stoudios Monastery, who¹³⁵² was forced to leave the capital after opposing the Unionist Policies of Michael VIII. After his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Neilos settled in Epiros, where he established a monastery dedicated to the Hodegetria (Geromeri), as it is witnessed by his last will of 1337 confirmed by *despotes* John II Orsini.¹³⁵³ Replicating the setting of Constantinopolitan veneration, he might have introduced himself a copy of the miracle-working icon: judging by its double-sided format, the preserved 14th-century replica inscribed as Η ΟΔΗΓΗΤΡΙΑ¹³⁵⁴ was a processional image. This is still worshipped in the *katholikon*, dedicated to the Dormition of the Theotokos. It is also interesting to note that, except for the Dormition, the monastery celebrates also the Tuesday of the Holy Week,¹³⁵⁵ which nowadays has no connection anymore with the Hodegetria (it celebrates instead Sts Raphael, Nicholas, and Eirine of Lesbos). As one can see, the monastery preserved not only the dedication and replica of the icon, but also some pious customs connected with the Hodegetria prototype and the Tuesday miracle.

The Empire’s distant, rural areas developed their own practices associated with the Hodegetria cult. There are two monasteries on Crete with this dedication. The oldest one, dated back to the early-14th century, is situated in the Asterousia Mountains and, except for its dedication, its mural decoration reminds one about the power of the Hodegetria by showing the complete Akathistos cycle which depicts the icon’s miracles.¹³⁵⁶ The second foundation in Gonia has a dedicatory inscription of

¹³⁵⁰ For the history and importance of the town see: Soustal, Peter. *Thrakien (Thrake, Rhodope und Haimimontos)* [Tabula Imperii Byzantini 6] (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991): 240-244.

¹³⁵¹ MM, Vol. I, pp. 198-199.

¹³⁵² Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp. 243-244.

¹³⁵³ *Geromeri: Testament of Neilos Erichiotes for the Monastery of the Mother of God Hodegetria in Geromeri*, trans. George Dennis, in: *BMTD*, pp. 1396-1403 (esp. p. 1402).

¹³⁵⁴ Papadopoulou, Varvara [Παπαδοπούλου, Βαρβάρα]. “Αμφίγραπτη εικόνα του 14ου αιώνα στη μονή Γηρομερίου Θεσπρωτίας,” *Byzantina* 25 (2005): 375-389 (esp. p. 389).

¹³⁵⁵ Σελίδα της Ιεράς Μονής Γηρομερίου στο Διαδίκτυο. Η μονή σήμερα <https://www.monigiomeriou.gr/el/shmera.htm> (accessed on 13/06/2018)

¹³⁵⁶ Spatharakis, Ioannis. *The Pictorial Cycles of the Akathistos Hymn for the Virgin* (Leiden: Alexandros Press, 2005): esp. pp. 35-46. About the connection of the Akathistos with the miracles of the Hodegetria, see Lidov, “The Flying Hodegetria.”

1634,¹³⁵⁷ but some of the icons kept there are much older.¹³⁵⁸ The church in Meronas dedicated nowadays to the Dormition¹³⁵⁹ was possibly once associated with the Hodegetria, too. Here, the murals in the naos contain the Akathistos cycle (c. 1400), whereas the main icon of the church, dated to the middle of the 14th century,¹³⁶⁰ depicts the Hodegetria.

A small rural foundation on Chalki Island celebrates the Apodosis of the Dormition (August 23rd) as its patron feast and is dedicated, according to its inscription, to the Hodegetria.¹³⁶¹ Painted in 1367, the church was the collective foundation of three men (Michael the deacon, kyr Niketas, and Manouel) and two nuns (Agnese and Magdalene). They had such extreme fascination for the supernatural power of the famous Hodegetria, that they ordered the labelling of two different iconographies (the Blachernitissa in the apse and the Brepokratousa on the northern wall)¹³⁶² with the epithet Η ΩΔΗΗΤΡΑ.

The same strategy was applied by the inhabitants of Tigani (Mesa Mani). Here, in the Agitria (Hodegetria) Church, celebrating August 23rd as its patron feast, the villagers, during the 13th century, inscribed the Virgin of the Blachernitissa in the apse and the Glykophilousa in the narthex with the Hodegetria labels.¹³⁶³ This phenomenon of mislabelling the Hodegetria occurred in both cases in village foundations in very remote areas. Moreover, the labelling pattern is repeated in both cases: one image is in the altar and another one is in the publicly-accessible space. One may assume, therefore, that these poor communities, not having been able to order adequate replicas of the icon in Constantinople, used the murals produced by local masters to indicate the presence of the miracle-working Virgin in the liturgical rite, as well as to display her image for public veneration.

5.1.2.5. The Hodegetria Cult in the Byzantine Commonwealth

¹³⁵⁷ Gerola, Giuseppe. *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, Vol. IV (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1932): 412.

¹³⁵⁸ Icon of the Cretan School From Candia to Moscow and St. Petersburg). Herakleion 1993 (Borboudakis, Manolis [Μπορμπουδάκης, Μανόλης], ed. *Εικόνες της κρητικής τέχνης: από τον Χάνδακα ως την Μόσχα και την Αγία Πετρούπολη* 1993 (Herakleion: Ethnike Pinakothek-Mouseio Alexandrou Soutsou, 1993): 126-127, no. 17).

¹³⁵⁹ Borboudakis, Manolis [Μπορμπουδάκης, Μανόλης]. "Οι τοιχογραφίες της Παναγίας του Μέρωνα και μια συγκεκριμένη τάση της κρητικής ζωγραφικής," in: *Πεπραγμένα Ε' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* (Herakleion: Etaireia Kretikon Istorikon Meleton, 1986): 396-412.

¹³⁶⁰ Borboudakis, Manolis [Μπορμπουδάκης, Μανόλης], ed. *Εικόνες της κρητικής τέχνης: από τον Χάνδακα ως την Μόσχα και την Αγία Πετρούπολη* 1993 (Herakleion: Ethnike Pinakothek-Mouseio Alexandrou Soutsou, 1993): 493, no. 137; For the Akathistos cycle, see: Spatharakis, Ioannis. *The Pictorial Cycles of the Akathistos Hymn for the Virgin* (Leiden: Alexandros Press, 2005): 18-23, 29-32, 158-163.

¹³⁶¹ Sigala, Maria [Σιγάλα, Μαρία]. "Η Παναγία η Οδηγήτρια ή Εννιαμερίτισσα στη Χάλκη της Δωδεκανήσου (1367)," *Archaiologikon Deltion* 55/1 (2000 [2004]): 329-381, esp. p. 133.

¹³⁶² Sigala, Maria [Σιγάλα, Μαρία]. "Η Παναγία η Οδηγήτρια ή Εννιαμερίτισσα στη Χάλκη της Δωδεκανήσου (1367)," *Archaiologikon Deltion* 55/1 (2000 [2004]): 335, 362.

¹³⁶³ Drandakis, Nikolaos [Δρανδάκης, Νικόλαος]. *Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες της Μέσα Μάνης* (Athens: I en Athenais Archaiologikon Etaireia, 1995): 238, 247 and 252, 254.

The fame of the miracle-working icon spread beyond the borders of the Byzantine Empire, and reached the neighboring Orthodox states. One of the most important cases is the Hodegetria Church of the Peć Patriarchate, built by the Serbian Archbishop Danilo II¹³⁶⁴ in 1332-1337 as a foundation for his burial.¹³⁶⁵ After his visit to the Byzantine capital and in gratitude for his release from dangers,¹³⁶⁶ Danilo dedicated the church to “the Most Pure Mother of God Hodegetria,” as the inscription about the votive portrait informs.¹³⁶⁷ In this composition situated on the western wall, the *ktetor* with the church model is led by Prophet Daniel toward the depiction of the Enthroned Virgin. Although the text above Danilo II’s portrait reads that the foundation is brought to the Hodegetria, the image of the Virgin does not bear this label and does not match the iconographic type. Vojislav Đurić noted that the iconographic program of the church contains unusually numerous depictions of the Virgin belonging to different iconographic types,¹³⁶⁸ which reminds about different aspects of the Virgin’s cult, similarly to the iconographic program in the Hodegetria in Mystras.

The written sources confirm this hypothesis: according to the Life of Danilo II written by one of his students, the *ktetor* established a Greek brotherhood in the church and “ordered at any time in that holy church to sing *parakleseis* continuously, on Tuesdays and Fridays.”¹³⁶⁹ It is precisely on the same days that the two famous miracle-working icons of the Virgin, i.e., the Hodegetria and the Blachernitissa in Constantinople, produced their miracles.¹³⁷⁰ This way, Danilo imitated the liturgical time of the Byzantine capital in his Serbian church with prayers read in Greek language.

Concerning the dedication of this church, the Life of Danilo II notes that he “started to build a church in the name of the Most Holy One, who is called Hodegetria of Constantinople, namely, to

¹³⁶⁴ There is a solid corpus of literature devoted to this church, however, thanks to recently defended dissertation (Gavrilović, Anđela. *Zidno slikarstvo crkve Bogorodice Odigitrije u Peći*. PhD Dissertation. University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Art History Department, Belgrade, 2012, accessible at <http://doiserbia.nb.rs/phd/fulltext/BG20130419GAVRILOVIC.pdf>) I will refer to it for further bibliography.

¹³⁶⁵ Gavrilović, Anđela. *Zidno slikarstvo crkve Bogorodice Odigitrije u Peći*. PhD Dissertation. University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Art History Department, Belgrade, 2012, pp. 37-42. About the iconographic features connected with the allocation of the church for the burial purposes see Popović, Danica. “Grob arhiepiskopa Danila II,” in: *Arhiepiskop Danilo II i njegovo doba*, ed. V. Đurić (Belgrade: SANU, 1991): 329-344.

¹³⁶⁶ For motives of the foundation see Gavrilović, Anđela. *Zidno slikarstvo crkve Bogorodice Odigitrije u Peći*. PhD Dissertation. University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Art History Department, Belgrade, 2012, pp. 29-32.

¹³⁶⁷ For the inscription and the discussion of the composition see: Gavrilović, Anđela. *Zidno slikarstvo crkve Bogorodice Odigitrije u Peći*. PhD Dissertation. University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Art History Department, Belgrade, 2012, pp. 278-282.

¹³⁶⁸ Đurić, Vojislav. “Sveti pokrovitelji arhiepiskopa Danila II i njegovih zadužbina,” in: *Arhiepiskop Danilo II i njegovo doba*, ed. V. Đurić (Belgrade: SANU, 1991): 284.

¹³⁶⁹ Daničić, Đure, ed. *Arhiepiskop Danilo i drugi: Životi kraljeva i Arhiepiskopa srpskih* (Zagreb: Svetozar Galac, 1886): 369 - оустави же въ тои светѣи црькви въ вѣторъникъ и въ петѣкъ вѣсегда непрѣмѣно пѣти параклисы.

¹³⁷⁰ For the discussion of the Friday miracle of Blacherna icon see Papaioanou, Eustratios N. “The 'Usual Miracle' and an Unusual Miracle: Psellos and the Icons of Blachernai,” *JÖB* 51 (2001): 177-188; Pentcheva, Bissera. “Rhetorical Images of the Virgin: The Icon of the 'Usual Miracle' at the Blachernai,” *Revue des études slaves* 38 (2000): 35-54; Barber, Charles. *Contesting the Logic of Painting: Art and Understanding in Eleventh-Century Byzantium* (Leiden/Boston, 2007): 80-98. Concerning the Tuesday miracle of the Hodegetria icon see: Lidov, “The Flying Hodegetria,” pp. 291-321; Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, pp. 145-163.

the feast of Dormition.”¹³⁷¹ This passage underlines two important points. First, by dedicating his foundation to the Hodegetria, Danilo had in mind the Constantinopolitan monastery which he wished to imitate. Second, the text equates the Hodegetria dedication of the church with the feast of Dormition, which was probably the patron feast of the Hodegon Katholikon.

Except for Danilo II, two other noblemen built Hodegetria churches in Serbia. Jovan Dragoslav, the *kaznac* (treasurer) of King Milutin, erected in 1315 such foundation in Mušutište.¹³⁷² In 1345, nobleman Rudl from Strumica decided to pass the Hodegetria church he built and some nearby possessions to Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos.¹³⁷³

The capital of the Bulgarian Empire replicated as well the famous Byzantine foundation. However, there is no material evidence preserved from this institution, whereas the main source about the Hodegetria monastery in Veliko Tŕrnovo¹³⁷⁴ is a Greek Life of St. Romylos, written by his disciple Gregorios,¹³⁷⁵ and its Slavic translation.¹³⁷⁶ Composed about 20 years after the saint’s death in 1382-1391,¹³⁷⁷ the Greek text says that, when St. Romylos grown old enough to leave his parents, he “entered the fortified town called Trinovon in this same province, and made his home in one of the monasteries there, and the monastery had its name after the Mother of God and Hodegetria.” Thus, the only information one can deduce from the text is that the foundation was situated within the borders of Tŕrnovo city, close to the location of the Holy Mount.¹³⁷⁸

5.1.2.6 The Hodegetria Cult in Greek Territories under the Foreign Rule

¹³⁷¹ начеть здати црьковь въ име прѣсветыѣ яже зовома Одигитрия цариградська, праздниѣ оуспение – Đurić, Vojislav. “Sveti pokrovitelji arhiepiskopa Danila II i njegovih zadužbina,” in: *Arhiepiskop Danilo II i njegovo doba*, ed. V. Đurić (Belgrade: SANU, 1991): 368.

¹³⁷² Todić, Branislav. *Serbian Painting: the Age of King Milutin* (Belgrade: Draganić, 1999): 340 (with previous bibliography).

¹³⁷³ Information about the nobleman, his church and property is given in a *chrysobull* by Stefan Dušan of 1345 for Hilandar: Mišić, Siniša. “Hrisovulja kralja Stefana Dušana Hilandaru kojom prilaže vlastelina Rudla,” *SSA* 9 (2010): 75-86.

¹³⁷⁴ Nikolova, Bistra [Николова, Бистра]. *Монаси, манастири и манастирски живот в Средновековна България*. Vol. I Манастирите (Sofia: Alfagraf, 2010): 453-456.

¹³⁷⁵ ...καταλαμβάνει τὴν Ζαγοράν εἰς τὸ Τρίνοβον λεγόμενον κάστρον τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας εἰσὼν ἐν ἐνὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε μοναστηρίων τὴν οἶκεσιν ἐποιήσατο, τῆς θεομήτορος Ὁδηγητρίας τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχων τὸ μοναστήριον – Halkin, “Un ermite des Balkans,” p. 117.

¹³⁷⁶ Though the Slavic translation is preserved in the 16th century manuscript, it was probably contemporary to the Greek original: ...и постигзаеть загорѣ въ торвонѣ прѣжд(д)е гл(а)големыи градь, иакиаже трѣновъ тоежд(д)е епархѣ въходить въ единъ ѿт иже тамо монастыреи селеніе сътворяеть. Б(о)гом(а)тери и одигитріе именованіе имаше монастырь – Syrku, Polichronij [Сырку, Полихроний], ed. *Монаха Григория житіе преподобного Ромила* (Saint Petersburg: Tipografija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk, 1900): 5.

¹³⁷⁷ Halkin, “Un ermite des Balkans,” p. 113.

¹³⁷⁸ Syrku, Polichronij [Сырку, Полихроний], ed. *Монаха Григория житіе преподобного Ромила* (Saint Petersburg: Tipografija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk, 1900): xxv.

Like in Slavic countries, the popularity of the Hodegetria continued on Greek-inhabited territories under foreign rule. In 1311, Gregory Pachomeres¹³⁷⁹ with his family members built a church dedicated to the Hodegetria on the island of Euboia (village Spelies),¹³⁸⁰ a territory ruled by the Venetians since 1204.¹³⁸¹ Judging by its iconographic program, the church was intended for burial purposes,¹³⁸² precisely like the foundation of the Serbian Archbishop Danilo II. Probably, during the Komnenian and Palaiologan periods, the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople started to be used for private¹³⁸³ and royal¹³⁸⁴ burials; in connection with this practice, the protective power of the Hodegetria was understood as expanding to the afterlife as well. This could explain both the dedication of burial churches to the Hodegetria and the appearance of the Hodegetria-like images of the Virgin in funerary portraits.¹³⁸⁵

Another aspect of the Constantinopolitan cult, namely, the Hodegetria's confraternity, was also replicated on foreign-ruled territories. A church of the Hodegetria in Agraphoi (Corfu),¹³⁸⁶ was for the first time attested by a document of 1286¹³⁸⁷ containing a dedicatory inscription listing 91 church founders belonging to 10 different neighbouring villages. On the basis of this and later documents attesting the activities of the Hodegetria confraternity in Agraphoi, Spyros Karydis concluded that the confraternity was the initial founder of this parochial church which later (in 1744) was converted into monastery. The members of the confraternity, who in a later document are called brothers and

¹³⁷⁹ *PLP*, no. 22205.

¹³⁸⁰ The date, the name of the founder, and the original dedication of the church to the Hodegetria survived in the dedicatory inscription, see: Koder, Johannes. *Negroponte: Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euboia während der Zeit der Venezianerherrschaft* [Tabula Imperii Byzantini 1] (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973): 167. For the discussion of the style and iconography of the murals see: Emmanuel, Melita. "Die Fresken der Muttergottes-Hodegetria-Kirche in Spelies auf der Insel Euboia (1311). Bemerkungen zu Ikonographie und Stil," *BZ* 83/2 (1990): 451-467.

¹³⁸¹ Koder, Johannes. *Negroponte: Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euboia während der Zeit der Venezianerherrschaft* [Tabula Imperii Byzantini 1] (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973): 45 – 55.

¹³⁸² Emmanuel, Melita. "Die Fresken der Muttergottes-Hodegetria-Kirche in Spelies auf der Insel Euboia (1311). Bemerkungen zu Ikonographie und Stil," *BZ* 83/2 (1990): 459-461.

¹³⁸³ In the 12th century, Theodore Balsamon described at least two tombs situated on the monastery's territory (one of them belonged to Stephanos Komnenos), see: Horna Konstantin, ed. "Die Epigramme des Theodoros Balsamon," *Wiener Studien* 25 (1903): 181-183. A donation act of the Saniano couple (1390) shows that even the members of low nobility could expect to be buried in the Hodegon. Not having children, the Saniano couple passed to the monastery their house in Constantinople expecting the brotherhood to build in return a tomb for the couple and commemorate them twice a week –Failler, Albert. "Une donation des époux Saniano au monastère des Hodègoi," *REB* 34 (1976): 111-117.

¹³⁸⁴ According to the Short Chronicles two emperors died inside of the Hodegon monastery and were buried there, Andronikos III in 1341 (Schreiner, Peter, ed. *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken* Vienna: Verlag der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975-1979): Vol. I, pp. 64, 81; Vol. II, p. 251) and John V Palaiologos in 1391 (Schreiner, Peter, ed. *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken* Vienna: Verlag der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975-1979): Vol. I, p. 69; Vol. II, p. 345).

¹³⁸⁵ For the funerary portraits with the Hodegetria-like iconographies see: Papamastorakis, "Επιτύμβιες παραστάσεις", pp. 285-304.

¹³⁸⁶ Karydes, Spyros [Καρύδης, Σπύρος]. *Η Οδηγήτρια Αγραφών Κέρκυρας. Ψηφίδες από τη μακραίωνη ιστορία της* (Kerkyra/Corfu: Ieros naos Yperagias Theotokou Odegetrias Kerkyras, 2011).

¹³⁸⁷ Karydes, Spyros [Καρύδης, Σπύρος]. *Η Οδηγήτρια Αγραφών Κέρκυρας. Ψηφίδες από τη μακραίωνη ιστορία της* (Kerkyra/Corfu: Ieros naos Yperagias Theotokou Odegetrias Kerkyras, 2011): 15-18. For publication of the document and the discussion of its date see: Karydes, Spyros [Καρύδης, Σπύρος]. "Συλλογικες Χορηγίες στην Κερκυρα κατά την Πρωίμη Λατινοκρατία. Επιγραφικά Τεκμήρια," *Byzantina Symmeikta* 26 (2016): 167-172.

founders,¹³⁸⁸ had rights for burial in the church or on its grounds, and managed the income from the Hodegetria dependencies.¹³⁸⁹ As in all other cases, the church is not called Hodegon in documents, but rather “of the Mother of God Hodegetria” or “of the Mother of God called Hodegetria”.¹³⁹⁰

Finally, the support expressed by non-Greek rulers to the Hodegetria cult may witness about their beliefs in the military and political power of the icon and its replicas. According to the dedicatory inscription above the entrance gate, the *katholikon* of the Hodegetria in Apolpaina (Leukas) was rebuilt by Jacopo Ruffo or Rosso¹³⁹¹ and his wife Zampia (?) in 1449-1450.¹³⁹² Being a close associate of the Tocco family, Jacopo was Italian by origin; he nonetheless built, or rather reconstructed, the monastery belonging probably to the Orthodox rite. According to a colophon found in the manuscript Vat. gr. 2561, the Hodegetria Monastery existed on the island since the 11th century (1025?),¹³⁹³ but it was continuously supported precisely in the turbulent 15th century. After the marriage between Leonardo III Tocco and Milica Branković in 1463, Helen, the daughter of the Despot of Mystras, Thomas Palaiologos, and wife of the deceased Despotes of Serbia Lazar Branković, accompanied Milica and stayed on Leukas.¹³⁹⁴ After the death of her daughter, Helena Palaiologine settled in the Hodegetria Monastery, took the name Ypomone, and became the *hegoumene* (until her death in 1474).¹³⁹⁵

¹³⁸⁸ Karydes, Spyros [Καρύδης, Σπύρος]. *Η Οδηγήτρια Αγραφών Κέρκυρας. Ψηφίδες από τη μακραίωνη ιστορία της* (Kerkyra/Corfu: Ieros naos Υπεραγίας Θεοτοκού Οδεγετίας Κερκυρας, 2011): 109-111.

¹³⁸⁹ Karydes, Spyros [Καρύδης, Σπύρος]. *Η Οδηγήτρια Αγραφών Κέρκυρας. Ψηφίδες από τη μακραίωνη ιστορία της* (Kerkyra/Corfu: Ieros naos Υπεραγίας Θεοτοκού Οδεγετίας Κερκυρας, 2011): 55-56, 101-106.

¹³⁹⁰ Karydes, Spyros [Καρύδης, Σπύρος]. *Η Οδηγήτρια Αγραφών Κέρκυρας. Ψηφίδες από τη μακραίωνη ιστορία της* (Kerkyra/Corfu: Ieros naos Υπεραγίας Θεοτοκού Οδεγετίας Κερκυρας, 2011): 15-51.

¹³⁹¹ Under 1436, certain Jacobo Ruffo is mentioned as a governor of Leukas by Cyriacus of Ancona, who spent some time with him in Aktio (Preveza) in 1436 (Ziebarth, Erich. “Κυριακός ο εξ Αγκώνος εν Ηπείρῳ,” *Epeiriotika Chronika* 1 (1926): 114-115; Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, p. 206, 208-210). Jacopo Rosso was mentioned among governor of Leonardo III Tocco in 1449 and, later, as an ambassador to Venice and Ragusa, see: Stauropoulou, Angelike [Σταυροπούλου, Αγγελική] “Ίάκωβος, ο χορηγός του ναού της Οδηγήτριας στην Απόλλενα Λευκάδος,” in: *Εταιρεία Λευκαδικών Μελετών, Πρακτικά Γ΄ Συμποσίου, Η Χριστιανική Τέχνη στη Λευκάδα 15ος-19ος αιώνας, Λευκάδα 8-9 Αυγούστου 1998* (Athens: Etaireia Laukadikon Meleton, 2000): 29-30; *PLP*, nos. 7939 (Jacobo) and 6447 (Zampia), without the identification with Jacobo Rosso.

¹³⁹² Soustal, Peter and Koder, Johannes. *Nikopolis und Kephallenia* [Tabula Imperii Byzantini 3] (Vienna: Verlag der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981): 162-163; Philippa-Apostolou, Maro [Φιλίππα-Αποστόλου, Μάρω]. “Η Οδηγήτρια της Λευκάδας, ιστορικές φάσεις,” *Πρακτικά Δ Συνεδρίου “Επτανησιακού Πολιτισμού”, Λευκάδα 8-12 Σεπτεμβρίου 1993, Εταιρεία Λευκαδικών Μελετών*, ed. P. Rontogiannis (Athens: Etaireia Laukadikon Meleton, 1996): 133-159; Corrected reading, see: Stauropoulou, Angelike [Σταυροπούλου, Αγγελική] “Ίάκωβος, ο χορηγός του ναού της Οδηγήτριας στην Απόλλενα Λευκάδος,” in: *Εταιρεία Λευκαδικών Μελετών, Πρακτικά Γ΄ Συμποσίου, Η Χριστιανική Τέχνη στη Λευκάδα 15ος-19ος αιώνας, Λευκάδα 8-9 Αυγούστου 1998* (Athens: Etaireia Laukadikon Meleton, 2000): 21-36 (esp. p. 26).

¹³⁹³ Schreiner, Peter. “Das Hodegetria-Kloster auf Leukas im 11 Jahrhundert: Bemerkungen zu einer Notiz im Vat. Gr. 2561,” *BF* 12 (1987): 57-64.

¹³⁹⁴ Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, p. 211.

¹³⁹⁵ Bekker, Immanuel, ed. *Georgios Phrantzes, Chronicon* In *Georgius Phrantzes, Joannes Cananus, Joannes Anagnostes* [Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae 36] (Bonn: Weber, 1838): 450; Philippa-Apostolou, Maro [Φιλίππα-Αποστόλου, Μάρω]. “Η Οδηγήτρια της Λευκάδας, ιστορικές φάσεις,” *Πρακτικά Δ Συνεδρίου “Επτανησιακού Πολιτισμού”, Λευκάδα 8-12 Σεπτεμβρίου 1993, Εταιρεία Λευκαδικών Μελετών*, ed. P. Rontogiannis (Athens: Etaireia Laukadikon Meleton, 1996): 138ff.

5.1.2.7. The Evidences of Written Sources: the Nun, the Metropolitan and the Icon

Except for preserved foundations, there are several churches and monasteries of the Hodegetria which are known just on the basis of written sources. From appeals made by the Metropolitans of Methymna and Mytilene to the Patriarchal Court in 1331¹³⁹⁶ and 1324,¹³⁹⁷ respectively, one can find out about the Hodegetria monasteries on Lesbos: one was situated inside the Agioi Theodoroi *kastron*, and another, built by a certain Gidon, in the Mytilene metropolis. A village church with the same dedication is known from the Menoikeion act of 1321 as placed near the river Angista and the village Kouvouklia,¹³⁹⁸ while another Hodegetria church, with some houses being in its possession, was ceded in 1323 to Vatopedi by its founder, Sebastes Manouel Kourtikes.¹³⁹⁹ Around the mid-14th century, a certain monk Ioannitzopoulos donated his own foundation of the Hodegetria in Maurochorion, inside Palaiokastron (Lemnos), to the Athonite Monastery of Lavra.¹⁴⁰⁰ Finally, the Monastery of Xenophon had a small *metochion* (*eukterios*) of the Hodegetria in Phournia (Longos).¹⁴⁰¹ Such evidence indicates that the popularity of the Hodegetria cult was so immense that this topographic attribute of the Virgin, connected with a precise location, replaced those characteristic epithets, as Eleousa, Kecharitomene, etc. Consequently, the focus in the veneration of the Theotokos turned from the speculative concepts of mercy, grace, and advocacy toward a more engaging and material approach. Thus, the cult of the Hodegetria provided believers with a material object (icon) invested with miraculous power, and this object could be communicated with by addressing it or its replicas via a number of prayers and pious actions.

In this sense, one document appears to be the most important for the present investigation, as it demonstrates the mechanism of establishing a foundation dedicated to the Hodegetria. It is a synodal decision of 1316¹⁴⁰² given on behalf of a Laconian nun Euphrosyne – Marina. The nun addressed the Patriarchal Synod concerning an icon of the Theotokos Hodegetria, which was possessed in common by her and the deceased Bishop of Kernitsa, Malotaras. However, Malotaras started to take more than a half of the icon's revenues and, in spite of an earlier court decision, he withheld the entire income. Malotaras turned to the *proedros* of Lacedaimonia Metropolitan of Crete, Nikephoros Moschopoulos,¹⁴⁰³ who initially decided to withdraw the icon from Euphrosyne, but later regretted and returned it to her. The document reads further:

¹³⁹⁶ MM, I, pp. 164-166, no. 73; Darrouzès, *Les registes*, Vol. V, pp. 122-124, no. 2164.

¹³⁹⁷ MM, I, pp., 115-118, no. 59; Darrouzès, *Les registes*, Vol. V, pp. 88-89, no. 2118.

¹³⁹⁸ Guillou, *Les Archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, pp. 53-55, no. 9.

¹³⁹⁹ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol I, pp. 327-332, no. 61.

¹⁴⁰⁰ *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, pp. 57-66 (esp. 62), no. 136.

¹⁴⁰¹ *Actes de Xenophon*, p. 36.

¹⁴⁰² Darrouzès, *Les registes*, Vol V, pp. 45-46, no. 2064 ; MM, vol. 1, pp. 52-53, no. 30.

¹⁴⁰³ *PLP*, no. 19376; on identification of the metropolitan of Crete, see: Darrouzès, *Les registes*, Vol. V, p. 46; Anagnostakes, "Από την εικόνα της μοναχής Ευφροσύνης," p. 172.

“The nun, having received the icon of this (Theotokos), built a holy church in her (the icon’s) name, and with not little zeal and help provided for this deed by the beloved nephew of the mighty and holy autokrator, kyr Andronikos Palaiologos Asanes,¹⁴⁰⁴ who happened to be in the position of *kephale* of Peloponnese. And she held it having hired the presbyters and giving to it (the icon) a proper holy veneration through them (the priests).”¹⁴⁰⁵

Yet, circa 1315, Metropolitan of Patras and *proedros* of Lacedaimonia Michael took again the icon from Euphrosyne under the pretext that it was held by his predecessor. This fact made Euphrosyne to address the Synodal Court, which decreed that the icon should be returned to the church built by the nun, and its revenues should be divided between Euphrosyne and the successors of Malotaras.¹⁴⁰⁶

Concerning this case,¹⁴⁰⁷ Elias Anagnostakis proposed several important conclusions related to the persons involved, state policies, and ecclesiastic foundations.¹⁴⁰⁸ He assumed that the church erected by Euphrosyne was the monastery of Mega Spelaion in Kalavryta, while the time when the Metropolitan of Patras took the icon coincided with the period when the Hodegetria church was constructed in Brontocheion Monastery and it might have housed the contested icon.

It is important to underline, first of all, the fact that the icon had its own assets, even before being housed in a church. This fact indicates that the icon was perceived as an independent, legal person, a kind of ecclesiastic institution in itself, supplied with the right of ownership. Moreover, the church was built by Euphrosyne in the name (ἐπ’ ὀνόματι) of the Hodegetria icon itself, whereas the clergy was hired to provide the proper veneration for the image. The majority of churches, dedicated to the Hodegetria, in the Byzantine Commonwealth, especially the parochial and rural ones, could be organized on the basis of a similar principle, i.e., they could be built in order to house a worshipped image which was a copy or replica of the Constantinopolitan miracle-working Virgin. Whenever local replicas of the Hodegetria became famous and received their own independent cults, second-row replicas emerged and these bore names connected to the location of their prototypes, which themselves were copies of the famous Constantinopolitan icon. These second-row replicas, although they received new names according to their derived prototypes, preserved the iconography of the Hodegetria, as it is the case of the images of the Virgin Megaspelaiotissa.¹⁴⁰⁹

¹⁴⁰⁴ *PLP*, no. 1489; Trapp, Erich. “Beiträge zur Genealogie der Asanen in Byzanz,” *JÖB* 25 (1976): 167.

¹⁴⁰⁵ *MM*, Vol. I, p. 52.

¹⁴⁰⁶ More details about identification of the actors and the chronology see Anagnostakes, “Από την εικόνα της μοναχής Ευφροσύνης,” pp. 171-182.

¹⁴⁰⁷ The case is also regarded by Oikonomides, Nicolas. “The Holy Icon as an Asset,” *DOP* 45 (1991): 40.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Anagnostakes, “Από την εικόνα της μοναχής Ευφροσύνης,” pp. 178-179.

¹⁴⁰⁹ More details about the image from the Mega Spelaion its funeral use see: Papamastorakis, “Επιτύμβιες παραστάσεις,” pp. 298-302; Weissbrod, “*Hier liegt der Knecht Gottes*,” pp. 137-138.

5.1.2.8. Hodegetria Churches: Patron Feast or Patron Feasts?

In connection with the phenomenon of the emergence of churches dedicated to the Hodegetria, it is worth turning now to the question of the patron feasts of these Hodegetria-dedicated foundations. The majority of churches and monasteries which survived until nowadays celebrate as their patron feast the Dormition of the Virgin (Choli, Kouklia, Geromeri, Agraphoi, Peć, Asterousia, Gonia), its Apodosis (Enniameritissa on Chalke, Agitria on Mesa Mani), or the Presentation of the Theotokos (Jerusalem, Arediou, Kimolos). This means that the dedication of a foundation to the Hodegetria is not equated with a precise feast or, better said, it implies several feasts associated with the Virgin (the Dormition, its Apodosis, and the Presentation of the Virgin).¹⁴¹⁰ Theoretically, the day of the Hodegetria could coincide with the memory of Empress Pulcheria, who was associated with the icon's discovery, and the miracle of the Virgin saving the capital from the Avar siege (August 4th, 626).¹⁴¹¹ However, the text of the Constantinopolitan Synaxarion directly indicates that the celebration of this day happened in the Blachernai ("...And that's why we all celebrate the present yearly commemoration in Her venerable house in Blachernai").¹⁴¹²

Moreover, in the 14th-century Narration about the Hodegon Monastery, the author describes two icons of the Hodegetria: one in the naos of the church, accessible for visitors,¹⁴¹³ and the true Hodegetria icon, painted by St. Luke set in the prothesis. The latter was, probably, isolated from the main church space by a ciborium with a grill, as it is seen in the frontispiece of the Hamilton Psalter.¹⁴¹⁴ From this story, it appears that the icon being exhibited in the naos, in a place typical for the patron icon of the church, is actually an image of the Dormition.¹⁴¹⁵ This seems to be supported by the case the Serbian Archbishop Danilo II, who dedicated his church to "Hodegetria of Constantinople, namely, to the feast of Dormition."¹⁴¹⁶ One can inquire, therefore, what was the patron feast associated with the Hodegetria? The Dormition or, maybe, the Presentation?

If one looks at regulations concerning the patron feasts in the Byzantine Typika, (s)he would discover that the celebration of a group of feasts associated with a certain saint or a holy person was

¹⁴¹⁰ Weissbrod, "Hier liegt der Knecht Gottes", pp. 200-201; Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, pp. 136-143.

¹⁴¹¹ Delehaye Hippolyte, ed. *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e Codice Sirmondiano Nunc Berolinensi* (Brussels: Socii Bollandiani, 1902): cols. 872-876.

¹⁴¹² Διὰ ταῦτα τὴν παροῦσαν ἀνάμνησιν ἐτησίως πανηγυρίζομεν ἐν τῷ σεβασμίῳ αὐτῆς οἴκῳ, τῷ ὄντι ἐν Βλαχέρναις. - Delehaye Hippolyte, ed. *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e Codice Sirmondiano Nunc Berolinensi* (Brussels: Socii Bollandiani, 1902): 876

¹⁴¹³ Angelidi, "Le «Discours narratif»", p. 139.

¹⁴¹⁴ Evans, Helen C. et al., eds. *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)* (New York/New Haven, 2004): 153-154 with previous bibliography.

¹⁴¹⁵ Angelidi, "Le «Discours narratif»", p. 130.

¹⁴¹⁶ Daničić, Đure, ed. *Arhiepislopol Danilo i drugi: Životi kraljeva i Arhiepislopa srpskih* (Zagreb: Svetozar Galac, 1886): 368.

the most common practice and, in this way, the purpose of a dedication was to indicate the holy patron, and not a particular calendar feast.

Seemingly, the practice of establishing a certain patron feast started to appear in the Palaiologan time, and, generally, foundations were dedicated to a holy personage and celebrated all the feasts associated with that individual. However, precisely during this period, some monasteries started to celebrate certain feasts more solemnly than others. In the Typikon for the Monastery of the Archangel Michael on Mount Auxentios near Chalcedon, Michael VIII pointed to the *Synaxis* of the Archangel Michael (November 8th) as “the main feast” (κυρία μέντοι τῶν ἑορτῶν); he also ordered the celebration of the Miracle of the Archangel Michael at Colossae (September 6th), however, less splendidly.¹⁴¹⁷ Similarly, in the Typikon for Machaira foundation (1210), Neilos, the Bishop of Tamasia, appoints the Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple as the most splendid celebration, whereas the Dormition was slightly less pompous, and other Marian feasts should be “lavishly feasted.”¹⁴¹⁸ The Monastery of Theotokos Evergetis had the Dormition as “the feast of feasts and the festival of festivals,” but other Marian days should have been celebrated “differently from the rest.”¹⁴¹⁹ Sebastokrator Isaak Komnenos ordered to celebrate all feasts of the Mother of God with bell-ringing, hymnody, illumination, and distributions at the gates; however, he especially underlined the preparations for the Dormition.¹⁴²⁰ John, the ktetor of St. John the Forerunner Phoberos Monastery, prescribes church illumination, hymns, and psalmodes for all feasts associated with the monastery’s “patron” (δεσπότης), St. John the Baptist.¹⁴²¹

Yet, several of the Typika’s festival regulations stay aside of this paradigm. The foundation of the 11th century dedicated to the Virgin Eleousa celebrated the Entrance of the Virgin to the Temple as the most solemn feast.¹⁴²² The monastery of the Mother of God tou Roidiou had the Dormition as “the feast that it is the custom to celebrate.”¹⁴²³ Similarly, the foundation of the Synadenoi family, the Bebaia Elpis Monastery, had only the Dormition to be celebrated in a special manner,¹⁴²⁴ which is called by the foundress Theodora “*The* feast of the Virgin.” In connection with the last case, one shouldn’t forget that it was precisely the Dormition which was considered the main Marian feast in

¹⁴¹⁷ Dmitrievsky, *Описание литургических рукописей*, Vol. I: Τυπικά, pp. 788-789; *BMFD*, pp. 1229-1230.

¹⁴¹⁸ *BMFD*, p. 1132.

¹⁴¹⁹ Gautier, Paul, ed. “Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôménè” *REB* 43 (1985): 109-111; *BMFD*, pp. 696-697.

¹⁴²⁰ Petit, Louis. “Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d’Aenos (1152),” *IRAIK* 13 (1908): 23-25; *BMFD*, pp. 802-803.

¹⁴²¹ Papadopoulos-Kerameus Afanasios. [Афанасий Пападопуло-Керамевс], ed. *Noctes Petrapolitana* (St. Petersburg: Kurt Treu, 1913): 50; *BMFD*, p. 918.

¹⁴²² Petit, Louis, ed. “Le monastère de Notre-Dame de Pitié en Macédoine,” *IRAIK* 6 (1900): 86; *BMFD*, p. 184.

¹⁴²³ *BMFD*, p. 433.

¹⁴²⁴ Delehay, Hippolyte, ed. *Deux typica byzantins de l’époque des Paléologues* (Brussels: Lamertin, 1921): 79-80, 99; *BMFD*, pp. 1555, 1565.

the Palaiologan time, since the Decree of Adronikos II of 1297¹⁴²⁵ established the month-long celebration of the Dormition, which should “begin on the beginning and the first day of the month in which this mystery is, and is prolonged to the end, and ends at the very end of the month”.¹⁴²⁶

Taking the above into consideration, one may assume that, normally, foundations dedicated to the Virgin called with different epithets (Elousa, Kecharitomene, Hodegetria, etc.) celebrated all the Marian feasts, with a particular attention given to one or two of them (usually, the Dormition and the Presentation). However, together with the special emphasis on the Dormition in Constantinople during the Palaiologan time, this feast started to dominate among the Marian days. Consequently, modern-day patron feasts in historical foundations dedicated to the Hodegetria can vary within the framework of Marian celebrations, which does not indicate any deviation from the initial concept of replicating the Constantinopolitan sanctuary.

5.1.3. Conclusions

To conclude the present discussion, I would like to underline several important aspects of the dedications of ecclesiastic foundations to the Virgin Hodegetria. As the studied cases proved, it is not always a particular icon which was the object of imitation, but a complex of pious practices, rituals, beliefs, and customs associated with the Hodegetria cult, which could be borrowed together or in part. Namely, this complex consisted of the miracle-working image of the Virgin, a foundation dedicated to this particular image of the Virgin, a confraternity serving the image, weekly processions with the image, visual recollection of the icon's story in murals (Akathistos cycle), patron feast celebrating the Virgin and her advocacy, and private veneration of the icon and/or images of the Virgin bearing the same designation in funeral context. All or only some of these aspects can be imitated in order to achieve the appearance of the Virgin in her quality of Conductress and Protectress in a particular foundation, as well as to denote the presence of the miracle-working power primarily associated with the worshipped image in the Byzantine capital.

If one returns to the very beginning of the Hodegetria case study, to the village Vasilopoulou, (s)he would discover that the venerated image of the Virgin doesn't occur neither in the legendary narrative, nor in the cult practices of the foundation, but at the same time other features such as celebration of the Holy Tuesday, the holding of a fair together with the pious event, the occurred

¹⁴²⁵ Grumel, Venance. “Le mois de Marie des Byzantins,” *Échos d'Orient* 31/167 (1932): 257-269; Boissonade, Jean François, ed. *Anecdota Græca e codicibus regiis descripsit annotatione illustravit*, Vol. II (Paris: Regio Typographeo, 1830): 107-136.

¹⁴²⁶ Boissonade, Jean François, ed. *Anecdota Græca e codicibus regiis descripsit annotatione illustravit*, Vol. II (Paris: Regio Typographeo, 1830): 126.

miracles, the dedication of the church and its patron feast are enough to recreate, at least in part, the image of the Constantinopolitan icon, its cult and its shrine.

In some other cases, like in the story of the nun Euphrosyne-Marina, the replica of the Hodegetria plays the main role in the organization of the cult. The recognition of the icon's importance and its spiritual and economic power determined the erection of a foundation and the establishment of an organized worship. Moreover, being perceived as a person, the icon may gain the right of possession (as in the Euphrosyne-Marina's story), it can be treated within dialogue relations, as it happened between the Thessalonikian Hodegetria and the city's inhabitants, or it can "attend" services and respond to the prayers of its worshippers, as it happened on the island of Kimolos.

The theological meaning concentrated in the visual program of the image (the Mother's sacrifice juxtaposed to the sacrifice of Christ) could as well prompt the use of the icon's designation as "the Hodegetria" in the development of an iconographic or hierotopic program, as it was the case in Jerusalem and the Cappella Palatina. The practice of veneration of the Hodegetria by organized confraternities could additionally prompt some church dedications (Agraphoi, Leukosia) as an economically acceptable strategy for communal ecclesiastic establishments.

The choice of the dedication of an important urban foundation to the Hodegetria can be a matter of recreating the topography and political might of the capital in the competing provincial centres of the Empire (Monembasia, Thessaloniki, Mystras, Didymoteichon) and the neighboring states (Bulgaria, the Crusaders' entities), while *ktetors* of numerous small private foundations could bring them under the auspices of the Hodegetria, expecting Her guidance and protection in earthly matters and the afterlife.

At the same time this case study proves that the reasons for choosing a patron for a foundation are not always direct and motivated by a known historical event or suggested personal drama/memory/festal occasion. Choice of such patron as the Hodegetria indicated several various reasons being on the founder's mind, from a desire to imitate the arrangements of the capital to the acquisition of a personal replica of the famous icon, however in all these cases there is a common denominator, namely a miraculous protective power of the Mother of God which the founder desired to acquire with his/her pious deed, namely the construction of a church.

5.2. Between Piety and Loyalty: Byzantine Dedicatory Church Inscriptions Mentioning Rulers from the 13th to the 15th centuries

5.2.1. The Structure of Dedicatory inscriptions

The structure of medieval dedicatory inscriptions was quite conservative and tended to accept changes slowly.¹⁴²⁷ As a consequence, when Byzantine culture spread in the Balkan region and the Byzantine norms and canons in texts and art were adapted by the neighboring territories and states, the practices and patterns of inscribing were borrowed by Serbian and Bulgarian cultures. The narrative's shaping in prosaic church dedicatory inscriptions in Greek and Slavic languages of the 14th and 15th centuries was almost identical, so the strategies of retaining the pious acts in stone/painting received common forms of cultural expression in the states separated by borders and subjected to different rules, but being a part of the Byzantine commonwealth.

Thus, bearing minor differences, the donors' inscriptions from these territories were structured on identical patterns and consist of certain basic narrative elements,¹⁴²⁸ such as:

- 1) Symbolic and verbal invocations,¹⁴²⁹ and the indication of the church patron;
- 2) Donors' names, their social status, family relations, and measure of contribution;
- 3) Dating according to the indiction, references to secular/ecclesiastical authorities, lists of donations, and, often, final maledictions¹⁴³⁰.

Some of these elements, such as names of donors and the measure of their contribution, belonged to social practices of remembrance, namely they were aimed on the retaining of donors' name, status and family relations for the posterity. The Symbolic and verbal invocations and church dedications expressed donors' pious preferences and religious hopes. The third group of elements such as the omnipresent dating with indiction, the mentioning of secular/church authorities,¹⁴³¹ listed donations and final maledictions reminded the legal notarial formulas and were inserted in order to

¹⁴²⁷ On comparing the content and media of dedicatory inscriptions and some little changes occurring between the 11th and the 13th century see: Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits*, pp. 23-28; Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia [Καλοπίση-Βέρτη, Σοφία]. "Επιγραφικές μαρτυρίες από τη Βυζαντινή Μάνη," in: *Πρακτικά Επιστημονικό συμπόσιο στη μνήμη Νικολάου Β. Δρανδάκη για την Βυζαντινή Μάνη*, eds. E. Eleftheriou and A. Mexia (Sparti: 5th Ephorea, 2008-2009): 89-97.

¹⁴²⁸ Rhoby, Andreas. "The Structure of Inscriptional Dedicatory Epigrams in Byzantium," in: *La poesia tardoantica e medievale*, eds. C. Burini De Lorenzi, M. De Gaetano (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2010): 313-314.

¹⁴²⁹ Stanojević, Stanoje. "Studije o srpskoj diplomaciji. Invokacija," *Glas Srpske Kraljevske akademije* 90 (1912): 68-113.

¹⁴³⁰ For Greek curses in inscriptions see Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia. "Church Inscriptions as Documents. Chrysobulls – Ecclesiastical Acts – Inventories – Donations – Wills," *DChAE* 24 (2003): 87; For curses in Slavic inscriptions: Stojanović, *Zapisi i natpisi*, Vol. I, p. 20; Šakota, Mirjana. "Natpis s elementima povelje u crkvi Sv. Nikole u manastiru Banji kod Priboja," *Saopštenja* 20-21 (1988/89): 35-42; For curses in the charters, see: Morris, Rosemary. "Curses and clauses: the language of exclusion in Byzantium," in: *Toleration and Repression in the Middle Ages*, ed. K. Nikolaou (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2002): 313 – 326.

¹⁴³¹ For the mentioning of authorities in the Byzantine inscriptions see: Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia. "Byzantine Dedicatory inscriptions and Donor Portraits (7th–15th c.). A Project in Process at the University of Athens," in: *Inscriptions in Byzantium and Beyond. Methods – Projects – Case Studies*, ed. A. Rhoby (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015): 136-137. For Slavic cases, see: Vojvodić, Dragan. "Slika svetovne i duhovne vlasti u srpskoj srednjovekovnoj umetnosti," *ZLU* 38 (2010): 35–78.

add legal validity to the acts of piety.¹⁴³² Moreover, the mentioning of regnal authorities by the church founders served several purposes, such as the expression of political affiliations, indication of founders' sources of rights and wealth, as well as of power to whose legal jurisdiction the donor belonged. They also designated the ethnic origin or religious position of the founders, and other political, economic, and personal reasons for the establishment of an ecclesiastic institution.¹⁴³³ Each of these three elements had its defined place in the texts of votive inscriptions which, in a way, were structured similarly to the organization of Byzantine/Slavic charters.¹⁴³⁴

5.2.2. The Identity of Commissioners

Myrto Veikou¹⁴³⁵ regarding several early (mainly 12th century) inscriptions and finding similarities in their structure writes about a common composer and the connection of the local tradition with the one of Constantinople; however the appearance of similar formulas in different areas rather witnesses about the presence of a certain epigraphic habit (not always conscious) in the structuring of narratives. Thus, from the late 12th century on, the information about commissioners is shaped in the following way: name, title, office and the relations of kinship.¹⁴³⁶ However, this model could also satisfy a need into the exaggeration or even falsification of information; since some of

¹⁴³² For an example of malediction in the Byzantine inscription see a Greek inscription from Adrano (Museo Provinciale Sigismondo Castromediano Lecce (1372/73) in the book by Safran, Linda. *The Medieval Salento: Art and Identity in Southern Italy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014): 244-245:Γέμας ἡ τις δὲ ποτὲ καιρῶν βου/λήθη αφελὴν ἀπο τὸν πραγμάτω/ν τοῦ σπηταλίου να ἔχη τιν ἀρὰν / τὸν τῇ Θεοφορῶν π(ατε)ρῶν καὶ τοῦ ἡκου/[με]νῆκοῦ πάπα Ρόμης (... If anyone should one day try to remove the property of the hospital he will receive the curses of the 318 god-bearing fathers and of the ecumenical pope of Rome...). For a similar curse from the Slavic milieu see an inscription from the Church of Joachim and Anna at Studenica monastery built by king Milutin in 1314 in: Stojanović, *Zapisi i natpisi*, Vol. I, p. 20. The text of the curse: Вся ꙗже приложѣхъ сѣмоу светому храмоу, и оу хрисоволоу писахъ. Кто ли се претвори, да ест проклет ѿт бога и ѿт мене грешнаго, аминъ (and I endowed this holy church with everything and wrote (it) down to the chrysobull. And if anyone should violate this, he will be cursed by God and by me, the sinner, amen).

¹⁴³³ For the reasons of mentioning of political authorities in Byzantine inscriptions, see: Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits*, pp. 24-25, 45-46, 136-137; Giakoumis, Konstantinos, Christidou, Anna. "Image and Power in the Age of Andronikos II and III Palaiologos: Imperial Patronage in the Western Provinces of Via Egnatia," in: *Via Egnatia Revisited: Common Past, Common Future* (Driebergen: Via Ignatia Foundation, 2010): 76-84; Foskolou, Vassiliki. "In the Reign of the Emperor of Rome... Donor Inscriptions and Political Ideology in the Time of Michael VIII Paleologos," *DChAE* 27 (2006): 455-462; Marković, Miodrag. "Ikonografski program najstarijeg živopisa crkve Bogorodice Perivlepte u Ohridu," *Zograf* 35 (2011): 133. For Slavic examples, see: Stojanović, *Zapisi i natpisi*, vol. 1, pp. 45, 59-60, 79-80, 95, 102; Vojvodić, Dragan. "Slika svetovne i duhovne vlasti u srpskoj srednjovekovnoj umetnosti," *ZLU* 38 (2010): 35-78.

¹⁴³⁴ For comparison of Byzantine and Serbian structure of charters see: Stanojević, Stanoje. "Studije o srpskoj diplomaciji," *Glas Srpske Kraljevske akademije* nos. 90, 92, 94, 96, 100, 106, 110, 132, 156, 157, 159, 169 (1912-1914, 1920, 1922-1923, 1928, 1933-1934, 1936); Mošin, Vladimir. "Sankcija u vizantijskoj i u južnoslavenskoj ćirilskoj diplomaciji," *Anali Historijskog instituta JAZU u Dubrovniku* 3 (1954): 27-52.

¹⁴³⁵ Veikou, Myrto. *Byzantine Epirus A Topography of Transformation: Settlements of the Seventh-Twelfth Centuries in Southern Epirus and Aetoloacarnania, Greece* (Leiden: 2012): 162-163.

¹⁴³⁶ Panayotidi, Maria. "Donor personality traits in 12th century painting. Some examples," in: *To Βυζάντιο ώριμο για αλλαγές. Επιλογές, ευαισθησίες και τρόποι έκφρασης από τον ενδέκατο στον δέκατο πέμπτο αιώνα*, ed. Ch. Angelidi (Athens: Institutouto Byzantinon Ereunon, 2004): 145-166; Tomekovic-Reggiani, Svetlana. "Portraits et structures sociales au Xlle siècle. Un aspect du problème: le portrait laïque," in: *Actes du XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Athens 1976*, Vol. II/B (Athens: Association Internationale des Études Byzantines, 1981): 823-836.

donors didn't have a desirable status they tried to decorate their names with additional epithets. For example, the 14th century– inscription from the church of St. Athanasios Mouzaki at Kastoria and Christ Zoodochos at Mborje (cat. 41 and cat. 42)¹⁴³⁷ supplies names of Albanian leaders with the words “πανευγενεστάτους” (the very noble), “πανυψηλότατος” (the highest) and “κυρ” (lord) hiding thus their non-Greek origin, but simultaneously underlines their family ties pointing out to the brotherly relations and the joint rule. The Albanian clan of Mouzakis¹⁴³⁸ had begun to rule the area of Kastoria after the defeat of Serbs in the Maritza battle (1371)¹⁴³⁹ which allowed the Albanians to enter the southernmost territories of the Serbian empire.¹⁴⁴⁰ However, the Mouzakis' appetite to be seen more than just clan-leaders is witnessed not only by the epigraphy, but also by so-called Mouzaki Chronicles¹⁴⁴¹ (1510). Here the author, himself a member of the same family, insisted¹⁴⁴² on the impossible, namely, that his ancestor, Andrea Mouzaki held a title of sebastokrator given by the Byzantine authorities.¹⁴⁴³

At the same time, the presentation of patrons in the inscriptions also can be a force which shaped and cemented a community. As it was pointed out in recent studies, many of the late-Byzantine inscriptions expressed the relations of neighborhood and communal spirit of Balkan rural milieu: they exposed long lists of donors and attested their modest donations.¹⁴⁴⁴ This strategy assured a common commemoration of the villagers and their group identity.¹⁴⁴⁵ Some of the inscriptions even dropped the enumeration of donors for the sake of brevity and stronger clarity as it was the case of Greek village Maritza on Rhodes.¹⁴⁴⁶ Here, the inscription (cat. 50) at the St. Nicholas' church (1434) unified unnamed villagers and rather represented them as a group with a joint Christian identity (“the god-loving community of the village Maritza”), associated through their desire for future salvation (“their souls' salvation and retribution with the eternal goods”).

¹⁴³⁷ For the inscriptions regarded in this chapter, see the catalogue of inscriptions in the Appendix VII to this chapter, the numbers corresponds with the numbers in the appendix catalogue.

¹⁴³⁸ Subotić, Gojko. “Manastir Bogorodice Mesonistotse,” *ZRVI* 26 (1987): 159-162; Aleksić, Vladimir. *Naslednici Mrnjavčevića i teritorije pod njihovom vlašću od 1371. do 1395. godine*. Phd Dissertation, University of Belgrade: 2012, pp. 256-257.

¹⁴³⁹ Kravari, Vassiliki. *Villes et Villages de Macédoine Occidentale*. Réalités Byzantines (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1989): 55; Drakopoulou, *Η πόλη της Καστοριάς*, pp. 64-74.

¹⁴⁴⁰ For the spread of the Albanians, see: Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. I, p. 280

¹⁴⁴¹ Musachi, Giovanni. “Breve memoria de li discendenti de nostra casa Musachi,” in: *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, ed. K. Hopf (Berlin: Weidmann, 1873): 270-340.

¹⁴⁴² Musachi, Giovanni. “Breve memoria de li discendenti de nostra casa Musachi,” in: *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, ed. K. Hopf (Berlin: Weidmann, 1873): 278-279.

¹⁴⁴³ About the title of sebastokrator reserved for the imperial family members, and, therefore, not given to the foreign clan-leaders, see: *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court*, p. 248; Kyritses, *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, pp. 20-22; Gaul, Niels. “The Partridge's Purple Stockings: Observations on the Historical, Literary, and Manuscript Context of Pseudo-Kodinos,” in: *Theatron. Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, ed. M. Grünbart (Berlin–New York: De Gruyter, 2007): 73-85.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Kalopissi-Verti, “Collective Patterns of Patronage”; Eadem. “Church Foundations by Entire Villages”; Laiou, “The Peasant as Donor”.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, pp. 3-9, 47-49.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, p. 25.

Some villagers, on the opposite, became concerned with meticulous description of their status and family hierarchy. The commissioners of St. George's church in Longanikos (cat. 37) expressively paid attention to their social positions and kinship ties. This way, the relations inside the founders' families are specified in details, and the names of the family members are placed in course with their importance. So, the name of priest and *nomikos*¹⁴⁴⁷ Basil Kourtesis stays on the first place, as the head of the household and the main donor. He is followed by his mother, probably, a widow and a nun, Martha, his wife Anna and thier unnamed children, and Basil's the sister, nun Magdalina. Therefore, the female members of the Kourteseis constitute three generations, whose importance grows with age and aquairing the married or monastic status. The second family unit, included in the inscription, is headed by a *sebastos tzaousios* George Pelekases, who occupied a military office of somehow debatable nature,¹⁴⁴⁸ having a military and, possibly, managerial role in the provincial administration under the late Palaiologoi. The wife and children of the *sebastos tzaousios* are inscribed without their names in this case. Therefore, as it seems, this high detalization of the social status indicated that the founders wanted to be remembered with their highest social achievements. At the same time, the church-building activitiy allowed to these two important village families to extend their social capital through the affiliation to each other, and this fact also found its confirmation in such public media as the long-lasting epigraphic record.

In some cases the indication of social status and affiliations was a condition stipulating the appearance of the donors' rights in regard of certain lands or foundations, and, consequently, data provided in inscriptions were those confirming the existence of such rights. In 1440, a noble lady Jelena Balšić,¹⁴⁴⁹ a third daughter of Serbian ruler, knez Lazar,¹⁴⁵⁰ decided to renovate two churches situated near the lake of Skadar, dedicated to St. George and the Theotokos, the latter one being her burial place.¹⁴⁵¹ At the moment of the churches' construction, she was already twice a widow, her first husband, the lord of Zeta, Đurđe Stracimirović Balšić, died in 1403, and, by 1435, she survived her second husband, Bosnian *vojvoda* Sandalj Hranić. Later in her life, from the correspondence with

¹⁴⁴⁷ The office of *nomikos* implied a position similar to a notary, a person skilled in legal matters being employed at the church service. Often the village *nomikoi* combined their duties with the position of a priest. For *nomikoi* in Crete see: Tsamakda, *Die Panagia-Kirche und die Erzenkelkirche in Kakodiki*, p. 96. For the mentioning of *nomikoi* in the 14th-century documents: Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium*, p. 208. Concerning *nomikoi* on Cyprus: Constantinides, Costas N. Browning, Robert. *Dated Greek manuscripts from Cyprus to the year 1570* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1993): 140, no. 11; and Nicolaou, Angel. *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191 – 1374* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005): 54-57.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Bartusis, "The Megala Allagia"; Hendrickx, Benjamin. "Allagion, Tzaousios et Prôtoallagatôr dans le contexte moréote: quelques remarques," *REB* 50 (1992): 183–205.

¹⁴⁴⁹ On Jelena Balšić, her biography, political career and ecclesiastic activities, see: Spremić, Momčilo. "Crkvene prilike u Zeti u doba Nikona Jerusalimca," in: *Nikon Jerusalimac: Vrijeme – ličnost – djelo*, ed. Jeromonah Jovan (Culibrk) (Cetinje: Svetigora, 2004): 73-108; Tošić, Đuro. "Sandaljeva udovica Jelena Hranić," *ZRVI* 41 (2004): 423-440; Tomin, Svetlana. *Jelena Balšić e le donne nella cultura medievale serba*. Ebook Edition (Perugia: Graphe.it, 2017).

¹⁴⁵⁰ About the Serbian state under the Lazarević dynasty see: Mihaljčić, Rade. *Lazar Hrebeljanović. Istorija, kult, predanje* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1989).

¹⁴⁵¹ Pucić, Medo. *Spomenici Srpski*, Vol. II (Belgrade: 1862): 121-124, no. 137.

a learnt monk¹⁴⁵² Jelena Balšić appeared to be one of the most educated ladies of her time. Therefore, possibly, the way of stating data in the dedicatory inscription of the Theotokos church (cat. 51) was shaped by the preferences of the commissioner in a great extent. In the text, she underlines her family ties, depicting herself as “**ДЪЩИ С(ВЄ)ТОПОЧИНВШАГО КНЕЗА ЛАЗ(А)РА**” (the daughter of the dead-in-the-holy-way knez Lazar) and “**ПОДР҃҃ЖІЄ Г(ОСПО)ДН(НА) ГЮРГЯ СТРАЦИМИРОВИКЯ**” (the wife of lord Đurđe Stracimirović), her first husband. This choice of references can be explained in terms of the confirmation of the property’s rights over the lands for the foundation’s construction and desirable association with sanctity. On the one hand, Jelena inherited the possessions on the Skadar lake from her first deceased husband, Đurđe Stracimirović Balšić. As a lord of Zeta, he was also responsible for the first agreements with the Venetians allowing the orthodox priests to serve in the churches around the lake after 1395, when the Italian Republic occupied the territories.¹⁴⁵³ Consequently, to claim legality of her property and her right to establish orthodox foundations, Jelena mentioned her first husband. On the other hand, in Serbia by 1430s a cult of Jelena’s father, *knez* Lazar, had started to develop;¹⁴⁵⁴ and as a deeply pious women concerned with questions of God’s grace, proper church services and her personal ancestry,¹⁴⁵⁵ Jelena stressed the family ties and her father’s sanctity.

The donors discussed above, used a laconic form of dedicatory inscriptions to preserve their social images and identities for eternity. There were several ways to shape such a short narrative, either to underline the importance of social status, or to demonstrate the parochial or family unity or to stress noble ancestry and property rights. Every of the analyzed ways of self-presentation assumed that a commissioner, carefully, selected the most important milestones of his or her life to be remembered and commemorated with the chosen attributes of the reign, family or piety rights.

5.2.3. The Expression of Political Loyalty

Returning to the inscriptions in Longanikos (cat. 37) one may notice that it contains references to several ruling authorities: “devout and Christ-loving emperors John and Helen the Palaiologoi and

¹⁴⁵² Tomin, Svetlana. “Otpisanije bogoljubno Jelene Balšić. Prilog shvatanju autorskog načela u srednjovekovnoj književnosti,” in: *Naučni sastanak slavista u Vukove dane. Zbornik radova* 30/2 (2002): 73–82.

¹⁴⁵³ Spremić, Momčilo. “Crkvene prilike u Zeti u doba Nikona Jerusalimca,” in: *Nikon Jerusalimac: Vrijeme – ličnost – djelo*, ed. Jeromonah Jovan (Culibrk) (Cetinje: Svetigora, 2004): 73–85.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Mihaljčić, Rade. *Lazar Hrebeljanović. Istorija, kult, predanje* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1989): 187–197. Pavlović, Leontije. *Kultovi lica kod Srba i Makedonaca: Istorijsko-etnografska rasprava* (Smederevo: Narodni Muzej, 1965): 116–126; Popović, Danica. *Srpski Vladarski grob u srednjem veku* (Belgrade: Institut za istoriju umetnosti, 1992): 121–127.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Tomin, Svetlana. “Otpisanije bogoljubno Jelene Balšić. Prilog shvatanju autorskog načela u srednjovekovnoj književnosti,” in: *Naučni sastanak slavista u Vukove dane. Zbornik radova* 30/2 (2002): 73–82. As a response from her monastic counterpart, Jelena Balšić received a history of her noble lineage (Gorički zbornik, fols. 102r–106r) - Bogdanović, Dimitrije. “Gorički zbornik,” in: *Istorija Crne Gore*, Vol. II/2: Od kraja XII do kraja XV vijeka, ed. M. Đurović (Titograd: Redakcija za istoriju Crne Gore, 1970): 374–376.

our pious despots Manuel and Maria the Kantakouzenoi.” This formula denotes, respectively, the two royal couples, John V Palaiologos¹⁴⁵⁶ (1341-1391) and Helen Kantakouzene¹⁴⁵⁷ ruling in Constantinople and the Despots of Morea, Manuel Kantakouzenos¹⁴⁵⁸ and his wife Maria (Isabelle de Lusignan),¹⁴⁵⁹ being in power in Morea.¹⁴⁶⁰ In this short and formal wording of the dedicatory inscription, the founders of a small provincial church in a village of Peloponnesus (about 30 km to the North-West of Sparta) expressed their political loyalty to the local and central governments simultaneously and a complex political situation of the time.

In 1348, after John VI Kantakouzenos’s victory in the civil wars, Manuel Kantakouzenos was appointed by his father to govern the region of Peloponnesus.¹⁴⁶¹ As the second son of the emperor he was granted an appanage¹⁴⁶² over Morea lands, a second in importance province of the Empire. John VI regarded this arrangement as a long-lasting and hereditary, as later the Byzantine historian and governor of Glarantza George Sphrantzes put it, “he made the second [son] a despot in Sparta willing to make hereditary all control and power for him [Manuel] and his sons.”¹⁴⁶³ However, the reign over the appanage wasn’t easy, as Peloponnesus was devastated by the Turkish raids and confrontations with the Principality of Achaea, and, besides this, the villages of the province were in need of fortifications.¹⁴⁶⁴ This made Manuel to employ both, diplomatic and military methods, to face the various enemies, the Turks, the Serbs, the Albanians, the Latins and the rebel local nobility.¹⁴⁶⁵ He even started the rule over the province with the suppression of a local revolt.¹⁴⁶⁶ All these circumstances contributed to the binding of the Morea despot and his administration with the local military nobility and officials, which, among others, were represented by the *tzaousioi*¹⁴⁶⁷ such as George Pelekasis who was one of the founders of the Longanikos church. And therefore, in the dedicatory inscription the founders expressed not only their social identities, but also conscious political loyalty and the order of ruling powers which the founders were subjects to. This power

¹⁴⁵⁶ *PLP*, no. 21485

¹⁴⁵⁷ *PLP*, no. 21365; Nicol, *Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos*, no. 30, pp. 135-138.

¹⁴⁵⁸ *PLP*, no. 10981 Nicol, *Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos*, no. 25, pp. 122-128.

¹⁴⁵⁹ *PLP*, no. 15057; Zakythinos, Dionysios. “Une princesse française à la cour de Mistra au XIVe siècle. Isabelle de Lusignan Cantacuzène:”, *REB* 49 (1936): 62-76 (esp. 63-65 for identification of Maria with Isabelle de Lusignan).

¹⁴⁶⁰ Zakythinos, Dionysios. *Le despotat grec de Morée*, Vol. I (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1932): 95-113.

¹⁴⁶¹ For the civil struggles in Byzantium between John VI and John V’ party see: Nicol, Donald M. *The Reluctant Emperor: A Biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor and Monk, C.1295-1383* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 45-84.

¹⁴⁶² About the system of appanages in Byzantium see: Maksimović, Ljubomir. “Geneza i karakter apanaža u Vizantiji,” *ZRVI* 14/15 (1973): 103-154 (esp. 122-128 analyzing the Morea appanage of Manuel Kantakouzenos).

¹⁴⁶³τὸν δὲ ἕτερον δεσπότην ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἐποίησε, βουλόμενος δὲ πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ ἀρχὴν ὑφ’ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ κληρὸν ποιῆσαι. - Georgios Sphrantzes, *Memorii 1401–1477*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1966): 183, l. 34-35.

¹⁴⁶⁴ These arguments the imperial historian exposes for explanation of his decision to send Manuel as the governor of Morea – see, Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 85.

¹⁴⁶⁵ In more details, see: Zakythinos, Dionysios. *Le despotat grec de Morée*, Vol. I (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1932): 99-111.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Kyriakidis, *Warfare in Late Byzantium*, p. 112.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Bartusis, “The Megala Allagia,” pp. 200-202.

proceeded from Constantinople to Mystra (the capital of the Morean despotat)¹⁴⁶⁸ and from Mystra to Longanikos.

The mentioning of the regnal authorities in the founders' inscriptions was a common practice in Byzantium¹⁴⁶⁹ and the Commonwealth.¹⁴⁷⁰ Commissioners used it in various ways: as a reference point for dating, an expression of their own political views, a method of flattering to the local administration, and, most importantly, as a method to demonstrate that their founders' rights were approved by the highest authority and their property titles were legal and confirmed.¹⁴⁷¹ This practice intensified in the late 13th century during the rule of Michael VIII Palaiologos and was applied for promotion of his new ideological trends in the provinces.¹⁴⁷² However, since then, the mentioning of rulers became a wide-spread custom, especially on the territory of Laconia.

Altogether, there are twenty five church inscriptions originating from the foundations on the territory of the Byzantine Empire and mentioning the names of Palaiologan rulers. Besides them, several (five) other inscriptions, fashioned in a similar way (with the reference to Byzantine emperors), survived in the buildings established on the former Byzantine territories being under the foreign administration (Rhodes belonging to the Knights Hospitallers, the Lordship of Athens and Chios under the rule of the Genoese Zaccaria family). Finally, the churches of Crete, governed by the Venetians since 1204, bring thirteen more evidences of the commemoration of the byzantine authorities in dedications. Thus, there are 44 inscriptions¹⁴⁷³ (among which two from Crete can't be

¹⁴⁶⁸ For the history of Mystra see: Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia. "Mistra. A Fortified Late Byzantine Settlement," in: *Heaven and Earth. Cities and Countryside in Byzantine Greece*, eds. J. Albani and E. Chalkia (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2013): 224-239; Papamastorakis, Titos. "Myzithras of the Byzantines / Mistra to Byzantinists," in: *Οι βυζαντινές πόλεις: 8ος-15ος αιώνας. Προοπτικές της έρευνας και νέες προσεγγίσεις*, ed. T. Kiousopoulou (Rethymno: Philosophiki Scholi Panepistimiou Kritis, 2012): 277-296.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia. "Byzantine Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits (7th–15th c.). A Project in Progress at the University of Athens," in: *Inscriptions in Byzantium and Beyond. Methods – Projects – Case Studies*, ed. A. Rhoby (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015): 136-138; Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia. *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits*, p. 25; Foskolou, Vassiliki. "In the Reign of the Emperor of Rome... Donor Inscriptions and Political Ideology in the Time of Michael VIII Paleologos," *DChAE* 27(2006): 455-462.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Concerning the approval of the gifts of lands to the church institutions in the 14th century Serbia, see: Radojčić, Đorđe Sp. "Feudalna porodica Bagaš iz Vranja (kraj XIV i početak XV veka)," *Vranjski glasnik* 1 (1965): 19–23; Trojicki, "Ktitorsko pravo," p. 123. Taranovski, *Istorija Srpskog prava*, pp. 22-27, 53-54, 152-153, 387, 428.

¹⁴⁷¹ Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium*, pp. 159-161; Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 246-247, 253-269; Zhishman, *Das Stifterrecht*, p. 47-64.

¹⁴⁷² Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia. "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 XIII^e siècle. Les programmes picturaux*, ed. J.-P. Caillet and F. Joubert (Paris: Picard, 2012): 42-49; Papamastorakis, Titos [Παπαμαστοράκης, Τίτος]. "Ένα εικαστικό εγκώμιο του Μιχαήλ Η΄ Παλαιολόγου: Οι εξωτερικές τοιχογραφίες στο καθολικό της Μονής της Μαυριωτισσας στην Καστοριά," *DChAE* 15 (1989–1990): 221–240.

¹⁴⁷³ Here can be added one more example from the monastery of Docheiariou on the Mount Athos. The plaque dated to 1695 contains a dedicatory inscription from a church dedicated to St. John the Baptist (nowadays removed and kept in the main monastery), which, probably, was a metochion of the Athonite monastery, however, this later inscription includes some reference to an earlier one: "In the year 6803 [1295], this holy and sacred church of holy and glorious prothet the Prodromos and Baptist, John, was founded and painted, under the reign of the most pious emperor Andronikos Palaiologos..." (Κατά τῷ ΣΩΓ' ἐκτίσθαι κ(αί) ἀνιστορίθαι ὁ θεῖος οὗτος κ(αί) πάνσεπτος ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐνδόξου προφήτου Προδρόμου κ(αί) Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰω[ά]ννου. ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ πανευσεβεστάτου βασιλέως Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Παλεολόγου....). The rest of the inscription refers to the events of the 17th century and the refoundation of the church. I decided not to include this example into my study as I am not certain that the original wording was preserved into the

labelled to a precise emperor) modelled on the pattern “ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας” (under the reign) with names of the Palaiologoi, dated between 1262 and 1427.¹⁴⁷⁴ In what follows, I will regard the reasons for using this formula in the church dedications on the basis of the collected inscriptions with the exception of Crete.¹⁴⁷⁵ So, these inscriptions invoking the imperial names of the Palaiologoi in the dating part are the following:

1. The stone dedicatory inscription of the **Church of Paraskeue found near Asenovgrad** (Bulgaria), 1262 (cat. 1) was discovered in 1934 during the archaeological excavations near former Byzantine fortress of Stenimachos, and nowadays it is considered lost.¹⁴⁷⁶ According to its text, the church was founded by the priest Michael and his children during the time of Michael VIII.

2. In the **Church of Sts. Theodores at Kaphiona**, Mani (Greece), 1263-1271 (cat. 2), a painted inscription is situated in the northern part of the apse, under the hand of waist-long figure of St. Theodore. It mentions that the bishop of Beligoste, George, and a noble *synkellos*, whose name is lost, ordered the murals under the reign of Michael VIII and his brother, *sebastokrator* Constantine Palaiologos, governor of Peloponnesos, who led military expeditions recovering the Byzantine lands from the Latin occupation in Laconia.¹⁴⁷⁷

text, and, besides, the inscription doesn't preserve the name of the original founder which may suggest that the wording has been changed. For the publication and discussion of the inscription, see: Liakos, Dimitrios. “Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Athonite Dedicatory Inscriptions in Historical and Archaeological Context,” in: *Texts/Inscriptions/Images-Art Readings 2016*, ed. E. Moutafov, J. Erdeljan (Sofia: Institute of art History, 2017): 162-163 (with prior bibliography), 179 no. 9.

¹⁴⁷⁴ I do not include here an inscription from the Pantanassa monastery at Mystras having a reference to Despot Theodore (?) which was published by Millet, “Inscriptions byzantines de Mistra,” pp. 138-139, as it was proved by Titos Papamastorakis (“Myzithras of the Byzantines / Mistra to Byzantinists” in: *Οι βυζαντινές πόλεις: 8ος-15ος αιώνας. Προοπτικές της έρευνας και νέες προσεγγίσεις*, ed. T. Kioussopoulou (Rethymno: Philosophiki Scholi Panepistimiou Kritis, 2012): 292-296) that the inscription was a forgery dtd by 16th century.

¹⁴⁷⁵ This topic was at large analyzed and debated in several publications: Maltezou, Chrysa. “Byzantine 'consuetudines' in Venetian Crete,” *DOP* 49 (1995): 269-280; Tsougarakis, Dimitrios. “La tradizione culturale bizantina nel primo periodo della dominazione Veneziana a Creta. Alcune osservazioni in merito alla questione dell'identit  culturale,” in: *Venezia e Creta. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1998): 509-522 (with previous bibliography); Tsougarakis, Demetrios and Angelomati-Tsougaraki, Eleni [Τσουγκαράκης, Δημήτριος - Αγγελιομάτη-Τσουγκαράκη, Ελένη]. “Ανέκδοτα χαράγματα και επιγραφές από ναούς και μονές της Κρήτης,” in: *Ενθύμησις Νικολάου Μ. Παναγιωτάκη*, ed. S. Kaklamanis et al. (Herakleion: Panepistimiakes ekdosis Kritis, 2000): 681-731 (esp. p. 700). The lists of the Cretan inscriptions with the byzantine rulers' names are accessible in: Tsougarakis, Dimitrios. “La tradizione culturale bizantina nel primo periodo della dominazione Veneziana a Creta. Alcune osservazioni in merito alla questione dell'identit  culturale,” in: *Venezia e Creta. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1998): 510-511 and Lymberopoulou, Angeliki. *The Church of the Archangel Michael at Kavalariana: Art and Society on Fourteenth-Century Venetian Dominated Crete* (London: Pindar Press, 2006): 195-198.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Nikolova, Bistra [Николова, Бистра]. *Православните църкви през Българското средновековие (IX-XIV в.)* (Sofia: AI “Profesor Marin Drinov,” 2002): 76.

¹⁴⁷⁷ *PLP*, no. 21498; Zakythinos, Dionysios. *Le despostat grec de Morée* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1932): Vol. I, pp. 37-39, Vol. II, pp. 60-61; On Constantine's role in this inscription, see: Foskolou, Vassiliki. “In the Reign of the Emperor of Rome... Donor Inscriptions and Political Ideology in the Time of Michael VIII Paleologos,” *DChAE* 27 (2006): 457.

3. **St. Nicholas' Church at Manastir** (FYROM) dated with 1270/1 (cat. 3) bears a lengthy painted inscription engirdling the walls of the 12th basilica.¹⁴⁷⁸ It mentions the history of foundation and its renovation by various commissioners, including hegoumenos Ioanikios-Akakios, who ordered to cover the church with murals during the “reign of Michael Doukas Angelos Komnenos Palaiologos and the New Constantine”. The inscription itself uses the expression “ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας” for the dating and denoting of the regal authority twice. So, in the beginning of the text, the first foundation of the monastery (1094/5) by Alexios the *protostrator*, an “uncle” (*theios*) of the emperor is placed “during the reign of the most holy emperor and autocrat of the Romans kyr Alexios Komnenos” (ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλ(ε)ίας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτ(ου) βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ[ος] Ῥωμαίων κυρ(οῦ) Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ]), whereas the refoundation and reconstruction of the monastery took place “under the reign of the most holy and great emperor and autocrat of the Romans, Doukas Angelos Komnenos Michael Palaiologos and New Constantine” (ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου μεγ(ά) λ(ου) βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ[ος] Ῥωμαίων Δοῦκα Ἀγγέλου Κομνηνοῦ Μιχαήλ τοῦ Παλαιολόγ(ου) καὶ Νέου Κωνσταντίνου). The juxtaposition of these two emperors in the text as well as an epithet “New Constantine,” adjusted to the name of Michael VIII can be interpreted in the course of the Emperor’s cultural policy and court rhetoric which aimed on the depiction of the ruler as a restorer of the Byzantine Empire¹⁴⁷⁹ and a continuator of the Komnenian imperial policies.¹⁴⁸⁰ However, since the church had explicit burial function for its second ktetor Ioannikios¹⁴⁸¹ and bore the depiction of the imperial chrysobull on the southern external wall,¹⁴⁸² the mentioning of the emperor also may be seen as an expression of the founder’s desire to demonstrate his affiliation with the ruling family and to

¹⁴⁷⁸ The church was built in 1094/5 by Alexios the protostrator, an “uncle” (*theios*) of Alexios Komnenos (for the title of protostrator see: Hohlweg, Armin. *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des Oströmischen Reiches unter den Komnenen*, PhD Dissertation, Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie der Universität, München, 1965, pp. 111-117; Guiland, Rodolphe. *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, Vol. I (Berlin - Amsterdam: Akademie-Verlag - Adolf M. Hakkert, 1967): 478-497) and reconstructed by hegoumenos Ioannikios renamed Akakios in the great schema in 1265/6; in 1270/1; he also commissioned to John the deacon and *epi ton kriseon* (Darrouzès, Jean. *Recherches sur les ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ de l'église byzantine* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1970): 377-378) to paint new murals in the church – for the latest reading of the inscription see: *Natpisi istorijske sadržine*, pp. 59-66. For other readings of the inscription see: Barišić, Franjo. “Dva grčka natpisa iz Manastira i Struge,” *ZRVI* 8/2 (1964): 13-27; Melovski, Hristo. *Natpisi i zapisi od vizantisko i postvizantisko vreme* (Prilep: Institut za staroslovenska kultura, 2009): 37-61. For the painting and architecture of the monument, see: Koso, Dimče and Miljković-Peppek, Petar. *Manastir* (Skopje: Univerzitetska pečatnica, 1958).

¹⁴⁷⁹ Macrides, Ruth. “The New Constantine and the New Constantinople—1261?,” *BMGS* 6 (1980): 13-41 (esp. pp. 15, 22-24); Eadem, “From the Komnenoi to the Palaiologoi: Imperial Models in Decline and Exile,” in: *New Constantines. The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium*, ed. P. Magdalino (Aldershot, 1994): 269-282 (esp. pp. 270-275).

¹⁴⁸⁰ For more cases of juxtaposing Alexios Komnenos and Michael VIII Palaiologos, see: Papamastorakis, Titos [Παπαμαστοράκης, Τίτος]. “Ένα εικαστικό εγκώμιο του Μιχαήλ Η΄ Παλαιολόγου: Οι εξωτερικές τοιχογραφίες στο καθολικό της μονής της Μαυριώτισσας στην Καστοριά,” *DChAE* 15 (1989-1990): 221-240.

¹⁴⁸¹ Kostovska, Petrula. “Piety and Patronage: Layman Ioannikios or Abbot Akakios and the Foundation of the Monastery of St. Nicholas at Manastir,” in: *Church, Society and Monasticism: Acts of the International Symposium in Rome, May 31-June 2 2006*, ed. E. López-Tello Garcia and B. S. Zorzi (Rome: EOS- Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 2009): 485-501; Kostovska, Petrula. “Reaching for Paradise – The Program of the North Aisle of the Church of St. Nicholas in Manastir Mariovo,” *Kulturno Nasledstvo* 28-29 (2002- 2003 [2004]): 67-89.

¹⁴⁸² Đurić, Vojislav. “Portreti vizantijskih i srpskih vladara s poveljama” in: *Esfigmenska povelja despota Djuradj*, eds. P. Ivić, V. Đurić, S. Ćirković, (Belgrade, 1989): 43, fig. 26.

underline the imperial benevolence toward his monastery, established in a distant province of the Empire.

4. The **Inscription at St. George at Dourianika**, on Kythera (Greece), 1275 (cat. 4) appeared immediately after the island was returned to the Byzantine jurisdiction which happened due to the anti-Venetian revolt a year earlier.¹⁴⁸³ As V. Foskolou suggested, this text expresses “donor’s acknowledgement of the new ruler over the island and, perhaps, also his approval.”¹⁴⁸⁴ However, the identity of the donor is uncertain, though, judging on the epithet “humble” (τα[π]υνώ), he may belong to the monastic milieu.¹⁴⁸⁵

5. Nowadays, a **Carved Inscription from Unidentified Church in Thessaloniki** is spoliated into the northern wall of the Ypapanti Church of Thessaloniki (cat. 5).¹⁴⁸⁶ The initial place or the dedication of the church where this inscription had been placed is unknown, and, at the same time, a fragmented preservation of the text gives no indication of the founder’s name. The only definite information about the foundation is the office of the ktetor (*epi tou kanikleiou* - the keeper of the imperial inkstand),¹⁴⁸⁷ who occupied an important position in the imperial chancery, and a partial date which, together with the indiction, gives the year 6787 [1278/9]. Thus, one may suggest that the inclusion into the dating formula of the passage referring to Michael VIII as “New Constantine” can be seen as the display of the official’s loyalty, and his adherence to the court politesse. Moreover, as the documents of the Patmos monastery demonstrates,¹⁴⁸⁸ shortly before the date of the Thessaloniki church, i.e. in 1273, an unnamed *epi tou kanikleiou* was appointed en ephoros of the monastery of St. John Theologos on Patmos and assured the provision of several imperial donations on its behalf. Perhaps, the same person closely affiliated with Michael VIII can be the founder of the church in Thessaloniki.

6-7. Two inscriptions from Bulgarian Melnik (cat. 6 and cat. 8) witness about the urban development in Macedonia during the Palaiologan period. Exactly under Andronikos II, the town turned into a regional center and of administration and commerce,¹⁴⁸⁹ and later, during the civil wars,

¹⁴⁸³ Maltezou, Chrysa. “From Byzantine to Venetian Kythera,” in: *Corpus of the Byzantine Wall-Paintings of Greece. The Island of Kythera*, eds. M. Chatzidakis and I. Bitha (Athens, 2003): 309-310.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Foskolou, Vassiliki. “In the Reign of the Emperor of Rome... Donor Inscriptions and Political Ideology in the Time of Michael VIII Paleologos,” *DChAE* 27 (2006): 457.

¹⁴⁸⁵ On the use of such epithets by monastic milieu see; Van der Aalst, A. J. “The palace and the monastery in Byzantine spiritual life c. 1000,” in: *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millennium*, ed. A. Davids (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 325-326.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Speiser, “Les inscriptions de Thessalonique,” p. 167, no. 18.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Dölger, Franz. *Byzantinische Diplomatie* (Ettal: Buch-Kunstverlag Ettal, 1956): 50-65; Kyritses, *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, pp. 42, 398.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Nystazopoulou, Maria [Νυσταζοπούλου, Μαρία]. “Ο ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου καὶ ἡ ἐφορεία τῆς ἐν Πάτμῳ μονῆς,” *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα* 1 (1966): 76-94.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Popović, Mihailo. “Die Siedlungsstruktur der Region Melnik in späbyzantinischer und osmanischer Zeit,” *ZRV* 47 (2010): 247-276.

it was associated with the party of the old emperor.¹⁴⁹⁰ Therefore, local nobility, and, especially, monastic communities supported and promoted the image of the emperor as the one bringing “long-lasting joy” and prosperity. Both inscriptions originated from churches, one from **The Holy Trinity monastery** (1286) (cat. 6) and another from **the Pantanassa monastery** (1288/9) (cat. 8) and named representatives of the monastic elite as founders (Ioannikios the hieromonk and kyr Makarios the monk, accordingly). The latter person would be mentioned as the Metropolitan of Melnik in 1299, in a colophon of a Gospel book from Dousikou monastery.¹⁴⁹¹

8-9. Two churches in the region of Kastoria (former village Kalista),¹⁴⁹² **St. George the Omorphokklesia** (cat. 7) and the **Taxiarches Tsouka at Hagia Ana** (Cat. 19), have dedicatory inscriptions referring to the members of the same family and pose the same type of problems. Both inscriptions mention Andronikos II and his son Michael IX with their wives, but their dating does not coincide with the historical events. Thus, the inscription at the Omorphokklesia reports that the church was built by “most noble brothers Netzades, kyr Nikephoros, John and Andronikos” under the rule of Andronikos II and Eirene and Michael IX and Maria in 1286/7. However, Michael IX was crowned on May 21, 1294 and got married on January 16 of 1295.¹⁴⁹³ Equally, in the ruined nowadays church of the Taxiarches Tsouka, the inscription reports that in 1255 the foundation was built and painted on the expenses of Andronikos and his brothers kyr Nikephoros Jacob and Andronikos under the same rules, which again does not match the historical reality since even Andronikos II became the emperor in 1272.¹⁴⁹⁴ Initially, D. Nicol suggested that the dates were calculated into the Alexandrine System which would give 1301 for the Taxiarches Tsouka and 1304 for Omorphokklesia.¹⁴⁹⁵ Later, S. Kalopissi-Verti noticed that the inscription at Omorphokklesia must have been repainted, because a thin layer of painting covers the original text,¹⁴⁹⁶ her point of view was supported by E. Kyriakoudis¹⁴⁹⁷ who saw that the new layer mortar. Finally, S. Bogevska suggested that the original names of the rulers were replaced by the family of Andronikos II as a kind of *damnatio memoriae*,¹⁴⁹⁸ but even

¹⁴⁹⁰ Nesheva, Violeta [Нешева, Виолета]. *Мелник: богозиданият град*. PhD Dissertation, National Institute of Archeology of Bulgaria, 2008, p. 216.

¹⁴⁹¹ Nesheva, Violeta [Нешева, Виолета]. *Мелник: богозиданият град*. PhD Dissertation, National Institute of Archeology of Bulgaria, 2008, p. 217.

¹⁴⁹² Paisidou, Melina [Παισιδου, Μελίνα]. “Η κτητορική παράσταση και η χρονολόγηση των εξωτερικών τοιχογραφιών του Αγίου Γεωργίου Ομορφοκκλησιάς,” *DChAE* 24 (2003): 228.

¹⁴⁹³ Nicol, Donald M. “Two churches of western Macedonia,” *BZ* 49 (1956): 98-99, 102; Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory inscriptions*, p. 49; Sisiou, Ioannis. “The painting of Saint George in Omorfokklisia, Kastoria and the scene of the Koimisis of the Virgin Mary,” *Niš i Vizantija* 3 (2005): 282.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, p. 93.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Nicol, Donald M. “Two churches of western Macedonia,” *BZ* 49 (1956): 102-104.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits*, p. 49.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Kyriakoudis, Evangelis. “Monumental Painting in Kastoria in the Last Decades of the Thirteenth Century and the Frescoes at Arilje,” in: *Sveti Ahilje u Arilju – istorija, umetnost, Zbornik radova*, ed. M. Omčikus (Belgrade: Republički Zavod za Zaštitu Spomenika Kulture, 1996): 93.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Bogevska, Saška. “The Holy Trinity in the diocese of the archbishopric of Ohrid in the second half of the 13th century,” *Patrimonium* 10 (2012): 155.

this explanation leaves a question about inconsistent dating. There is also a possibility, that the dating was retrospective, since the Omorphokklesia received two lateral aisles and a new layer of murals between 1365 and 1385¹⁴⁹⁹ by the order of local noble families. Moreover, a person with a similar surname (?)ήτζας is mentioned on a rock-painted icon near Prespa lake.¹⁵⁰⁰ So, my assumption would be that, because of some reasons, for example for proving the property rights, later owners of the both churches, Omorphokklesia and Tsouka, replaced the original founders with the names of their own ancestors belonging to the Netzades and the original dates with those which suited to the owners. At the same time, they kept the original diplomatic formulas referring to the emperors, as it could happen in case of Byzantine forged documents which inserted dates or needed lines into original texts, but kept the formal legal attributes.¹⁵⁰¹

10. St. Theodore Omorphokklesia church (1289) at Aegina (cat. 9) is an example of referring to the Byzantine state and church authorities on the territories under the foreign domination. The island had been subjected to the Frankish Duchy of Athens since 1204, while in 1290s it was governed by the baron of Karystos, Othon de Cicon.¹⁵⁰² Though the names of the founders are not preserved, they could belong to the local nobility (one layman is mentioned in another inscription in the same church),¹⁵⁰³ as the church itself is a modest chapel with no monastic implications. Nevertheless, the inscription refers to Andronikos “faithful to the Lord Christ emperor” and patriarch Athanasios.¹⁵⁰⁴

11. Another inscription at St. George Vardas at Apolakkia (1289/90), a tiny chapel on Rhodes (cat. 10), as well dates the construction with the reign of *kyr* Andronikos Palaiologos. Formally, in the difference with Aegina, Rhodes belonged to the Byzantine Empire until 1309. In 1278, Michael VIII passed the island as a western-style fief to a Genoese nobleman Giovanni de lo Cavo whom the emperor appointed to Byzantine service as an admiral.¹⁵⁰⁵ This chapel might have been built by a member of the upper social strata on the island on the basis of the “the toponymic identifier” Bardas.¹⁵⁰⁶ Usually, it was considered that references to Andronikos II and, especially, the patriarch should be explained as an acceptance of the imperial religious policies, aimed on the

¹⁴⁹⁹ Paisidou, Melina [Παισιδου, Μελίνα]. “Η κτητορική παράσταση και η χρονολόγηση των εξωτερικών τοιχογραφιών του Αγίου Γεωργίου Ομορφοκκλησιάς,” *DChAE* 24 (2003): 227.

¹⁵⁰⁰ The icon is dated either with 1398/9 (Pelekanides, Stylianos [Πελεκανίδης, Στυλιανός]. *Βυζαντινά και Μεταβυζαντινά μνημεία τής Πρέσπας* (Thessaloniki: Idryma Meleton Chersonisou tou Emou, 1960): 132) or with 1455/6 (Subotić, Gojko. *Ohridska slikarska škola XV veka* (Belgrade: Institut za istoriju umetnosti, 1980): 42).

¹⁵⁰¹ For example, see: Pitsakes, Konstantinos [Πιτσάκης, Κωνσταντίνος]. “Εγκλημα χωρίς τιμωρία; Τα πλαστά στη βυζαντινή ιστορία,” in: *Εγκλημα και τιμωρία στο Βυζάντιο*, ed. S. Troianos (Athens, 1997): 337-381; Dölger, Franz. *Byzantinische Diplomatie* (Ettal: Buch-Kunstverlag Ettal, 1956): 384-402.

¹⁵⁰² Karachaliou, Ermioni. “The Island of Aegina: An Example of Modus Vivendi in the Medieval Mediterranean” *Al Masag Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 25 (2013): 279-304 (esp. pp. 280, 284-285).

¹⁵⁰³ Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits*, p. 86.

¹⁵⁰⁴ *PLP*, no. 415.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Bartusis, Mark. *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204-1453* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992): 60.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Kephala, Konstantia [Κεφαλά, Κωνσταντία]. *Οι τοιχογραφίες του 13ου αιώνα στις εκκλησίες της Ρόδου* (Athens: Christianiki Archaologiki Etairia, 2015): 168.

reconstruction of the Orthodoxy¹⁵⁰⁷ and the attempts of the local Greek community leaders to influence the political moods of the population.¹⁵⁰⁸ However, in a similar way, both islands experienced the lack of central authority during the late 13th century; they were rather under the control of various minor Western lords and, in a great extend, of pirates.¹⁵⁰⁹ As a result, Greek orthodox population of both islands (Aegina and Rhodes) could see the only constant and unchangeable, though nominal, power in the Byzantine capital. As the cases brought by the western merchants against some pirates of Negroponte and Aegina prove, they as well considered the empire to be the legal authority in the region.¹⁵¹⁰

12. Probably, under non-centralized government of the Latin lords, the local population could express their religious believes quite openly and even to place the references to Byzantine authorities on the properties of the Orthodox churches. This can be the case of Nicholaos Panteugenos, *anagnostes* and *nomikos*, and his wife Eirene(?) Menntone from Chios, who made their foundation, **the church of Panagia Agreloupousaina** (cat 18),¹⁵¹¹ during the time when the Genoese Zaccaria family owned the island (1304-1329).¹⁵¹² This local rich family of patrons, freely, could name Andronikos II and Eirene in their dedicatory inscription as “the pious and crowned by God emperors,” as the island was *de jure* recognized as the part of the Empire.¹⁵¹³ Besides, a later agreement between Byzantium and the Genoese Senate of 1346 showed how this government had functioned: the inhabitants had the religious freedom, the church appointments were carried by Constantinople, the Greek inhabitants were considered the citizens of the Empire, and the administration of the island displayed the symbolic attributes of the Empire.¹⁵¹⁴ This way, the references to the Byzantine powers in the inscriptions on such islands can be considered rather a proof that the local Greeks regarded the Western lords to be managers, but not sovereigns of their lands.

Several inscriptions referring to the Byzantine rulers come from the region of Peloponnesos. This territory was regained by Constantine Palaiologos, brother of Michael VIII, in 1260-1270s, and, since then, it appeared to be a province with a large degree of independence in politics, governed by

¹⁵⁰⁷ Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits*, p. 87.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Maltezou, Chrysa. “Byzantine ‘consuetudines’ in Venetian Crete,” *DOP* 49 (1995): 278-280.

¹⁵⁰⁹ In more details about the 13th – 15th centuries on Rhodes see: Kephala, Konstantia [Κεφαλά, Κωνσταντία]. *Οι τοιχογραφίες του 13ου αιώνα στις εκκλησίες της Ρόδου* (Athens: Christianiki Archaialogiki Etaireia, 2015): 23-34.

¹⁵¹⁰ Nicol, Donald M. *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 201-205.

¹⁵¹¹ About dating the monument see: Bassi, Olga [Βάσση, Όλγα]. “Η κτητορική επιγραφή της Παναγίας «Αγρελωπούσαινας» στη Χίο,” *DChAE* 27 (2006): 464-468.

¹⁵¹² Ballard, “Michael. “Les Grecs de Chio sous la domination génoise au xive siècle,” *Byzantinische Forschungen* 5 (1977): 5-15.

¹⁵¹³ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. I, pp. 374-375. Lopez, Roberto. *Benedetto Zaccaria: ammiraglio e mercante nella Genova del Duecento* (Genoa: Fratelli Frilli, 2004): 52-91.

¹⁵¹⁴ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 82.

a despot belonging to the imperial family,¹⁵¹⁵ and having its own capital in Mystra,¹⁵¹⁶ as well as the army, probably settled in the region,¹⁵¹⁷ and a bishopric seat. The monuments from this region bearing the reference to the emperor appear from two distinctive social groups, the clergy and the military aristocracy.

13. A marble plate embedded in the southern wall of the **Metropolis church at Mystra** (Greece)¹⁵¹⁸ is dated with 1291/92 (cat. 11) and bears a dedicatory inscription composed in verses. It informs that the church was renewed by “the *proedros* (metropolitan) of Crete, the humble Nikephoros,¹⁵¹⁹ who had his brother Aaron as a helper... while Andronikos Palaiologos with his son Michael ruled over the Ausonians,”¹⁵²⁰ and asks a “passerby” to pray for the salvation of the founders. The named Nikephoros, identified as Moschopoulos, a partisan of new Andronikos II anti-unionist policy systematically eliminated the memories of the Latin-inclined church hierarchs, associated with the party of Michael VIII,¹⁵²¹ and promoted his own “Orthodox” project. As a result, with the help of inscriptions like this, Moschopoulos tried to ascribe the construction of the foundation to himself, and to erase from history the names of Lacedaemonia bishops, Eugenios and Theodosios, who allied with Michael VIII. Moreover, in order to promote an idea of dynastic continuity among the Palaiologoi, the text associated Michael IX, who was to be crowned only in 1294, with his ruling (σκηπτροκρατοῦντος) father.¹⁵²²

14. Another reference to the “pious emperors Andronikos and Eirene and Michael and Maria Palaiologoi” appear in a monastic milieu of the Peloponnesus in the **Forty Martyrs’ church of Palaiononasterio** (near Chrysapha), renovated in 1304/5 (cat. 20) by a group of monks, Germanos, the Gregory and one more unnamed. In this case, the foundation is a cave church with provincial

¹⁵¹⁵ Zakythinos, Dionysios. *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, Vol. I (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1932): 33ff. Geanakoplos, Deno J. *Emperor Michael Paleologus and the West: 1258-1282: A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relations* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press: 1973): 151-161.

¹⁵¹⁶ The bibliography on the topic is quite extensive, so as the main overviews see: Medvedev, Igor [Медведев, Игорь]. *Μυστρα. Очерки истории и культуры поздневизантийского города* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1973); Chatzidakis, Manolis [Χατζηδάκης, Μανόλης]. *Η Μυστράς. Η Μεσαιωνική πολιτεία και το κάστρο* (Athen: Ekdotikis Athinon, 1987); Runciman, Steven. *Mistra. Byzantine Capital of the Peloponnese* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980).

¹⁵¹⁷ Kyriakidis, *Warfare in Late Byzantium*, pp. 96-99; Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 45-50, 70-72, 113-115.

¹⁵¹⁸ Rhoby, Andreas. *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014): 293-296, Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedictory Inscriptions*, pp. 79-80.

¹⁵¹⁹ Identified as Nikephoros Moschopoulos Talbot, Alice-Mary. “Moschopoulos, Nikephoros,” in: *ODB* Vol. 2, pp. 1414-1415; *PLP*, no. 19376.

¹⁵²⁰ For using the term *Ausonians* toward the inhabitants of the Byzantine Empire see: Odorico, Paolo. “Poésies à la marge, réflexions personnelles? Quelques observations sur les poésies du Parisinus graecus 1711.” In: *Poetry and its Contexts in Eleventh-century Byzantium*, eds. F. Bernard and K. Demoen (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012): 217-219.

¹⁵²¹ Chatzidakis, Manolis [Χατζηδάκης, Μανόλης]. *Μυστράς. Ιστορία—Μνημεία—Τέχνη* (Athens: Papachrysanthou Phoibos, 1948): 35-37.

¹⁵²² Manoussakas, Manousos. [Μανούσακας, Μανούσος]. “Η χρονολογία της κτιτορικής επιγραφής του Αγίου Δημητρίου του Μυστρά,” *DChAE* 1 (1959/60): 72-79.

painting,¹⁵²³ executed by the artist Constantine Manasses,¹⁵²⁴ who left his signature and a prayer in the scene of the Raising of Lazarus. Though, being distant and provincial, this monastery had connections with the nearby village community, and presence of the high-quality ceramics may witness even about the relations with the Byzantine capital or the city of Mystra.¹⁵²⁵

15. The inscription in the apse of the **Panagia Phaneromene** (cat. 22) **on the Mani peninsula** (1322/3)¹⁵²⁶ proves that the church was a common foundation of seven priests, three of whom belonged to the same family of the Katzoupittoi. Though, it is a collective foundation, it is rather different from the rest of churches under the collective village patronage:¹⁵²⁷ it is the only one built entirely by the expenses of priests, it mentions both authorities, the royal (“the God-crowned, great emperor Andronikos (II) Palaiologos and ... most pious and Christ-loving emperor Andronikos and Eirene”) and the church one (“while the archbishop was Nicholas”), meaning the bishop of Monembasia.¹⁵²⁸ Moreover, the circumstance which can explain these uncommon features is mentioned here as well, the church was painted by the “owners of property and founders,” which implies that this group of people shared the property title over the church,¹⁵²⁹ which might be received or confirmed by the emperor, while the church’ construction was approved by the bishop.¹⁵³⁰ In this sense, the founders of the monastery (Palaiomonasterio), though being hermits, and the founders of the church (Panagia Phaneromene), though being priests, expressed their loyalty to the central power on the same grounds as the military commissioners from the region, namely, as an indication of the

¹⁵²³ Drandakis, Nikolaos [Δρανδάκης, Νικόλαος]. “Το Παλιομονάστηρο των Αγίων Σαράντα στη Λακεδαίμονα και το ασκηταριό του,” *DChAE* 16 (1991-1992): 115-138; Kalopissi-Verti, Sofia [Καλοπίση-Βέρτη, Σοφία]. “Τάσεις της μνημειακής ζωγραφικής περί το 1300,” in: *Ο Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος και η εποχή του*, ed. L. Mavrommatis (Athens: Institutouto Byzantinon Ereunon, 1999): 71.

¹⁵²⁴ *PLP*, no. 16599.

¹⁵²⁵ For the archeological survey of this area and about the findings of high-quality pottery see: William Cavanagh et al. *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: the Laconia Survey*. Vol. I: Methodology and Interpretation. The British School at Athens. Supplementary Volumes 26 (Athens, British School at Athens, 2002): 356.

¹⁵²⁶ Konstantinidi, Chara [Κωνσταντινίδη, Χαρά]. *Ναός της Φανερωμένης στα Φραγκουλιάνικα της Μέσα Μάνης* (Athens: Eteria Lakonikon Spoudon, 1998).

¹⁵²⁷ For the peasants’ activity in church foundation in the region, see: Kalopissi-Verti, “Church Foundations by Entire Villages”; Kalopissi-Verti, “Collective Patterns of Patronage”; Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, pp. 132. 149; Gerstel, Kalopissi-Verti, “The Agency of the Village Widow.”

¹⁵²⁸ Macrides Ruth. “The New Constantine and the New Constantinople – 1261?,” *BMGS* 6 (1980): 13–41; Talbot, Alice M. “The restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII,” *DOP* 47 (1993): 243–61; Konstantinide, Chara [Κωνσταντινίδη, Χαρά]. “Η Αχειροποίητος-Φανερωμένη των πρώτων Παλαιολόγων,” *DChAE* 24 (2003): 89-100; Hilsdale, *Byzantine Art and Diplomacy*, pp. 88-150.

¹⁵²⁹ Konstantinidi, Chara [Κωνσταντινίδη, Χαρά]. *Ναός της Φανερωμένης στα Φραγκουλιάνικα της Μέσα Μάνης* (Athens: Eteria Lakonikon Spoudon, 1998): 8-10.

¹⁵³⁰ For the joint ownership of property in Byzantium see: Macrides, “Dowry and Inheritance in the Late Period”; Laiou, Angeliki. “Family Structure and the Transmission of Property,” in: *A Social History of Byzantium*, ed. J. Haldon (Chichester, 2009): 51–75. See also a case concerning the jointly owned church of the Theotokos Amolyntos by Eirene Palaiologina, her brother Andronikos Palaiologos and her uncle David Palaiologos as they were the founders. Eirene and her brother went to court since their uncle planted a vineyard around the church, which blocked the entrance: *MM*, Vol. II, pp. 455-458.

¹⁵³⁰ For the mandatory obligation receiving the Episcopal approval for construction of the church, though often neglected during the late centuries, see: Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 37, 134, 115

authority's presence on the territory, its capacity of defending the land and its ability to protect the legality of property ownership and transfer.

Another group of founders mentioning the emperors in their foundations is the military aristocracy. Their appearance in the region is associated with activities of Michael VIII, who decided to settle light-armed soldiers for the defence purposes here. For preventing them going elsewhere to be hired as mercenaries, Michael VIII assigned to them small annual payments and modest land grants,¹⁵³¹ which, nevertheless, bind these army men to the territory. They often bore the titles of *sebastoi* and/or rank of *tzaousoi*,¹⁵³² and Michael VIII allowed to the local military administration to distribute appointments independently, giving them blank letters signed by the emperors.¹⁵³³ Many of these militaries belonged to local ethnicities such as Tzakones/Lakones¹⁵³⁴ or Melingoi,¹⁵³⁵ and served into local garrisons.

16-17. Founders of two churches, mentioning the names of emperors in Laconia belonged to this group of military low nobility. *Sebastos* Michael painted a representative church of **Panagia Chrysaphytissa at Chrysapha** (1289/90) (cat. 12) which bears a metric dedicatory inscription with a prose reference to Andronikos II. Probably, much smaller foundation was a church of **St. Basil at distant village Arkassades** (Mount Taygetos) of 1296/7 (cat. 16), which marble dedicatory inscription is now kept at the Archaeological Museum of Sparta (no. 6656). It was a family foundation, made by kyr Demetrios *tzaousios sebastos* Tsogrebes, his wife Helena, their son-in law Romanos and his wife. The inscription as well refers to Andronikos II and Michael IX, "crowned-by-God and Christ-loving emperors Komnenoi Palaiologoi." Probably, the main reason for the texts of inscriptions in such foundations displaying loyalty should be seen in the sense of association with the higher power. These low-strata military noblemen were proud of their ranks and offices, received from the central authority, and, therefore, supported the ties of loyalty with the emperor. At the same time they marked the ownership of the distributed by the emperor territories, being now in their possession, with help of such private foundations, and, consequently, the royal authority was considered a guarantee of legitimacy of their property title.

Another geographic direction of the Palaiologan politics on the Balkans was the provinces of Macedonia, Dyrrachium and Avlona. As Anna Christidou noted,¹⁵³⁶ during the very end of the 13th

¹⁵³¹ Georges Pachymeres. *Relations historiques*, Vol. I, p. 253; Bartusis, Mark. "On the Problem of Smallholding Soldiers in Late Byzantium," *DOP*. 44 (1990): 16–17; Kyriakidis, *Warfare in Late Byzantium*, pp. 108-110.

¹⁵³² Bartusis, Mark. "The Megala Allagia."

¹⁵³³ Georges Pachymeres. *Relations historiques*, Vol. I, p. 252.

¹⁵³⁴ Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 45-47,

¹⁵³⁵ Georgacas, Demetrios. "The mediaeval names Melingi and Ezeritae of Slavic groups in the Peloponnesus," *BZ*, 43 (1950): 301-327.

¹⁵³⁶ Christidou, Anna [Χρηστίδου, Άννα]. "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 Δεληγιάννη-Δωρή*, eds. N. Gioles et al. (Athens: K. Spanos Bibliophilia, 2010): 548-553.

and first half of the 14th centuries, the Byzantine government expressed special interest toward the lands placed between Ohrid, Berat and Dyrrachium, as the imperial stronghold on the West. The government and administration of these territories, constantly being under military attacks of the French Angevin, was concentrated in the reinforced castles and towns,¹⁵³⁷ headed by aristocrats appointed directly from the capital.¹⁵³⁸

A similar situation occurred in Macedonia, especially in the north of the province. Here, in 1282-1283, Serbian king Milutin conducted military operations against Byzantium,¹⁵³⁹ which ended in 1299 with a peace treaty and the marriage of the Serbian king with Simonis, Andronikos II's daughter. However, the Empire suffered the loss of territories and, consequently, the system of administration based on reinforced castles, like Prilep, was introduced.¹⁵⁴⁰ Moreover, the Emperor himself regulated the relations with the towns and great monasteries situated in the conflict zones, by assigning tax exceptions, donations and special agreements, concerning the freedom of government, to them.¹⁵⁴¹ Under these conditions, the inscriptions mentioning the rulers' names appeared mainly in the churches, built with participation of high Byzantine officials and placed in the settlements.

¹¹⁰ For the administration see: Zakythinos, Dionysios. *Le despotat grec de Morée*, Vol. II (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1932): pp. 65-71; Maksimović, Ljubomir. *The Byzantine Provincial Administration Under the Palaiologoi* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1988): 64-65. For the French military expeditions: Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp. 9-63.

¹⁵³⁸ About administration of provinces by the system of fortresses see: Popović, Marko. "Les fortresses dans les regions des conflits byzantinoserbes au XIV^e siecle," in: *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία κατά τον ΙΔ' αιώνα / Byzantium and Serbia in the 14th century*, eds. E. Papadopoulou, D. Dialeti (Athens: Instituto Byzantinon Ereunon, 1996): 67-80.

¹⁵³⁹ The Greek campaigns of Milutin are described in the Life written by the archbishop Danilo (Daničić, Đure, ed. *Arhiepiskop Danilo i drugi: Životi kraljeva i Arhiepiskopa srpskih* (Zagreb: Svetozar Galac, 1886): 107-114). See also: Maksimović, Ljubomir. "Počeci osvajачke politike," in: *Istorija Srpskog naroda*, ed. D. Srejović, et al. Vol. I (Belgrade: 1981), 440; Fine, John V. A. *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994): 211-226; Mavromatis, Leonidas. *La fondation de l'empire Serbe: Le kralj Milutin* (Thessaloniki: Kentron Byzantinon Ereunon, 1978): 35) assumed a later date for the beginning of the anti-Greek operation because he doubted that King Milutin could have started a war immediately after coming to power.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Adžievski, Kosta. *Pelagonija vo sredniot vek: Od doađanjetu na Slovenite do pađanjetu pod turska vlast*, (Skopje, Institut za nacionalna istorija, 1994): 185-204; Maksimović, Ljubomir. *The Byzantine Provincial Administration Under the Palaiologoi* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1988): pp. 27-37. Concerning the fortress of Prilep see: Mikulčić, Ivan [Микулчић, Иван]. *Средновековни градови и тврдини во Македонија* (Skopje: Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite, 1996): 266-268.

¹⁵⁴¹ For the relations with the cities see: Kyritsis, Dimitrios. "The «Common Chrysobulls» of Cities and the Notion of Property in Late Byzantium," *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα* 13 (1999): 229-245. For the role Greek donors and emperors in history of Treskavac monastery near Prilep: Smolčić-Makuljević, Svetlana. "Crkve i priložnici u treskavačkim hrisovuljama kralja Dušana," *Zograf* 40 (2016): 73-81 (esp. 76-80); Cvetkovski, Sašo. "Portreti vizantijskih i srpskih vladara u manastiru Treskavcu," *Zograf* 31 (2006-2007): 153-158.

18. The Virgin Peribleptos Church at Ohrid (cat. 14),¹⁵⁴² was, according to its dedicatory inscription, built by the *megas hetaireiarches* (semi-military and court office),¹⁵⁴³ Progonos Sgouros and his wife kyra Eudokia in 1294/5. The commissioner underlined that his wife was a relative of an unnamed byzantine emperor, probably, Michael Palaiologos. Simultaneously, the inscription mentions “the pious emperor and autocrat of the Romans Andronikos (II) Palaiologos and Eirene,” while, for the church matters, referring to the local authority, “the archbishop was Macarios, the most holy archbishop of Prima Justiniana and entire Bulgaria.” It have been suggested that the association of the seat of Ohrid with the name Prima Justiniana (at that moment situated on the territory of the Serbian Kindgdom) appeared due to objection of the Serbian and Bulgarian Church independence by the Ohrid seat.¹⁵⁴⁴ At the same time, references to the Byzantine rulers and their kinship with the commissioner were aimed on the reinforcement of his position, as a foreigner and outsider,¹⁵⁴⁵ within the Byzantine hierarchy of administration.

19. Similar reasons might direct certain Vegos Kapzas, a person unknown from other sources, to commission **St. Nicholas’ Church at Prilep**, together with his wife Marina in 1298 (cat. 17).¹⁵⁴⁶ He as well mentions the Andronikos II under title “the pious emperor and autocrat of the Romans Komnenos Palaiologos.” Possibly, this individual of non-Greek origin, judging on his name, could occupy a military office in a fortress nearby.¹⁵⁴⁷

20. The Anastasis Church at the former Soteris’ monastery of Beroia (cat. 21)¹⁵⁴⁸ was built in 1314/15 with the participation of several founders; however its metrical inscription¹⁵⁴⁹ doesn’t clarify much the situation. According to the text the initial founder was Xenos Psalidas, but he died without the completion of the church. The work on decoration was carried on by his wife, Euphrosyne, who, later obtained the stauropegia status for the Soteris monastery from the patriarch

¹⁵⁴² The literature dedicated to the monument is truly extensive, so as the main work analyzing the status of the commissioner see: Zarov, Ivan [Заров, Иван]. “Ктиторство на великиот Хетеријарх Прогон Сгур на Св.Богородица Перивлепта во Охрид,” *Zbornik Srednovekovna umetnost* 6 (2007): 49–50. For the most up to date bibliography and analyze of the inscription and iconography see: Marković, Miodrag. “Ikonografski program najstarijeg živopisa crkve Bogorodice Perivlepte u Ohridu: Popis fresaka i beleške o pojedinim programskim osobenostima,” *Zograf* 35 (2011): 119–43; *Natpisi istorijske sadržine*, pp. 79–93. For the observation of problems associated with the painters of the monument, Michael and Eutychios, see: Marković, Miodrag. “The Painter Eutychios—Father of Michael Astrapas and Protomaster of the Frescoes in the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid,” *ZLU* 38. (2010): 9–34

¹⁵⁴³ On the office of the *megas hetaireiarches* see: *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court*, 29, 59, 67, 93, 95, 113, 119, 151, 159, 181, 301, 390, 395.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Branislav, Todić. “Freske u Bogorodici Perivlepti i poreklo Ohridske arhiepiskopije,” *ZRVI* 39 (2001/2002): 147–161.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Progonos Sgouros had the Albanian origin, for other historical figures bearing the same surname and being active on the territory of Epiros during the 14th century: Fine, John V. A. *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1987): 37, 64, 67, 355;

¹⁵⁴⁶ *Natpisi istorijske sadržine*, pp. 102–103.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Babić, Boško. “Tri grčka fresko natpisa na zidovima crkava srednjovekovnog Prilepa iz druge polovine XIII veka,” *ZLU* 5 (1969): 28–33.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Papazotos, *H Béroia kai oi vaoi tis*, pp. 100–102; Rhoby, Andreas. *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009): 157–160; Pelekanides, Stylianos [Πελεκανίδης, Στυλιανός]. *Καλλιέργης ὅλης Θεσσαλίας ἀριστος ζωγράφος* (Athens: I en Athines Archaïologiki Etaireia, 1973): 7.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, pp. 72–75.

[Niphon] during the reign of Andronikos II. As it was discussed in the previous chapter, another figure, certain Ignatios Kalothetos became a successor of the Psalides and received the imperial and patriarchal confirmation documents for the monastery in 1314.¹⁵⁵⁰ Obviously, the foundation benefited from the chrysobull of the emperor and patriarchal decision concerning its stauropegal status, which can explain the presence of references to the royal and ecclesiastic powers in the poetic text. But the problem of relations between the founding couple and the Kalothetos family is still unclear and, therefore, one can't be sure who became the initiator of the royal references in the dedicatory text.

21-22. Finally, two foundations in Berat and its surroundings prove the importance of this territory for the Empire's politics. **The Holy Trinity in Berat Castle** (c.1313-1317) (cat. 23), judging on the preserved founder's portrait (on the eastern wall of the narthex), was commissioned by a local aristocrat, probably a *kephale* of the region with the financial support of the royal family.¹⁵⁵¹ As a result, the image of of Andronikos II with his wife Eirene/Yolanda and Michael IX with his wife Maria and their son Andronikos III appear in the upper row of the paintings in the church narthex, above the founder's portrait. At the same time the the inscription points out directly to the imperial participation: "This holy church was reconstructed from the foundations through contributions and toils of our most pious and holy emperor kyr [along with] his wife] Eirene during the reign of .. . Andronikos Palaiologos." At the same time, with participation of the local bishop heading the Glavenitsa diocese. the **Cave Church of the Dormition at Sinje** (1290/1) was painted by the commission of kyr Neophytos the priest-monk, a former aristocrat, judging of the indication "kyr." Both churches bear references to the ruling emperors in the inscriptions, which is not surprising taking into consideration the imperial role into the protection of this territory, direct appointment of its administration and personalized financial investments.

The dedicatory inscriptions mentioning other Byzantine rulers are far less numerous comparing with the cases associated with Andronikos II (22 instances vs 5/3/4/2/6 instances), which witness about both, the changes in political propaganda¹⁵⁵² and a shrinking size of the empire.¹⁵⁵³

¹⁵⁵⁰ *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. II, pp. 159–61, no. 103; Pelekanides, Stylianos [Πελεκανίδης, Στυλιανός]. *Καλλιέργης ὅλης Θεσσαλίας ἄριστος ζωγράφος* (Athens: I en Athines Archaiologiki Etaireia, 1973): 12.

¹⁵⁵¹ Christidou, Anna [Χρηστίδου, Άννα]. "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 Δεληγιάννη-Δωρή, eds. N. Gioles et al. (Athens: K. Spanos Bibliophilia, 2010):548-553.

¹⁵⁵² For changes in political propaganda under Andronikos III which turned from positive promotion of the imperial image to the critique of the previous ruler see: Kyriakidis, Savvas. "Warfare and propaganda: the portrayal of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282 – 1328) as an incompetent military leader in the Histories of John VI Kantakouzenos (1347-1354)," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 37/2 (2013): 176–189.

¹⁵⁵³ For the territory losses caused by the Byzantine civil wars see: Laiou, Angeliki. *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282-1328* (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1972): 74–75; Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 85-102.

23. In 1333, taking advantage of the death of Stephan Gabrielopoulos, a local independent lord of Thessaly, the troops of Andronikos III headed by Michael Monomachos, the governor of Thessaloniki, and later the *kephale* of Larissa,¹⁵⁵⁴ approached Thessaly, which had not been under the imperial control since 1205. This province stayed under Byzantium until 1348 when it was taken by Serbian ruler Stefan Dušan.¹⁵⁵⁵ Apparently, this addition to the imperial lands became a new point of interest for the Byzantine ruler, as he personally provided several grants of property and tax exemptions for the monasteries in this province. So, Andronikos III's chrysobull for Lykusaida monastery of 1336¹⁵⁵⁶ and patriarchal sigillion for the Olympiotissa monastery at Elasson¹⁵⁵⁷ witness about this new policy. The inscription preserved in **of the Holy Cross cave church of Pythion** monastery (nowadays the Taxiarches) and dated with 1338-1339 (cat. 28) provides another confirmation for Andronikos III's interest in supporting church institutions in Thessaly. Namely, this isolated ascetic hermitage,¹⁵⁵⁸ being placed in the important for militaries passage between Olympus and Titaro which joins Thessalia with the province of Macedonian, probably, received some benefactions from the new sovereign and recorded this fact with a dedicatory inscription referring to the rule of Andronikos and Anna Palaiologoi.

24. Andronikos III's military successes¹⁵⁵⁹ in Thessaly may have caused some hopes for the Greek population under the foreign rule. In 1333, in Beotia, on the border between the lordship of Salon and Duchy of Athens, a group of priests from neighboring villages (Theodore, the priest of Analytes and Constantine, the priest of Analytes and Constantine from Steriotes) built the **Church of the Taxiarches at Desphina** (cat. 26), which dedicatory inscription bears a reference to the "reign of Andronikos Palaiologos," being thus unique in this region.¹⁵⁶⁰

However, during the reign of Andronikos III, the region of Morea was somehow neglected by the central power, and suffered from constant raids of pirates and military confrontations with neighboring Latin states (especially, the Principality of Achaia).¹⁵⁶¹ The state of affairs in Laconia of

¹⁵⁵⁴ Maksimović, Ljubomir. *The Byzantine Provincial Administration Under the Palaiologoi* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1988): pp. 133-136; Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 92-94; Medvedev, Igor [Медведев, Игорь]. *Мистра. Очерки истории и культуры поздневизантийского города* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1973): 23-33.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Ferjančić, Božidar. *Tesalija u XIII i XIV veku* (Belgrade: SANU, 1986): 163-206.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Dölger, Franz. *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, Vol. IV (Munich: Beck, 1965): p. 158, no. 2823.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Darrouzes, *Les registres*, Vol. V, p. 178, no. 2226.

¹⁵⁵⁸ For the composition and archeology of the Pythion hermitages see: Nikonanos, Nikos [Νικονάνος, Νίκος]. *βυζαντινοί ναοί της Θεσσαλίας από τον 10ο αιώνα ως την κατάκτηση της περιοχής από τους Τούρκους το 1393* (Athens: Ipourgio politismou, 1997): 133-138.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Kyriakidis, *Warfare in Late Byzantium*, pp. 30-36.

¹⁵⁶⁰ Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia. "Monumental Art in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes under Frankish and Catalan Rule (1212–1388): Latin and Greek Patronage," in: *A Companion to Latin Greece*, ed. N. Tsougarakis and P. Lock (Leiden, Brill, 2014): 407, 409, 411-412.

¹⁵⁶¹ Zakythinos, Dionysios. *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, Vol. I (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1932): 70-93; Medvedev, Igor [Медведев, Игорь]. *Мистра. Очерки истории и культуры поздневизантийского города* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1973): 23-33.

this period can be better understood from the point of view of the Byzantines themselves. As the majority of people from Constantinople, Kantakouzenos considered the local population being militaristic and belligerent, though he also admitted the role of the external enemies in their deplorable social conditions:

When the Peloponnese was completely devastated not only by the Persian (Turks) with their considerable ships, and by the Latins, living in what is called in Greek “Achaia” and being subject to the prince, but most of all [it was devastated] by the inhabitants themselves, who constantly waged military conflicts, plundered possessions of each other and killed each other, and since unfortified villages were destroyed by foreign enemies, and the cities, it seems, should have been completely abandoned by their inhabitants, the emperor decided to show some concern for the Peloponnesian affairs.¹⁵⁶²

So, in this chaos and absence of central power, the most important social role was played by the militarized rural garrison commanders, who had enough strength to protect the village population. As a consequence the status of local military leaders, like the above-mentioned *tsaousioi*, rose as they became responsible for the defense of possessions and territories. As a result, between 1322, when there is a last mentioning of the *epitropos* of Morea Andronikos Asanes,¹⁵⁶³ and 1348, the date of appointment of Manuel Kantakouzenos as a governor of the province, there is not much known about the administration of Peloponnesus.¹⁵⁶⁴ This absence of the central authority can be found in wording of one and only dedicatory inscription mentioning Andronikos III here.

25. St. George’s Church at Oitylos, Mani (cat. 27), dated with 1332, was renewed by Sabatianos, *nomikos* of Kopoges, and his wife Eleuna. The church is much rebuilt nowadays and the inscription is used as a *spolia*, inserted into the wall upside down. The wording is quite peculiar here. First of all, the names of the donors appear in the supplication formula in the end of the text rather than staying in its beginning, after the mention of the church dedication. Secondly, it starts with the dating and mentioning of the authorities, which is shaped in accordance with the pattern “under the reign...” (Ἐπεὶ βασιλείας). Besides, the naming of the emperor, “Andronikos, the son of kyr Michael Palaiologos,” being extremely unusual, as he labelled not with typical “pious” or “mighty,” but with his family ancestry, and the same authorities’ formula includes, along with the byzantine emperor, a reference to a family group of local military leaders: “the very divine *sebastos tzases* of the Melengoi, kyr Constantine Spanes, and kyr Larigkas Slaboures, and Anna”. This formula appeared to be so bizarre, that some authors suggested that the Spanes is not an authority, but rather a “möglich

¹⁵⁶² Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Πελοπόννησος διέφθαρτο παντάπασιν οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν στόλοις μεγάλοις ἐπιόντων καὶ ὑπὸ Λατίνων τῶν τὴν παρ’ Ἑλλήσιν Ἀχαΐαν λεγομένην κατεχόντων, ὑπηκόων ὄντων πρίγγιτι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν, διηνεκῶς ἀλλήλοις ἀντικαθισταμένων καὶ διαρπαζόντων τὰ ἀλλήλων καὶ ἀποκτενόντων, καὶ κῶμαι μὲν ἀτείχιστοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἑξωθεν ἀνάλωνται πολεμίων, αἱ πόλεις δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνοικούντων, καὶ παντάπασι προσεδοκῶντο ἐκλιπεῖν· πρόνοιάν τινα αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι ἐσκέψατο ὁ βασιλεὺς – Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 85.

¹⁵⁶³ *PLP*, no. 1489.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Zakythinos, Dionysios. *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, Vol. I (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1932): 94-95.

stifter.”¹⁵⁶⁵ All these unusual features witness quite evidently about the growing importance of the rural commanders, who are now considered “the very divine” in place of the emperors. The denoted Constantine Spanes, *tsaousios* of the Hellenized Slavic group called the Melingoi,¹⁵⁶⁶ is also known from other sources, including his own foundation, the church of Saint Nicholas, Platsa in the Mani,¹⁵⁶⁷ built with no references to the imperial authority. Being characterized as: “Spany a powerful man of the Eslavons, who was lords of the Gisterne and the others,”¹⁵⁶⁸ this military leader ruled territory near Mount Taygetos and several castles around the Messinian bay, being quite independent from the distant powers in Constantinople even in his military campaigns.

26-27. The development of a similar tendency, characterized by the independence in administration and warfare in Morea, continued, even after the appointment of a governor from Constantinople in 1348.¹⁵⁶⁹ Since it was still the aftermath of the Byzantine civil wars,¹⁵⁷⁰ the relations between the Emperor John V Palaiologos (1341-1376/) and Matthew Kantakouzenos (1348-1380), the governor of Morea and second son of the rival emperor John VI,¹⁵⁷¹ were not very close, and the status of the principality was becoming more and more independent. The regime of Matthew Kantakouzenos in Morea¹⁵⁷² is attested by references to the royalty in two dedicatory inscriptions. And, though the preservation state of the text from **St. Marina Church near Langada** (cat. 30), built in 1347/8 by certain Michael Ztecholes with his wife and their children, doesn’t allow to state more than the fact that some Palaiologan rulers were mentioned, the expressions found in the already discussed inscription of the **St. George’s church at Longanikos** (cat. 37), dated with 1374/75, witness about the state of affairs quite vividly. Built by two families of the rural office-holders,¹⁵⁷³ the archipriest and *nomikos* Basil and *sebastos tsaousios* George Palakases, this church contains an inscription referring not only to the central imperial power from Constantinople, but also to the local authorities, the Despot of Morea Manuel Kantakouzenos and his wife Maria, who, in the difference

¹⁵⁶⁵ Rhoby, Andreas. *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009): 231, footnote 795.

¹⁵⁶⁶ PLP, no. 26449; Avramea, Anna [Αβραμέα, Άννα]. “Ο «Τζάσις τῶν Μεληγγῶν». Νέα ἀνάγνωσις ἐπιγραφῶν ἐξ Οἰτύλου,” *Παρνασσός* 16 (1974): 288–300. For the military organization of the province under such military leaders see: Bartusis, “The Megala Allagia”.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, pp. 52-54 with previous bibliography.

¹⁵⁶⁸ “Spany un puissant homme des Eslavons, qui estoit sires de la Gisterne et des autres chastiaux entour,” - Avramea, Anna [Αβραμέα, Άννα]. “Ο «Τζάσις τῶν Μεληγγῶν». Νέα ἀνάγνωσις ἐπιγραφῶν ἐξ Οἰτύλου,” *Παρνασσός* 16 (1974): 295-296.

¹⁵⁶⁹ Zakythinos, Dionysios. *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, Vol. I (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1932): 94-118.

¹⁵⁷⁰ For the civil wars see: Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, pp. 185-208.

¹⁵⁷¹ Zakythinos, Dionysios. *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, Vol. I (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1932): 94-101; Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, pp. 230-232, 249-259.

¹⁵⁷² For more information on the social composition of Morea see: Jacoby, David. “Les archontes grecs et la feodalite en Moree franque,” *TM* 2 (1967) 421-481 and Medvedev, Igor [Медведев, Игорь]. *Мистра. Очерки истории и культуры поздневизантийского города* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1973): 50-95.

¹⁵⁷³ For the history of the village and its inhabitants in the middle ages see: Orlandos, Anastasios [Ορλάνδος, Αναστάσιος]. “Βυζαντινά μνημεία των κλιτύων του Ταυγέτου,” *Εταιρεία Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* 14 (1938): 461-485; Chassoura, Olympia. *Les Peintures Murales Byzantines des Eglises de Longanikos* (Athens, 2002) : 15-24.

with the first couple are called “our” (ἡμῶν), though their formal prevalence of the authority of the first ruling couple is expressed through the order of naming the rulers. This wording witnesses that in the second half of the 14th century, the Laconian rural nobility and office holders associated themselves more with the power, present in Mystra, than with Constantinople.

28. After the change of the ruling dynasty in Morea from the Kantakouzenoi to the Palaiologoi, the local nobility revolted and terrorized the new despotes.¹⁵⁷⁴ However, the next Palaiologos, Theodore II, who was sent to the Despotate as a boy and had grown up there,¹⁵⁷⁵ gained much more loyalty from the locals,¹⁵⁷⁶ who again allied with their Moreen leader much stronger than with distant Constantinople. This fact is witnessed by an inscription from the **St. Michael chapel** (cat. 49) of the **Prodromos monastery at Gortynia** (1427/8), built by a priest Germanos and his family. The text follows the traditional formula for dedicatory inscriptions almost in all details, however it doesn't provide the names of the Constantinopolitan ruling couple, and just calls them “our god-fearful emperors,” whereas the couple of the despots Theodore II and his wife Cleopas, as well as the Metropolitan of Lakedaimon Matthew¹⁵⁷⁷ are properly denoted. This unusual format of the text even led to some scholarly confusion, when Zakythinos suggested to read the line “τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων βασιλέων ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν δεσποτῶν” (While our god-fearful emperors and our pious despots ruled) as a reference to only one ruling couple.¹⁵⁷⁸ The background of this omission is understandable, in 1427 the central power was so weak, that the reference to it could be partially omitted, but the only question which can be posed here is, whether the founders/scribers/artists, responsible for the text, made this mistake consciously or unconsciously.

29. The association with the previous royal founder may appear as an additional reason for the mentioning of the imperial authorities by private founders. In other words, when a new founder or donor is aware about previous imperial donations or building activities, he/she may like to denote this fact in their later acts of patronage. This could be the case of the **Inscription from Artokosta monastery** (cat. 48). The text itself is not preserved in the original, but copied by renovators of the monastery in 1711.¹⁵⁷⁹ In the formula “ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας,” the inscription refers to John VIII as

¹⁵⁷⁴ In more details about extremely conflict relations of Theodore I Palaiologos and the Laconian nobility see: Vassilopoulou, Navsika [Βασιλοπούλου, Ναυσικά]. “Ὁ γὰρ δὴ μετριώτεροι τῶν Ἑσπερίων ἔχθρων οἱ παρὰ τῆς Ανατολῆς ὀρμώμενοι Τοῦρκοι: ὁ Θεόδωρος Α΄ Παλαιολόγος καὶ ἡ Πελοπόννησος στα τέλη τοῦ 14ου αἰῶνα,” *Ἑῶα καὶ Ἑσπέρια* 8 (2012): 325-352.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Zakythinos, Dionysios. *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, Vol. I (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1932): 165-183; Medvedev, Igor [Медведев, Игорь]. *Μυστρα. Οчерки истории и культуры поздневизантийского города* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1973): 33-35.

¹⁵⁷⁶ For intellectual life in Mystra see also: Woodhouse, Christopher Montague. *George Plethon Gemistos: The Last of the Hellenes* (Oxford, 1986): 79-118.

¹⁵⁷⁷ Concerning the identity of the metropolitan see: Pavlikianov Cyril. “Unknown document concerning the Metropolis of Lakedaimon (1442),” in: *Σλάβοι καὶ Ἑλληνικός κόσμος: Πρακτικά Α΄* (Athens, 2014): 109-130.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Zakythinos, Dionysios. *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, Vol. II (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1932): 302.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Theochari, Maria [Θεοχάρη, Μαρία]. “Παναγία ἡ Ἀρτοκοστά, La Beata Vergine delle Grazie,” *Archaiologiki Ephimeris* 3 (1950-54 [1961]): 249-251. For the complete text of the dedicatory inscription which includes lines added

the sole ruler, which gives a very precise date: John VIII's co-ruler, Manuel II, died on 21 July of 1425¹⁵⁸⁰ and the inscription bears the year 6933, which ended on September 1st of 1425. This way, the creation of the inscription can be placed between July 21 and September 1 of 1425. Besides the royal authority, the text also mentions that hieromonk archimandrites Theodoulos was the monastery's hegoumenos, when kyr Antonios Sarantares (*PLP* no. 24870) renewed the monastery. The name of Theodoulos also appears in another inscription associated with the Artokosta monastery:

Oh, Mother of God, the ruler of everything, keep and protect the rulers, despots the Palaiologoi, who, by common agreement, ordered to remake the ornamentation for your icon Without-sin.

Remember also your servant, hierarch Theodoulos, archimandrites, who participated with some expenses [spent] on your monastery. Help in all [his] deeds.¹⁵⁸¹

This is a dedicatory inscription made on the golden revetment of the Theotokos icon, nowadays kept in St. Samuele church in Venice, after travelling her long way through Nafplio and staying in possession of several Italian noblemen.¹⁵⁸² The revetment bears a depiction of a despot wearing the dress with two bicephalous eagles and labelled as: ΙΩ(ANNOY) KATAKO[Y]ZHNOY TOY ΔΕΣΠΟΤΟΥ. Both cases, the dedicatory church inscription and the revetment witness that local hegoumenos Theodoulos relied on the royal support as well as on the help of the local nobleman Antonios Sarantares. Consequently, the reference to the rule of John VIII being present in the monastery's dedicatory inscription can appear due to desire of this nobleman to be associated with the founders of imperial status.

30. Finally, the dedicatory inscription of St. **George Pachymachiotis near Lindo** (cat. 43) on Rhodes represents an uncertain case, added here for the sake of completeness. In this foundation, constructed in 1394/5 by priest Katasambas and his wife *magistrissa* Kale, the lines which, according to the formula should refer to the governing authority are erased, and only reference to the the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople and New Rome [Antony] is still readable. According to Ioanna Bitha,¹⁵⁸³ who published the inscription, most probably, the missing lines contained the name of Manuel II.

by the renovators of 1711 see pp. 245-246. Feissel, Philippidis-Braat, "Inscriptions du Péloponnèse," p. 347, no. 85 published only the text of the original inscription of 1425.

¹⁵⁸⁰ *PLP*, no. 21513.

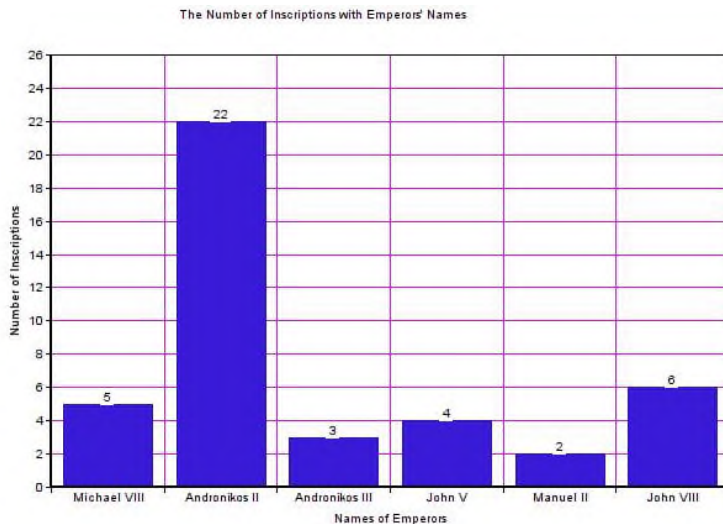
¹⁵⁸¹ Μ(η)τερ Θεοῦ Παντάνακτος φρούρει καὶ σκέπε // ἄνακτας, δεσπότης τε Παλαιολόγους // ἐμμελῶς ὀρίσαντα[ς] μεταγενέσθαι // σῆς ἡκόνης κόσμησιν τῆς Παναχράντου // Μνήσθητι καὶ τοῦ δούλου σου ἱεράρχου Θεοδούλου ἀρχιμανδρίτου τοῦ συνεργήσαντος [δι' ἐξ]όδου τῆς ἁγίας σου μονῆς. Βοήθει καὶ πάντα τοὺς συνεργήσαντας - Feissel, Philippidis-Braat, "Inscriptions du Péloponnèse," pp. 341-342, no. 79.

¹⁵⁸² Theochari, Maria [Θεοχάρη, Μαρία]. "Παναγία ἡ Ἀρτοκοστά, La Beata Vergine delle Grazie," *Archaiologiki Ephimeris* 3 (1950-54 [1961]): 234-237.

¹⁵⁸³ Bitha, Ioanna [Μπίθα, Ιωάννα]. "Σχόλια στην κτητορική επιγραφή του Αγίου Γεωργίου Παχυμαχιώτη στη Λίνδο της Ρόδου (1394/5)," *DChAE* 30 (2009): 160-163.

5. 2. 4. Diplomatic Aspects of the Inscriptions and Social Composition of the Donors

Though, it is generally thought that the promotion of new imperial idea, renovation of the state



and advance through via Egnatia were, at large, the ideological projects of Michael VIII,¹⁵⁸⁴ more detailed studies showed that the role of Andronikos II was no less than that of his father.¹⁵⁸⁵ Indeed, the latter suggestion can be confirmed by the survived inscriptions, out which only 5 refer to Michael VIII Palaiologos, while 22 (including the examples from Crete) bear the name of

Andronikos II, solely or in association with other his family members. The number of inscriptions associated with later rulers, Andronikos III (1328-1341), John V (1341-1376 / 1376-1391), Manuel II (1391-1425) and John VIII (1425 – 1428) dropped drastically which reflected several factors, the changes in the imperial propaganda, the devastations in civil wars and the loss of territory under the Byzantine rule.

However, it is only Michael VIII who is called in the texts “New Constantine” (cat. 3) and “the ruler of Rome”¹⁵⁸⁶ (cat. 4) reflecting, indeed, the ideological policy aimed on the reconstruction of imperial ecumenical image.¹⁵⁸⁷ As for Andronikos II, the inscriptions referring to the entire family

¹⁵⁸⁴ Macrides Ruth. “The New Constantinople and the New Constantinople – 1261?,” *BMGS* 6 (1980): 13–41; Talbot, Alice-Mary. “The restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII,” *DOP* 47 (1993): 243–261; Konstantinidi, Chara [Κωνσταντινίδη, Χαρά]. “Η Αχειροποίητος-Φανερωμένη των πρώτων Παλαιολόγων,” *DChAE* 24 (2003): 89-100; Hilsdale, *Byzantine Art and Diplomacy*, pp. 88-150.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia. “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: Picard, 2012): 41-64; Giakoumis, Konstantinos, Christidou, Anna. “Image and Power in the Age of Andronikos II and III Palaiologos: Imperial Patronage in the Western Provinces of Via Egnatia,” in: *Via Egnatia Revisited: Common Past, Common Future* (Driebergen: Via Ignatia Foundation, 2010): 76-84.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Dölger, Franz. “Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner,” in: Id. *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal, 1953): 70-115. Zakythinios, Dionysios. “Rome dans la pensée politique de Byzance du XIVe au XVe siècle. La 'théorie romaine' à l'épreuve des faits” in: *Byzance. Hommage à André N. Stratos*, Vol. I (Athens: N.A. Stratos, 1986): 207-221; Foskolou, Vassiliki. “In the Reign of the Emperor of Rome... Donor Inscriptions and Political Ideology in the Time of Michael VIII Paleologos,” *DChAE* 27 (2006): 455-462.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Angelov, Dimiter. *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204-1330* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 103-104.

distinguish the elder emperor or royal couple with help of the word “great” (μέγας – cat. #),¹⁵⁸⁸ but copies the rest of epithets from the elder to the yonder emperor.¹⁵⁸⁹

In all the above features of the protocol, the inscriptions follow the established diplomatic practice since the wording, absolutely identical to the described, can be found in the formulae of charters (imperial and private), as it is the case of a private donation charter (1274) from Lembiotissa monastery providing a legal framework for the gift of a nun Martha Thrakesine and her family members. She granted a *metochion* of St. George to the Lembiotissa “under the ruler of our most pious and god-crowned emperors, the great emperor and autocrat of the Romans Michael Komnenos Palaiologos and New Constantine and Theodora, the most pious augusta and their very-beloved and god-crowned children, Andronikos, the most pious emperor and autocrat of the Romans, Komnenos Palaiologos and Anna, the most pious augusta”.¹⁵⁹⁰

Moreover, the inscriptions, associated with Andronikos II, reflected his new policies concerning the restoration of Orthodoxy as well and appeared to be a response to such concerns.¹⁵⁹¹ In the inscriptions, associated with him, one can encounter such epithets as “god-crowned” (θεοστέπτος – (cat. 16, 19, 7) and Christ-loving and orthodox (φιλοχρίστος, ὀρθοδόξος – cat. 16 and 22 and St. Paul’ Church at Agios Iannis village in the Herakleion province, Crete).¹⁵⁹² These epithets, on the one hand, continued a long-lasting diplomatic tradition of the imperial *prooimia* representing the emperor as god-chosen and god-loving,¹⁵⁹³ but, at the same time, they introduced a new ideological element, probably, arising from the support, given by the Orthodox church to Andronikos II. This element is a direct reflection of the liturgical proclamations of imperial names during the orthodox services, more precisely, epithet θεοστέπτος always appear during the *polychronia*.¹⁵⁹⁴

During the second half of the 14th century one can observe some changes into geographic distribution of the inscriptions of this type, if, under Michael VIII and Andronikos II, the inscriptions of this type appeared in all provinces of the empire, with exception of the capital, than, later, these inscriptions mainly appear in Laconia, while the inhabitants of Macedonia and Epirus start to refer to

¹⁵⁸⁸ Bassi, Olga [Βάσση, Όλγα]. “Η κτητορική επιγραφή της Παναγίας «Αγρελωπούσαινας» στη Χίο,” *DChAE* 27 (2006): 466-467.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Concerning coronation and appellations to a younger emperor in the time of Michael VIII see: Heisenberg, August. *Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzeit* (Munich: G. Franz, 1920): 37-41.

¹⁵⁹⁰ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ θεοστέπτων βασιλέων ἡμῶν, Μιχαὴλ μεγάλου βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Ῥωμαίων Κομνηνοῦ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου καὶ νέου Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Θεοδώρας τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης αὐγούστης καὶ τῶν περιποθήτων καὶ θεοστεφῶν υἱῶν, Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Ῥωμαίων Κομνηνοῦ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου καὶ Ἄννης τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης αὐγούστης” - MM, Vol. I, pp. 106-109.

¹⁵⁹¹ Nicol, *The Last centuries of Byzantium*, pp. 93-106.

¹⁵⁹² Gerola, Giuseppe. *Monumenti veneti nell’isola di Creta*, Vol. IV (Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1905-1932): 538 (no. 7); Gerola, Giuseppe and Lassithiotakis, Konstantinos. *Τοπογραφικός κατάλογος των τοιχογραφημένων εκκλησιῶν της Κρήτης* (Herakleion: Ekdotis Etairias Kritikon Istorikon Meleton, 1961): 87 (no. 585).

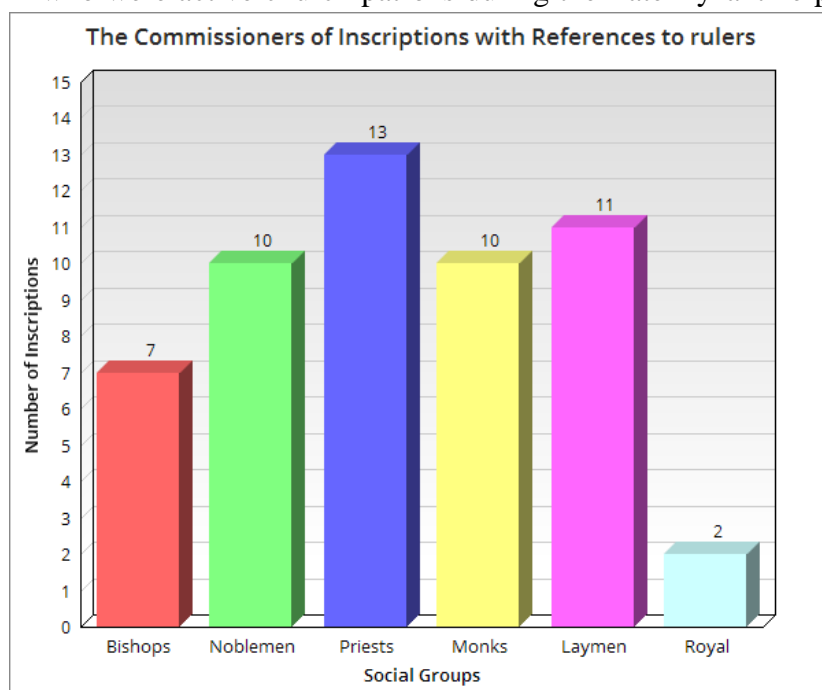
¹⁵⁹³ Hunger, *Prooimion*, pp. 49-58, 203-210.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Verpeaux, Jean, ed. *Pseudo-Kodinos. Traité des offices* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1966): 193; Dmitrievskij, *Описание литургических рукописей*, Vol II, pp. 688, 695, 699.

local Serbian rulers, who conquered these territories (see below). Moreover, some change also occurs in wording, as the citizens of Morea tend to associate their own governors with the imperial families.

As for the social groups who applied this diplomatic tool in their dedicatory inscriptions, one can see certain diversity among the commissioners as the Table demonstrates. It was created to give an idea about the social composition of the founders, so all independent patrons (heads of family units), named in the inscriptions, including cases of joint patronage of several families, were calculated. If a dignity was not marked, but appellation *kyr* was present, I considered this person to be a nobleman. I didn't include the dependant women and children among the patrons.

This way, the most active social groups which relied on mentioning the central authorities: priests (13), laymen without dignities, often in offices of nomikoi/notaries (11), monks, including hegoumenoi (10), nobleman, predominantly of military background (10), two bishops (bishop of Beligoste and the titular proedros of Crete) and two cases of participation of royal patrons (Holy trinity in Berat and Artokosta monastery). The only group which is completely absent here is peasants, who were active church patrons during the Late Byzantine period, especially on Peloponnesus.¹⁵⁹⁵



Looking more precisely at this social composition of the commissioners who mentioned the royal names, one may notice that the great majority of them belong either to the Church structures or to the army, and these two institutes happened to be the greatest promoters of the imperial policies.

Moreover, there is a couple of Byzantine sources which can shed some light on the problem of references to the Byzantine emperors

on the territories under the foreign rule as it described above (on Chios, Crete, Aegina, in Catalan states etc.). In Kantakouzenos' writings one can find several chapters, dedicated to his deal with the Genoese Senate of 1346-1349.¹⁵⁹⁶ After certain Simon Vignoso, Genoese admiral and adventurer,

¹⁵⁹⁵ For the peasants' activity in church foundation in the region, see: Kalopissi-Verti, "Church Foundations by Entire Villages"; Kalopissi-Verti, "Collective Patterns of Patronage"; Laiou, "The Peasant as Donor"; Gerstel, *Rural Lives*; Gerstel, Kalopissi-Verti, "The Agency of the Village Widow."

¹⁵⁹⁶ Argenti, Philip Pandely. *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and Their Administration of the Island, 1346-1566*, Vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958): 118-119; Ballard, Michael. "Les Grecs de Chio sous la domination génoise au XIV^e siècle," *BF* 5 (1977): 9-15.

had taken possession of Chios in 1346, Kantakouzenos sent the envoys to Genoa to demand the return of the island. However, since the Senate well understood that the Empire, busy with other military affairs, can't survive another long-lasting military campaign, Genoa and the Emperor agreed on a compromise solution. So, Genoa would return the island after a period of ten years, after which the Latins who want to stay on the island would pay 12.000 hyperpyra of annual tax. Among many other demands, there were several very important ones:

The imperial banner was raised inside of the cities, as it is usual, and the priesthood from the church in Constantinople was appointed; and nobody prevented the priests to perform the acclamations of the emperors, as they are usually performed on Saturdays, and the commemorations of these emperors in course of holy services.¹⁵⁹⁷

This way, the inhabitants of island didn't stop feeling themselves as subjects of the emperor, for them the Latin knights were just a form of administration, but not a completely different state, since *de jure* the island was still Byzantine. Therefore references to the Byzantine emperors in the official statements, as the dedicatory inscriptions undoubtedly were, would be considered a norm, and not an exception. Similar deals could be agreed and with other Latin lords of the Balkan region, if they were inclined toward certain religious tolerance.

Undoubtedly, some of the states, present in the Mediterranean region, such as Venice, didn't display much tolerance toward the official promotion of the Imperial ideas and the Orthodox Church's appointments. Such cases were discussed extensively, especially concerning Crete, since the Orthodox inhabitants of the 14th- and 15th-century Cretan Greek villages under the Venetian domination continued to refer to the Byzantine imperial authorities.¹⁵⁹⁸ As a proposed solution, a complex explanation was accepted, namely, that several elements proving their belonging to the Roman nation were still present among the Greeks: orthodox religion, Greek language, collective sentiment of a common origin, desire of being the subjects of the Empire. However, this explanation does not entirely answer the question concerning the mentioning of imperial names in the dedicatory texts.

As a kind of remark I also would like to notice that there was a direct connection, in wording, sense and formula, between three groups of the texts, the diplomatic charters, the church dedications and the religious commemorations.

¹⁵⁹⁷ ἐγείρειν δὲ καὶ σημαίαν βασιλικὴν ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως κατὰ τὸ ἔθος, καὶ ἀρχιερέα εἶναι ἐκ τῆς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐκκλησίας χειροτονημένον, καὶ εὐφημεῖν τοὺς βασιλέας κατὰ τὰ σάββατα, ὡς ἔθος μείαν τε αὐτῶν τοὺς ἱερέας ἐν ταῖς ἱεροτελεστίαις ποιεῖσθαι καὶ μηδὲν κωλύεσθαι παρ' οὐδενός. – Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 82 (for the entire affair on Chios see pages 81-87).

¹⁵⁹⁸ Tsougarakis, Dimitrios. "La tradizione culturale bizantina nel primo periodo della dominazione Veneziana a Creta. Alcune osservazioni in merito alla questione dell'identità culturale," in: *Venezia e Creta. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi*, ed. Gh. Ortalli (Venice, 1998): 510-522.

5. 2. 5. Imperial Commemoration and their role for Epigraphy

The most important reason for mentioning the imperial authorities on the territory of the empire, as well as on the foreign-ruled former Byzantine territories was somehow overlooked in the previous publications discussing the inscriptions of such type. In my opinion, one should look at the places where these inscriptions are situated (churches) and, consequently at the rituals performed in these spaces.

The most common way to remind about the emperors to people was the mandatory inclusion of the royal names into the context of liturgy. From the text of Pachymeres one can find out that the daily *orthros* (matin) included two psalms (Ps. 19(20) and 20(21)), sang on behalf of the emperor in its beginning.¹⁵⁹⁹ Moreover, so-called imperial Psalm 20 was also pronounced during the coronation ceremony.¹⁶⁰⁰ These psalms initiated the so-called “regal rite” taking place in the beginning of every *orthros*; this rite, being introduced in the Typika of the Evergetis tradition,¹⁶⁰¹ became omnipresent in the Byzantine church services of the 12th to 15th century.¹⁶⁰² These Psalms and the following troparia represent a prayer performed by the community (“we,” used throuht these texts) on behalf of the ruler who is understood as the protector of the Church and nation.¹⁶⁰³ The omission of these psalms in the services by the dissident Patriarch Arsenios became a pretext for the start of the prosecution organized by Michael VIII Palaiologos:

The first [accusation] was that in the beginning of the *orthros*, he [patriarch] ordered to exclude the singing of a psalm for the emperor, but ordered to start only with the Trisagion and commemoration afterwards as sufficient.¹⁶⁰⁴

Except for the psalmody, the emperor(s) should have been mentioned during the anaphora of a liturgy in the commemorations’ section.¹⁶⁰⁵ More commonly byzantine services included the readings

¹⁵⁹⁹ Vassa Nun (Larina) [Васса (Ларина) инокиня]. “Двупсалмие,” in: Православная Энциклопедия, eds. S. Kravets et als. (Moscow: Tserkovno-Nauchnyj centr “Pravoslavnaia encyclopedia,” 2000 -): Vol. 14, pp. 269-270;

¹⁶⁰⁰ Corrigan, Kathleen. “The Ivory Scepter of Leo IV: A Statement of Post-Iconodastic Imperial Ideology,” *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978): 410-412.

¹⁶⁰¹ Stefano Parenti (“Il «Rito regale» del Mattutino,” *Oriente Christiano* 30 (1990): 16-24 (esp. p. 22)) considered that this tradition appeared in the Constantinopolitan Imperial monasteries, however recently, it was found that the tradition was developed in the Evergetis Typikon and spread to other monasteries of this tradition by the 12th century (Vassa Nun (Larina) [Васса (Ларина) инокиня]. “Поминование гражданских властей в византийском обряде как выражение церковного понимания государства,” in: Православное учение о церковных таинствах, Материалы V Международной богословской конференции, Vol. III (Moscow: Biblejskaya bogoslovskaya komissiia, 2009): 441-454 (esp. 442-447).

¹⁶⁰² Dmitrievsky, *Описание литургических рукописей*, pp. 40, 463; Arranz, Miguel, ed. *Le Typicon Du Monastère Du Saint-Sauveur À Messine: Codex Messinensis Gr 115, A.D. 1131* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1969): 278.

¹⁶⁰³ Vassa Nun (Larina) [Васса (Ларина) инокиня]. “Поминование гражданских властей в византийском обряде как выражение церковного понимания государства,” in: Православное учение о церковных таинствах, Материалы V Международной богословской конференции, Vol. III (Moscow: Biblejskaya bogoslovskaya komissiia, 2009): 441-454.

¹⁶⁰⁴ πρῶτον τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ὀρθρινῆς ὑμνωδίας τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως ψαλμὸν ἐγκόψαι, μόνῃ δὲ τῇ τρισαγίῳ καὶ τῷ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ μνημοσύνῳ κελεύσαι προοιμιάζεσθαι – *Georges Pachymeres. Relations historiques*, Vol. II, p. 337.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Arranz, Miguel [Арранц, Михаил]. *Евхаристия Востока и Запада* (Moscow: Samizdat Russikum, 1999): 24-26.

of so-called *diptycha* containing the names of emperors and other important layman and ecclesiastic figures for commemoration after the end of the anaphora.¹⁶⁰⁶ Besides this, byzantine *euchologia* generally include several prayers on behalf of the emperor/emperors at various occasions.¹⁶⁰⁷ This way, the names of emperors were mentioned in churches on the daily basis, all around the empire. Sometimes, like in case of reading the anaphora, the emperors were mentioned silently, but at other occasions (such as the “royal psalms” and several *liti* included into the daily services) they were venerated by the entire public present in the church. Usually, the *liti* consisted of several passages starting with words “Ἐτι δεόμεθα...” (and we also pray for) and included a passage: Ἐτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων βασιλέων ἡμῶν - and we also pray for our most pious and Christ-loving emperors.¹⁶⁰⁸

When an emperor was present outside of the capital he could be seen by a crowd during the official ceremonies of the church entrance, which included, the salutation, polychronia and other acclamations pronounced by the recipients (church representatives, local nobility) of the imperial cortege and by the crowd itself on the behalf of the emperor.¹⁶⁰⁹ There are several acclamations preserved from the late-byzantine period.

Codex 2061 from the National Library at Athens describes the liturgical ceremonies associated with the Vespers for the feast of the Exaltation in Thessaloniki with pronouncing glories and “long-year of life” (polychronia) to Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos and his wife Helena (1391 – 1425).¹⁶¹⁰ Athos manuscript Pantocrator 214 contains similar praises addressed to John VIII in 1433,¹⁶¹¹ whereas the manuscripts Lavra I. 178 and National Library Athens MS 2458 have acclamations for various emperors and their wives, including the empress-regent, and they both are compiled between 1345 and 1385.¹⁶¹² Codex 2062 from the National Library at Athens (not later than the year 1385) bears, on the first 137 folios. the “chanted” office and special music for the feast of St. Demetrios and mentions Andronikos IV.¹⁶¹³

However the polychronia and acclamations were not always performed in the emperor’s presence. Some sources indicate that pronouncing them was a typical church practice for some feast

¹⁶⁰⁶ Talf, Robert. *The Diptychs* (Rome/Vatican: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1991): esp. pp. 7-30 and 134.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Goar, *Euchologion*, pp. 726-727.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Dmitrievskij, *Описание литургических рукописей*, Vol. II: *Euchologia*, pp. 688, 695, 699.; Vassa Nun (Larina) [Васса (Ларина) инокиня]. “Поминовение гражданских властей в византийском обряде как выражение церковного понимания государства,” in: *Православное учение о церковных таинствах, Материалы V Международной богословской конференции*, Vol. III (Moscow: Biblejskaya bogoslovskaya komissiya, 2009): 48-52.

¹⁶⁰⁹ For a survived example of such polychronia with participation of the crowd see: Wellesz, Egon. *A history of Byzantine music and hymnography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961): 98-122.

¹⁶¹⁰ Strunk, Oliver. “The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia,” *DOP* 9–10 (1955–56): 175-202 (esp.p. 180).

¹⁶¹¹ Tillyard, Henry Julius Wetenhall. “The Acclamation of Emperors in Byzantine Ritual,” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 18 (1911-12): 239-260.

¹⁶¹² Strunk, Oliver. “The Antiphons of the Oktoechos” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 13/1-3 (1960): 53.

¹⁶¹³ Strunk, Oliver. “The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia,” *DOP* 9–10 (1955–56): 199.

or other occasions. Yet Kantakouzenos witness that that acclamations were the usual way of revering the emperors as well as the church commemorations during the liturgy. In the already discussed passage describing the deal of Kantakouzenos with the Genoese Senate, one can notice that together with the return of Byzantine administration, priest were allowed to “perform the acclamations of the emperors, as they are usually performed on Saturdays, and the commemorations of these emperors in course of holy services.”¹⁶¹⁴ So, indeed, the symbolic presence of the Byzantine administration (though, in 1346, the island *de facto* was still governed by the Genoese lords) seemed to be expressed exactly by the commemorations and acclamations.

Similarly, when in 1343 the messengers from Serres visited Kantakouzenos in Didymoteichon, they acknowledge that the emperor ended siege of the Serbs after the town agreed to acclamate and to commemorate him.¹⁶¹⁵ And, since the inhabitant didn't let the emperor to enter the city, the acclamations they pronounced were performed without Kantakouzenos' presence. The emperor as well, during his stay in Dedymoteichon, ordered to perform acclamations on behalf of Anna of Savoy and John V¹⁶¹⁶ as a sign of his good will and symbolic political subection.

So, if a commissioner of a church would like to display not only his personal loyalty, but also somehow frame the symbolic presence of the Byzantine authority in his church, such person would use the dedicatory inscription as a visual tool to display what was, in any case, pronounced: names of the emperors in course of the commemorations and acclamations. This practice remembering the Byzantine rulers in the services was mandatory, from the point of view of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate, for the entire Orthodox world. Indeed, for the Byzantie Orthodox thinking the Church and the Imperial Power were united into a concept of Symphonia between political and religious powers.¹⁶¹⁷ The ultimate expression of this concept in the 14th century became evident exactly in connection with the problem of imperial commemoration in the Letter 447 (1393) of Patriarch Antony addressed to Russian Prince Basil I¹⁶¹⁸ and dealing with the remembrance of the Byzantine authorities during the services. The Russian prince asked the Patriarch whether it is possible to omit the commemoration of the Byzantine emperor's name during the liturgical services in Russia. And Antony replied, with a deep persuasion, that such thing is not possible, since the Byzantine emperor

¹⁶¹⁴ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 82. Ballard, “Michael. “Les Grecs de Chio sous la domination génoise au xive siècle,” *BF* 5 (1977): 10-15.

¹⁶¹⁵ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. II, p. 469.

¹⁶¹⁶ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. II, p. 491.

¹⁶¹⁷ The discussion over the concept of symphonia in Byzantine theology and political thought is truly immense. As the basic works analyzing this concept see: Dagron, Gilbert. *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Meyendorff, John. *Byzantine Theology. Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1974). As a more precise discussion on the political implications see: Dimiter Angelov, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204–1330* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 411–414; Geanakoplos, Deno. “Church and State in the Byzantine Empire: A Reconsideration of the Problem of Caesaropapism,” *Church History* 34/ 4 (Dec., 1965): 381-403.

¹⁶¹⁸ MM, Vol. II, p.190, no. CCCCXLVII.

is God's elect and "he is a crowned basileus of all (Sic!) Romans, i.e. of all Christians," and church and empire "are entirely one and interwoven, and cannot be separated".¹⁶¹⁹

So, indeed, according to information received from the History by Necephoros Gregoras, the Byzantine lands, being under the foreign domination, still continued to commemorate the emperor. The Historian narrates about the Alexandrian Patriarch, who was sent with a diplomatic mission to the Empire during the second Byzantine civil war (1341-1347):

He initially, travelling from Egypt, visited Cyprus, and afterwards from there he sailed down to Crete. He spent much time on every island, because the rivalry between the Romans concerning the power didn't end.... So, when last year summer just ended, with full sail he went to the Mount Athos, which was on the border of two states, namely of the Triballs (Serbs) and that of the Romans. Because the emperor Palaiologos from long ago had heard, that everywhere, on islands or on the continent, where it happens to be the dispersed settlements of the Romans, whether in villages or in cities, governed by other ethnicities; they, when they gather for public venerations by making holy hymnodia, adhere only to his name, and not to that of Kantakouzenos in acclamations of commemoration, [which are performed] according to an old custom, prescribing [this] for any metropolis of the Orthodox, so about this he wanted so much to talk to this man....¹⁶²⁰

What is striking in this text is the fact that here John V Palaiologos doesn't doubt the fact that he is commemorated on Crete or Cyprus, he just wanted to find out, whether he was commemorated alone or together with his political rival, John VI Kantakouzenos. This means that such powerful tool of reminding about the imperial presence and authority as the daily commemorations was uninterrupted practiced by the Romans on the occupied territories. Consequently, the appellation to the emperor in an inscription would be just a change of media, but not of essence. The imperial authority as well as other authorities, commemorated and subject the Byzantine rulers, were present in a church building both, in a written and oral form.

However, the commemorations, joint to that of the emperor, had as well instrumental character in politics. They could play the role of honour granted for certain merits, be a tool of political recognition, or a demonstration of loyalty and respect. When, according to Nikephoros Gregoras, Michael VIII decided to honor his general Alexios Strategopoulos,¹⁶²¹ who regained Constantinople

¹⁶¹⁹ For the translation of the Letter which is used here see: O'Donovan, Oliver, Lockwood-O'Donovan, Joan, eds. *From Irenaeus to Grotius: A Sourcebook in Christian Political Thought* (Grand Rapids, Mich. – Cambridge, UK: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1999): 515-516 [translation by the editors].

¹⁶²⁰ πρόσεσχε μὲν οὖν Κύπρῳ πρῶτον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ἔπειτ' ἐς Κρήτην ἐκεῖθεν κατέπλευσε, πλεῖστον ἐκατέραις ταῖς νήσοις χρόνον ἐνδιατετριφῶς διὰ τὸ μήπω Ῥωμαίοις πεπαῦσθαι τὰς περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔριδας. ἄρτι τοίνυν τοῦ πέρυσι τελευτῶντος θέρους ἄρας ἐκ Κρήτης πλήρεσιν ἤκεν ιστίοις ἐς Ἄθω τὸ ὄρος, ἐν μεθορίῳ φάναι δυοῖν ἀρχαῖν, Τριβαλῶν δηλαδὴ καὶ Ῥωμαίων. ὅθεν ἀκούοντι πάσαι Παλαιολόγῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὡς πανταχῇ καὶ νήσων καὶ ἡπείρων, καὶ ὅπη περ ἂν τύχοιεν ἄποικοι Ῥωμαίων διεσπαρμένως τε καὶ κατὰ κόμας καὶ πόλεις ὑπ' ἄλλοφύλοις ἔθνεσι διαιτώμενοι, τὸ τοῦτου μόνου καὶ ἥκιστα Καντακουζηνοῦ ταῖς δημοσίαις σφίσι τελούμεναις ἱεραῖς ὑμνοῦσιν συμπεριάγειν ὄνομα δι' εὐφήμου τῆς μνήμης κατὰ τὸ πάσαι κρατήσαν ἔθος τῇ μητροπόλει τῶνα ὀρθοδόξων, δι' ἐφέσεως ἦν ὁμιλῆσαι καὶ τῷδε τάνδρι... - Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. III, pp. 183-184.

¹⁶²¹ *PLP*, no. 26894

from the Latins, the emperor made several important orders: namely, he promoted Alexios to the dignity of *kaisar*, allowed him to wear a diadem, and “also ordered that the name of the *kaisar* should be venerated by the commemorations together with [the names] of the emperors in the hymns and sung acclamations, everywhere on the territory of the Romans during one year”.¹⁶²² This way, the commemoration together with emperors was a reward, comparable to a court dignity.

At the same time, the issues, associated with the commemorations, inclusions/exclusions of the imperial names, their order, and the ways these names were pronounced, were the indicators of prevalence between the political rivals and became important concerns for the emperors during the period of the civil wars. In the 9th Book of Gregoras’ History, a drama between the civil war¹⁶²³ protagonists, Andronikos II and Andronikos III, unfolds over the issue of commemoration.¹⁶²⁴ Thus, in the very beginning, when the tensions begun to show, Andronikos II, at the meeting with the Patriarch and the Synod, demanded to exclude his grandson from the commemorations, since the young emperor was guilty of many misdeeds, including the death of his brother. So, Andronikos II pronounced a speech to the gathering:

Therefore, we should rise against the injustice and should make a stand against his impudence and announce that he is excluded from praises by the church and threaten him with excommunication.¹⁶²⁵

However:

After hearing this [speech], those of church hierarchs who were intelligent and adorned with reason, agreed with what was said and came to the decision to order to pass by complete silence the name of the young emperor until he returns to right conduct. But what was said didn’t seem right to the Patriarch, some of the hierarchs, and clerics...¹⁶²⁶

Afterwards, the Patriarch left the gathering in silence and, during the following days, he made the decision which affected Andronikos II himself and which started the opposition:

When on the third day afterwards the patriarch gathered, by striking the holy bells, a big crowd and declared the excommunication to everybody, who planned to omit the

¹⁶²² προσετετάχει δ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ μνήμης καὶ τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄνομα ἄγεσθαι ὁμοῦ τοῖς τῶν βασιλέων ἐν τοῖς ὑμνητηρίοις καὶ εὐφήμοις ᾠσμασι πανταχῇ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας ἄχρις ἐνιαυτοῦ. – Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. I, p. 89.

¹⁶²³ For the analysis of the civil war of 1321-1328 see: Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, pp. 151-166.

¹⁶²⁴ For the same historical episode in John Kantakouzenos’ writings see: Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. I, p. 219.

¹⁶²⁵ διὸ χρὴ καὶ ὑμᾶς ζηλωσαὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀδικίας καὶ διαναστῆναι πρὸς συστολὴν τῆς ἀναιδεΐας αὐτοῦ καὶ κηρύξαι ἐκκοπὴν τῆς ἐπ’ ἐκκλησίας φήμης αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπειλῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ἀπὸ θεοῦ χωρισμόν - Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. I, pp. 404-405.

¹⁶²⁶ Ταῦτα ἀκηκοότες οἱ μὲν συνέσει καὶ λόγῳ κοσμούμενοι τῶν ἀρχιερέων συνήεσαν τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ σιωπὴν παντελὴ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ νέου βασιλέως πανταχῇ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐκύρωσαν κηρυχθῆναι, μέχρις ἂν ἐπιστρέψῃ. τῷ δὲ πατριάρχει καὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν κληρικῶν ἔστιν οἷς οὐκ ἔδοξεν εὐλογα τὰ εἰρημένα. - Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. I, p. 405.

name of the young emperor and not to provide for his all the venerations as to the emperor.¹⁶²⁷

This way, two opposing groups, one allying with Andronikos II and another with his grandson, were formed, and a new stage of the civil war was about to start. With the time passing, Andronikos III conquered the capital, forced his grandfather to abdicate and to take monastic habit, and, de facto, imprisoned him in a monastery. Andronikos II found this situation being humiliating, but he was even more offended when he received a note from the Patriarch asking about the status he would like to be commemorated. Certainly, it was perceived as a mockery from the side of the ecclesiastic official, and Gregoras even compared Patriarch Isaias with a crocodile, who kills a victim and mourns it afterwards. So, the received note moved the former emperor to make the following contemplations:

I do not know what to answer to those things, insidiously asked above. If, on the one hand, I ask [to commemorate] me as an emperor, I risk to be immediately killed by those who hold me as a prisoner exactly for this matter. If, on the other hand, I ask [to commemorate me] as monk Antony, than, as those who cause evil to us, would think, that this [decision] will be an acknowledgement of the fact that I myself, not forcefully, but willingly, decided to take the monastic habit.¹⁶²⁸

In the end, the patriarch came to a compromise solution. “Actually, those around the patriarch decided to commemorate him [Andronikos II] before the younger emperor in the following way: “the most pious and Christ-loving emperor, monk Antony.”¹⁶²⁹ So, this entire story proves that commemoration was perceived as an indicator of imperial status, as the privilege of the emperor as God-established ruler, and as a promotion tool in the struggle for power.

The following examples will demonstrate a connection between the promotion of imperial name(s), symbolic dominance/subjection, loyalty, and the presence on certain territory. These aspects are usually thought to be the reasons for the inclusion of the imperial names in the inscriptions as well.¹⁶³⁰ So, the person who had the understanding of the political machine and state order was John VI Kantakouzenos, who started as a high dignitary, gained the imperial title, and ended his days as a monk.¹⁶³¹

¹⁶²⁷ ὅθεν ἐς τρίτην ἐκεῖθεν ἡμέραν τοὺς ἱεροὺς κρούσας κώδωνας ὁ πατριάρχης καὶ πλεῖστον ἀθροίσας ὄχλον ἀγοραῖον ἀφορισμὸν ἀπεφώνητο κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ βουλευθησομένου σιωπῆσαι τὸ τοῦ νέου βασιλέως ὄνομα καὶ μὴ τὰ προσήκοντα πάντα νέμειν αὐτῷ, ὅσα καὶ βασιλεῖ - Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. I, 406.

¹⁶²⁸ ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἔχω ὅ,τι ἂν ἀποκριναίμην πρὸς τὰ οὕτως πεπλασμένως μοι προτεινόμενα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς βασιλέα φαίην, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμι φονευόμενος ὑπὸ τοῶν διὰ τοῦτο με δέσμιον ἐχόντων• εἰ δὲ μοναχὸν Ἀντώνιον, ὁμολογία τοῦτ' ἂν νομισθεῖ τοῖς τὰ ἡμέτερα κακουργοῦσιν, ὅτι μὴ βιαίως, ἀλλ' ἐκὼν προελόμενος τὸ μοναχικὸν περιεθέμην σχῆμα αὐτός. – Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. I, pp. 444-445.

¹⁶²⁹ Τοῖς μέντοι περὶ τὸν πατριάρχην κεκύρωται, μνημονεύεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ἐγγόνου καὶ βασιλέως αὐτὸν, „εὐσεβέστατον καὶ φιλόχριστον βασιλέα Ἀντώνιον μοναχόν. – Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. I, p. 446.

¹⁶³⁰ Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits*, p. 86; Maltezou, Chrysa. “Byzantine 'consuetudines' in Venetian Crete,” *DOP* 49 (1995): 269-280; Foskolou, Vassiliki. “In the Reign of the Emperor of Rome... Donor Inscriptions and Political Ideology in the Time of Michael VIII Paleologos,” *DChAE* 27 (2006): 455-462.

¹⁶³¹ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, pp. 209-250.

When the revolt broke out in Thessaly in 1339, one of the imperial provinces having semi-independent status, Kantakouzenos sent his nephew John Angelos¹⁶³² to arrange negotiations and to persuade the rebel fortresses to surrender. By the end of 1342,¹⁶³³ Kantakouzenos discussed the conditions of subjecting Thessaly to the central authority, which were shaped under the form of a chrysobull issued by the regent-Empress Anna of Savoy and young John V Palaiologos. Even though, the region received many economical benefits, as the document states, the names of Empress Anna of Savoy and her son were to be commemorated everywhere in the lands of Thessaly.¹⁶³⁴

On the other hand, Kantakouzenos himself demanded the commemorations and acclamations from an entire town as signs of certain loyalty or, at least, of recognition of his rights.¹⁶³⁵ During the siege of Serres by Stefan Dušan in 1343,¹⁶³⁶ Kantakouzenos, being bind with the Serbs by mutual oaths promised to citizens to force Stefan Dušan to end the siege, however the byzantine emperor proposes a deal to the inhabitants of the town:

And now [they should care] for themselves and to accept into the city neither [the Emperor Kantakouzenos] himself, nor a guardian and neither a governor, but only, when the priests during the rites acclaim the Empress Anna and the Emperor-son in praises, to honor and to commemorate also him [Kantakouzenos], together with those [two], and by this way release themselves from the siege of evil.

For both, Kantakouzenos and the Serres' community, the commemoration was an issue to bargain in the political game, as the city supported John V, and not Kantakouzenos, but the thread of Serbs seemed greater than an inconvenience of symbolic subjection to the emperor from the opposing party. So, in these negotiations the commemoration would be a symbolic power imposed on the town by the claimant for the throne, while acceptance of the deal from the side of Serres would mean the official recognitions of Kantakouzenos' for power.

However, the order of the commemorated names had symbolic significance as well: the protocol and hierarchy were significant tools displaying the measure of authority assigned to a person.¹⁶³⁷ In the 14th century, this concept was shared not only by the Byzantine officials, but by the rulers of the Commonwealth as well, therefore, it is not surprising that the wording and formulas for mentioning of rulers in Serbian and Bulgarian dedicatory inscriptions mirrored the Byzantine

¹⁶³² *PLP*, no. 204.

¹⁶³³ Hunger, Herbert. "Urkunden-und Memoirtext: Der Chrysobullus Logos des Johannes Kantakouzenos fur Johannes Angelos" *JÖB* 27 (1978): 107-125.

¹⁶³⁴ φημίζεται δὲ καὶ μνημονεύεται ἐν πάσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ τῆς Βλαχίας καὶ ἡ δέσποινα Ἄννα ἡ Παλαιολογίνα καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐνεργουμένην – Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. II, p. 321.

¹⁶³⁵ ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν πρόνοιάν τινα αὐτῶν ποιῆσθαι καὶ μὴτε δέχεσθαι εἰς τὴν πόλιν μήτ' αὐτὸν, μήτε φρουρὰν, μήτε ἡγεμόνα, ἀλλὰ μόνον τῆς βασιλίδος Ἄννης καὶ βασιλέως τοῦ υἱοῦ φημιζομένων, εὐφημίας καὶ αὐτὸν ἅμα ἐκείνοις ἀξιοῦν καὶ μνημονεύειν ἐν τελεταῖς ταῖς ἱεραῖς, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τῶν ἐκ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι κακῶν. - Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. II p. 329.

¹⁶³⁶ For the details of the siege and relevant literature see: *Vizantijski Izvori za Istoriju Naroda Jugoslavije*, Vol. VI, pp. 426-427.

¹⁶³⁷ More about significance of order in public, political and church life of the Later Byzantium, see: Malatras, *Social Structure*, pp. 96-104.

practice. So, after conquest of Macedonia in 1345, Dušan sent his *logothete* Chrysos to Mount Athos,¹⁶³⁸ requesting from the monks an official recognition of the authority of the Serbian ruler, this recognition implied the of Dušan's name into the lists of official commemorations for all monasteries on the Holy Mount. The Athonites agreed, but under condition, that the names of Byzantine emperors will precede that of Dušan. In exchange, in November of 1345, the Serbian ruler issued a General chrysobull for all Athonite monasteries, which guaranteed independence of their administration, safety of possessions and tax exemptions.¹⁶³⁹

This way, both, the references to the royal authorities in the dedicatory inscriptions and in the liturgical commemorations were the expression of political loyalty, alliances in the time of civil wars, and certain piety grounded on the concept of the Symphony of powers. As God's elect an emperor guaranteed not only the status, titles, and economic benefits of church founders, but also the inviolacy of the Orthodoxy on the subjected territories and the universal order itself. The founders felt owning their wealth and influence to the central authority and, therefore, they petitioned to the Lord on the behalf of the emperors as the wellbeing of the ruler(s) assured the prosperity of the state, and, ultimately, the commissioners of the monuments.

5. 2. 6. The Shifting Loyalties: References to the Foreign Rulers in the Dedicatory Inscriptions

After the extensive discussion of the instances when the commissioners preferred to name the byzantine political figures, I would like to turn to, somehow, opposite cases. The epigraphic scholarship several times discussed, using the examples of the 14th- and 15th-century Cretan Greek villagers under the Venetian domination, the reasons why the commissioners referred to an ideal and not a real political power, i.e. to a Byzantine emperors and not the Venetian lords.¹⁶⁴⁰ However, both, Byzantine and Slavic founders, sometimes tended to do the opposite, namely, to substitute the official, but not empowered Byzantine, Serbian, or Bulgarian authorities with the names of more immediate, local lords. This strategy was even more confusing since the language and wording of dedicatory inscriptions followed the established Greek/Slavic patterns (including the denomination of the action of ruling such as ἀφθεντεύοντος, βασιλεύοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας, вѣ дѣни) replacing just the name of a sovereign. So, here I will regard the cases when such substitution was possible or even desirable.

¹⁶³⁸ Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povele*, p.30.

¹⁶³⁹ More detailed about the negotiations between Dušan and the Athonites see: Korać, "Sveta Gora pod srpskom vlašću," esp. pp. 45–58; Soulis, George. "Tsar Dusan and Mount Athos," *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954): 125-139.

¹⁶⁴⁰ Tsougarakis, Dimitrios. "La tradizione culturale bizantina nel primo periodo della dominazione Veneziana a Creta. Alcune osservazioni in merito alla questione dell'identità cultural," in: *Venezia e Creta. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1998): 509-522.

The fact that the mentioning of rulers' names in the dating part of the dedicatory inscriptions was a conscious choice and has to deal with commissioners' identity can be proved by references to the authorities made by inhabitants of the Despotate of Epiros. The Kokkine Ekklesia (Panagia Bellas), built by two pairs of ktetors, *protostrator* Theodore Tzimiskes with his wife Maria and his brother John Tzimiskes with his wife Anna,¹⁶⁴¹ is situated at Vourgareli, on the road between Arta and Trikkala,¹⁶⁴² and dated with 1295/6.¹⁶⁴³ The metric inscription (cat. 15), written on the western wall of the naos has many losses, but, in general, it narrates about the construction of the foundation, its endowment, and the hopes for obtaining a place in the Paradise by the founders. At the very end of the text, the following lines are placed, "...while Nicephoros and Anna, the glorious despotes, the offspring of the Komnenoi family, reigned over the western fortresses with the scepter. Year...". The mentioned ruling couple is Nikephoros I Angelos Doukas Komnenos and his wife Anna, the governors of the Despotate in 1267-1297.¹⁶⁴⁴ Thus, for the Epirote courtier invested with military command, that's exactly what the office of the *protostrator* meant during the late Empire,¹⁶⁴⁵ the highest authority was his sovereign, even though this courtier can be considered a Byzantine, being an Orthodox and Greek-speaking. This attitude toward the authority, which emerged after the first disintegration of the Empire in 1204, witness about the appearance of political consciousness and can partially explain the hostile relations between the Despotate and the Empire in the second half of the 13th century.¹⁶⁴⁶

Greeks who were left in the former Byzantine territories occupied by the Latins used only the words defining the ruling actions (αὐφθεντεύβοντος) and, simultaneously, they applied the titles and offices, common for the western world, but they didn't employ the terms associated with the Byzantine royal power (βασιλεία, βασιλεύς). Thus, in 1330, three members of low nobility, *kyr* Basil, *kyr* Michel Palkotianos and *kyr* Theodore Palkotianos, and a priest Theodore with their families ordered to certain painter George Aras to cover the church of St. Nicholas on Aegina with murals.¹⁶⁴⁷ During this time the island was under rule of don Alfonso Fadrique d'Aragon, the eldest and

¹⁶⁴¹ Kontopanagou, Katerina. "Donor Portraits in the State of Epirus: aesthetics, fashion and trends in the late Byzantine period," in: *The Balkans and the Byzantine World before and after the Captures of Constantinople, 1204 and 1453*, ed. V. Stanković (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2016): 61.

¹⁶⁴² Nicol, *Despotate of Epiros*, p. 241.

¹⁶⁴³ Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits*, p. 54-55; Rhoby, Andreas. *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009): 148-150

¹⁶⁴⁴ About the government under Despotes Nikephoros see: Nicol. *Despotate of Epiros*, pp. 9-62

¹⁶⁴⁵ Bartusis, Mark. *The Late Byzantine Army Arms and Society, 1204-1453* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 250-251.

¹⁶⁴⁶ About military and diplomatic confrontations with Constantinople, see: Nicol, *Despotate of Epiros*, pp. 35-62.

¹⁶⁴⁷ Mitsane, Angelidi [Μητσάνη, Αγγελική]. "Οι τοιχογραφίες του αγίου Νικολάου Μαύρικα στην Αίγινα," *Archaiologikon Deltion* 56 (2001): 365-382; Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia. "Monumental Art in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes under Frankish and Catalan Rule (1212-1388): Latin and Greek Patronage," in: *A Companion to Latin Greece*, ed. N. Tsougarakis and P. Lock (Leiden: Brill, 2014): 408, 413.

illegitimate son of Frederick II, king of Sicily.¹⁶⁴⁸ Therefore, the names of the ruling feudal and his sovereign appeared in the painter's signature (cat. 25) as a reference to the dating and political state of affairs. However the rulers' titles are kept in the Latin form of *don* and *rex*. Similarly, the Venetian rulers on Crete (cat. 24) were simply called “τ(όν) μεγάλον κέ ἀφέ<v>τ(ον) ημ(όν) βενετήκ(ον)” (“our great Venetian masters”), though this inscription is unique in its reference to the Venetians among the Cretan Greeks, and, most likely, appeared in a milieu which fancied the foreign sovereigns and culture, judging on the founders' apparel fashioned on the western manner.¹⁶⁴⁹ Nevertheless, this text acknowledges the Venetian domination and witness about shifting loyalties among the Greek inhabitants of the island and their integration into new system of power.¹⁶⁵⁰ In these two cases, the governing authorities do not receive such epithets as the Palaiologan emperors, so they are not referred to as “pious” (cf. St. Nicholas at Prilep, Palaiomonasterio), “Orthodox and Christ-loving” (ευσεβάστων βασιλέων και φιλοχρίστων – cf. Longanikos) “crowned-by-God” (θεοστέπων – cf. Taxiarches Tsouka), and “our emperors”

The cases of political conformism can only be observed during the times of crisis, and such were the unstable political circumstances, which prevailed in the Balkans during the second half of the 14th and the 15th centuries. Three empires, the Byzantine, Serbian, and Bulgarian, clashed, due to the unwise leadership, strives among the nobility, and external Turkish threat.¹⁶⁵¹ The tendency of substituting the name of a Byzantine emperor with a foreign ruler started among the Greek population¹⁶⁵² of Macedonia and Thessaly, along the borders of the expanding Serbian state as a consequence of King Stefan Dušan's conquests of 1334-1345¹⁶⁵³. So, the loyal subject of the Serbian emperor, despot Jovan Oliver¹⁶⁵⁴, whose career rocketed from the *veliki sluga* to despot¹⁶⁵⁵, placed the name of his lord in both, Slavic and Greek inscriptions commemorating the completion of St. Archangel's monastery in Lesnovo (cat. 31). Although this bilingual strategy seemed unusual, it could be explained easily by the presence of the Greek-speakers in Northern Macedonia. The same reasoning may have been applied to the group of Greek dedicatory inscriptions associated with the

¹⁶⁴⁸ Setton, Kenneth M. “The Catalans in Greece 1311 —1380,” in: *A History of the Crusades. Vol. III: The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*, ed. H. Hazard (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1975): 177-194.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Lymberopoulou, Angeliki. *The Church of the Archangel Michael at Kavalariana: Art and Society on Fourteenth-Century Venetian Dominated Crete* (London: Pindar Press, 2006): 194-217.

¹⁶⁵⁰ For social context of Crete under the Venetian domination (1204–1669) see: Maltezou, Chrysa. “The Historical and Social Context,” in: *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*, ed. D. Holton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 17–47.

¹⁶⁵¹ For the situation in Byzantium see: Nicol, *The Last centuries of Byzantium*; For the Serbian history: Mihaljčić, Rade. *Kraj srpskog carstva* (Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod, 1989); For Bulgaria, see: Tyutyundzhiev, Ivan and Pavlov, Plamen [Тютюнджиев, Иван, Павлов, Пламен]. *Българската държава и османската експанзия 1369–1422* (Veliko Tărnovo: Prva chastna pechatnica, 1992).

¹⁶⁵² Solovjev, Alexander [Соловьев, Александр]. “Греческие архонты в сербском царстве XIV в.” *Byzantinoslavica* 2/2 (1930): 275–287; Ostrogoski, Georgije. *Serska oblast posle Dušanove smrti* (Belgrade: Naučno delo, 1965): 89-105.

¹⁶⁵³ Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Ferjančić, Božidar. *Despots u Vizantiji i južnoslovenskim zemljama* (Belgrade: SANU, 1960): 159-166.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Gabelić, *Manastir Lesnovo*, pp. 33-37.

renovation of the Eleousa Church in Mesembria (1342) by Symeon Synaden(?), a Greek relative of the Bulgarian Emperor Ivan Alexander¹⁶⁵⁶ (cat. 29). In these two cases, the use of Byzantine formulas and language simplified the understanding and recognition of contemporary political realia by the Greek population, as well as disclosed the linguistic preferences of the commissioners.

Nevertheless, the later Greek subjects of the Serbian Empire followed exactly the same scenario; the names of Dušan's successors, his son Uroš and half-brother Simeon, who ruled over Thessaly¹⁶⁵⁷, became the reference points for ecclesiastic patrons from Ohrid, Kastoria and the monasteries of Meteora (cat. 32, 33, 34, 35).¹⁶⁵⁸ The Serbian rulers, being the Orthodox, provided support for the Greek clergy¹⁶⁵⁹ and introduced bi-ethnic social and legal policies¹⁶⁶⁰ on the occupied territories. These factors simplified to a great extent the replacement of the Byzantine rule with the foreign one in the official documents and in such public media as dedicatory inscriptions.

Moreover, for the Greeks that stayed in Macedonia after the fall of the Serbian empire and faced the advancing Ottomans,¹⁶⁶¹ the Serbian rule represented a more desirable state of affairs, which caused the appearance of the anachronistic reference¹⁶⁶² to King Vukašin¹⁶⁶³ (1365-1371) in the dedication of the Elousa Hermitage (1409) on the Prespa Lake (cat. 44) built by Greek monks.

After the disintegration of the Serbian Empire, Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus became the battleground for conflicts between numerous local lords of different ethnic origin (i.e., Greek, Serbian, Bulgarian, Albanian, Italian¹⁶⁶⁴), who claimed territories of different size overlapping on their borders. Facing the lack of the central authority in the general state of turmoil, members of the nobility and church officials chose various strategies, which could prove their legitimacy, express their political affiliation, and place themselves under the protection of higher powers. Some of the members of the nobility, such as *voevoda* Michael Therianos (cat. 46) and *kesar* Novak¹⁶⁶⁵ (cat. 36),

¹⁶⁵⁶ For Symeon and his relations with the Asen royal family, see: Bozhilov, *Фамилията на Асеновци*, pp. 438-439.

¹⁶⁵⁷ On the position of Emperor Uroš, see Ostrogoski, Georgije. *Serska oblast posle Dušanove smrti* (Belgrade: Naučno delo, 1965): 3-19; for Simeon's position – Mihaljčić, Rade. *Kraj srpskog carstva* (Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod, 1989): 17-20; Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, pp. 115-117, 120-122.

¹⁶⁵⁸ An inscription of debated provenance from Trikkala bearing the formula “ἐἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως ἡμῶν Συμεὼν τοῦ Παλαιολόγου” can be added to this category of inscriptions mentioning Serbian rulers, Feissel, Avraméa, “Inscriptions de Thessalie,” no.10, 381-383.

¹⁶⁵⁹ Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia. “Aspects of Patronage in Fourteenth-Century Byzantium Regions under Serbian and Latin Rule,” in: *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία κατά τον ΙΔ΄ αιώνα / Byzantium and Serbia in the 14th century*, eds. E. Papadopoulou, D. Dialeti (Athens: Instituto Byzantinon Ereunon, 1996): 363-379; Soulis, George. “Tsar Stephan Dušan and Mount Athos,” *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954): 125-139.

¹⁶⁶⁰ Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, pp. 60-85.

¹⁶⁶¹ Vakalopoulos, Apostolos [Βακαλόπουλος, Απόστολος]. *Ιστορία της Μακεδονίας (1354-1833)* (Thessaloniki: Ekdosis Vantias, 1988): 40-55.

¹⁶⁶² Paissidou, “The hermitage of Panagia Eleousa,” pp. 304-305.

¹⁶⁶³ On Vukašin as a king and co-ruler of Emperor Uroš, see: Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, pp. 96-97; Ostrogoski, Georgije. *Serska oblast posle Dušanove smrti* (Belgrade: Naučno delo, 1965): 8-12; Mihaljčić, Rade. *Kraj srpskog carstva* (Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod, 1989): 94-147.

¹⁶⁶⁴ Mihaljčić, Rade. *Kraj srpskog carstva* (Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod, 1989); Šuica, Marko. *Nemirno doba srpskog srednjeg veka: vlastela srpskih oblasnih gospodara* (Belgrade: Službeni list, 2000).

¹⁶⁶⁵ Ferjančić, Božidar. “Sevastokratori i kesari u srpskom carstvu,” *Zbornik Filozofskog Fakulteta* 11/1 (1970): 268.

incorporated into their dedications references to a more highly ranking aristocrat, whether Latin as Carlo Tocco (cat. 46) or Serbian as King Vukašin (cat. 36), who invested these noblemen with titles and offices, and, thus, guaranteed their positions, dominions, and wealth in exchange for loyalty. In churches at Mali Grad and Monodendri, foundations of *kesar* Novak and *voevoda* Michael Therianos respectively, the idea of appointing to power was very important for the commissioners, since they preferred to be depicted in their court-dresses, accompanied by inscriptions underlying their titles, surrounded by family members in hierarchical order, and invested with power by the blessing hand of God¹⁶⁶⁶. Therefore, the reference to the higher authorities indicated those who invested them with the power and titles and whom these provincial lords supported in course of the chaotic local wars and minor military conflicts.

At one instance (cat. 40), a ruler having the title of despot desired to imitate an emperor by using the corresponding epithets applied to him in a dedicatory text. In the dedicatory inscription which nowadays is preserved as three pieces of a marble plaque in the Museum of Ioannina,¹⁶⁶⁷ Despot¹⁶⁶⁸ Thomas Preljubović recorded his title in that way which allowed him to represent himself as a pious renewer of the cathedral,¹⁶⁶⁹ and, simultaneously, as a fearsome defender of his city from the Albanian tribes, the Albanians-Slayer (Ἀλβανητ[οκτόνος]). This title being also used by the contemporary Chronicles of Ioannina¹⁶⁷⁰ seems to be fashioned upon a similar appellation used in the relation to Basil II the Bulgar-Slayer (Βουλγαροκτόνος) whose body was rediscovered in the 13th century by Michael VIII Palaiologos,¹⁶⁷¹ and whose fame reappeared as a *topos* in the Palaiologan time.¹⁶⁷²

A possible compromise between the loyalty to the local and central authorities is the indication of these both powers. This strategy was adopted by Demetrios Xenos who, in the external inscription

¹⁶⁶⁶ Bogevska, *Les églises rupestres*, 357-462 with prior bibliography; for Michael Pherianos, see Acheimastou-Rotamianou, Myrtali [Αχειμάστου-Ποταμιάνου, Μυρτάλη]. “Η κτητορική παράσταση της μονής Αγίας Παρασκευής στο Μονοδέντρι της Ηπείρου (1414),” *DChAE* 24 (2003): 231-242.

¹⁶⁶⁷ The inscription was reconstructed and commented by Vranousis, Leandros [Βρανούσης, Λέανδρος]. *Ιστορικά και τοπογραφικά του μεσαιωνικού κάστρου των Ιωαννίνων* (Athens: Ekdoseis Etaireia Epeirotikon Meleton, 1968): 67-69.

¹⁶⁶⁸ Thomas Preljubović might have received his title from Serbian Emperor of Thessaly Simeon Siniša Palaiologos (Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp. 139-156 (esp. p. 143)) and then, in 1382, could get its confirmation from the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (for the embassy of 1382 headed by Gabriel, the abbot of Archimandreion, to Manuel II Palaiologos to Thessaloniki, see: Lampros, Spyridon [Σπυρίδων Λάμπρος]. “Ἡπειρωτικά: Το ἐν Ἰωαννίνοις Ἀρχιμανδρείον καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῷ κώδικες,” *Neos Ellinomnimon* 10 (1913): 398-418). According Božidar Ferjančić (*Despoti u Vizantiji i južnoslovenskim zemljama* (Belgrade: SANU, 1960): 80-81), the usage of the despot title by Thomas should be dated between 1382 and 1384, as the ruler of Ioannina got the title only in 1382.

¹⁶⁶⁹ Most probably, the plaque was inserted above the entrance to the narthex of the cathedral of Archangel Michael in the acropolis of Ioannina was erected by Michael I Komnenos Doukas (1205-1215), see: Vranousis, Leandros [Βρανούσης, Λέανδρος]. *Ιστορικά και τοπογραφικά του μεσαιωνικού κάστρου των Ιωαννίνων* (Athens: Ekdoseis Etaireia Epeirotikon Meleton, 1968): 27-37, 67.

¹⁶⁷⁰ Vranousis, Leandros [Βρανούσης, Λέανδρος]. “Χρονικὸν τῶν Ἰωαννίνων κατ’ἀνέκδοτον δημόδη ἐπιτομήν,” *Epeteris tou Mesaionikou Archeiou* 12 (1962): 88-89 (§20); For the commentaries concerning the battle with the Albanians in Ioannina in 1379 which gave the reasons to the Chronicler to call Thomas with this epithet, see: Vranousis, Leandros [Βρανούσης, Λέανδρος]. *Ιστορικά και τοπογραφικά του μεσαιωνικού κάστρου των Ιωαννίνων* (Athens: Ekdoseis Etaireia Epeirotikon Meleton, 1968): 17-25.

¹⁶⁷¹ Georges Pachymeres. *Relations historiques*, Vol I, pp. 174-175.

¹⁶⁷² Stephenson, Paul. *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 94-96.

of his Chrysopege Church (cat. 17), mentioned Sir Palamede Gattilusio¹⁶⁷³ as the governor of the city of Ainos, whereas, in the dedicatory interior inscription, he reported about “the rule of our most devout and friends of Christ, emperors, Manuel and Helen” and the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Joseph.¹⁶⁷⁴ However, such a compromise could work only in the situations when the local authorities recognized, at least nominally, the supremacy of the Byzantine Emperor, and tried to establish personal ties with him, as it was the case of sir Palamede, who insisted on his Palaiologos ancestry.¹⁶⁷⁵ In a similar way, the “joint venture” of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, the King of Jerusalem Amaury (Amalric) I, and the Latin Bishop Raul in the Nativity Church in Bethlehem (1169) followed the same principle of collaboration in the patronage of a holy place as a reflection of a political alliance.¹⁶⁷⁶

Church officials also relied on the financial support and military protection provided by the regional lords. Therefore, the dedicatory inscriptions of foundations erected or restored by priests or bishops (cat. 10-13) bore names of secular local authorities, regardless of their ethnic origins (Albanian – cat. 38-39, nd cat. 41; cat. 42 – questionable, Albanian or Latin) and obscure titles. The traditional for this region, Serbian patrons were replaced by the Albanian ones, as the Serbian noblemen were killed in the Maritsa Battle (1371). According to the Colophon of Isaja the Monk from Hilandar, the effect of the Maritsa defeat for devastating for the Christian world: the Turkish troops filled the Balkans, killed the Christians, took booty and captives and filled the local inhabitants with fear:

And after the killing of this brave man, the despot Uglješa the Ismaelites rushed forward and flew through the entire land like birds in the air. And they killed some of the Christians with the sword, and took others into slavery, and for those who were left, their miserable death came soon. Those who avoided that death were killed by hunger. For such a famine was everywhere, as it would not be seen from the creation of the world.... The land was left desolated of all goods, all, humans, cattle, and other fruits. There was no prince, nor leader, nor governor among the people, neither one to deliver them or to save them, but everybody was filled with the fear of the Ismaelites....¹⁶⁷⁷

¹⁶⁷³ Basso, Enrico. “Gattilusio, Palamede,” in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, ed. Alberto Ghisalberti (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960): vol. 52, pp. 623-626 (with further bibliography).

¹⁶⁷⁴ Asdracha, *Thrace Orientale*, pp. 267-268.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Wright, Christopher. *The Gattilusio Lordships and the Aegean World 1355-1462* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2014): 114-128.

¹⁶⁷⁶ Bacci, Michele. *The Mystic Cave: A History of the Nativity Church at Bethlehem* (Rome-Bрно: Convivium-Viella, 2017): esp. pp. 136-150, 184-197.

¹⁶⁷⁷ По убіеніи бѣ мѡужа сего храбраго деспота Оуглеша просипаша сѧ Изманатане, и полетѣша по всен земли, іакѡже птица по въздоуху, и ѡвѣх оубо ѡт христіанъ мечем закалахоу, ѡвѣх же въ заплѣненіе ѡтѡждахоу, а ѡставшихъ смръть безгодна пожже. ѡт смърти же ѡставшаа гладомъ погоублени бывшее. Таковыи бо глад бысть по всѣхъ странахъ, іаковыи же не бысть по всѣхъ странахъ ѡт сложеніа мироу... ѡста земля всѣхъ добрыхъ поуста: и людемъ и скотѣмъ и иныхъ плодѡвъ. Не бѣ бо князѧ, ни вѡжда, ни наставника въ людехъ ни избавляюща ни спасающаго, но всѧ исполниша сѧ страха изманатскаго... В то бо время и сервскихъ господъ седми, мнѡю, рѡдъ конецъ пріятъ... see: Stojanović, *Zapisi i natpisi*, Vol. III, pp. 41-44 (here quoted p. 43).

Thus, the outcome of the Maritsa battle (1371)¹⁶⁷⁸ drastically changed the political and ethnic landscape of Macedonia and Epirus. The provinces were divided into small landholdings of minor lords and faced constant raids of Albanian tribes.¹⁶⁷⁹ Using this vacuum of power when “no prince, nor leader, nor governor” was left, some of the Albanian leaders established their rule over important cities, such as the great *župan* Andrea Gropa in Ohrid (cat. 38)¹⁶⁸⁰, Charles Thopia in Kroja (cat. 39),¹⁶⁸¹ the Amirales brothers¹⁶⁸² in Korytsa/ *Episkopi* (cat. 42) or the Mouzaki family in Kastoria (cat. 41).¹⁶⁸³ However, these leaders of the Albanian clans such as the Mouzaki and Amiralades followed the same strategy of the artistic patronage. Namely, they commissioned the church murals to local ateliers and, thus, ensured the appearance of their names and titles in the pious context. The four foundations in Ohrid, Elbasan, Kastoria, and Borje were built after the battle of Maritza (1371) and their commissioners were local clerics who looked for support from the new Albanian nobles. Often, these newcomers were not distinguished by titles and, therefore, simply called themselves “*πανευγενεστάτους*” (cat. 41) or “*πρωτος*” (cat. 39), but they provided sufficient funds for churches and created the appearance of order and stability. Even in cases when these military leaders held some titles like *veliki župan* (cat. 38), or sebastokrator and despot (cat. 42), the origin of the title and the issuing authority were doubtful. But these clan leaders represented what the notion of authority should be most closely.¹⁶⁸⁴

Finally, in the 15th century, on the territories conquered by the Ottomans, some members of Orthodox nobility turned into Turkish mounted troops *сипахи* (*sipahi*)¹⁶⁸⁵ or became community leaders *кметове* (*kmetove*)¹⁶⁸⁶, preserving thus their status, possessions, and religion. Probably, some of them could afford to restore ruined ecclesiastic foundations, as it was the case of Dragalevtsi Monastery (cat. 52), while others built family churches after becoming monks (cat. 45 and 53). In any case, with a natural change of the political and social circumstances, these Orthodox people recognized the Ottoman rulers and officials as a legal supreme power investing its subjects with their

¹⁶⁷⁸ About consequence of the Maritza battle, see: Mihaljčić, Rade. *Kraj srpskog carstva* (Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod, 1989): 183-192.

¹⁶⁷⁹ Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, pp. 123-133.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Mihaljčić, Rade. *Kraj srpskog carstva* (Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod, 1989): 197-198.

¹⁶⁸¹ Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, pp. 143-145.

¹⁶⁸² The Amiralades, mentioned in the dedicatory inscription of Mborje can be identified with certain *kaballarios* Myrsioannes (Messir Ioannes) Amirales, a noble citizen of Ioannina, who was initially imprisoned by Toma Preljubović (after 1367), but, later, reinstalled in his position, see: Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp. 143-144; Đurić, Vojislav. “Mali Grad – Sv. Atanasije u Kosturu – Borje,” *Zograf* 6 (1975): p. 42 note 20.

¹⁶⁸³ Drakopoulou, *Η πόλη της Καστοριάς*, pp. 64-66.

¹⁶⁸⁴ About consequence of the Maritza battle, see: Mihaljčić, Rade. *Kraj srpskog carstva* (Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod, 1989): 183-192.

¹⁶⁸⁵ Kiel, Machiel. *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period: A Sketch of the Economic, Juridical and Artistic Preconditions of Bulgarian Post-Byzantine Art and its place in the development of the art of the Christian Balkans, 1360/70-1700: a new interpretation* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1985): 66-86.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Such as kmet Konstantin who renewed Zrze Monastery, see: Stojanović, *Zapisi i natpisi*, Vol. I, p. 63.

offices and wealth. Consequently, the names of sultans (cat. 45, 52-53) took the place once occupied by the Christian emperors in the conservative formula of dedicatory inscriptions.¹⁶⁸⁷

5.2.7. Preliminary conclusions

The references to authority in the dedicatory inscriptions considered in this subchapter demonstrate diverse reasons that drove the founders toward substitution of the name of Byzantine or Slavic emperors with references to foreign rulers, local lords, and Ottoman authorities. These reasons can vary from political and economic opportunism to the expression of true loyalty. However, as a conclusion, I would like to answer a question concerning the narrative pattern employed by the commissioners, namely, why these inscriptions were written in Greek and why they used the precise formulas indicating the imperial power.

During the period under scrutiny, the northern Greek regions witnessed a significant ethnic diversity as the region became a place of cohabitation of the Greeks, Serbs, Albanians, Italians, and of the Turks, who raided the Balkans¹⁶⁸⁸. So, as it seems, Greek became a *lingua franca* for all these peoples, at least as long as they kept it as the main administrative language,¹⁶⁸⁹ and used it in court and for such public media as dedicatory inscriptions.

The Byzantine formulas denoting the authority were easily recognized by readers and, thus, brought clarification of a person's status. At the same time, the memory of the once-great Empire of Romans drove some new rulers to contest the imperial title, while others tried to imitate it. Therefore, the noble and ecclesiastic founders could use the comparisons with Byzantine emperors for flattering new authorities or paying homage to their policies. But for the commissioners, the presence of a superior power meant the guarantee of their own legitimacy and status. Moreover, for the church authorities, a ruler was important not only as a provider of economic benefits, but also as a proof of God's benevolence, and the name of a sovereign was an integral part of any orthodox liturgy, which included prayers on behalf of the ruler.¹⁶⁹⁰ And for the Orthodox Church the need in existence an orthodox ruler was so great, that in a Cypriot Euchologion of the late 15th century (Kition, no. 18, fols. 26r, 60v)¹⁶⁹¹ a line commemorating an unnamed Palaiologos as a ruler was included (ἐπὶ τῆς

¹⁶⁸⁷ Though, all examples regarded here are Slavic, similar occurrences happened among the Greek nobility of Asia Minor, see: Hasluck, Frederick W. *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford: Octagon Books, 1929): 381; Laurent, Vitalien. "Note additionnelle: L'inscription de l'église Saint-Georges de Bélisérana," *REB* 26 (1968): 367-371.

¹⁶⁸⁸ Byzantines often used the help of Turkish armies (Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. III, pp. 246-249, 322-328). See also Novaković, Stojan. *Srbi i Turci XIV i XV veka* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1960).

¹⁶⁸⁹ Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povele*; Lampros, Spyridon [Σπυρίδων Λάμπρος]. "Ἡ ἐλληνικὴ ὡς ἐπίσημος γλῶσσα τῶν σουλτάνων," *Neos Ellinomnimon* 5 (1908): 40-78.

¹⁶⁹⁰ Skaballanovich, Michail [Скабалланович, Михаил]. *Толковѣй Типикон*, Vol. II (Moscow: Tipografija Korchak-Novitskogo, 1910): 98-105. See also commemorations of the Palaiologan rulers (Υπέρ των ευσεβεστάτων θεοσέπτων και φιλοχρίστων βασιλέων ημών Ανδρονίκου και Μιχαήλ του Κυρίου δεηθώμεν) included into the contemporary Euchologia, see: *PG*, Vol. 157 col. 327.

¹⁶⁹¹ Papaioannos, Charilaos [Παπαϊωάννος, Χαρίλαος]. «Τακτικὸν» ἤτοι ἀρχιερατικὸν εὐχολόγιον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς Καρπασέων καὶ Ἀμμοχώστου ἐκ χειρογράφου τῆς Τεράς Μητροπόλεως Κιτίου (Larnaka, 1915): 18-19, 38.

βασιλείας τοῦ εὐσεβέστατου, ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ Παλαιολόγου), notwithstanding that neither such a ruler nor an orthodox empire had been existing at that time. Thus, substituting the names of Byzantine, Serbian, or Bulgarian emperors with the names of local, non-Byzantine, rulers was the way of legitimizing new political and social order in the conservative wording of the medieval Balkan epigraphy.

The naming of the imperial authority also became a tool of self-representation and one of exclusive rights reserved only for the founders in comparison with the donors and/or sponsors. By including/excluding the rulers' names and organizing their order a founder could display his/her political affiliations in course of troubled last centuries of Byzantium. The terms of kinship in the relation to the ruling dynasty could raise the founder's social status whereas the juxtaposition of a title/office held by the patron with the name of an emperor or local governor would demonstrate who endowed the noblemen with that dignity. The presence of the imperial commemoration in both, temporal media (liturgical readings) and constant form (inscriptions), would create a sense of political coherence and interdependency between the authorities and the local communities: as much as the imperial government facilitated the income of the founder and, ultimately, the construction of the foundation, the prayers offered by local communities to God facilitated His benevolence toward the emperor and helped to protect the ruling family. Finally, the appearance of emperors' names in the dating formula, associated with the historical memory and sense of time, would point out, for the readers, to the universal harmony and order administered by God's will and providence through the appointment of the royal elect.

5.3. Conclusion

The present studies investigating the strategies of the church dedications and references to the political authorities demonstrated that the founders used the ecclesiastic institution under their patronage for the shaping and promotion of their public images. The act of establishment of a foundation itself was regarded, among others, as an instrument of displaying social status and as such it reflected the identity features of the founders, his/her/their religious belief, personal hopes, political affiliations, economic might, family position, and social achievements. In this sense, the ktetorial rights themselves could be considered as a part of the social status construct as it is explained by the social sciences, i.e. "a position in a social system," with its distinctive set of "designated rights and obligations". In accordance with the concept of role-set of the status, each person is involved in

various groups of social relationships as a bearer of a particular social status and, as a consequence, in the interaction processes, this bearer of a particular social status plays different associated roles.¹⁶⁹²

In our cases, for example, a founder displays one behavioural strategy as a leader of community, another – in his/her relations with the brotherhood or clergy, and a third one – asking for tax exemptions for his/her foundation from authorities. In every this role, a founder exercises certain social influence and, in turn, is perceived in a certain way by his/her audience. And as the analyzed material shows, in course of many of these interactions a patron wanted to display his highest achievements in order to boost his/her authority in a community: founders preferred to be depicted wearing the luxurious garments and labelled as invested with high offices and dignities; they mentioned the benevolence of the imperial powers offered to them; they publicly claimed the ownership of miraculous images, and imitated the famous Constantinopolitan holy places and topography.

All these activities can be regarded as a display of high social status, and indeed, in course of structurally constrained social interactions the higher status indicates that its bearer disposes greater resource characteristics (wealth, political power) and more socially worthy and/or competent than other members of the community sharing this status-value.¹⁶⁹³ However, this social worthiness can be interpreted not only in the literal economic meaning as it once was understood by A. Cutler who argued that it was social ambitions as well as “ostentation, vanity, and economy”¹⁶⁹⁴ which encouraged the practices of patronage. Perhaps, the social worthiness can be also seen as superior personal qualities, such as piety, philanthropy, and zeal for faith.¹⁶⁹⁵ Exactly this worthiness was reflected in the public and spiritual honours provided by the endowed communities for the founders, i.e. daily liturgical commemorations of ktetors and services on their burials.

Moreover, the high status as a number of superior personal qualities could guarantee a more favorable attitude of the heavenly powers toward the founder: as a pious and noble person a ktetor could be depicted within the dialogue relations with the divinity or saints (in mural paintings, metal works, textiles, or miniatures) or to be prayed by the literate members of community through reading the donors’ inscriptions of various types.

¹⁶⁹² Merton, Robert King. *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957): 41, 110; see also: Murray Webster Jr. and Stuart Hysom. “Creating Status Characteristics,” *American Sociological Review* 63 (1998): 351-378.

¹⁶⁹³ About the interdependency of status and social influence, see: Ridgeway, Cecilia L. and James W. Balkwell. “Group Processes and the Diffusion of Status-Value Beliefs,” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 60 (1997):14-31; Ridgeway, Cecilia L. “The emergence of status beliefs: From structural inequality to legitimizing ideology,” in: *The Psychology of Legitimacy: Emerging Perspectives on Ideology, Justice, and Intergroup Relations*, eds. J. T. Jost, B. Major (New York, NY, US: Cambridge University Press, 2001): 257-277.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Cutler, Anthony. “Art in Byzantine Society: Motive Forces of Byzantine Patronage,” *JÖB* 31 (1994): 759-787 (here pp. 780, 787).

¹⁶⁹⁵ For importance of philanthropy in the creation of a social status, see: Silber, Ilana. “Modern Philanthropy: Reassessing the Viability of a Maussian Perspective,” in: *Marcel Mauss: A centenary tribute*, eds. W. James, N. J. Allen (New York: Berghahn Books, 1998): 134-150.

This way, as it seems to me, the deeds of founders stay on the intersection of such social concepts as salvation through good deeds, high status as an indicator of extraordinary personal qualities, and collective memory. As the good birth was considered a distinguishing personal quality¹⁶⁹⁶ than the denomination of dignities and offices as well as the surnames and the kinship with emperors in the donors' inscriptions can be viewed as an 'explanation' for piety, philanthropy, and, ultimately, for the acceptance by the celestial powers. On the other hand, the underlining of the founders' role in the construction of a church institution gave reasons to the community to commemorate his/her achievements. But the most important function of the church foundation is an ability to translate the social status, usually displayed in the face-to-face communication, in the absence of the founder. So, the presence of good deeds performed by a noble person can be remembered even posthumously (through the portraits, inscriptions, commemorations etc.), thus, the making of a foundation allowed to leave an imprint in the collective memory of the community. This way, the ktetorial activities can be regarded as both, meeting the social norms and conventions¹⁶⁹⁷ and expressing founders' selves.¹⁶⁹⁸ And in this sense, the naming the ruling authorities were the actions meeting the public expectations and proving the proximity of a founder to the power, whereas the choice of the church dedication was an expression of personal beliefs and private devotion.

¹⁶⁹⁶ For the role of personal qualities and good birth (eugeneia) in the status of a Byzantine person, see: Kazhdan, Alexander, Epstein, Ann Wharton. *Change in Byzantine culture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1985): 99-116; Cheynet, Jean-Claude. "The Aristocracy in Byzantine Society: The Byzantine aristocracy, 8th-13th centuries," in: Id. *The Byzantine Aristocracy and its Military Function* (Ashgate: Variorum, 2006); Cheynet, Jean-Claude. *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963-1210)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1990): 249-253, 258; Magdalino, Paul. "Byzantine Snobbery," in: *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. M. Angold (Oxford: BAR, 1984): 58-78 (esp. p. 64).

¹⁶⁹⁷ Cutler, Anthony. "Art in Byzantine Society: Motive Forces of Byzantine Patronage," *JÖB* 31 (1994): 759-787.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, pp. 1-15.

Appendix VII

Catalogue of the Inscriptions

1. The Church of Paraskeue near Asenovgrad (Bulgaria), 1262

...ἐπὶ βασιλείας μεγάλου βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Ῥομέων Μιχαήλ τοῦ Παλεολόγου [διὰ συ]νδρομῆς καὶ κόπου Μιχαήλ ἱερέως μετὰ τοῦ τέκνου αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔτους ςψο' (ι)ν(δικτιῶνος) ε'[...]ΑΤΕ[...] τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θ(ε)οῦ Γεοργίου τοῦ Σπάνου καὶ ἀδελφοῦ [...]

...during the rule of the great Emperor and autocrat of the Romans Michael Palaiologos, by expenses and efforts of priest Michael with his children in the year 6770, indiction 5.... of the servant of god George Spanos and brother...

Text: Beševliev, Veselin. *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964): 150, no. 218.

2. Sts. Theodores at Kahiona (Mani, Greece), 1263-1271

ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν εὐσεβε[στ]ατων βασιλέω(ν) Μιχ(αήλ) κ(αὶ) Θεωδόρας τῶν Παλε[ο]λόγω(ν) καὶ ἡγουμενέβοντος τοῦ περιποθίτου αὐταδέ(λφου) αὐ[τῶν] ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῆς Πολλυπονίσου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ σεβαστ[ο]κράτ(ορος) τοῦ Παλεωλόγου δι' ἐ[ξ]ό[δ]ου δὲ καὶ κόπου τοῦ θεωφιλεστά[του] Γεωργίου ἀρχιερέως τοῦ Βεληγοστι[ς] σὺν τῷ ευ(γενεστάτῳ) συγκέλλῳ....

...during the reign of our pious emperors Michael and Theodora the Palaiologoi and when their very-beloved brother *sebastokrator* Constantine Palaiologos governed the lands of Peloponnesus, by expenses and efforts of god-loving George, bishop of Beligoste and noble synkellos....

Text: Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, pp. 66-67.

3. St. Nicholas' Church at Manastir (FYROM), 1270/1

...ἀνιστορίθι δὲ ἐν ἔτι ςΨΟΘ ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ΙΔ [ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλ]είας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου μεγ(ά)λου βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτωρος Ῥωμαίων Δοῦκα Ἀγγέλου Κομνηνοῦ Μιχαήλ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου καὶ Νέου Κωνσταντίνου

...and it was painted in the year 6779, indiction 14, during the reign of the pious and great emperor and autocrat of the Romans Michael Doukas Angelos Komnenos Palaiologos and New Constantine.

Text: *Natpisi istorijske sadržine*, pp. 59-60.

4. St. George at Dourianika (Kythera, Greece), 1275

[δ]ιὰ συνεργείας τε κόπου καὶ μόχθου Ἰωαννικίου [...] τα[π]υνώ [] εἰς ἄφεσιν καὶ λύσιν πολ[λῶν] σφαλμάτω[ν] βα[σι]λεύοντος εἰς Ῥώμ(ην) ἀνακτος [ca. 25] [καὶ ἐπὶ μη]τροπολίτου Μονεμβασίας ὑπερτίμου ἐξά[ρχ]ου + πάσις τε Πέλοπος νήσου Γρηγό[ρ]ιος ἔτους ,ΖΨΠΓ

by the efforts and toils and zeal of Ioanikios... humble, for the remission and forgiveness of his many sins. While in Rome there was the reign of emperor..... and under the metropolitan of Monembasia, the most revered exarchos of all Pelopos island, Gregory in the year 6783.

Text: Chatzidakis, Manolis and Bitha, Ioanna. *Corpus of the Byzantine Wall-Paintings of Greece. The Island of Kythera* (Athens: Research Centre for Byzantine and Postbyzantine Art, 2003): 140-141.

5. The Carved Inscription from an Unknown Church (Thessaloniki, Greece), 1278-1279 (?)

]ΟΝ ἀριστευμάτων	of the deeds of prowess
]Σ ἔργα γεννάΛΑ	deeds of offspring(?)
ἐπὶ το]ῦ κανικλείου	epi tou kanikleiou
Μ]ιχαήλ στεφηφόρου	[under...] crown-wearing Michael
Κωνστ]αντίνου τοῦ νέου	New Constantine
ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) Ζ' ἔτους 'σψπ[ζ]	Indiction 7, the year 6787 [1278/9]

Text: Spieser, "Les inscriptions de Thessalonique," p. 167, no. 18.

6. The Holy Trinity Church at Melnik (Bulgaria), 1286

... διὰ συνδρομῆς κ(αὶ) ἐξόδου Ἰωαννικίου ἱερομονάχου ἐπὶ τῇ ποληχρονίῳ χαρᾶ τοῦ κραταιοῦ κ(αὶ) ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου με(γάλου) βασιλέως Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Παλεολόγου κ(αὶ) Εἰρήνης τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης αὐγούστης τοῦ ἔτους ,ςψφε.

...by the efforts and expenses of Ioannikios the hieromonk, under long-lasting joy [of the reign] of mighty and holy our ruler, great emperor Andronikos Palaiologos and Eirene, themost pious augusta, the year 6795

Text: *Natpisi istorijske sadržine*, p. 111.

7. The Omorphokklesia near Kastoria (Greece), 1286/7

... δι' ἐξόδου καὶ κόπου τῶν πανευγενεστάτων Νετζάδων καὶ ἀνταδέλφων τοῦ τε κυ(ροῦ) Νίκηφόρου καὶ κυ(ροῦ) Ἰω(άνν)ου καὶ κυ(ροῦ) Ἀνδρόνικου ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλεί(ας) τῶν Θεοστέπτων μεγάλων βασιλέων Ἀνδρονίκ(ου) καὶ Εἰρήνης καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτ(ών) Μιχαήλ καὶ Μαρίας τῶν Παλαιολόγων, ἐπὶ ἔτους ,ΖΨΕ

...by expenses and toils of the most noble brothers Netzades, kyr Nikephoros, John and Andronikos, under the reign of crowned by God great emperors, Andronikos and Eirine and his son Michael and Maria, the Paiologoi, in the year 6795

Text: Nicol, David M. "Two churches of western Macedonia," *BZ* 49 (1956): 98-99; Drakopoulou, *Η πόλη της Καστοριάς*, pp. 85-87. Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, pp. 48-49, no. 48.

8. The Pantanassa Church at Melnik (Bulgaria), 1288/9

...διὰ συνδρομῆς καὶ ἐξόδου κηροῦ (μον)αχ(οῦ) Μακαρίου τοῦ Πο[....] ἐπὶ τῇ πο]ληχρονοίῳ χαρᾷ τοῦ κρατεοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου μεγάλ(ου) βασιλέος Ἀνδρονίκου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Κομνηνοῦ τοῦ Παλεολόγου καὶ Ἡρ<ή>νης τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης αὐγούστης· ἔτους ,ςψρς' ἐντικτιῶνος {ινδικτιῶνος} β'.

...by the efforts and expenses of kyr Makarios Po.... under long-lasting joy [of the reign] of mighty and holy our ruler, great-emperor and autocrat Andronikos Komnenos Palaiologos and Eirene, themost pious augusta, the year 6796

Text: *Natpisi istorijske sadržine*, pp. 112-113.

9. St. Theodore Omorphekklesia church at Aegina (Greece), 1289

.....βασηλεβοντο(ς) κυρου(ου) του Α<v>τρωνικ(ου) εν Κ(υρί)ω Θ(ε)ω Χρ(ιστῶ) π[ιστοῦ] βασιλ(έως) +Αθανα(συ)ου πα[τριαρχου] ΖΨΖ (ι)νδ(ικτιῶνος) Β

... when lord emperor, faithful to Lord God Christ, Andronikos was ruling + Athanasios was the patriarch 6797, indiction 2nd

Text: Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory inscription and donor portraits*, pp. 85-86

10. St. George Vardas at Apolakkia (Rhodes, Greece), 1289/90

[.....ἐπὶ τῆς] βασιλ(είας) κυροῦ Ἀνδ[ρωνίκου] το[ῦ] Παλαιολόγου.....] ΖΨΗ ἔτ(ους) ἰν(δικτιῶνος) [Γ]

.... Under the reign kyr Andronikos Palaiologos... the year 6798, indiction 3.

Text: Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory inscription*, p. 94

11. Metropolis church at Mystra (Greece), 1291/92

Τὸν θεῖον οἶκον τόνδε καιουρῶν πόθῳ // Κρήτης πρόεδρος εὐτελὴς Νικηφόρος // ἔχων
ἀδελφὸν Ἀαρὼν σθνεργάτην. // σκηπτροκρατοῦντος Αὐσόνων Ἀνδρονίκου //
Παλαιολόγου σὺν Μιχαήλ υἱί...

The proedros (*bishop*) of Crete, the humble Nikephoros,¹⁶⁹⁹ who had his brother Aaron as a helper, renewed this divine house, while Andronikos Palaiologos with his son Michael ruling over the Ausonians...

Text and Translations: Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, p. 78; Rhoby, Andreas. *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014): 293-296; Feissel, Philippidis-Braat, "Inscriptions du Péloponnèse," no. 60, pp. 319-320.

12. The Panagia Chrysaphytissa church at Chrysapha (Greece), 1289/90

β]σιλέ(ς) Ἀ(ν)δρονίκ(ου) Κωμν(η)νοῦ του Παλ[αί]ολ(όγου) ετ(ους) ϚΨ[4η] γ
(ἰνδικτιῶνος)

...(under the reign of) Emperor Andronikos Palaiologos in the year 67[97], indiction 3.

Text and Translations: Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, p. 78, no. 25; Rhoby, Andreas. *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009): 217-220, no. 127 (without this line); Feissel, Philippidis-Braat, "Inscriptions du Péloponnèse," no. 60, pp. 319-320.

13. The Cave Church of the Dormition Sinje (Albania), 1290/1

ἐπισκοπέβοντος τῆς ἀγιότατης επισκοπῆς Γλαβένιτζης κῦρ Ἰωαννίκιου
.....τοῦ..... Εἰρήνης... λαβλι...μα.... κῦρ Νεοφίτου ἱερομονάχου ι... εὐσεβεστάτου
βασιλέος Ἀνδρο[νί]κ[ου] σεβ..... ἔτους ϚΩ.

During the prelacy of kyr Ioanηskios, [Bishop] of the All-Holy Diocese of Glavenitsa Eirene Ky. Neoplrytos the priest-monk most pious king Andronikos ...year 1291/ 2].

Text and Translation: Giakoumis, Konstantin and Christidou, Anna. "Image and Power in the Age of Andronikos II & III Palaiologos: Imperial Patronage in the Western Provinces of Via Egnatia," p. 83.

¹⁶⁹⁹ Identified as Nikephoros Machopoulos Talbot, Alice-Mary. "Moschopoulos, Nikephoros," *ODB* II, pp. 1414-1415., *PLP*, no. 19376.

14. The Virgin Peribleptos Church at Ohrid (FYROM), 1294/5.

...διὰ συνδρομῆς κ(αὶ) ἐξόδου κυροῦ Προγόνου τοῦ Σγούρου τοῦ μεγάλου. ἑταιρειάρχου κ(αὶ) τῆς συζύγου αὐτοῦ κυρᾶς Εὐδοκίας κ(αὶ) γαμβροῦ τοῦ κρατ(αίου) κ(αὶ) ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκ(ράτορος) κ(αὶ) βασιλέως. ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέο(ς) κ(αὶ) αὐτοκράτωρος Ρωμαίων Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου καὶ Εἰρήνης τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης αὐγούστης. ἀρχιερατεύοντος δὲ Μακαρίου τοῦ παναγιωτ(ά)τ(ου) ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς Πρώτης Ἰουστινιανῆς κ(αὶ) πάσης Βουλγαρίας ἐπὶ ἔτους ,CΩΓ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) Β.

... by efforts and expenses of kyr Progonos Sgouros, the megas etaireiarches and son in law of the holy and mighty our autocrat and emperor (Michael VIII) and his wife kyra Eudokia under the reign of the pious emperor and autocrat of the Romans Andronikos (II) Palaiologos and Eirene, the most pious augusta. The archbishop was Macarios, the most holy archbishop of Prima Justiniana and entire Bulgaria. In the year 6803, indiction 2.

Text: *Natpisi istorijske sadržine*, pp. 79-93.

15. The Kokkine Ekklesia (Panagia Bellas) at Vourgareli (Arta, Greece), 1295/6

εἰς ὄνομα τέθειτο τῆς Θ(εοτό)κου

εἰς κλησιν συνήροστο [τῆς [...]

πα]νυμνήτπυ

σκηπτροκ[ρατούν]των τ(ῶν)

ὁ τοῦτον δό[μον ἀνεγείρας ἐκ βάθρων δυτηκῶν **φρουρίων**.

.....Θεόδωρος Τζι]μισκῆς πέλω **Νικηφόρου**. Ἄνν(ης) [τε.....

σὺν τῇ συνενῶ τῇ ταπ[εινῇ Μαρία Κ]ομνηνοφυῶν δεσποτῶν ἀιοδίμων.

.....] οὗτοι ζήλ[.....

.....]ν αἰσίως

πυκνοῖς ἀναλώμασιν εἰς κά[λλος τόσον]

καθωραῖσας εἰκ[όνων ?].

....Theodore Tzimiskis erected the house of the most glorious one (the Virgin), together with my spouse, humble Maria, with those willing... properly with many expenses [I invested] in this beauty, making the icons beautiful ... While Nicephoros and Anna, the glorious

despotoi, offspring of the Komnenoi family, reigned over the western fortresses with the scepter. Year... indiction 9.

Text and German Translation: Rhoby, Andreas. *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009): 146-150, no. 70. Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory inscriptions*, pp. 98-99.

16. Arksadea, St. Basil's church, carved marble cornice, nowadays at Archaeological Museum of Sparta (no. 6656), 1297

[διά συνε]ργίας καὶ κόπου καὶ πόθου πολοῦ κυροῦ Διμιτρίου τζαουσίου σε[βαστοῦ] τοῦ Τσογρεβη καὶ τῆς συνβίου αὐτοῦ Ἑλένης καὶ τοῦ π[ο]λιποθί[του αὐτῶν] γαρβροῦ κυρ[οῦ...] του τοῦ Ῥωμα[νοῦ] καὶ τῆς [σ]υβίας αὐτ[οῦ...]ς, ἐπὶ βασιλίας τῶν θεοστέπτων καὶ φι[λο]χρίστω[ν] βασ[ι]λέων [Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ] μεγάλου βασιλέος καὶ Ἡρίνης τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης αὐγούστης [κ]ὲ Μιχαήλ [τοῦ εὐσ]εβεστάτου βασιλέος Κομνηνῶν τῶν Παλεολόγων, ἐν ἔτ[ει] ϚΩΕ (ἰνδικτιῶνος) Ι.

By joint efforts and toils and great zeal of kyr Demetrios tzaousios, sebastos Tsogrebes, and his wife Helena and their much loved son-in law kyr [...] Romanos and his wife [...], during the reign of the crowned-by-God and Christ-loving emperors Komnenoi Palaiologoi, Anronikos, the great emperor, and Eirine, the most pious augusta, Michael, the most pious emperor. In the year 6805, indiction 10.

Text: Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedictory inscriptions*, pp. 81-82; Feissel and Philippidis-Braat, "Inscriptions du Péloponnèse," no. 61, pp. 321-322.

17. St. Nicholas' Church at Prilep (FYROM), 1298

...δὴ συνδρωμῆς (καὶ) κόπου Βέγου τοῦ Καπζᾶ καὶ τῆς συμβήου αὐτοῦ Μαρίνας ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀνδρωνίκου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέος καὶ αὐτωκράτορος Ρωμέων Κομνινοῦ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου καὶ Ἡρήνης τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης αὐγούστης. ἐπὶ ἔτους ϚΩΖ μηνὴ νωεύρηο ΙΖ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ΙΒ [τ]ο τουτῶ Θνυτοῦ καὶ ἐτέρων [τ]ῶν κτήτωρ(ων)

...by efforts and toils of Begos Kapzas and his wife Marina, during the reign of under the reign of the pious emperor and autocrat of the Romans Andronikos (II) Komnenos Palaiologos and Eirene, the most pious augusta. In the year 6807, the month of November, indiction 12, the circle... mortal and other founders.

Text: *Natpisi istorijske sadržine*, pp. 102-103

18. The church of Panagia Agrelopousaina (Chios, Greece), 1295 – 1317

...διὰ κόπου καὶ ἐξόδου Νικολάου ἀναγνώστου καὶ νομικοῦ τοῦ Παντευγένου [καὶ τῆς συμ/βί]ας αὐτοῦ Εἰρήνης τῆς}Μενντόνη ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν εὐσεβέστατων κ(αὶ) ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐστ[εμμένων...] βασιλέ(ων) ἡμ(ῶν) Ἀνδρονίκου κ(αὶ) Εἰρ[ήνης...]

...by efforts and expenses of Nicholaos Panteugenos anagnostes and nomikos and his wife Eirene (?) Menntone during the reign of our pious and crowned by God emperors Andronikos and Eirene....

Text: Bassi, Olga [Βάσση, Όλγα]. "Η κτητορική επιγραφή της Παναγίας «Αγρελωπούσαινας» στη Χίο," *DChAE* 27 (2006): 464-466.

19. The Taxiarches Tsouka at Hagia Ana (Greece), 1301?

...δα(πάν)η Ἀνδρόνικου καὶ αὐταδέλφων τοῦ κυροῦ Νικηφόρου Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἀνδρόνικου ἐπὶ βασιλείας θεοστέπτων μεγάλων βασιλέων Ἀνδρόνικου καὶ Εἰρήνης καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῶν Μιχαήλ καὶ Μαρίας τῶν Παλαιολόγων ἐν ἔτει ,Ϛψξγ' (?)

...by expenses of Andronikos and his brothers kyr Nikephoros, Jacob and Andronikos under the reign of god-crowned great emperors the Palaiologoi Andronikos (II) and Eirini, and their son Michael and Maria, in the year 6763 or 6793?

Text: Nicol, Donald M. "Two churches of western Macedonia," *BZ* 49 (1956): 99; Drakopoulou, *Η πόλη της Καστοριάς*, pp. 78-79.

20. Forty Martyrs' Church near Palaiomonasterio (Greece), 1304/5

... διὰ συνεργί(ας) κ(αὶ) πόθου Γερμανοῦ ἱερο(μον)άχ(ου) καὶ Γριγορίου (μον)αχ(οῦ) κ(αὶ) Δ [...]ιοῦ (μον)αχ(οῦ) ἐπὶ τ(ῆς) βασιλεί(ας) τ(ῶν) εὐσεβέστατ(ων) βασι(α)λέ(ων) Ἀνδρόνικου κ(αὶ) Εἰρήν(ης) κ(αὶ) Μιχ(αήλ) κ(αὶ) Μαρί(ας) + ἔ(τους) ϚΩΙΓ ' τῶν Παλαιολόγ(ων).

....by joint efforts and zeal of the hieromonk Germanos and the monk Gregory and [...] the monk, under the reign of the most pious emperors Andronikos and Eirene and Machael and Maria Palaiologoi, in the year 6813.

Text: Feissel and Philippidis-Braat, "Inscriptions du Péloponnèse," no. 64, pp. 324-325.

21. The Anastasis Church at Beroia (Greece), 1314/15

Ξένος Ψαλιδᾶς ναὸν Θεοῦ ἐγείρει / ἄφεςιν ζητῶν τῶν πολλῶ[ν ἐγκλ]ημάτων / τῆς
 Αναστάσεως Χριστοῦ ὄνομα θέμενος· / [Εὐ]φροσύνη σύνευνος τοῦτον ἐκπληρεῖ /
 ἱστοριογράφος ὄνομα [Καλιέργης] / τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ κοσμίους ἀνταδελφούς μου ὅλης
 Θετ<τ>αλίας ἄριστος ζωγράφος· / πατριαρχικὴ χεὶρ καθιστᾷ τὸν ναὸν / [ἐπὶ] τοῦ
 μεγάλου βασιλέως Ἀνδρονίκου / Κομνηνοῦ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου ἐν ἔ[τει ,ς]ωκγ'.

Xenos Psalidas erects <this> church of God, seeking the remission of his many sins, and gives it the name of Christ's Anastasis. His wife Euphrosyne brings it to completion. The painter's name is Kalierges; among my good and decent brothers, <I am> the best painter of all Thessaly. A patriarch's hand consecrates the church during the reign of the great emperor Andronikos Komnenos Palaiologos, in the year 6823(= 1314/15).

Text and Translation: Papazotos, *Η Βέροια και οι ναοί της*, pp. 100-102; Rhoby, Andreas. *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009): 157-160; Gerstel, Sharon E.J. *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries: Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary* (Seattle: College Art Association, in association with University of Washington Press, 1999): 105; Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, p. 73.

22. The inscription in the apse of the Panagia Phaneromene (Mani, Greece) ,1322/3

...διὰ κόπων κ(αὶ) ἐξόδων τῶν τε κληρονόμ(ων) κ(αὶ) κτιτόρων τῆς ὑπεραγίας
 Θε(οτό)κου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ τῶν ἐκ Θε(ο)ῦ [ἐ]στρεμμέν(ων) μεγάλου
 βασιλέως Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου κ(αὶ) τ(ῶν) εὐσεβ[ε]ς[τάτ(ων) κ(αὶ)
 φιλοχρίστων βασιλέων ἡμῶν Ἀνδρονίκου κ(αὶ) Εἰρήνης ἀρχιερατέβοντο(ς) δὲ κὺρ
 Νικολάου, τρεχοντος δὲ ἔτους ϞΩΛΑ. Βα[....] (πρωτο)παπ(ᾶς) ὁ Πεαωνάρης, Σησίνηο(ς)
 ἱερε(ὺς) ὁ Κατζουπίτ(ης) Ἰω(άννης) ἱερε(ὺς) ὁ Πλαντόης, Γεώργ[ιος] ἱερε(ὺς) ὁ
 Κατζουπίτης, Νικόλαο(ς) ἱερε(ὺς) ὁ Πουζανάλας Ν[ί]κον ἱερε(ὺς)? ὁ Κατζουπίτης

... by the efforts and expenses of the owners of property and founders of this church of the Most holy Theotokos, under the reign of our God-crowned, the great emperor Andronikos Palaiologos and our [God-crowned] most pious and Christ-loving emperor Andronikos and Eirene, while the archbishop [of Monembasia] was Nicholas, and it was passing the year 6831. Ba[...] the great priest Peanares, Sisinius priest Katzoupites, John priest Platoes, George priest Katzoupites, Nicholaos priest Pouzanalas, Nikon priest Katzoupites

Text and French translation: Feissel and Philippidis-Braat, "Inscriptions du Péloponnèse," no. 67, pp. 327-328.

23. The Holy Trinity in Berat Castle (Albania), c.1313-1324

...διὰ συνδρομῆς καὶ κόπου τοῦ [εὐσεβεστάτ]ου καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέος κυ[ρ.... καὶ συζύ]γου αὐτοῦ κυρὰς Εἰρήνης ἐπὶ τ(ῆς) βασ[ιλείας] κυ[ρ Ἀ]νδρονίκου τοῦ Παλαιο[λόγου.... κ]α[ι.....τ[.]νου

This holy church was reconstructed from foundations through contributions and toils of our most pious and holy emperor kyr [along with] his wife Eirene during the reign of .. . Andronikos Palaiologos

Text and Translation: Giakoumis, Konstantinos, Christidou, Anna. "Image and Power in the Age of Andronikos II and III Palaiologos: Imperial Patronage in the Western Provinces of Via Egnatia," in: *Via Egnatia Revisited: Common Past, Common Future* (Driebergen: Via Egnatia Foundation, 2010): 82.

24. The Archangel Michael's Church at Kavalariana (Crete, Greece), 1327/8

...τρέχο(ν)τ(ος) του παρόντος εόνος· ἔτους ϞΩΛΣ ἀφε(ν)τέβο(ν)τ(ος) ε<ν> τη Κρήτ η τ(όν) μέγαλον κέ ἀφέ<ν>τ(ον) ημ(όν) βενετήκ(ον) · ἐγγεγώνη δέ · η παρούσα εκκλησίᾳ τοῦ μέγαλου ταξιά<ρ>χου Μηχαήλ · τ(όν) ἀνο<ν> ὁ>δηνάμεον· δη ἐξόδου κέ ση<ν>δρομ(ῆς) Θεωτόκη τού Κότζη κε Μανού<η>λ του Μελησουργού· κε Νηκήτα του Σηδέρου κε Δημητρήου κε τα τ(όν) τέκν(ον) αὐτω<ν>....

.....During the present century, in the year 6836 A.M. [= AD 1327/28], when Crete is ruled by the great Venetians our masters, this present church of the great archangel Michael of the heavenly hosts was made with the expenses and contributions by Theotokis Kotzis and Manuel Melisourgos and Niketas Sideres and Demetrios and their children. Pray for me the sinner Ioannes who happened to be the painter. Amen

Text and Translation: Lymberopoulou, Angeliki. *The Church of the Archangel Michael at Kavalariana: Art and Society on Fourteenth-Century Venetian Dominated Crete* (London: Pindar Press, 2006): 194.

25. St. Nicholas Maurika church (Aegina, Greece), 1330

·ήστορίθη η παρούσα Καμάρα δηὰ ἐξόδου Θεοδώρου ἱερέος τοῦ ποτ(ε) πάπα τοῦ σακτουράρι κε μνήστητι κ(ύρι)ε τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς δούλης σου Ηρήνης τῆς συμβίου αὐτοῦ ἐν τη ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως. ἀμήν. ἔτους ϞΩΛΗ . ήστορίθη δὲ δηὰ χηρ(ὸς) κ[αμοῦ γεω]ργίου τοῦ ἀρᾶ ἀμήν· ἀφεντέβοντος δὲ ντὸν αλφ---οσ/ηὸς ρὲ φεδεργήγου.

The present compartment was painted by expenses of Theodore the priest of this sanctuary, and remember, Lord, the soul of your servant Eirine, his wife, in the day of Judgement. Year

6838. It was painted by the hand of me, George Aras. Amen. When don Alfonso (son) of king Fadrique was ruling.

Text: Mitsane, Angelidi [Μητσάνη, Αγγελική]. "Οι τοιχογραφίες του αγίου Νικολάου Μαύρικα στην Αίγινα," *Archeologikon Deltion* 56 (2001): 371.

26. Church of the Taxiarchon at Desphina (Boeotia, Greece), 1332

...ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀνδρωνίκου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου δηὰ κόπου κ(αὶ) ἐξόδου Θεοδώρου ἱε(ρέ)ος τοῦ Ἀναλυτῆ κ(αὶ) Κ(ων)σταντίνου ἱε(ρέ)ος τοῦ Ἀναλυτῆ κ(αὶ) Κ(ων)σταντίνου τοῦ Στηριότη ἔτους ϞΩΜ, ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ΕΙ

....under the reign of Andronikos Palaiologos, by efforts and expenses of Theodore, the priest of Analytes and Constantine, the priest of Analytes and Constantine from Steriotes, the year 6840, indiction 15.

Text: Sotiriou, Maria [Σωτηρίου, Μαρία]. "Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι του βυζαντινοῦ ναυδρίου των Ταξιαρχῶν Δεσφίνης," *DChAE* 3 (1962–63): 176.

27. St. George's Church, Oitylos (Laconia, Greece), 1332

+· Ἐτη, Ϟωμ' · Ἐπεὶ βασιλείας Ἀνδρωνίκου τοῦ υἱοῦ κ[υρ]ίου Μιχαήλ τοῦ Παλαιολόγο[υ] καὶ θειωτάτου σευαστοῦ τζάσι τῶν Μεληγγων κὺρ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Σπανὶ καὶ κυρ Λαριγκᾶ τοῦ (Σ)λαβούρι καὶ Ἄννης. +Ἄγιε Γεώργιε σκέπε τοὺς εὗ στήσοντα[ς] καὶ ἀνακαινύσαντας τὸν θεῖον σου ναόν. Μνίσθηται Κ(ύρι)ε τοῦ δούλου σου Σαβατιανο[ῦ] νομοικοῦ τοῦ Κοπωγὶ κ[αὶ] τῆς συμβίας αὐτοῦ Ἐλεύνης. ἀμήν +

The year 6840. During the reign of Andronikos, the son of kyr Michael Palaiologos and of the very divine sebastos tzases of the Melengoi, kyr Constantin Spanes, and kyr Larigkas Slaboures, and Anna. Saint George, protect those who have restored and renewed your divine church. Remember, O Lord, your servant Sabatianos, nomikos of Kopoges, and of his wife Eleuna (Helene?). Amen.

Text: Feissel, Philippidis-Braat, "Inscriptions du Péloponnèse," no. 88, pp. 328–330; Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, Hélène. "Une mention méconnue des Mélingues du Taygète," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 86/1 (1962): 3.

28. A Hermitage church of the Cross (Taxiarches) at Pythion (Laconia, Greece), 1338-1339,

[...ἐ]πὶ τῶν [ca 30] Ἀ[νδ]ρωνίκου κ(αὶ) Ἀ[ν]ν(ης) αὐτοκρ[α]το[ρ]όρων....] Πα[λα]ιολόγων ἔτους ΣΩ]ΜΖ

Under [the reign] of Andronikos and Anna the autocrats [...] Palaiologoi [.....the year 68]47.

Text and French Translation: Feissel, Avraméa, "Inscriptions de Thessalie," p. 381, no. 22.

29. Eleousa Monastery, Mesembria (Bulgaria), 1342

...βασιλεύοντος τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου μεγάλου βασιλέ(ω)ς Ἰω(άννου) τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου κ(αὶ) τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέ(ω)ς Μ(ι)χ(α)ήλ τοῦ Ἀσσάνη...

καὶ γὰρ ὁ περιπόθητος κ(αὶ) γνήσιος θεῖος τοῦ παννυψηλοτάτου τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰω(άννου) Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνεκαίνισα τ(ὸν) πάνσεπτον κ(αὶ) θεῖον ναὸν....

[ἐπὶ τῆς] βασιλείας Ἰω(άννου) Ἀλεξάνδρου κ(αὶ) Μ(ι)χ(α)ήλ τοῦ Ἀσάν(η) ὁ π(ε)ρ(ι)πό(θη)τος θεῖος α[ὐτῶν Σα]μὸήλ....

....When the great emperor John Alexander and his son emperor Michael Assanes were ruling...

And me, the most beloved relative, uncle of the most highest emperor John Alexander, I renewed this most holy revered church....

Under the reign of the emperors John Alexander and Michael Assanes, their most beloved Uncle Samoel....

Text: Beševliev, Veselin. *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964): 160.

30. St. Marina Church near Langada (Laconia, Greece), 1347/8

[ἐ]ξόδου Μιχαήλ τοῦ Ζτηχοῦ ἀμα συμβίῳ καὶ τῶν ταί[κνων..... τῶ]ν Παλεολόγων, ἔτους ἐξαχλίστο δὲ οὐκτακοσίτ[ο] πεντηκοστὸ ζ

By the expenses of Michael Ztecholes with his wife and their children.... [under the reign of the emperors.....] the Palaiologoi, in the year 6856.

Text and French Translation: Feissel, Philippidis-Braat, "Inscriptions du Péloponnèse," no. 72, pp. 333-334.

31. Archangel Michael's Church, Lesnovo (FYROM), 1349

...δι' ἐξόδου τοῦ πανευτυχεστάτου δεσπότης Ἰωάννου τοῦ Λύβερί. κ(αὶ) τῆς πανευτυχεστάτης βασιλείας Μαρίας τῆς Λυβερίσης καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν, Κράικου κ(αὶ) Δαμιανοῦ. ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Στεφάνου κ(αὶ) Ἑλένης, κ(αὶ) τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῶν κράλη τοῦ Ὀυροσι...

... by the expenses of the most-pious despotes Jovan Oliver and the most-pious basilisa Maria Liverina and their children, Kraiko and Damian. During the reign of Stefan and Jelena and their son king Uroš...

Text: Ivanov, *Български старини*, p. 158.

32. Taxiarches' metropolis, Kastoria (Greece), 1359/60

...δι[ὰ ἐξόδου τοῦ τάτου Δανιήλ ἱερομόναχου, βασιλεύοντος Συμεών τοῦ Π[αλαιολόγου ἁμα] τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ [Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δ]ούκα...

...by the expenses of the local hieromonk Daniel, under the royal reign of Symeon Palaiologos and his son John Doukas...

Text: Drakopoulou, *Η πόλη της Καστοριάς*, pp. 95-96; Rhoby, Andreas. *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009): 185-187.

33. The Virgin's Church, Zaum (FYROM), 1361

...δι' ἐξόδου τοῦ πανευτυχεστάτου καίσαρος Γούργουρα κ(αὶ) κτήτωρος ἀνιστορίθι δὲ παρὰ τοῦ πανιερωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Δεαβόλαιως κ(αὶ) πρωτοθρόνου κύρ Γρηγορίου κ(αὶ) κτήτωρος ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Στεφάνου τοῦ Οὐροσίου...

...by the expenses of the most successful kaisr Gourgour and ktetor, [this church] was painted by the holiest and the first-enthroned archbishop of Deavol kyr Gregory and ktetor during the reign of Stefan Uroš...

Text: Grozdanov, Cvetan. *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo XIV veka* (Belgrade: Institut za istoriju umetnosti, 1996): 103.

34. Parekklesion of St. Gregory, Peribleptos Church, Ohrid (FYROM), 1364

...διὰ συνδρομῆς καὶ ἐξόδου τοῦ πανιερωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Δαβώλεως Γρηγορίου ἥτοι Σελασφόρου. ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Στεφάνου τοῦ Οὐρέσι, Ἀρχιερατεύοντος δὲ τῆς Πρώτης Ἰουστινιανῆς τοῦ Πανιερωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Γρηγορίου...

...by the toils and expenses of the most holy bishop of Devolis or Selasphoros Gregory. Under the reign of Stefan Uroš, when the most holy archbishop Gregory was the archbishop of the Justiniana Prima...

Text: Grozdanov, Cvetan. *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo XIV veka* (Belgrade: Institut za istoriju umetnosti, 1996):122.

35. The Virgin's Church, Doupiane, Meteora (Greece), 1367/8

...διὰ σ(υν)δρομ(ῆς) κ(αὶ) ἐξόδου τοῦ τημειοτάτου ἐν Ἱερομονάχοις κυ(ρ) Νείλου κ(αὶ) πρότου τ(ῆς) σκήτεως Σταγ(ῶν) κ(αὶ) καθηγουμένου τῆς σεβασμῆς μονῆς

Δουπειάνου. Βασιλεύβ(ον)τος δὲ του εὐσεβεστατου ἡμ(ῶν) βασιλέος κῦ(ρ) Σιμεῶν του Παλαιολόγου κ(αί) αὐτοκράτορ(ος) Ρομαίων Σεργεῖ(ας) κ(αί) Ρομανεῖ(ας) του Οὐρεσι ἐπεισκοπέβ(ο)ντος δὲ τοῦ πανάγιοτάτου δεσπότη ἡμ(ῶν) Βησαρίου...

... by the toils and expenses of the most honorable among hieromonks, kyr Neilos and the protos of the skete of Stagoi and hegoumenos of the venerable monastery of Doupiane. Under the reign of our most pious emperor kyr Symeon Palaiologos, Uroš the autocrat of the Romans of Serbia and Romania, when our most holy despotes Besarion was a bishop...

Text: Subotić, Gojko. "Počeci monaškog života i crkvi manastira Sretenja u Meteorima," *ZLU* 2 (1960): 145-146.

36. The Virgin's Church, Mali Grad (Albania), 1368/9

...παρὰ του αὐφθέντου αὐτοῦ πάνευτυχεστάτου κέσαρος Νοβάκου ἡγουμενέβωντος δὲ Ἰωνά (μον)αχ(οῦ). Αὐφθεντεύβ(ον)τος πανυ(ψ)ηλοτάτου κραλήου τοῦ Βεληκασίνου...

.... by the most happy ruling kesar Novak, while Jona the monk was a hegoumenos, under the rule of the highest king Vukašin...

Text: Đurić, Vojislav. "Mali Grad – Sv. Atanasije u Kosturu – Borje," *Zograf* 6 (1975): 31-32.

37. St. George's Church at Longanikos, (Laconia, Greece), 1374/75

+ ανηγέρθη ἐκ βάθρων και ησπορήθει ο πάνσεπτος και θεῖος ναός του αγίου και ενδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου του τροπαιοφόρου διά συνεργεί(ας) και εξόδου και πόθου πολλοῦ παπά Βασιλείου ιερέως και νομικού του Κουρτέση και της μ(η)τρ(ός) αυτού Μάρθας, μοναχής, και της συμβίου αυτού Ἄννης και τῶν τέκνων αὐτῶν Μαγδαληνής, μοναχής, της αδελφής αὐτοῦ και σεβαστοῦ Τζαουσίου Γεωργίου του Πελεκάση και της συμβίου αὐτοῦ και των τέκνων αὐτῶν./Επί της βασιλείας τῶν ευσεβάστων βασιλέων και φιλοχρίστων Ἰωάννου και Ελένης των Παλαιολόγων και τῶν ευσεβῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Μανουήλ και Μαρίας των Καντακουζηνῶν. ςΩΠΓ'

The holy and most venerable church of holy and glorious great martyr Trophy-bearer George was erected from the grounds and painted by collaboraion and expenses and many toils of the priest and nomikos of Kourtesis, Basil, and his mother the nun Martha, and his wife Anna and thier children, his sister nun Magdalina, and of sebastos tzaousios George Pelekasis and his wife and children. Under the reign of the most devout and Christ-loving emperors John and Helen the Palaiologoi and our pious despots Manuel and Maria the Kantakouzenoi. 6883.

Text and Translation: Feissel, Philippidis-Braat, "Inscriptions du Péloponnèse," no. 9, pp. 339-340, no. 78; Chassoura, *Les peintures murales*, pp. 19-20.

38. Small St. Klimentos Church, Ohrid (FYROM), 1378

...διὰ συνδρομῆς ἐξόδου τὲ κ(αί) κόπου οἰκείου τοῦ θεοσεβαστάτου ἱερέως Στεφάνου τοῦ Προφήτου' ἐπικρατούσης τῆς λαμπρᾶς πόλεως ταύτης Ἀχρίδας θεοσώστου τοῦ πανένυγενεστάτου αὐθεντοῦ ἡμῶν μεγάλου ζουπάνου κύρ Ἀνδρέα τοῦ Γρώπα...

... by expenses and effort and toils of the local the noble-from-god priest Stefanos Profetes, while our god-protected and the most noble ruler great župan andreas Gropas ruled in the most glorious city of Ohrid....

Text: Grozdanov, Cvetan. *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo XIV veka* (Belgrade: Institut za istoriju umetnosti, 1996): 151-152.

39. St. John Vladimir's Church, Elbasan (Albania), 1381

Ⲭϫϣῆ γινώσκειν ὅτι ὁ ναὸς οὕτως ἐκατελύθη ἀπὸ σειμοῦ παντελῶς ἕως θεμελίου εἰς τὴν διακράτησιν καὶ ἐν ἡμέραις αὐθεντεύοντος πασῆς χώρας Ἀλβάνου παννυσιλότατος πρῶτος Κάρλας ὁ Θεώπιας ἀνεψιὸς δε καὶ αἵματος ρῆγας τῆς Φραγγίας. ...

Ⲭt should be known that this church was completely destroyed by an earthquake from its grounds up to the vaults and in the days of rulership over all lands of Albania of highest Carlo first Theopis, a relative and by blood branch of the Franks

Text: Popa, Theofan. *Të dhana mbi princët mesjetarë shqiptarë në mbishkrimet e kishave tona,* "Buletin i Universitetit shtetërot të Tiranës 11/2 (1957): 186-188.

40. Hagioi Taxiarches Church?, Ioannina (Greece), 1379-1384

Θω]μᾶς τ(ῆς) θ[είας.....] πάσης.... // ὁ κε Ἀλβανητ[οκτόνος ἐπικλ]ηθῆς ὠκοδωμήσ[ατο τὸν νάρθη]κα τοῦτ[ον].

Thomas of holy... entire // and called the Slayer of the Albanians built this narthex...

Vranousis, Leandros [Βρανούσης, Λέανδρος]. *Ιστορικά και τοπογραφικά του μεσαιωνικού κάστρου των Ιωαννίνων* (Athens: Ekdoseis Etaireia Epeirotikon Meleton, 1968): 67-69.

41. St. Athanasios Mouzaki's Church (Kastoria, Greece), 1383/4

... παρὰ τοὺς κτιτόρους ἡγου(ν) τοὺς παν[ευγ]ενεστάτους κυ(ρ) Στώϊα κ(αί) Θεοδώρου τοῦ Μουζάκη . κ(αί) τοῦ ἐν Ἱερο(μον)άχ(οις) Διονυσίου . αὐφθεντευόντ(ων) δὲ τ(ῶν) αὐτ(ῶν) αὐταδέλφ(ων) πα[ν]ευγενεστάτους κυ(ρ) Στώϊα. καὶ κυ(ρ) Θεοδώρου τοῦ Μουζάκη. ἀρχιερατ[εύ]οντος δὲ τοῦ πανιεριοτάτου ἐπισκό[που] κυ(ρ) Γαβριήλ κ(αί) πρωτ[οθρόνου]...

.... by the ktetors, namely the most noble kyr Stoja and Theodore Mouzaki and among hieromonks (sic!) Dionysios. Under the reign of these most noble brothers, kyr Stoja and kyr Theodore Mouzaki, during the prelacy of the holiesr bishop Gabriel the first-enthroned...

Drakopoulou, *Η πόλη της Καστοριάς*, pp. 95-96.

42. Christ Zoodotos Church, Borje (Albania), 1389/90

...παρὰ τοῦ κτίτορος τοῦ πανιεροτάτου ἐπισκόπου [κὺρ] Νίμφωνος αὐθεντεύοντος δὲ τὸν Ἀμ[ηρ]αλάδαν. αὐτάδελφος πανευτυχέστατος σεβαστωκράτορος Ἰωάννης καὶ παννυσιλότατος δεσπότης κὺρ Θεοδώρου...

...by the ktetor, the most holy bishop kyr Nimphon, under the rule of the Amiraladas, the brother of the most happy sebastokrator John and the highest despot kyr Theodore...

Text: Đurić, Vojislav. "Mali Grad – Sv. Atanasije u Kosturu – Borje," *Zograf* 6 (1975): 42.

43. St. George Pachymachiotis' Church near Lindo (Rhodes, Greece), 1394/5

ἐξόδου κ(αὶ) κόπου ἱερέος τοῦ Κατσάμπα κ(αὶ) τῆς συν[βίου αὐτοῦ κτητορίς]σης κυρᾶς Καλῆς τῆς μαγί[στρισης καὶ τῶν] τέκνων αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ ψυχικῆς [σωτηρίας] καὶ ἀπολαύσεως τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν, ἐν ἔτει ,ϚϛΓ ἐπ[ὶ]...3 lines πατρι[αρχοῦντος] Κων[σταντινου]πόλεως καὶ νέας [Ῥώμης Ἀντωνίου τοῦ ἡκουμε[νικοῦ πατριαρ]χου

by expenses and toils of Katsampas the priest and his wife *ktetorissa* kyra Kale the *magistrissa* and their children for the salvation of the souls and enjoyment of the eternal goods. In the year 6903 under ...[three lines missing] when the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople and New Rome was Antony.

Text: Christophoraki, Ioanna [Χριστοφοράκη, Ιωάννα]. "Χορηγικές μαρτυρίες στους ναούς της μεσαιωνικής Ρόδου (1204–1522)," in: *Ρόδος 2.400 χρόνια, Η πόλη της Ρόδου από την ίδρυσή της μέχρι την κατάληψή από τους Τούρκους (1523)*, ed. E.Kypraίου, Vol. II (Athens-Rhodes: Tameio Archaialogikon poron, 2000): 460 footnote 84.

44. The Eleousa Hermitage, Megale Prespa (Greece), 1409/10

...διὰ σὴνδρομὶς κόπου τε κ(αὶ) ἐξόδου τοῦ τιμιοτάτου ἐν ἱερομονάχ(οις) κὺρ Σάβα κ(αὶ) κὺρ Ἰακόβου κ(αὶ) Βαρλαάμ τ(ὸν) κτητόρον. Αὐθέ<ν>της ὁ Βλουκασήνος.

.... by the toils, efforts and expenses of the most revered among the hieropriests, Sava and kyr Jacob and Barlaam, the founders. When Vukašin was ruling.

Text: Subotić, Gojko. *Ohridska slikarska škola XV veka* (Belgrade: Institut za istoriju umetnosti, 1980): 34-37.

45. The dedicatory inscription of Stylian, the Monk from Šumen (Bulgaria), 1412

... азъ с[тил]нанъ мно(го)грѣшни писах си слова над врати прѣч(и)стои помилуи ме г(оспо)ди в(о)же мон егда придиши въ ц(а)рс(т)вие писах въ л(ѣ)то... тисцино и ѳ сътъно и К и въ д(ь)ни ц(а)ра сѣлтан(а) ...

Me, the most sinful Stylian, wrote these words above the gates of the Most Pure One. Lord, have mercy on me, when you enter your Kingdom. I wrote in the year... 6920 in the days of emperor sultan...

Text: Tomović. *Morfologija ćirilčkih natpisa*, p. 101, no. 95.

46. The Church of Hagia Paraskeve at Monodendri (Greece), 1414

... δι' ἐξόδου (τε) κ(αὶ) παληρόσεως, τοῦ εὐγ(ε)νεστ(ά)του κύρι(ου) Μηχ[α]λ Βωηβώνδα τοῦ Θερίανου. ἦν δέδωκεν ἐν τῷ νῶ [...]κ(αὶ) τῆς γενεᾶς κ(αὶ) ἀδελφότη(η)τ(ος) αὐτοῦ κ(αὶ) πάντων ὅλων τῶν Βεζητηγνῶν κληρονόμων κτητόρων μικρῶν τ(ε) κ(αὶ) μεγάλων ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ πανυψιλοτ(ά)του δεσπότη ἡμ(ῶν) Κάρουλα τοῦ Δουκὸς...

... by expenses and toils of the most noble kyr Michael, voivoda Therianos. And all his kins and relatives and all the founders and owners, small and great, of Bezetzeni, donated to [this church], under the reign of our highest despot Carl Tocco...

Text: Acheimastou-Potanianno, Myrtali [Αχειμάστου-Ποταμιάνο, Μυρτάλη]. “Ἡ κτιτορική παράσταση της μονῆς της Αγίας Παρασκευῆς στο Μονοδέντρι της Ηπείρου (1414),” *DChAE* 42 (2003): 233.

47. The church of Theotokos Chrysopege at Ainos (Greece), 1422/3 and 1423/4

1)...ἀνηγέρθη ἐκ βάθρων παρ' ἐμοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Ξένου, τηνικαῦτα κρατοῦντος τῆς θεοσώστου πόλεως Αἴνου τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου σὺν Παλάμιδες Φραντζέσκου Γατελιούζου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου ἐν ἔτει, ςϞλϞ' (ι)ν(δικτιῶνος) α'

...[the church] was constructed from the grounds by me, Demetrios Xenos, while the god-saved city of Ainos was ruled by our highest master sir Palamides Francesco Gattelusio Palaiologos, in the year 6931 (1423), indiction 1.

2)...ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλεί(ας) τῶ(ν) εὐσεβεστά(των) καὶ φιλοχρίστ(ων) βασιλέ(ων) ἡμ(ῶν) Μανουήλ καὶ [Ἐλέ]νης καὶ τ(οῦ) ἐπισκόπου (ἡ)μ(ῶν) Ἰω(άννου) καὶ Ἰωσήφ τοῦ ἀγιωτ(άτου) καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου ἐπὶ ἔ(τους) ςϞλβ' ἰν(δικτιῶνος) [β'].

During the reign of our most pious and friends-of-Christ emperors, Manuel and Helena, and our bishop John and Joseph, our most holy and ecumenical patriarch, in the year 6932, indiction 2.

Text: Asdracha, *Thrace orientale*, pp. 264-267; Mamaloukos, Stavros and Perrakis, Ioannis. "The Church of Theotokos Chrysopege at Ainos," In: *Byzantine Thrace, evidence and Remains, Komotini, 18-22 April 2007. Proceedings*, eds. Ch. Bakirtzis, N. Zekos and .X. Moniaros / BF 30 (2011): 508-509.

48. Inscription from Artokosta monastery (Greece), 1425 copied in 1711

... ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου, διὰ συνδρομῆς τοῦ τιμητάτου κύρ Ἀντωνίου Σαραντάρη ἡγουμενεύοντος Θεοδούλου ἱερομονάχου ἀρχιμανδρίτου ἐν ἔτει ϞϣΛΓ

Under the reign of our most pious emperor John Palaiologos, by efforts of the most respected kyr Antonios Sarantares, while hieromonk archimandrites Theodoulos was hegoumenos, in the year 6933.

Text and French Translation: Feissel, Philippidis-Braat, "Inscriptions du Péloponnèse," no. 85, p. 347.

49. Prodromos monastery at Gortynia (Greece), 1427/8

...διὰ σθνεργία καὶ κόπου καὶ μώχθου Γερμανοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ.... καὶ τέκνων αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ Μαρίας βασιλευόντων τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων βασιλέων ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Θεοδώρου καὶ Κλεόπας καὶ ἀρχιερέως ἡμῶν Ματθαίου ἐν ἔτει ϞϣΛϞ

... by expenses and toils and efforts of priest Germanos of.... and his children John and Maria. During the reign of our god-fearful emperors and [during the reign of] our pious despots Theodore and Cleopas and our metropolitan Matthew in the year 1425

Text and French Translation: Feissel, Philippidis-Braat, "Inscriptions du Péloponnèse," no. 87, pp. 349-350.

50. St. Nicholas' Church at Maritza (Rhodes, Greece), 1434

+ἀνηγέρθη ἐκ βάθρων καὶ οἰκοδομήθη ὁ θεῖος καὶ πάνσεπτος ναός τοῦ ὁσίου πατρός ἡμῶν κ(αὶ) θαυματουργοῦ Νικολάου Μύρων τῆς Λυκί(ας) διὰ κόπου καὶ ἐξόδου τοῦ φιλοχρίστου λαοῦ τοῦ χωρίου τοῦ Μαριτζᾶ ὑπὲρ ψυχικῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσεων...

This divine and most-holy church of our venerable father and the miracle-worker Nicholas of the Myra of Lycia was erected from the grounds and painted though toils and expenses

of the god-loving community of the village Maritza for their souls' salvation and retribution with the eternal goods....

Text: Mastrochristos, Nikolaos [Μαστροχρήστος, Νικόλαος]. “Ο ναός του Αγίου Νικολάου στα Μαριτσά (1434/5). Όψεις της παλαιολόγειας τέχνης του 15ου αιώνα στην Ιπποτοκρατούμενη Ρόδο,” *DChAE* 33 (2012): 176.

51. The Theotokos' Church on the Brezovica island, Skadar/ Scutari/ Shkodër Lake (Albania), 1440

†изволеннѣмъ ѡца и поспѣшениѣмъ сина и д(у)ха св(е)т(а)го посвещениѣмъ създа се храмъ сы прѣс(вѣ)тіе в(о)городице съ трѣдомъ и ѡткупомъ богочестивон г(оспо)ди еле дѣщери с(вѣ)топочившаго кнеза лаз(а)ра а подрѣжіе г(оспо)ди(на) гюргя страцимировника въ лѣто ϚЦММ МССССIII

By the will of the Father and with the help of the Son and with devotion of the Holy Spirit, this church of the most Holy Theotokos was built by toils and expenses of the pious lady Jele(na), the daughter of the dead-in-the-holy-way knez Lazar and the wife of lord Đurđe Stracimirović in the year 6948. 1440.

Text: Tomović. *Morfologija ćirilčkih natpisa*, pp. 113-114, no. 112.

52. The church of the Virgin, Dragalevtsi (Bulgaria), 1476

...пописа съ потѣщаниѣмъ кѹрѣ радославъ маверь и съ подрѣжикм и съ сынѡвѣ кѹго въ вѣчнѹю кмѹ память аминь. Въ лѣто СЦНД ендиктѡнъ Ѧ ц(а)р(ст)вѹющаго изманла мехмедъ челепѣ

... kyr Radoslav Maver with his wife and his sons painted [this church] for his eternal memory. Amen. In the year 6984, indiction a, when Ismail Mehmed Çelebi was ruling.

Text: Belashev, Georgi [Беласчев, Георги]. “Словенски надписи в Югозападна България,” *Minalo* 7-8 (1912): 206.

53. St Demetrius' Church, Boboshevo (Bulgaria), 1488

...пописа ѡт свода нерѣмонах Нѡѡфѣтъ съ синовѣ си попа Дмитромъ и Богданомъ прост(и) нѹх в(ог)ъ аминь. Ѧ въ лѣ(то) ϚЧ и Ѧ и Ϛ въ дни ц(а)ра Баязитъ Бега ѡбла(да)юще сѣ хоры. ѡсвѣщени епископъ кѹ(р) Яковъ

... the monk Neofin with his sons priest Dmiter and Bogdan painted [the church] from the vaults, let God excuse them. Amen. In the year 6996 in the days of the emperor Bayazid Beg, when this land was in possession of the most-holy bishop Jacob.

Text: Belashev, Georgi [Беласчев, Георги]. “Словенски надписи в Югозападна България,” *Minalo* 7-8 (1912): 208.

II. DONORS

Introduction: Gifts, Documents, and Readers

This part of the dissertation focuses on the sponsorship as a practice of making investments, imperial as well as private, into already existing monastic institutions. This kind of sponsors was interested into the establishment of spiritual bounds and the assurance of commemorations performed at venerable, famous institutions. For the sake of the remembrance rituals, the donors passed their patrimonial properties, money and expensive artistic gifts (manuscripts, icons, textiles, liturgical objects) to the monks.¹⁷⁰⁰ The eternal maintenance and perpetuation of the memory, paired with such intentions as achievement of salvation and the worship of divinity,¹⁷⁰¹ was the central (though by no means the only) motivation for both, the establishment of foundation and the donation. In return for their charitable deeds and gifts, the founders and donors demand prayers and memorial services from their churches and monasteries. This way, the commemoration rituals, their frequency, duration, place and number of performers became the terms of negotiations between the donors and beneficiaries; for the donors understood the donation contract as *an investment* into the assistance in the salvation.¹⁷⁰² In this sense, the rights of ktetors and that of the donors didn't differ essentially (both categories had a right of commemoration) but only in the frequency, solemnity, and length of the rituals.

However, in its essence, memory is a social phenomenon,¹⁷⁰³ communicated within a group and, therefore, one needed an organized institution to pass the remembrance between generations. The maintenance of commemoration and prayers for salvation depends on the duration and stability of the social relationship between founders/donors and the community as well as on the existence and power, economic and pious, of a foundation, and, therefore, the donors preferred to endow rich and important ecclesiastic institutions. So, an ecclesiastic community including the monks/priests and the visitors became a group sharing the memory about a deceased donor and, thus, providing for the 'presence'¹⁷⁰⁴ of the dead among the living during the ritual. Through their names included in the

¹⁷⁰⁰ For the categories of private gifts, see: Chitwood, Zachary. "Stiftungsvermögen und -erträge: 10.5 Griechisch-Orthodoxe Christen," in: *Das soziale System Stiftung*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015): 324-336.

¹⁷⁰¹ Thomas, John Ph. "In perpetuum: Social and Political Consequences of Byzantine Patrons Aspirations for Permanence for their Foundations," in: *Stiftungen in Christentum, Judentum und Islam vor der Moderne*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005): 123-135.

¹⁷⁰² The term "Investimenti per l'aldilà" [Investments in the assistance in salvation] and the concept of art patronage and ecclesiastic donations as expeditures for the pious help was developed by M. Bacci (Bacci, Michele. *Investimenti per l'aldilà. Arte e raccomandazione dell'anima nel Medioevo* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2003): esp. pp. 44-64 (for private services and testaments) and 111-154 (ch. 4 dealing with the testament provisions for artistic patronage) .

¹⁷⁰³ Oexle, Otto Gerhard. "Memoria in der Gesellschaft und in der Kultur des Mittelalters", in: *Modernes Mittelalter. Neue Bilder einer populären Epoche*, ed. J. Heinze, (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1994): 297-323 (esp. pp. 299-302).

¹⁷⁰⁴ The concept of 'Die Gegenwart der Toten' [the Presence of the Dead] among the living and *as* the living was developed by O.G. Oexle (Oexle, Otto Gerhard. "Die Gegenwart der Toten," in: *Death in the Middle Ages*, eds. H. Braet

donation documents the dead donors maintained the ‘presence’ as legal persons, whereas through the names’ reading during various parts of the rituals the donors achieved the remembrance by the community and the desired prayers providing assistance in the afterlife.

Thus, whether granted objects or donation deeds, the gifts had three primarily goals, that are to become the means of the grantors’ self-representation,¹⁷⁰⁵ to negotiate the terms of remembrance, and to induce pious petitioning to the divinity as a tool of enhancing the salvation. In the following chapters, on the basis of case studies exemplifying the different regions of the Balkans, I am going to regard the essence, rhetoric and terms of donors’ presents to ecclesiastic foundations against the background of the commemorative practices and rituals.

Issuing a document both, private and imperial, donors were situated within quite flexible legal borders, using the form of gift as the one accommodating various types of property’s transfer: a confirmation of previous possessions, a testament, a transfer with partial reward (*adelphata*), even a sale and a donation, in the proper sense. On the other hand, the importance and value of the donation documents was not seen by contemporaries only in their content, the layout and appearance of a charter could be perceived even by an illiterate beholder, while a donation deed as an object was also used in rituals. The physical side of an act, thus, appeared to be also very important, since a donation document not only confirmed a transfer of property, but also protected its holders in court, where the documents were physically examined.

Ecclesiastic institutions had their own archives or stored the acts together with manuscripts as this practice was observed from the monasteries of Mt. Athos and Patmos.¹⁷⁰⁶ Byzantine charters and *typika* give scattered and incomplete information on documents’ physical keeping. However, it is possible to reconstruct several methods of storing: boxes, caskets, sacks, piles, and files; the chosen technique depended on the document’s importance as well as on the means monasteries had at disposal.¹⁷⁰⁷

Boxes were quite a convenient technique, but limiting the access to the documents’ content. The *hegoumenos* of St. Mamas’ monastery passed for safekeeping, to the Monastery of Christ Philanthropos, “a sealed box containing a *chrysobull* of our God-protected, most-powerful and holy emperor, confirming the independence of the same monastery; a patriarchal *lysis*, pertaining to the independence ... a patriarchal memorandum in favor of this independence; the inventory of the

and H. Verbeke (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1983): 19-77 (here esp. pp. 33-37)) on the basis of various memorial practices including the Memorial Books.

¹⁷⁰⁵ About the artistic donations as the means of self-representation of donors, see: Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*.

¹⁷⁰⁶ Pelekanidis, Stylianos et al., eds. *The Treasures of Mount Athos: Illuminated Manuscripts Miniatures, Headpieces, Initial Letters*, Vol. I (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1974): 204; Astruc, Charles. “L’inventaire dressé en septembre 1200 du trésor et de la bibliothèque de Patmos: édition diplomatique,” *TM* 8 (1981): 15-30.

¹⁷⁰⁷ Cutler, Anthony. *The Craft of Ivory: Sources, Techniques, and Uses in the Mediterranean World, A.D. 200-1400* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 1985): 36-37.

monastery and the *typikon* (both in book form), as well as a *semeioma* issued for this *typikon*.¹⁷⁰⁸ Boxes had also an advantage of being large enough as to contain more than one document. According to a 14th-century marginal note on so-called “Inventory” of Hilandar archive (no. 102), 66 acts of emperors were stored in a metal (tin) or cast caskets, while a simple wooden box contained 13 other documents.¹⁷⁰⁹ Taking into consideration an average size of Byzantine caskets, either about 11 x 35/40 x 15/20 cm or 15/20 x 30 x 20 cm,¹⁷¹⁰ and the approximate size of Byzantine legal acts (between 30 and 50 cm),¹⁷¹¹ one can assume that the acts should have been folded at least twice. Some of the surviving documents, indeed, show traces of double or triple horizontal folding.¹⁷¹²

Many documents were kept in fabric sacks, this being a more simple and cheap way of storing. In the end of the 12th century, in the Monastery of St. John on Patmos, a register of old documents was compiled (none of them are preserved); it included *chrysobulls*, *praktika*, notes, and orders issued by different lay and church authorities. In the end of the archivist’s list consisting of more than 200 items one can find the following words: “And all these were stored in sacks (*sakoullia*) as useless.”¹⁷¹³ Similarly, as the note on Hilandar’s inventory witnesses, some of the documents still in use were kept “in linen sacks” (*ou plat’nēnē sakouli*).¹⁷¹⁴ The simplicity and low price of sacks allowed using of this method even with small financial means. In 1442, Daniel, the *hegoumenos* of small St. Nicholas Monastery in Berat, gave because “of fear of Turks” the property of his monastery to a local ruler (Theodore Mouzaki) and listed these possessions on a manuscript cover. Among

¹⁷⁰⁸ *BMFD*, p. 1036.

¹⁷⁰⁹ Sindik, Dušan, ed. “Srpska srednjovekovna akta u manastiru Hilandaru,” *Hilandarski Zbornik* 10 (1998): 63.

¹⁷¹⁰ My observation is based on comparison of several caskets, majority of these objects are dated with 10-12 centuries. Thus, Casket with Warriors and Dancers (20.3 x 28.9 x 19.1 cm), 11th century, Metropolitan Museum of Art (<http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/17.190.239>), Casket with Warriors and Mythological Figures (11.7 x 43.8 x 18.1 cm), 900-110, Metropolitan Museum of Art (<http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/17.190.237>); Veroli casket (11.5 x 40.3 x 16 cm), 10th century, Victoria and Albert Museum, (<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O70463/veroli-casket-casket-unknown/>); Casket with Erotes and Animals, 12th century (12.1 x 39.4 x 19.7cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art (<http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/464236>); casket with warriors and combats (16.5 x 24.9 x 19.5 cm) 11th century, Victoria and Albert Museum (<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O84215/casket-unknown/>); casket with Adam and Eve (12.5 x 46 19), 11th century, Hessische Landesmuseum in Darmstadt (Evans, Helen C., and William D. Wixom, eds. *The glory of Byzantium: art and culture of the Middle Byzantine era, A.D. 843-1261* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997): 234) etc.

¹⁷¹¹ The sizes of byzantine acts greatly varies and depend on diplomatic genre, on quality and elaboration of parchment or paper producer, however, its width was rarely less than 30 cm (Mokretsova, Inna and Fonkič, Boris L. *Materialy i tehnika vizantijskoj rukopisnoj knigi* (Moscow: Indrik, 2003): 205-207).

¹⁷¹² For example, *prostagma* of Manuel II Palaeologos (December 1414) from Dionysiou monastery has a pronounced fold in the middle, (*Actes de Dionysiou*, pp. 89-91, no. 13), the *hymnomena* of *protos* John (November 1107) has two horizontal foldings on the sides (*Actes du Pantocrator*, pp. 69-70, no. 2). Paper letter of *sebastos* John Doukas Balsamon from Docheriou has 6 folds (*Actes de Docheiariou*, pp. 191-193, no. 29). However, the majority of the documents demonstrate only presence of multiple horizontal folding suggesting that they were rolled.

¹⁷¹³ Vranousi, Era [Βρανούση, Έρα]. “Ἀνέκδοτος κατάλογος ἐγγράφων τῆς ἐν Πάτμῳ μονῆς (ιβ’-ιγ’ αἰ.)”, *Byzantina Symmeikta* 1 (1966):138.

¹⁷¹⁴ Sindik, Dušan, ed. “Srpska srednjovekovna akta u manastiru Hilandaru,” *Hilandarski Zbornik* 10 (1998): 69.

several precious liturgical objects and books one can find “*chrysobulls* on the borders of Pentearchontea and of Breasteanis in two sacks.”¹⁷¹⁵

One might assume that the most precious documents were separated from the bulk for greater safety. In his account on travelling to Trapezunt, Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer described the only preserved *chrysobull* of Alexios III Grand-Komnenos to Sumela Monastery: “Of many *chrysobulls* belonging to different princes of the Grand Komnenoi Imperial House, which were kept in the archive of the Holy Mount’s Monastery 70 years ago, only this one was preserved, as the monks say. In order to save it..., it was enclosed in a metallic capsule together with other jewelries, was kept and safeguarded in a chapel inside a grotto, cut out in lime-rock, in a chamber inaccessible to fire.”¹⁷¹⁶ The description is clear about the imperial *chrysobulls* which were kept with special care, stored separately and called “divine” (*theios*)¹⁷¹⁷ and “venerable” (*septos*).

Especially, the difference in attitude toward imperial and non-imperial documents can be seen from the ways their authors call various types of records in the same texts. An *apographeus* of *thema* Boleron, Edessenos,¹⁷¹⁸ states that Iviron Monastery holds its properties “on the basis of **holy** and **venerable** *chrysobulls*, **holy venerable** *prostagmata*, registers and different *sigillia* of restitution, and other old documents.” So, these epithets “holy” and “venerable” are applied only to imperial acts.¹⁷¹⁹ Even the simple-form imperial orders, *prostagmata*,¹⁷²⁰ also enjoyed the special status of “holy and venerable”.¹⁷²¹

This attitude toward imperial charters was caused by the importance of their content as well as by their symbolic value. As orders given by the sacred, supreme authority and touched by the “holy and sacred”¹⁷²² hand, these documents were invested with supernatural power. This extraordinary veneration of imperial documents can be found as well in Serbian milieu where, during the ceremony of border delineation between the monasteries of Hilandar and St. Archangels in 1454, the two *hegoumenoi* “kissed the *chrysobull*”¹⁷²³ before starting the actual border-making.

¹⁷¹⁵ Alexoudes, Anthimos [Ἀλεξούδης, Ἄνθιμος]. “Δύο σημειώματα ἐκ χειρογράφων”, *Deltion tes Istorikes kai Ethnologikes Etaireias tes Ellados* 4 (1892): 280.

¹⁷¹⁶ Fallmerayer, Jakob Philipp. “Original-Fragmente, Chroniken, Inschriften und anderes Material zur Geschichte des Kaiserthums Trapezunt”, *Abhandlungen der Historischen Klasse der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 3/2 (1842): 49-50.

¹⁷¹⁷ For example, in Diataxis of Michael Attaliates (*BMFD*, p. 345), and in Bebaia Elpis Typikon of Theodora Synadene (*BMFD*, p. 1557).

¹⁷¹⁸ *PLP*, no. 91847.

¹⁷¹⁹ *Actes d'Iviron*, Vol. IV, p. 111.

¹⁷²⁰ About the differences in diplomatic forms of *chrysobull* and *prostagma* see: Dölger, Franz and Karayannopulos, Johannes. *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre* (Munich: Beck, 1968): 25-48, 109-111.

¹⁷²¹ For example in Praktikon of Constantine Tzyrapes, *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. II, p. 143.

¹⁷²² About imperial signatures, see: Dölger, Franz and Karayannopulos, Johannes. *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre* (Munich: Beck, 1968): 102-105.

¹⁷²³ Solovjev, Alexander, ed. *Odabrani spomenici srpskog prava od XII do kraja XV veka* (Belgrade: G. Kon, 1926): p. 215, no. 129.

In both countries the imperial documents were important as objects and were depicted as such in the mural painting. Namely, in the Theotokos Peribleptos Monastery in Constantinople, the Hodegetria Church of Brontocheion Monastery in Mystras, and some Serbian foundations (Studena, Gračanica, and Žiča monasteries), the texts of royal donations were placed in form of painted scrolls with seals and signatures, sometimes even put in perspective with folding and touched by shadows.¹⁷²⁴ Being frescoed on walls or carved on columns of the endowed monasteries, these texts became parts of spatial and iconographic programs, starting simultaneously to be perceived within the context of the rituals and activities taking place in those church spaces. Their meaning appeared in the juxtaposing of the monumentalized charters, their texts, portraits of rulers and the figures of the holy personages surrounding them.

Being treated as divine and actual law, these deeds of benevolence had simultaneously legal and spiritual power; and their readers should have been warned and forced to show some respect toward this authority. As result of more careful treatment, about 40% of the surviving documents in Byzantine monastic archives¹⁷²⁵ are imperial or rulers' charters.

One can't find much information about the procedure of the property transfer by private individuals. As it was suggested by I.P. Medvedev, the proceeding was not solemn and it was conducted in the presence of the parties, a notary and witnesses.¹⁷²⁶ However, one detail can be supplemented to this description, most probably, the act written by a *nomikos* was read aloud before being signed, and agreements of parties with the content were expressed orally. For example, George Pachymeres' History witnesses about Andronikos II, who "gave a speech on the proper matters and the chrysobull was read," followed by the ceremonial oaths.¹⁷²⁷

Placing donation documents in places of worship seems to be a common practice in Byzantium. The donors could deposit their donation deeds on the altar of a church as it is exemplified by an entry of the Typikon composed for the Cypriot monastery of the Virgin Machairas (1210). According to the chapter dedicated to the voluntary entry gifts, the one who wanted to

¹⁷²⁴ About such practices of monumentalized depictions of charters, see: Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia. "Church Inscriptions as Documents. Chrysobulls - Ecclesiastical Acts - Inventories - Donations - Wills", *DChAE* 24 (2003): 79-88; Đurić, Vojislav. "La royauté et le sacerdoce dans la décoration de Žiča," in: *Žiča. Istorija, umetnost. Naučni skup, 15-19 avgusta 1995* (Kraljevo: Narodni muzej Kraljevo – Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture Kraljevo, 2000): 123-147; Subotić, Gojko. "Treća Žička povelja," *Zograf* 31 (2006/07): 51-58 (esp. pp. 55-58); Čanak-Medić, Milka, Popović, Danica and Dragan Vojvodić. *Manastir Žiča* (Belgrade: Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika, 2014): 37-41, 338-345 (with further bibliography); Gerstel, "Mapping the Boundaries of Church and Village"; Đurić, Vojislav. "Portreti vizantijskih i srpskih vladara s poveljama," in: *Esfigmenska povelja despota Đurđa*, eds. P. Ivić, V. J. Đurić, S. Ćirković (Belgrade: 1989): 20-55 (esp. 36-38, 48-52).

¹⁷²⁵ Men'shikov, A.V. [Меньшиков, А.В.] "Из истории архивов Византийской церкви X-XV вв.," *Otechestvennye arhivy* 4 (2005): 43.

¹⁷²⁶ Medvedev, Igor [Медведев, Игорь]. *Очерки византийской дипломатики: Частноправовой акт* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1988): 84

¹⁷²⁷ Pachymeres, *Historia* (1835), Vol. II, p. 237.

become a monk could consecrate a movable gift by putting it on the altar of the church, but in case of the gift being:

“immovable or animate, he shall set forth a document of grant and dedication to God through the intercessions of our supremely holy Mistress, the Mother of God, and having entered into the holy sanctuary, as I have stated, he shall set down this [document] on the awesome and holy and mystical and divine table.”¹⁷²⁸

This concern with materiality of documents, present in the rituals associated with the passing of a deed to a recipient, the adornment and copying into monumental form as well as the distinguished spiritual status of documents issued by the royal chancellery, all these features witnesses about the importance of documents’ physical presence and preservation, as they were guarantors of economic wealth and sustainability of monastic institutions. As it was noted by I.P. Medvedev, the most important role an act played was “the mean of proof” being examined at court or by imperial authorities, and, therefore the material aspect of an act was carefully studied with the scope of avoiding forgeries.¹⁷²⁹

So, the material aspect of a charter was as much important as its content, which sometimes, due to its highly rhetoric form, could even not be perfectly understood by all readers, for whom the economic content of donation act was much more important, than its rhetoric part. Many byzantine acts preserve *verso*-notes referring only to the property and privileges in question and the issuing institution.¹⁷³⁰ In Slavic monasteries (Hilandar, Panteleimon),¹⁷³¹ these *verso*-notes are usually made in Slavic or a combination of Greek and Slavic, but all these notes completely ignore the rhetoric part.

The topic of literacy among the monks was addressed on the basis of their signatures and copyist mistakes¹⁷³² and on the material of the monasteries’ inventories.¹⁷³³ Both authors, N. Oikonomides and J. Waring, came to conclusion about the existence of sufficient literacy for reading and understanding of the texts in monastic communities, at least by some of its members. N.

¹⁷²⁸ *BMFD*, p. 1140.

¹⁷²⁹ Medvedev, Igor [Медведев, Игорь]. *Правовая культура Византийской империи* (St. Petersburg: Aleteia, 2001): 405-420.

¹⁷³⁰ *Actes de Vatopédi*, Vol. II, p. 244, no. 104; p. 263, no. 109; p. 272, no. 110; p. 280, no. 113; *Actes d'Esphigmenou*, p. 95, no. 13; p. 143, no. 22; p. 177, no. 31; *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, p. 57, no. 136; p. 88, no. 142; p. 122, no. 152; p. 131, no. 155; p. 143, no. 158; *Actes de Kutlumus*, p. 122, no. 31; p. 138, no. 37 and many others.

¹⁷³¹ Almost all documents in Hilandar monastery have this kind of marks on *verso*, just as example see: *Actes de Chilandar*, Vol. I, p. 139, no. 11, 144, no. 12, 150, no. 14; 158, no. 15; 167, no. 17 etc. *Actes de Saint-Panteleemon*, p. 87, no. 9; p. 121, no. 17. In case of Kutlumus majority of *verso*-marks are bilingual, Greek and Slavic: *Actes de Kutlumus*, p. 102, no. 26; p. 107, no. 28; p. 110, no. 29; p. 116, no. 30; p. 132, no. 35 etc.

¹⁷³² Oikonomides, Nicholas. “Mount Athos: Levels of Literacy,” *DOP* 42 (1988): 167-178.

¹⁷³³ Waring, Judith. “Literacies of Lists: Reading Byzantine Monastic Inventories”, in: *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. C. Holmes and J. Waring (Brill: Leiden, 2002): 165-186.

Oikonomides¹⁷³⁴ and C. Holmes¹⁷³⁵ also underlined the fact of high literacy among Byzantine population of towns, provincial nobility and bureaucracy. All these authors considered that the majority of monks, as well as the urban class and the low officials had pragmatic and legal literacy, i.e. many of them could read simple texts, but just few could compose their own. Moreover, their legal literacy did not always coincide with the writing skills, since the texts of charters were often read aloud for the audience being present. So, the text of the read-aloud acts could be also understood partially even by villagers and town communities' members, as it will be shown in the chapter about non-elite donations. Consequently, one may assume that the significance of a charter could be understood by the recipients at the three levels: visual, substantial, and rhetorical. Those being illiterate perceived the document as an object which had its external features prompting the respect and veneration (such as seals, signatures, invocation crosses, imperial approval by the red ink etc). Indeed, for this group, an imperial deed being supplied with the most evident external attributes and, sometimes, images seemed to be worthy of being holy. The second group, being able to read and distinguished by practical literacy, was interested predominantly into the economic content of the deeds, not fully understanding or not paying attention to the rhetoric part. Finally, a small, but important group of readers, usually belonging to the elites of the monasteries and administration, was able to comprehend fully the written rhetorical prooimia. This group was the audience of the ideological and pious messages contained in charters.

6. The Political Landscape: Royal Donations

This chapter is going to address the ways in which the landed donations of the Byzantine and Serbian rulers and aristocrats given to great monasteries changed the economic and political situation in the regions of Macedonia and Thrace,¹⁷³⁶ and established a landscape of power, piety and political

¹⁷³⁴ Oikonomides, Nicholas. "Literacy in Thirteenth-century Byzantium: An Example from Western Asia Minor," in Id., *Society, Culture and Politics in Byzantium* (Ashgate Variorum: Adelshot, 2005): 253-265.

¹⁷³⁵ Holmes, Catherine. "Political Literacy", in: *The Byzantine World*, ed. P. Stephenson (Oxon- New York: Routledge: 2010): 137-148.

¹⁷³⁶ Macedonia as a province or district in the Palaiologan era didn't completely correspond with the modern geographic region. In the present paper, the term "Macedonia" designates the regions of Thrace and East Macedonia between rivers Strymon and Maritza, as it was usually applied by the Byzantine writers starting from the 12th century (Koder, Johnnes. "Macedonians and Macedonia in Byzantine Spatial Thinking," in: *Byzantine Macedonia. Identity, Image and History: Papers from the Melbourne Conference, July 1995*, eds. J. Burke and R. Scott (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2000): 20-21), although some writers of the 14th century such as John Kantakouzenos and Demetrios Kydones differentiated between Thrace and Macedonia, and considered that the cities of Thessaloniki and Serres were parts of Macedonia (Maksimović, *The Byzantine provincial administration*, pp. 48-51). In the 13th century, themes of Serres and Strymon, Thessaloniki and Macedonia and Thrace are mentioned in Byzantium; however, the administrative division was rather functioning at the level of *katepanikia* (Theocharides, Georgios [Θεοχαρίδης Γεώργιος]. *Κατεπανίκια της Μακεδονίας: Σύμβολη εις Την Διοικητικὴν Ἱστορίαν Καὶ Γεωγραφίαν Της Μακεδονίας Κατὰ Τους Μετα Την Φραγκοκρατίαν Χρονους* (Thessaloniki, 1954), while the writers themselves used rather vague terms such as *chora* or *eparchiai*.

¹⁷³⁶ Antoniadis-Bibicou, Hélène. "Villages désertés en Grèce. Un bilan provisoire," in: *Villages désertés et histoire économique XIe–XVIIIe siècle*, eds. G. Duby, M. Roncayolo, P Courbin, et al. (Paris: SEVPEN, 1965): 343–417, esp. p. 365.

affiliations. In recent years, anthropological and archaeological studies started to focus on the problem of landscape as a monastic experience of space and the means of constructing reality of social relations.¹⁷³⁷ In application to the Byzantine studies, this methodology gave significant results in studying the spatial organization of bishoprics in late-Byzantine Peloponnese as marking their territories re-conquered from the Latins.¹⁷³⁸ A similar approach but with an accent on networks and geographic distribution of urban and trade centres was adopted in works on the region of Macedonia¹⁷³⁹ and maritime and bishopric centres,¹⁷⁴⁰ produced by the scholars working in the Austrian Academy.

Sociological approach to the landscape proposes to understand the space as created by social interactions, natural and cultural objects, and invested with different meanings: landscape becomes shaped by space-human relations and is revealed in the ways humans describe, name, alternate and form the actual physical environment.

For the present study, two aspects of human-space interaction will be significant and methodologically useful: narrating about landscape and altering or designing it through political and religious practices. The narrating about a certain space reveals the experience, context and

¹⁷³⁷ J. Thomas suggested to replace the archeological analysis of sites with the distribution approach to the regional analysis looking at the development of landscape and diffusion of artefacts, see: Thomas, Julian. "Archaeologies of Place and Landscape," in: *Archaeological Theory Today*, ed.I. Hodder, 2nd Edition (Cambridge: Polity, 2012): 167-187; Anthropological approach centred on how individuals experience the world by setting a difference between selves and space, how they establish the social construction of landscape and endow it with new meanings, was introduced by: Tilley, Christopher. *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments* (Oxford-Providence: Berg, 1994); These ideas received development in the collection of articles: Hirsch Erich and O'Hanlon, Michael, ed. *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

¹⁷³⁸ Gerstel, "Mapping the Boundaries of Church and Village."

¹⁷³⁹ The studies of spatial image of a region conducted by M. Popović are based on the Central Place Theory, i.e. they analyze the relations between settlements on the basis of various connections between them and establish the spatial nodes linking smaller settlements between each other, see: Popović, Mihailo. *Von den Quellen zum Visuellen in der historischen Geographie. Zentrale Orte, Siedlungstheorien und Geoinformatik, angewendet auf die historische Landschaft Makedonien (13. bis 16. Jahrhundert)*, Habilitate Dissertation, Vienna 2012; Popović, Mihailo. "The Dynamics of Borders, Transportation Networks and Migration in the Historical Region of Macedonia (14th–16th Centuries)," in: *Europa im Geflecht der Welt. Mittelalterliche Migrationen in globalen Bezügen*, ed. M. Borgolte et als. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012): 155–172; Popović, Mihailo. "New Insights into the History of Balkan Fairs in the Historical Region of Macedonia (13th-19th Centuries)," *Bulgaria Mediaevalis* 2 (2011): 757-776; Mihailo and Breier, Markus. "Tracing Byzantine Routes - Medieval Road Networks in the Historical Region of Macedonia and Their Reconstruction by Least-Cost Paths," in: *Proceedings of the "16th International Conference on Cultural Heritage and New Technologies"* (Vienna: 2012): 464-475; Popović, Mihailo. "Networks of Border Zones: A Case Study on the Historical Region of Macedonia in the 14th Century AD," in: *Understanding Different Geographies*, ed. K. Kriz et al. (Berlin-Heidelberg, 2013): 227-241. The political application of the Central Place Theory to the network of cities, around via Egnatia, along the Strumica valley, demonstrated that the patterns of villages' development being depended on the changes of power and mastery over the parts of the routes, see: Popović, Mihailo, "L'espace impérial, l'espace contesté: Le sud-est de la Macédoine entre Byzance et l'Empire serbe," in: *Zbornik radova u čast akademiku Desanki Kovačević Kojić* ed. R. Kuzmanović et als. (Banja Luka: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Republike Srpske, 2015): 409-425.

¹⁷⁴⁰ Preiser-Kapeller, Johannes. "Harbours and Maritime Networks as Complex Adaptive Systems – a Thematic Introduction," in: *Harbours and maritime Networks as Complex Adaptive Systems*, eds. J. Preiser-Kapeller, F. Daim (Mainz: Schnell & Steiner, 2015): 1–24. Application of the theory of central places to the network of people and their income, see: Preiser-Kapeller, Johannes and Mitsiou, Ekaterini. "Hierarchies and fractals: Ecclesiastical revenues as indicator for the distribution of relative demographic and Economic Potential within the Cities and Regions of the Late Byzantine Empire in the Early 14th Century," *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεκτα* 21 (2011): 245 – 307.

significance which this space has for a person; it represents landscape as invested with values, ideology and beliefs.¹⁷⁴¹ At the same time altering a space endows it with additional economic values, demonstrates the influence of certain political or religious groups and establishes new significance understood by members of the same social group, thus using landscape as a communication tool.¹⁷⁴²

Thus, looking at donor's political position during Byzantine civil wars (1321-1328; 1341-1347 and 1376-1379),¹⁷⁴³ Serbian coup d'état (1331) and Byzantine-Serbian conflicts (1333-1338; 1341-1346), their choice of monastery for commemoration and their family ties, I will address the question whether their choice of monastery for benefaction has something to do with their political views.

6.1. Holy Corporations: Participation of Great Provincial Monasteries in Urban Economy during the Late Byzantine Period

The rule of the Palaiologoi dynasty in Byzantium was a time of blooming and prosperity for Byzantine monasteries. The surviving written documents show a rapid growth of monastic landed estates, the increase of their tax immunities and economic privileges and the emergence of new types of properties under monastic ownership.¹⁷⁴⁴ The involvement of religious foundations into politics intensified together with their economic power, this process reaching its peak in the second half of the century, when the Hesychast controversy converged with political instability resulting into wars and disintegration of the state.¹⁷⁴⁵ In this situation, the monasteries tried to use the political circumstances in their interests to receive new types of properties, namely, urban possessions.

The topic of monastic urban possessions was mainly regarded in works of several authors, M.A. Polyakovskaya,¹⁷⁴⁶ B. Ferjančić,¹⁷⁴⁷ and T. Kiousopoulou¹⁷⁴⁸ who collected a significant number of cases on the basis of documents preserved in archives of Mt. Athos, Prodromos monastery in Serres and some other, smaller, monastic dossiers. However, these studies, though enumerating truly great

¹⁷⁴¹ Tilley, Christopher. *A Phenomenology of Landscapes: Places, Paths and Monuments* (Oxford-Providence: Berg, 1994): 15.

¹⁷⁴² Tilley, Christopher. *A Phenomenology of Landscapes: Places, Paths and Monuments* (Oxford-Providence: Berg, 1994): 38.

¹⁷⁴³ Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, Maria [Νυσταζοπούλου-Πελεκίδου, Μαρία]. "Η Μακεδονία κατά την Παλαιολόγεια εποχή," in: *Συμπόσιο «Η Μακεδονία κατά την εποχή των Παλαιολόγων»*, ed. Th. Zeses et al. (Thessaloniki: 2001): 51-61.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Charanis, "Monastic Properties...", pp. 93-97; Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monasteries*, pp. 176-181.

¹⁷⁴⁵ Guran, Petre. "Jean VI Cantacuzène, l'hésychasme et l'empire. Les miniatures du codex Parisinus graecus 1242," in: *L'empereur hagiographe. Culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine*, eds. P. Guran, B. Flusin (Bucharest: Colegiul Noua Europa, 2001): 73-122.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Polyakovskaya, Margarita A. [Поляковская, Маргарита А.]. "Монастырские владения в Фессалонике и ее пригородном районе в XIV-нач. XV вв.," *Antichnaya drevnost' i srednie veka* 3 (1965): 29-46; Polyakovskaya, Margarita A. [Поляковская, Маргарита А.]. "К вопросу о характере городской и пригородной монастырской собственности в поздней Византии," *Antichnaya drevnost' i srednie veka* 4 (1966): 75-93; Polyakovskaya, Margarita A. [Поляковская, Маргарита А.]. "Монастырские владения в городе Серры и пригородном районе в XIV в.," *VV* 27 (1967): 310-318.

¹⁷⁴⁷ Ferjančić, Božidar. "Posedi vizantijskih provincijskih manastira u gradovima," *ZRV* 19 (1980): 209-250.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Kiousopoulou, Antonia [Κιουσσοπούλου, Αντωνία]. "Η Παρουσία των Μοναστηριών μέσα στις Πόλεις κατά τους Παλαιολόγειους χρόνους," in: *Χρήμα και αγορά στην εποχή των Παλαιολόγων*, ed. N. Moschonas (Athens: Ethniko Hidryma Ereunon, 2003): 273-282.

variety of instances, do not provide sufficient analysis for political situation. In the present subchapter I would like to examine several case-studies in order to establish what the reasons were for such generous endowment of provincial monasteries with urban properties. I am also going to investigate the problems of influence of monastic presence onto urban life, the usage of these new town possessions, and to turn toward the issue of emergence of a new economic system, which was put into motion by the accumulation of means of production, transportation, and selling under the ownership of the great provincial monasteries.

During the series of civil wars which gripped the Byzantine state in the 14th century, the combatants tried to win over the most important monasteries (mainly, Athonite) and gain their support. For achieving this goal, some of rulers proposed to monasteries something which those have not yet had and were interested to receive, that is, town properties. So, whereas before 1320s, one can notice that town properties were acquired mainly in small parcels through private patronage or purchases, starting from 1320s, the great provincial monasteries got the ownership over several important domains in big towns (Thessaloniki, Serres, Heraclea) and the capital through imperial and patriarchal donations.¹⁷⁴⁹ These donations were rather generous and were formed to meet the needs of the petitioning monastery (very often in *petitions* of Byzantine charters, monks are presented as initiators of benefactions, asking for properties corresponding to certain their needs):¹⁷⁵⁰ therefore, the increasing number of town properties granted by emperors during the 14th century was a symptom of monasteries' desire (especially, the Athonite ones) to participate in urban life. On the other hand, the imperial benevolence was caused by particular, personal and/or political, reasons such as loyalty and political support provided by foundation, spiritual counselling or kinship ties.

Thus, during the period of the civil war (1321-1328) between Andronikos II and his grand-son Andronikos III,¹⁷⁵¹ both rulers contested the patronage over St. John Prodromos Monastery next to Serres, one of the most influential ecclesiastical institution in the region, which affected both, the actions of the local bishopric and political sympathies of the local nobility, many of whom had their relatives taking vows inside of St. John's walls.¹⁷⁵² Consequently, in the short period of 1321-1330, both emperors issued a significant number of documents (Andronikos II – 10, Andronikos III – 5) concerning tax exemptions of monastery's properties situated in Serres and its vicinity and in the

¹⁷⁴⁹ For the dynamic of increasing number of town possessions of the Athonite monasteries and methods of their acquiring, see: Ferjančić, Božidar. "Posedi vizantijskih provincijskih manastira u gradovima," *ZRVI* 19 (1980): 209-215 and Polyakovskaya, Margarita A. [Поляковская, Маргарита А.]. "К вопросу о характере городской и пригородной монастырской собственности в поздней Византии", *Antichnaya drevnost' i srednie veka* 4 (1966): 92-93;

¹⁷⁵⁰ About petitioning of court visitors and its effect on formulae of Byzantine charters see Stanoje Stanojević, "Studije o srpskoj diplomaciji. VII. Intervencija (Peticija), VIII. Ekspozicija (Naracija), IX. Dispozicija," *Glas Srpske Kraljevske Akademije* 96 (1920): 79-152 (especially 79-116); Dölger, Franz and Karayannopulos, Johannes. *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre* (Munich: Beck, 1968): 83-84.

¹⁷⁵¹ Nicol, *The Last Centuries Of Byzantium*, pp. 149-166

¹⁷⁵² Guillou, *Les Archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, pp. 18-20; For the relations of lay inhabitants of Serres with the monastery, see the table of adelphata : Malatras, *Social Structure*, pp. 412-414.

kastron of Zichne.¹⁷⁵³ However, the second founder of the Prodromos monastery, Joakeim, the bishop of Zichne, supported the party of Andronikos III¹⁷⁵⁴ and after the end of this civil war he and his monastery received many benefits. A Chrysobull by Andronikos III (1329),¹⁷⁵⁵ issued as a gratitude to his Serres ally, promoted Joakeim to a position of metropolitan, while the Prodromos Monastery received its largest town property. It was the metochion of St. John the Baptist in Serres which was established in the lands confiscated from the *megas logothetes* Theodore Metochites, the supporter of Andronikos II's defeated party.

Already in the 14th century, Serres became an important commercial and transportation center. The road leading to Petrich and Melnik and further to Bulgaria was passing through the city.¹⁷⁵⁶ The Pella and Serres hoards, consisting mainly of coins minted in Thessaloniki, can witness about the well-being and development of trade in the region.¹⁷⁵⁷ Therefore, the acquisition of a metochion in the town was a necessary step for gaining access to the commerce and distribution centre for monastic agricultural and livestock product surplus.

Other provincial monasteries, such as Philotheos, Koutloumous, and the Great Lavra, strived to establish their presence in the city as well. As one can suggest, in order to gain the support of such an important monastery as the Great Lavra, Andronikos II granted to it desirable properties in Serres. It's impossible to point out the precise date of this donation, because the information about the *metochion* under question survived only in a later *chrysobull*¹⁷⁵⁸ with confirmation of Lavra's previously obtained goods. The *chrysobull* of 1329 issued by Andronikos III confirms, among other possessions, the *metochion* of St. Athanasios "next to the city of Serres," which "appeared to be in Lavra's domain" with its own properties "acquired... some through endowing and some through purchase."¹⁷⁵⁹ However, there are reasons to consider that St. Athanasios' monastery was given to Lavra by Andronikos II. Firstly, the text about this dominion is added in the very end of the *chrysobull*, after listing all other properties and even tax exemptions. Secondly, the text of Andronikos

¹⁷⁵³ For more details about the process of acquiring town possessions by St. John monastery in Serres, see: Bakirtzis, *Hagios Ioannis Prodromos Monastery*, pp. 53-59; Polyakovskaya, Margarita A. [Поляковская, Маргарита А.]. "Монастырские владения в городе Серры и пригородном районе в XIV в.," *VV* 27 (1967): 310-318; Kiousopoulou, Antonia [Κιουσπούλου, Αντωνία]. "Η Παρουσία των Μοναστηριών μέσα στις Πόλεις κατά τους Παλαιολόγειους χρόνους," in: *Χρήμα και αγορά στην εποχή των Παλαιολόγων*, ed. N. Moschonas (Athens: Ethniko Hidryma Ereunon, 2003): 273-282.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. I, p. 262, ll. 14-22

¹⁷⁵⁵ Guillou, *Les Archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, pp. 86- 89; Bénou, *Le Codex B*, pp. 377-381.

¹⁷⁵⁶ Mihailo Popović and Peter Soustal, "Mapping 'Macedonia's Five Most Excellent Cities' – What do Byzantine Studies, Austrian Cartography from the 1830s and GIS have in Common?," in: *Proceedings of the 25th International Cartographic Conference, Paris, 3 - 8 July 2011*. Accessed on May 3, 2016 http://icaci.org/files/documents/ICC_proceedings/ICC2011/Oral%20Presentations%20PDF/E1-History%20of%20cartography%20and%20GI%20science/CO-426.pdf

¹⁷⁵⁷ Bellinger, Alfred Raymond and Grierson, Philip, eds. *Catalogue Of The Byzantine Coins In The Dumbarton Oaks Collection And In The Whittemore Collection*. Vol. V: Michael VIII to Constantine XI, 1258-1453 (Washington D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2008): 16.

¹⁷⁵⁸ *Actes De Lavra*, Vol. III, pp. 1-8, no. 118.

¹⁷⁵⁹ *Actes De Lavra*, Vol. III, p. 7, l. 239-250.

III's charter somehow questions the legality of the new domain of the Lavra, stating that the donations and purchases are valid only "if they were made legally and justly." Finally, St. Athanasios' *metochion* was acquired by the monastery in the period between 1321 (the inventories of Lavra's domain) and 1329, when the confirmation was issued. To sum up, I would assume that the situation of St. Athanasios *metochion* is a case of *damnatio memoriae*, when the donation itself is confirmed, while the name of grantor is omitted because of political reasons.

Probably, Andronikos III himself tried to achieve Lavra's support. In 1329, he passed the foundation of Theotokos Zoodochos Pigi, rebuilt by late Patriarch Isaias, to the Athonite monastery.¹⁷⁶⁰ Being situated "within [the walls] of god-saved, god-glorified and greatest in god Constantinople" (ἐντὸς τῆς θεοφυλάκτου καὶ θεοδοξάστου καὶ θεομεγαλύντου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως),¹⁷⁶¹ this place was a medium scale foundation, whose properties were mainly situated in the capital and Eastern Thrace.¹⁷⁶² It may have been a good place for temporary stay in the capital, but as it will be shown further, the Lavriotes had intention to gain a place more attached to the commercial canters of the capital.

In the case of another generous imperial donation, that of Psychosostria Monastery in Constantinople to Vatopedi, made by John Kantakouzenos, the reasons standing behind were political as well as personal. The family of the Kantakouzenoi favored Vatopedi for many years. Thus, before 1329, the grand domestikos turned the monastery of St. Demetrios near Serres into Vatopedi's *metochion*,¹⁷⁶³ while in 1337-1338, Anna Kantakouzeni, the mother of John VI, donated 110 land parcels in proximity of the same city to the Athonite foundation.¹⁷⁶⁴ As a *megas domestikos*, John himself made several rich gifts: a collection of 26 luxury manuscripts ordered at Hodegon,¹⁷⁶⁵ gold-embroidered *epitaphios* and icons (the Archangel Gabriel, John the Forerunner, and the Evangelists John and Luke).¹⁷⁶⁶

¹⁷⁶⁰ *Actes De Lavra*, Vol. III, pp. 9-13, nos. 119-120, see also a case study comparing the properties of Lavra and Vatopedi in Constantinople: Melvani, Nicholas. "Athonite Presence in Constantinople during the Palaiologan Period," in: *Η εξακτίνωση του Αγίου Όρους στον ορθόδοξο κόσμο: τα μετόχια / Mount Athos: Spreading the Light to the Orthodox World. The Metochia* (Mount Athos/Thessaloniki, 2015): 73-82.

¹⁷⁶¹ The identification of the monastery mentioned in the chrysobull with the Zoodochos foundation situated outside the walls of Constantinople is accepted by Franz Dölger (Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2739) and Raymond Janin (Janin, Raymond. *La Géographie Ecclesiastique de l'Empire Byzantin, Part 1: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique, Vol. III: Les Églises et les Monastères* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1969), 225) but rejected by Paul Lemerle (*Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, p. 10).

¹⁷⁶² *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. IV, pp. 121-122; Melvani, Nicholas. "Athonite Presence in Constantinople during the Palaiologan Period," in: *Η εξακτίνωση του Αγίου Όρους στον ορθόδοξο κόσμο: τα μετόχια / Mount Athos: Spreading the Light to the Orthodox World. The Metochia* (Mount Athos/Thessaloniki, 2015): 73-74.

¹⁷⁶³ *Actes de Vatopédi*, Vol. I, pp. 370-376, no. 68 (esp. pp. 374-375, l. 56-61).

¹⁷⁶⁴ *Actes de Vatopédi*, Vol. II, pp. 90-148, no. 80.

¹⁷⁶⁵ Lamberz, Erich. "Die Schenkung des Kaisers Johannes VI. Kantakouzenos an das Kloster Vatopedi und die Schreibzentren Konstantinopels im 14. Jahrhundert," in: *Acts: XVIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Selected Papers. Moscow, 1991, vol. IV: Literature, Sources, Numismatics and History of Sciences*. ed. I. Ševčenko and G. G. Litavrin, (Shepherdstown, WV, 1996 [2000]): 155-167.

¹⁷⁶⁶ Theophilos, abbot of Vatopedi [Θεόφιλος προηγούμενος Βατοπαιδινός]. "Χρονικόν περί της ιεράς και σεβασμίας Μεγίστης Μονῆς Βατοπαιδίου Αγίου Όρους," *Makedonika* 12 (1972): 83, 103-104; Theochare, Maria A. [Θεοχάρη,

Moreover, it was precisely Vatopedi that became a place with high concentration of both social groups supporting Kantakouzenos during the civil wars: aristocrats who took the habit and *hesychast* theologians (Germanus the Athonite, Gregory Palamas, Sabbas, and Macarius Macris).¹⁷⁶⁷ Against this background, one of the most prominent members of Vatopedi, Sabbas Tziskos (PLP, no. 27991),¹⁷⁶⁸ following both, his personal friendship with John VI and his political views, participated in the Athonite embassy which tried to reconcile the two parties of the second civil wars.

Thus, in the winter of 1341-1342, John Kantakouzenos tried to come to peace with the opposing party of Anna of Savoy, and sent several messages addressed to the Empress and Patriarch Kalekas. Not having had an answer, Kantakouzenos “staying in Didymoteichon... wrote to the monks of Mont Athos... asking them not to allow the spilling of Christian blood, but to come to Byzantium and to instruct the empress about the indignity of (her) deeds.”¹⁷⁶⁹ The embassy consisting of Isaac, the *protos* of the Holy Mont, Makarios, *hegoumenos* of the Great Lavra, Kallistos, the future patriarch of Constantinople, Sabbas, monk of Vatopedi, and other elders, reached the patriarch and the empress, but their mission was unrewarded by success. John Kalekas separated the monks and confined them into different monasteries of the capital, being afraid that “on their return, they will lay the blame for the war on the patriarch and the empress and will witness that emperor Kantakouzenos is seeking for peace.”¹⁷⁷⁰ Sabbas of Vatopedi, being known for his friendship with Kantakouzenos, was separately sent to Chora monastery.

After his ascension to the throne, John VI tried to express his gratitude for Vatopedi’s loyalty and support. In 1347, he made an attempt to appoint Sabbas as patriarch,¹⁷⁷¹ but the latter refused the proposal. Another evidence of John VI’s appreciation and mutual support between the emperor and the monastery was the *prostagma* of October 1347.¹⁷⁷² According to the *petitio* of a later *chrysobull* (1349) confirming the goods which had been given 1347, the monks addressed the emperor and

Μαρία Σ.], “Χρυσοκέντητα Ἀμφία,” in: *Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου. Παράδοση, ιστορία, τέχνη*, ed. I. Papaggelos, Vol. 2 (Agion Oros: Iera Megiste Mone Batopaidiou, 1996): img. 357.

¹⁷⁶⁷ About aristocratic character of Vatopedi, see: Oikonomides, Nikolaos [Οικονομίδης, Νικόλαος]. “Βυζαντινό Βατοπαίδι: Μια Μονή της υψηλής αριστοκρατίας,” in: *Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου. Παράδοση, ιστορία, τέχνη*, ed. I. Papaggelos, Vol. I (Agion Oros: Iera Megiste Mone Batopaidiou, 1996): 44-53; Pavlikianov, *Medieval Aristocrat*, pp. 89-100, 134-151, 191.

¹⁷⁶⁸ PLP, no. 27991.

¹⁷⁶⁹ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. II, p.209, ll.1-6

¹⁷⁷⁰ For the entire story of the embassy, see: Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. II, pp. 208-212, sections 34-35 (here quoted p. 212, ll. 4-7); Tsames, Demetrios G. [Τσάμης, Δημήτριος Γ.], ed., “Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἁγίου Σάβα τοῦ Νέου,” in: *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου ἁγιολογικὰ ἔργα. Α΄. Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἄγιοι* (Thessaloniki: Kentron Byzantinon Ereunon, 1985): 290-293; Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor*, p. 61.

¹⁷⁷¹ Tsames, Demetrios G. [Τσάμης, Δημήτριος Γ.], ed., *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἁγίου Σάβα*, in: *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου ἁγιολογικὰ ἔργα, Α΄, Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἄγιοι* (Thessaloniki: Kentron Byzantinon Ereunon, 1985): p. 393, section 76; Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. III, pp. 25-28; , Nicol, pp. 86-87.

¹⁷⁷² Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2931; the *prostagma* itself is not preserved, but it is mentioned in the *chrysobull* issued by John Kantakouzenos for Vatopedi in 1349 (Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2956; *Actes de Vatopédi*, Vol. II, pp. 230-237, no. 102), which confirms the previous possessions.

requested a place in the capital, where they could stay during their visits; subsequently, John VI granted the monastery of Psychosostria, “situated in the kept-by-God city of Constantinople,” together with all its houses, gardens and mills in Constantinople and Heraclea, including the *metochion* Kenchrion, situated on the shore of Bosphorus.¹⁷⁷³ It was, probably, one of the first possessions of the Athonite monasteries in Constantinople.

The nature of exploitation of these goods becomes self-evident from the tax exemption granted further in the text of the document. The monastery of Psychosostria had a ship with 100 *modioi* capacity, and, by *prostagma* of 1347, John Kantakouzenos had reduced the *kommerkion*-tax (from 8 to 2 *hyperpyra*) for the goods transferred by monks for sale. In 1349, the emperor completely exempted Vatopedi’s ships (the above-mentioned 100 *modioi* and another of 300 *modioi*) from paying the *kommerkion* and *tetramoria* (tax on fish-catch)¹⁷⁷⁴ in “Constantinople and in all the rest of castles and islands” (Κωνσταντινούπολιν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κάστρα πάντα καὶ τὰς νήσους). So, the Athonite monastery received a place in the capital to store its goods and products for future trade, and an additional transportation mean (the ship).

Another politically-motivated donation of town properties was made by the party of John V. In December 1342, the emperor issues a *chrysobull* confirming the gift made by Niphon (*PLP*, no. 20681), his “spiritual father”¹⁷⁷⁵ to Lavra Monastery. Niphon reconstructed St. Panteleimon hostel (*xenon*) in the centre of Constantinople and joined to it several dependencies in the proximity of Prodromos gates, inside and outside of the walls: silk-shops, 20 exchange offices, 4 perfumery workshops, 4 grocery shops, wheat storages, and several houses. The complete revenue of these properties constituted 700 *hyperpyra*. Additionally, Niphon endowed the hospital of Lavra with a 200-*hyperpyra* revenue received from workshops, nail-workshops, exchange offices, and houses situated next to and outside of Anastasis gates. One can notice, therefore, that in this case, Lavra received only the revenues (altogether 900 *hyperpyra*), but it didn’t manage the properties. Nevertheless, the gift was quite generous and can be regarded as an attempt to gain the support of the monastery under its new *hegoumenos* (the previous one, Makarios, was appointed the same year as the Metropolitan of Thessaloniki, that is, after his participation into pro-Kantakouzenos embassy).¹⁷⁷⁶

Probably, the monks of Lavra didn’t have complete unanimity concerning their political and theological views. As it is proved by later long-lasting unrests and conflicts inside of the monastery (1350-1371), which resulted in the departure of some monks to Iviron and deposition of *hegoumenos*

¹⁷⁷³ *Actes de Vatopédi*, Vol. II, pp. 230-237, no. 102.

¹⁷⁷⁴ For Athonite see trade and fishing, see: Laiou, Angeliki. “Economic Activities of Vatopedi in the Fourteenth Century.” in: *Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπεδίου. Ιστορία και Τέχνη* (Athens, 1999): 56-59; Nystazopoulou-Pélékidis, Marie. “À nouveau sur les bateaux des monasteres byzantins (XIIIe-XVe siècles),” in: *Γαληνοτάτη. Τιμή στη Χρύσα Μαλτέζου*, eds. G. Varzelioti and K. Tsiknakis (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2013): 545-559.

¹⁷⁷⁵ *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, pp. 20-26, no. 123.

¹⁷⁷⁶ Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor*, p. 61.

Niphon,¹⁷⁷⁷ not all the monks were in complete agreement with Gregory Palamas' theology, and among them can be also found those, who supported the party of John V. On the other hand, Lavra kept its leading position in the Church affairs of the Empire as in the middle of the 14th century two Constantinopolitan patriarchs (Isaiah and Philotheos Kokkinos) came from the Athonite Lavra.¹⁷⁷⁸

Finally, a generous donation made by Despot of Epiros, Thomas Preljubović, and his wife, Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina, was prompted mainly by pious reasons and spiritual bonds. In 1375, the royal couple granted the monastery of Theotokos Gabaliotissa¹⁷⁷⁹ with its possessions to Lavra, motivating their decision by "following the divine matters" and instructions of *hegoumenos* Cyrill, who is called "a spiritual father of our majesties."¹⁷⁸⁰ And again, as in the previous examples, the bulk of the granted property comprised mainly town possessions, in this case in Edessa (Voden): hostels, terrains for hostels, workshops, gardens, vineries, mills, and mill-workshops. Their acquisition could be quite profitable for Lavra, in spite of the town's relatively modest size. In Byzantine times, Edessa was one of the main points on *Via Egnatia*, the principal in-land way used for trade, as well as for warfare: the road started in Thessaloniki, led to Edessa, and after that, continued to Bitola, Ohrid, Dyrrachium and Skadar.¹⁷⁸¹ The presence of *Via Egnatia* may explain the main source of income from Gabaliotissa *metochion* – hostels (*ospitia*).

Usually, in the beginning of the 14th century, monastic urban possessions are placed on the outskirts of towns and consist of houses, gardens, mills, some workshops, and terrains.¹⁷⁸² However, already in the middle of the century, their content became more and more diverse, and one can find among these properties bakeries (*fournia*), pastry-shops (*magkipeia*), silk-shops (*kylistareion*),

¹⁷⁷⁷ *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. IV, pp. 38-41.

¹⁷⁷⁸ Guiland, Rodolphe. "Moines de l'Athos, Patriarches de Constantinople," *Epeteris Etaireia Byzantinon Spoudon* 52 (1963): 42-50.

¹⁷⁷⁹ In more details about the donation act and the properties of the Gabaliotissa Monastery, see: Papazotos, Thanasis [Παπαζώτος, Θανάσης]. "Ο Θωμάς Πρελιούμποβιτς και η Μαρία Παλαιολογίνα κτήτορες του ναού της Παναγίας Γαβαλιωτίσσης στα Βοδενά," *Kleronomia* 13/2 (1981): 509-516; Radosević, Ninoslava, Subotić, Gojko. "Bogorodica Gavaliotisa u Vodenu," *ZRVI* 27-28 (1989): 217-263; Subotić, Gojko. „Δώρα και δωρεές του δεσπότη Θωμά και της βασίλισσας Μαρίας Παλαιολογίνας,” in: *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου*, ed. E. Χρυσός (Arta: Mousikophilologikos syllogos Artes o Skouphas, 1992): 69-71; Loverdou-Tsigaridas, Katia. "Objets précieux de l'église de la Vierge Gavaliotissa au monastère de Lavra (Mont Athos)," *Zograf* 26 (1997): 81-86.

¹⁷⁸⁰ *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, pp. 100-107, nos. 146 and 147.

¹⁷⁸¹ Oikonomides, Nikolaos. "The medieval Via Egnatia," in: *The Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule (1380–1699)*, ed. E. Zachariadou (Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 1996): 9-16 (esp. pp. 12-13);

¹⁷⁸² The evidence on increasing diversity and number of monastic possessions in Thessaloniki and Serres are presented in the form of tables in two articles of Polyakovskaya Margarita A. [Поляковская, Маргарита А.]. "Μοναστηρские владения в городе Серры и пригородном районе в XIV в.," *VV* 27 (1967): 312-314, 317 and Polyakovskaya, Margarita A. [Поляковская, Маргарита А.]. "Μοναστηρские владения в Фессалонике и ее пригородном районе в XIV-нач. XV вв.," *Antichnaya drevnost' i srednie veka* 3 (1965): 29-33 and the article of A. Kiousopoulou (Kiousopoulou, Antonia [Κιουσπούλου, Αντωνία]. "Η Παρουσία των Μοναστηριών μέσα στις Πόλεις κατά τους Παλαιολόγειους χρόνους," in: *Χρήμα και αγορά στην εποχή των Παλαιολόγων*, ed. N. Moschonas (Athens: Ethniko Hidryma Ereunon, 2003): 273-282) which compares the properties of the Prodromos Monastery in Serres with those possessions and lands belonging to the Athonite monasteries in Thessaloniki.

storages (*anogaia*), skinneries (*gounaradia*), grocery stores (*sardamareia*), vegetable shops (*lathanopoleia*), perfumeries (*myrepsika ergasteria*), and exchange offices (*trapezia*).¹⁷⁸³

At the very same moment, even the description of urban domains became more detailed and special attention started to be paid to the number of floors and yards, conditions of the buildings, access to water, and house equipment (wells, olive-oil mills, etc.). For example, in 1314, a citizen of Thessaloniki, John Karabas, became a monk and bequeathed his property to Hilandar. The donation included a bulk of real estates situated in the neighborhood of Saint Menas: 6 houses on a common yard with his nephew, two houses with a gabled roof and arches, and four houses under single-slope roofs. The latter ones had a private courtyard with a well, a ditch and an entrance on south.¹⁷⁸⁴ However, for the Athonite foundations, Thessaloniki was not only the commercial centre, but also a place of courts and judges administering numerous litigations in connection with the Holy Mount, and, consequently, the monasteries were interested to acquire not only the commercial properties, but also usual housing and *metochia* to stay during the endless processes.¹⁷⁸⁵

Another noteworthy tendency is a constant widening of number of provincial monasteries represented in towns. According to Louis Bréhier, the number of provincial monasteries which received or bought their properties in Thessaloniki increased from 5 (in the 13th century) to 17 by the middle of the 14th century;¹⁷⁸⁶ similar tendencies can be observed also in Serres.¹⁷⁸⁷ Moreover, the two peak periods, when both, the number of endowed monasteries and diversity of their properties, rises, coincide with periods of the civil wars and regional change of power (1321-1330; 1340-1350; 1370-1380), which confirms the above-stated hypothesis about the political background of monasteries' urban endowments.

As it seems to me, this diversity of monasteries' urban enterprises, growth of their number, and the attention to property maintenance witness about certain changes in the 14th-century monastic economies. Thus, thanks to generous imperial and patriarchal donations, the involvement of rural monasteries and their influence on urban economy rapidly increased, which, in turn, allowed the monasteries to develop new strategies of assets' formation and to address the target markets of their rural production directly (such as city shops and annual fairs). Consequently, urban monasteries started to establish their own trade and transportation systems.

¹⁷⁸³ Giros, Christophe. "Présence athonite à Thessalonique, XIIIe–XVe siècles," *DOP* 57 (2003): 265-278; Polyakovskaya, Margarita A. [Поляковская, Маргарита А.]. "К вопросу о характере городской и пригородной монастырской собственности в поздней Византии", *Antichnaya drevnost' i srednie veka* 4 (1966): 75-93.

¹⁷⁸⁴ *Actes de Chilandar*, Vol. I, pp. 208-219, no. 30 (esp. P. 216, l. 20-29).

¹⁷⁸⁵ Giros, Christophe. "Présence athonite à Thessalonique, XIIIe–XVe siècles," *DOP* 57 (2003): 276-278.

¹⁷⁸⁶ Bréhier, Louis. *Le Monde Byzantin, Vol. II: Les Institutions de L'empire Byzantin* (Paris: Michel, 1949): 574.

¹⁷⁸⁷ Polyakovskaya Margarita A. [Поляковская, Маргарита А.]. "Монастырские владения в городе Серры и пригородном районе в XIV в.", *VV* 27 (1967): 317; Kioussopoulou, Antonia [Κιουσσοπούλου, Αντωνία]. "Η Παρουσία των Μοναστηριών μέσα στις Πόλεις κατά τους Παλαιολόγειους χρόνους," in: *Χρήμα και αγορά στην εποχή των Παλαιολόγων*, ed. N. Moschonas (Athens: Ethniko Idryma Ereunon, 2003): 281.

Except for the mentioned cases of Lavra's presence in Serres and Edessa, there are other examples of monasteries' involvement into commerce:¹⁷⁸⁸ thus, before 1326, the monastery of Philotheou acquired two *metochia* in Thessaloniki, Sts. Peter and Paul and St. Geroqe Lankadinos, and the latter, except its ownership over 8 houses and gardens, received also revenues from a city market taking place on St. George's day.¹⁷⁸⁹ Already in the 13th century, Vatopedi owned a *metochion* of Agioi Anargyroi with its vineyards and annual fair,¹⁷⁹⁰ whereas Iviron received revenues of two fairs: "Prodromos" next to Radolibos (2 *hyperpyra*) and "Agia Paraskevi" in Thessaloniki (3 *hyperpyra*).¹⁷⁹¹ As it was noted by M. Živojinović,¹⁷⁹² the monks, from the very beginning of their presence on Mount Athos, were involved into some trade operations, but these operations became a recognized activity and received a legal framework only in the 14th century.

The novelty of an emerging production-trade scheme can be perceived in full extent in comparison with more traditional systems of monastic economic activities. Thus, in the confirmation *chrysobull* given by Serbian Tsar Dušan to Hilandar monastery in the 1350s,¹⁷⁹³ the listed lands are divided into "Serbian" and "Greek" (conquered by the Tsar), and town properties (*metochia* of Holy Archangel in Štip, Theotokos in Prosek, St. Nicholas in Serres, and Holy Trinity in Thessaloniki) appeared only in "Greek lands", this being a new phenomenon which has not yet emerged in the Slavic Orthodox lands.¹⁷⁹⁴

Judging that the monasteries tried to gain not only the properties inside the cities, but also the transportation means, one can observe the emergence of a new economic strategy. This strategy is aimed on establishing the monasteries as economic units, almost completely independent from the state. Being producers of goods (mainly agricultural), they simultaneously get access to both, transportation facilities (*metochia* on the main roads, ownership of ships) and markets (urban shops and storages, annual fairs). Thus, except for the above-mentioned exemption of two ships from *kommerkion* (1347), in 1356, Vatopedi specifically requested in advance from John V a *chrysobull* exempting a ship of 700 *modioi*, which the monastery "will buy or construct," from all possible taxes (*kommerkion*, *sitarion*, *tetramoiria*, *xylachyron* and *pragmateia*) "in Black and Aegean seas," in Constantinople and "other towns and islands of the empire."¹⁷⁹⁵

¹⁷⁸⁸ For other forms of involvement of the Holy Mount into commerce, see: Živojinović, Mirjana. "The trade of Mt. Athos monasteries," *ZRVI* 29-30(1991): 101–115; Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monasteries*, pp. 215-237

¹⁷⁸⁹ Regel, Wilhelm, Korablev, Vasily N. Kurtz, Eduard. "Actes de Philothee," *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 20 (1913): Supplementa, 18-20, no. 6 (esp. p. 20, l. 55-59).

¹⁷⁹⁰ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. I, pp. 205-209, no. 31 (esp. P. 208, l. 68-71).

¹⁷⁹¹ *Actes d'Iviron*, Vol. IV, pp. 94, 107, nos. 87-88.

¹⁷⁹² Živojinović, Mirjana. "The trade of Mt. Athos monasteries," *ZRVI* 29-30 (1991): 114-115.

¹⁷⁹³ Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici*, pp. 422-423.

¹⁷⁹⁴ For some economic activities, such as fairs and urban workshops owned by monasteries, see: Ferjančić, Božidar. "Posedi vizantijskih provincijskih manastira u gradovima," *ZRVI* 19 (1980): 238-240.

¹⁷⁹⁵ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, p. 265, no. 109.

In 1367, Patriarch Philotheos met the request of the Lavriotes “to have another *metochion* across the quay of the capital, opposite to Galata” for “monks coming because of Lavra’s business,” and donated to them for “maintaining and improving” the monastery of St. Demetrios next to Plateia gates on the Golden Horn.¹⁷⁹⁶ Basing on the form of their request, the members of Lavra asked for a specific place situated next to the port, where they could sell their goods faster, discharge the ships and use local storage houses. This way, the Athonites solved two problems simultaneously: they received a place to stay close to the state and church administration and had access to the commercial city center.¹⁷⁹⁷

Having acquired numerous urban possessions, the Athonite monasteries started to influence the pricing of real estates in towns and contributed to the emergence of “realtors,” agent-tenants lending out property to sub-lease. Monasteries faced the acute danger of sub-leasing after the first wave of the Turkish conquest in Macedonia (1371-1402).¹⁷⁹⁸ Because some of their urban properties fell into decay and were no longer in use, monasteries gave such domains to lease for a reduced price in order to gain whatever income and, thus, they dumped the market. However, even in this situation, the religious foundations were in the money: when the tenants improved the conditions and started to collect significant benefits, the monasteries strived to return their capital, appealing to the law which prescribed the inalienability of ecclesiastic possessions. This way, the monasteries continued to derive income from well-established enterprises. Thus, in 1419, Xenophon Monastery turned to the bishopric court of Thessaloniki in order to take back its urban property in the neighborhood of Asomatoi Monastery:¹⁷⁹⁹ 5 grocery shops and 3 two-storey houses with a common yard and a fig tree were long-ago leased to a certain Dadas for the annual rent of 3 *hyperpyra*. The tenant combined the buildings and arranged a wine-shop, which he, in turn, rented for 30 *hyperpyra*. The court took the side of Xenophon, but decreed that the monastery was obliged to compensate the family with 112 *hyperpyra*, which the Dades spent on improving the buildings.

In 1404, just a year after retaking Thessaloniki from the Ottomans, Iviron Monastery leased to the family of Argyropouloi the gardens outside the Golden Gates of Thessaloniki for the rent of 30 *hyperpyra*.¹⁸⁰⁰ The tenants improved the irrigation system (cleared ditches, repaired wells, and arranged new channels), divided the gardens into smaller parcels, and gave them out to sublease.

¹⁷⁹⁶ About St. Demetrios see: Janin, Raymond. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin, Part I: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. Vol. III: Les églises et les monasteries* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1969): 90.

¹⁷⁹⁷ For the importance of this region in commercial life of Constantinople, as the centres of maritime trade, fish markets, and merchant stores, see: Berger, Albrecht. “Zur Topographie der Ufergegend am Goldenen Horn in der byzantinischen Zeit” *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 45 (1995): 152-155; Oikonomides, Nicholas. *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople, XIIIe – XVe siècles* (Montreal/Paris: Institut d'études médiévales Albert-le-Grand, 1979): 97-100, 106.

¹⁷⁹⁸ Harvey, Alan. “Economic Conditions in Thessaloniki between the Two Ottoman Occupations,” in: *Mediterranean Urban Culture, 1400-1700*, ed. A. Cowan (Exeter: Short Run Press, 2000): 115-124.

¹⁷⁹⁹ *Actes de Xenophon*, pp. 219-221, no. 23.

¹⁸⁰⁰ *Actes d'Iviron*, Vol. IV, pp. 151-162, no. 97.

During 17 years, the sublease income came up from 86 *hyperpyra* to 115 with addition of payment in vegetables (cabbage, carrots, onions, garlic, pomegranates, salad, cucumbers, pumpkins, and melons). However, judges considered “impious” the actions of the Argyropoloi, because they received the interests out of what should be a “pious rent,” as the laws allow monastic goods to be rented only if they are abandoned or ruined and only for the purpose of their improvement and restoration.

Thus, relying on the analyzed cases, one can deduce the following reasons for acquiring urban properties by important provincial monasteries: proximity to markets, where monasteries can sell their goods, simplified access to church and state administration, high rental rates in case of leasing and good conditions for commerce. This way, in the 14th century, one can notice that political actors (emperors, aristocrats, and patriarchs) provided monasteries with means of achieving their complete economic independence, that is, the urban possessions granted by the former in order to gain the support of important monasteries. Being the owner of both, large urban and rural properties, the most prominent monasteries established the new economic model of their existence. Already owning the largest rural estates in the empire, they manufactured the most-demanded agricultural goods; with acquisition of urban properties, they got access to the target markets, and, finally, after obtaining the necessary transportation means, they turned into a kind of corporations, practically independent from state, and controlling all the stages of goods’ circulation: production, transportation, and selling.

The presence of monasteries and their economic influence affected, in turn, the commercial activities in the towns, changing the market prices and resulting into the emergence of complex forms of sub-leasing. Finally, the sustainability of these monasteries as economic units and their ability to manage the complete production chain became the reason for establishing of specific relations with the Turkish state after the Ottoman conquest:¹⁸⁰¹ the monasteries kept their properties and, together with their domains, were transformed into self-governed taxation units.

6.2. The Sense of Crisis and Serbian Propaganda

The aim of the present subchapter is to examine how Byzantine authors perceived social and economic crisis, caused by the civil wars in Macedonia, and to reconstruct the recovery measures undertaken there by the Serbian ruler Stefan Dušan after having conquered the province. The province of Macedonia is the best material for the case study of the 14th-century Byzantine catastrophe: on one hand, the biggest number of records preserved due to safety of Athonite archives shows the data on

¹⁸⁰¹ Fotić, Aleksandar. “Svetogorski metosi u doba prve turske vlasti 1383-1403 (pitanje opšte konfiskacije),” *ZRVI* 37 (1998): 213-219; Smyrlis, Kostis. “Mount Athos in the Fifteenth Century: Crisis and the Beginning of Recovery,” in: *To Άγιον Όρος στον 15ο και 16ο αιώνα. Πρακτικά ΣΤ' Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου Αγιορειτικής Εστίας*, eds. A. Ntouros, Ph. Hadjiantoniou D. Kaklamanos (Thessaloniki: Agioreitike Estia, 2012): 33-55.

between John V's party and John VI Kantakouzenos (1341-1347) and his supporters.¹⁸¹⁰ The military operations were again placed in Macedonia and Thrace, where the revolted emperor fled to gain support from the local aristocracy and to finance his expeditions with income from his vast land possessions.¹⁸¹¹ As the result of this long and destructive war-period, the Serbs conquered the provinces of Macedonia, Thessaly and Epiros,¹⁸¹² while the Turks, invited by John Kantakouzenos, settled their bases in Tzympe and Gallipoli (Thrace) and started the conquest of the Balkans.¹⁸¹³ In the first half of the 14th century, the Turks conducted frequent invasions from Asia, especially during the harvest season, seizing livestock, carrying off people into slavery, and causing the depopulation of Thrace and Macedonia. One of such raids was witnessed by Nikephoros Gregoras in 1342, and it caused "shortage of wheat especially in the Romanian towns of Thrace," because the Turks, using in their advantage the civil wars, when "the Romans were distracted with wars with their compatriots," "fearlessly were making often invasions coming on simple boats and triers to Thrace, especially during harvest time, setting villages on fire and driving away the cattle, enslaving men and women, and making all the evil deeds." The author frequently mentions in his *History* the Turkish raids to the Balkans, which were that often that he was "bored to expound every raid in details".¹⁸¹⁴

In the meanwhile, the second city of the empire was seized by the population uprising so-called Zealots. They roused up the people against the aristocracy and in the words of John Kantakouzenos "for two or three days, Thessaloniki was like a city under enemy occupation and suffered all the corresponding disasters... When order returned, the Zealots, suddenly raised from penury and dishonour to wealth and influence, took control of everything and won over the middle class of citizens".¹⁸¹⁵ This semi-independent from Constantinople government lasted until 1349, when its leaders were defeated.¹⁸¹⁶ Finally, the natural disasters such as climatic changes, cooling of

¹⁸¹⁰ Nicol, *The Last Centuries*, p. 185-208; Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor*, pp. 45-86.

¹⁸¹¹ John VI himself laments the loss of some possessions in the region, see: Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. II, p. 192; about landed magnates as supporters of Kantkouzenoi see: Nicol, Donald. *The Reluctant Emperor*, p. 165; Charanis, Peter. "Internal strife in Byzantium during the fourteenth century," *Byzantion* 15 (1941): 208-230.

¹⁸¹² Fine, John V. A. *The Late Medieval Balkans*, pp. 286-321; Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, pp. 1-40.

¹⁸¹³ About Turkish conquest of the Balkans and the role of John Kantakouzenos see: Holt, Peter, Lambton Ann, and Lewis Bernard, eds. *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977): 274-291.

¹⁸¹⁴ Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. I, p. 545, Vol II, p. 683.

¹⁸¹⁵ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. II, pp. 234-235. Trans. in Nicol, *The Last Centuries*, cit., p. 195.

¹⁸¹⁶ Matschke, Klaus-Peter. "Thessalonike und die Zeloten: Bemerkungen zu einem Schlüsselereignis der späthbyzantinischen Stadt- und Reichsgeschichte," *Byzantinoslavica* 55/1 (1994): 19-43; Congourdeau, Marie-Hélène. *Les Zélotés, une révolte urbaine à Thessalonique au 14^e siècle. Le dossier des sources* (Paris: Beauchesne, 2013): esp. pp. 15-48 and 166-167 for the chronology of the riots.

climate¹⁸¹⁷ caused by overexploitation of lands and deforestation, and the plague¹⁸¹⁸ which outbreak happened in 1346 and ended in 1348 also contributed to famine and depopulation.

The word “*krisis*” in the 14th-century Greek was not used in the contemporary meaning (crucial or decisive point or situation), but rather in its initial juridical sense (sentence, juridical decision, juridical case).¹⁸¹⁹ Thus, monastic *typika*¹⁸²⁰ and the last wills used “*krisis*” in reference to the Last Judgment. In 1324, John Doukas Masgidas donated lands to Iviron monastery in order to receive mercy “ἐν τῇ φοβερᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως”.¹⁸²¹ However, to outline the concept of what we would call “crisis” now, the Byzantine authors used other, rather descriptive words: *τρικυμία* (a huge wave),¹⁸²² *ἀνωμαλία* (deviation from rule),¹⁸²³ *σύγχυσις* (mixture, confusion),¹⁸²⁴ *ἀταξία* (disorder).¹⁸²⁵ Ironically, one can conclude that in the difference from us, who perceive crisis as a turning point for better or, in some cases, for worse, the Byzantines were inclined to observe only the tension of the present situation and no solution.

As mentioned above, the civil wars, the foreign raids, the climatic changes, and the plague caused the massive devastation of Macedonia and Thrace, which scared Byzantine aristocratic writers. According to Nikephoros Gregoras, in these regions

The circumstances were the following: the towns were ill and the affairs of the Romans were extremely bad... left without beasts of burden, without any flocks, even without a single ox, by whom furrowing the lands, the peasants would gain the daily and essential

¹⁸¹⁷ The majority of cool yeas of the 14th century happened in 1330s, 1320s and 1340s - Telelis, Ioannis. “Historical-Climatological Information from the Time of the Byzantine Empire (4th-15th Centuries AD),” *History of Meteorology* 2 (2005): 41-50; Vita-Finzi, Claudio. *The Mediterranean Valleys. Geological Changes in Historical Times* (Cambridge, 1969): 107-108.

¹⁸¹⁸ Lefort, Jacques. “Population et peuplement en Macédoine orientale IXe-XVe siècle,” in: *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*, eds. V. Kravari et als., Vol. 2 (Paris, 1991): 79-80.

¹⁸¹⁹ Lampe, *Patristic Lexicon*, p. 779.

¹⁸²⁰ According to a TLG search expression “ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως” was used 195 times by the authors of the 12-15th centuries; the majority of these examples belong to the monastic milieu and includes such works as monastic *typika*, monastic charters and last wills, biblical commentaries, monastic lives, writings of Neophytos Enkleistos, polemical orations of John Kantakouzenos, and treaties of Gennadios Scholarios.

¹⁸²¹ “In the fearful day of the Judgment” - *Actes d'Iviron*, Vol. III, p. 289, no. 81.

¹⁸²² *LSJ*, p. 1820. The word “*τρικυμία*” was described confusions and misfortunes, and became very popular in late Byzantium; according to TLG search more than 200 of 482 (after the 4th century) times the word appeared in the 13-15th centuries.

¹⁸²³ *LSJ*, p. 170; Lampe, *Patristic Lexicon*, p. 166. According to the TLG the word appeared 578 times in works of 13-15th centuries. The most often combinations are “confusion of affairs” (ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνωμαλία) – 66 instances; “confusion of the period” (ἡ ἀνωμαλία τοῦ καιροῦ) – 31 instances; “confusion and tumult” (ἡ σύγχυσις καὶ ἀνωμαλία) – 29 instances.

¹⁸²⁴ *LSJ*, p. 1669; Lampe, *Patristic Lexicon*, p. 1276. This was one of the most popular words for describing confusions, as a TLG search proves; in the works of the 13-15th centuries ἡ σύγχυσις and its derivatives appeared 1130 times, and it is equally used in the historical (Pachymeres, Gregoras, Kantakouzenos etc.) and monastic (*typika*, charters) writings.

¹⁸²⁵ *LSJ*, p. 268. According to TLG search “*ἀταξία*” was used by the late Byzantine authors 361 times mainly for description of disorder caused by wars (Michael Choniates, Georgios Pachymeres, Nikephoros Gregoras, John Kantakouzenos) or by church struggles (Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, Philotheos Kokkinos). Here I would also like to notice that all the above-mentioned words were usually used as synonyms or in pairs (like ἡ σύγχυσις καὶ ἀνωμαλία).

food for their stomachs. That is why the lands were left uncultivated and abandoned and completely depopulated.¹⁸²⁶

As one can see from the present and previous quotations by Nikephoros Gregoras, while his perception of “distress” in the affairs of the Romans assumed menacing proportions, in his whole *History* he doesn’t propose any solutions for the dying empire, but rather mourns its fate. Probably, the analysis of possible perspectives was not a purpose of the writer, who “to the best of his power wanted to research the nature of the affairs” and “explicate in his writings the Truth” (how himself set the goals of his *History*).¹⁸²⁷

Other Byzantine noble writers of the middle of the 14th century were as well unanimous in their evaluation of the situation. It’s interesting to notice that one of the main participants of these events, the rebellious emperor John Kantakouzenos often describes the circumstances of 1342-1345 using the expression “great confounding and disorder” (σύγχυσις δεινή καὶ ἀταξία). Thus, the cities of Thrace and Macedonia were seized by “great confounding and disorder” during the attacks of Ivan Alexander, the emperor of Bulgarians;¹⁸²⁸ with the same words he depicts the attitude of the army, which he found out about Zealotes’ revolt in Thessaloniki,¹⁸²⁹ while the rebels provoked “the great confounding and disorder” in the city itself.¹⁸³⁰ The Palamite disputes also caused similar situation: “After this, the emperor saw that great confounding and disorder appeared in the church and the partisans of Barlaam and Akindynos abstaining from the communion with others”.¹⁸³¹

Another eyewitness of the Macedonian catastrophe was the young Demetrios Kydones,¹⁸³² member of an aristocratic family supporting Kantakouzenos. In his works of the 1340s, this citizen of Thessaloniki describes the situation in very dark colours. He actively uses such words as συμφορά (misfortune), πολέμιος (hostile), ἔχθρα (enmity), φθορά (annihilation), ἀπορία (distress), λιμός (hunger), πικρία (bitterness), τραγωδία (tragedy).¹⁸³³ Between 1340 and 1345, he witnessed the Zealots’ uprising. In his “Monody” on Thessaloniki, Kydones describes in detail the terror which seized the city, the rebels’ cruelty, hunger and numerous deaths. He contrasts the beauty and glory of the Past with the disasters and uncertainties of the Present, and pities his compatriots who had the misfortune to survive: “Oh, killed ones! Oh, those who are being killed! Oh, those who will be killed!

¹⁸²⁶ Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. II, pp. 747-748.

¹⁸²⁷ Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. I, p. 6.

¹⁸²⁸ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. II, p. 181.

¹⁸²⁹ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. II, p. 244.

¹⁸³⁰ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. II, p. 577.

¹⁸³¹ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 166.

¹⁸³² *PLP*, no. 13876.

¹⁸³³ A TLG search shows that in his correspondence Demetrios Kydones used συμφορά (77 times), πόλεμος and its derivatives (46 times), ἔχθρα and its derivatives (76 times), φθορά (14 times), ἀπορία (42 times), λιμός (22 times), πικρία (20), τραγωδία (30 times).

Oh, the survivors! I consider that those ones are not luckier than the deceased ones. To them only sorrows are left!”¹⁸³⁴

From Thessaloniki, Kydones fled to Berroia and he spent a year between 1345 and 1346 in a small, unknown town in Thrace. Here he wrote 4 letters addressed to John Kantakouzenos, his son Matthew and to Isidor, future patriarch.¹⁸³⁵ During this exile, Kydones, except for personal sufferings caused by separation from his friends and family, observed political and economic turmoil taking his country, and in the letters addressed to Kantakouzenos he complains:

...While to us all misfortunes of all kinds came...and as for our affairs, distress and the bunch of other dooms. Because the citizens of towns are subjected to the barbarians, for others there is a cessation because of the pestilence and engines of war, law are idle things, and murdering already became a common practice.¹⁸³⁶

Crisis was perceived not only by court historians and intellectuals, but also by members of provincial nobility (such as Philippa Asanina, *skouterios* Andreas Indanes, etc.), who lost their possessions in Macedonia due to occupation or were left bankrupt as a result of depopulation and low income. Thus, the *pinkernissa* Anna Tornikina lost “lands in a place called Beltzista in Zabaltia on river Panax”,¹⁸³⁷ which came to her as a dowry, “due to tumultuous events and confusions”. These lands were conquered by Serbs and “they still belonged to them up to nowadays”.¹⁸³⁸ As one can notice, the author doesn’t deem the Serbs directly guilty for her loss, but she rather considers that the Serbian conquest happened “due to tumultuous events”.

Similarly, in 1349, a provincial noblewoman, Philippa Asanina, agreed to sell to Xeropotamou monastery the second half of her property (the first was passed to the monastery by her late father), because she “enjoyed no fruit and neither income from there, as the result of the occurred confusion of affairs and confounding, and because the whole region was dominated by the Serbs”.¹⁸³⁹ As it is evident from these two cases, the Serbian domination in the region was seen as the result of the civil wars and political crisis. It caused the loss of properties by Byzantine nobility; however, in the difference with Byzantine provincial landlords, the monasteries situated in the regions were able to manage the properties.

¹⁸³⁴ *PG* Vol. CIX, col. 652.

¹⁸³⁵ Polyakovskaya, Margarita A. [Поляковская, Маргарита А.]. “Фракийский дневник молодого интеллектуала (август–сентябрь 1346 г.),” *VV* 55/2 (1998): 206-211.

¹⁸³⁶ Loenertz, Raymond-Joseph, ed. *Demetrius Cydones. Correspondance*, Vol. I (Vatican City: 1959): p. 33, no. 7.

¹⁸³⁷ Nowadays Domiros on river Angista - Lefort, Jacques. “Radolibos: population et paysage,” *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985): 195-234: 207, 198 (map).

¹⁸³⁸ *Actes de Saint-Pantéléemôn*, p. 104, no. 13.

¹⁸³⁹ *Actes de Xeropotamou*, p. 194, no. 26.

6.2.2. Recovery measures of Stefan Dušan

In the end of 1345, as a result of many disasters and long-lasting civil wars, the province of Macedonia appeared in the hands of the Serbian king Stefan Dušan, who immediately after the coronation as the Emperor (tsar) “of Serbs and Greeks” in Serres, established there one of his capitals.¹⁸⁴⁰ When such a vast state entered under his control, Stefan Dušan divided it into two parts, which were called “lands of kingship” and “lands of empire,” and respectively including the core Serbian lands and the lands of the present-day republic of Macedonia and Northern Greece. While the Serbian lands were ruled in a traditional manner by Dušan’s son, king Uroš, the Greek lands under Dušan himself adopted many features of Byzantine administration, taxation, and court hierarchy.¹⁸⁴¹

However, after the conquest of Byzantine provinces, Stefan Dušan found them devastated and unpopulated, and therefore, he took measures for the region’s recovery. There is no source which directly specifies these measures, and even no source precisely saying about the strategies of governing the Greek province adopted by Serbian rulers. Only Athonite charters of property confirmation issued by the Serbian emperor and some private acts of sale and donation became witnesses of this period. Contemporary Byzantine historians, such as Nikephoros Gregoras and John Kantakouzenos, are not of great help either: they consider the Serbian rule as an occupation, and mention it only if the Byzantines tried to re-conquer the lands back.

Thus, one can’t certainly list these anti-crisis measures, and even clearly answer the question how successful they were. Stefan Dušan’s rule over Greece was relatively short (his death in 1355 was followed by the fragmentation of the Serbian empire and by the Turkish conquest of 1371)¹⁸⁴² and the political situation later changed crucially. However, there are reasons to suggest that, nevertheless, some anti-crisis measures were taken.

In one of the first charters issued after having conquered the Greek territories, Stefan Dušan expresses his decision to “take care about the conquered towns and lands by reason of misfortunes and destructions, which happened with them recently, and because of changes caused by time of disorder and distress” and “not to forsake the unfortunate ones... but to show toward them the most devout care”.¹⁸⁴³ In other words, he expressed his decision to set things in order.

¹⁸⁴⁰ Maksimović, Ljubomir. “L’empire de Stefan Dušan: genèse et caractère,” *Travaux et mémoires* 14 (2002): 415-428; about Serres as Serbian capital see: Ferjančić, Božidar. *Vizantijski i Srpski Ser u XIV stoleću* (Belgrade: SANU, 1992): 63-111.

¹⁸⁴¹ Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. II, p. 746; Blagojević, Miloš. *Državna uprava u srpskim srednjovekovnim zemljama* (Belgrade: Službeni list, 1997): 50-51; Dinić, Mihajlo. “Srpska vladarska titula za vreme carstva,” *ZRVI* 5 (1958): 9-19.

¹⁸⁴² Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, pp. 86-106.

¹⁸⁴³ *Chrysobull* to Philotheou - Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, p. 55; See the text [4] in the Appendix VIII to the present chapter.

First of all, in 1346-1348, the ruler confirmed, restored, and enlarged the possessions of the Greek religious foundations in the region. I will return later to the problems of donating and restoring monastic properties, but here I would like to deal with the question “why did Dušan proceed this way? One doesn’t have an exact answer, however, there are some hints suggesting that the monasteries could establish good management and organize re-population of territories. On the one hand, comparing lists of villages of *chrysobulls* given to the Athonite monasteries by Dušan with the list of villages confirmed in 1357 by John V, one can see a number of hamlets adjusted to the old villages (like *melissourgeion* joined to Palaia Komitissa belonging to Iviron)¹⁸⁴⁴ or a number of new industries established (like the watermills in village of Agios Mamas given by Dušan to Vatopedi).¹⁸⁴⁵ On the other hand, Dušan, in the charters given to Menoikeon (1345) and Xeropotamou, Esphigmenou and Philotheou (1346),¹⁸⁴⁶ exempts from taxes not only the peasants belonging to the monasteries at present, but also the peasants who will be acquired in the future. I would like to remind about the case of Philippa Asanina (inhabitant of Thessaloniki), who sold her property to Xeropotamou, because these lands were occupied by the Serbs and she didn’t receive any the income from them. Obviously, if the monastery agreed on this deal, it could manage the possessions in a right way. In another case, in 1373, the *megale domestekesa* Anna Kantakouzene Palaiologina sold to Docheiariou the property in Mariana (Kalamaria) for 600 *hyperpyra*, which passed to her as dowry “under the rule of the Romans,” but, when it “appeared under the rule and power and governing of Serbs”, it was abandoned, and later the Greek nobles “were not able to use it and neither to restore it”, and, therefore, she preferred to sell it to the “powerful monastery”.¹⁸⁴⁷

Putting these data together one can assume that the villages belonging to the Athonite foundations attracted peasants to settle on their lands; possibly, they could provide a higher level of protection from the invaders and experienced administration (the monasteries themselves built mills, storages, roads). Therefore, giving exemptions and properties to monasteries might be considered among re-population and stabilization measures undertaken by Stefan Dušan.

Another step on the way to stabilization was the returning of the privileges and possessions to the loyal Greek nobility and bounding them to the local administration. Dušan’s new state had two chancelleries issuing documents in Slavic and Greek languages.¹⁸⁴⁸ According to the Law-code

¹⁸⁴⁴ The *melisourgeion* (bee yard) of Komitissa appeared in the second *chrysobull* by Stefan Dušan of 1347 and the *chrysobull* by John Kantakouzenos of 1351 (*Actes d'Iviron*, Vol. IV, p. 121, no. 90, p. 127, no. 91). For more details about the improvements made by the Athonite monasteries in the region of Komitissa see Ostrogorski, George. “Komitisa i svetogorski manastiri,” *ZRVI* 13 (1971): 231, 235.

¹⁸⁴⁵ In 1346, tsar Stefan Dušan endowed Vatopedi with the village of Agios Mamas (*Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, pp. 200-201, no. 93); before 1351, the monks built there the watermills and fortification (*Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, p. 244, no. 104), later this village was taken by the Byzantine fisc (*Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, p. 7).

¹⁸⁴⁶ Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, pp. 10, 54, 86, 98.

¹⁸⁴⁷ *Actes de Docheiariou*, pp. 237-240, no. 42.

¹⁸⁴⁸ *Actes de Docheiariou*, pp. LXVI-CV.

(1349-1354), both, “the Serbs and Greeks,” belonged to the social elite called “*vlastela*” and all the nobility, regardless of its nationality, kept their possessions, if the ownership was confirmed by earlier documents and noblemen displayed loyalty to the new ruler.¹⁸⁴⁹ Similarly, Greek cities occupied during the war kept their privileges if they were confirmed by charters of Byzantine emperors.¹⁸⁵⁰ Moreover, representatives of Greek aristocracy and church took part in the state councils held in 1346, 1349, 1350 and 1355¹⁸⁵¹ and the *Life* of the Serbian patriarch Sava says that he was elected (in 1354) at “Serbian and Greek Synod in the city of Serres”.¹⁸⁵²

From the charter given by Stefan Dušan to Vatopedi monastery in 1348,¹⁸⁵³ one can deduce the list of some Greek noblemen who decided to stay under Serbian rule (6 persons), others are to be found among signatures put on legal documents of tribunal in Serres between 1345-1371.¹⁸⁵⁴ The Vatopedi charter shows that landed donations given by the Greeks to the monastery are mainly situated on the territories close to Serres, Zihne or Radolibos. This fact might suggest that the concentration of Greek nobility was biggest in these regions, and that the social status of the Byzantines who stayed there was relatively high. Moreover, precisely these places were the most difficult to conquer by the Serbian king;¹⁸⁵⁵ therefore, he tried to keep good and peaceful relations with Greek officials, who potentially could endanger his rule.

For attracting the Greeks to participate in the administration, Stefan Dušan used different means (marriages, oaths of loyalty, distribution of lands, and career promotions). In the article of A. Solovjev,¹⁸⁵⁶ one can find a list of 11 Greek noblemen, who occupied important positions and got promoted in Dušan’s time and another one, certain Kalavar¹⁸⁵⁷ discussed further in this chapter, can be added to this list. It was generally accepted that Dušan placed the members of Serbian aristocracy in the highest ruling positions, while local administration in Greek provinces was left into the hands of experienced, but loyal to the new ruler, Byzantine noblemen.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, according to A. Laiou, the economy of Chalkidiki was based on cattle-breeding and agriculture (mainly viticulture, olive production as well

¹⁸⁴⁹ Articles 39 and 173 of *Zakonik Stefana Dušana* (1898), pp. 36, 135; *Dušanov Zakonik* (2010), pp. 83, 103-104.

¹⁸⁵⁰ Article 124 of *Zakonik Stefana Dušana* (1898), p. 95; *Dušanov Zakonik* (2010), p. 100.

¹⁸⁵¹ *Zakonik Stefana Dušana* (1898), pp. 4-5; *Dušanov Zakonik* (2010), pp. 71-73; Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, pp. 429, 719, 758. Radojčić, Nikola. *Srpski državni sabori u srednjem veku* (Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1940): 122-141.

¹⁸⁵² Daničić, Đure, ed. *Arhiepiskop Danilo i drugi: Životi kraljeva i Arhiepiskopa srpskih* (Zagreb: Svetozar Galac, 1866): 380.

¹⁸⁵³ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, pp. 211-216.

¹⁸⁵⁴ Data from: Živojinović, Mirjana. “Sudstvo u grčkim oblastima srpskog carstva,” *ZRVI* 10 (1967): 197-249.

¹⁸⁵⁵ The citizens of Serres preferred to take the side of the rebellious Byzantine emperor, rather than of the Serbian king (Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. II, pp. 468-469). Stefan Dušan seized the town twice, in the summer and autumn of 1345, and conquered it with a great effort (Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. II, pp. 547, 551).

¹⁸⁵⁶ Solovjev, Alexandr [Соловьев, Александр]. “Греческие архонты в сербском царстве XIV века,” *Byzantinoslavica* 2 (1930): 275-287.

¹⁸⁵⁷ Živojinović, Dragić. “Hrisovulja cara Stefana Dušana za Hilandar o Lužačkoj metohiji,” *SSA* 5 (2006): p. 102, l. 15-16; *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, no.130, pp. 42-45.

as cereals, and to a lesser extent fruit-farming and timber-felling).¹⁸⁵⁸ However, as the climate started to be colder, the agricultural activities became not that profitable. So, the development of mining in this region can be considered another anti-crisis measure.

First data on mines working in Macedonia come also from the period of Dušan's rule. Thus, in 1346, he allows the monastery of Xeropotamou to use the mines of Kondogrikou without additional taxes.¹⁸⁵⁹ In 1347, Lavra monastery got from Stefan Dušan an annual fee of 600 ingots (*mazia*) of smelted iron from the forge of Trilision and Bronte, north from Serres.¹⁸⁶⁰ Moreover, the development of mining paired with the decline of agriculture and military raids made pious donations in cash more preferable than usual endowment with lands, therefore many of gifts made by the Serbian Tsar to monasteries were accompanied by donations in cash or consisted of gold and silver coins, measured in Venetian *perpyra*.¹⁸⁶¹ As D. Korać noted, before the period of Stefan Dušan, Serbian rulers didn't make donations in cash.¹⁸⁶²

The archeological data confirm the written sources - between the Vrontou range and Mount Angistro significant deposits of metallurgical slag and remains of furnaces were recorded.¹⁸⁶³ At the same time, new mints started to work in Rudnik, Novo Brdo, Plana, Prizren, Trepca, Skoplje, and Ohrid.¹⁸⁶⁴ Before 1346, the right to issue money was leased to the mints;¹⁸⁶⁵ however, article 168 of Dušan's Law Code solely legalized organization of minting by the ruler,¹⁸⁶⁶ therefore the quality of coins was standardized and the mints producing them became solely imperial property. The stabilization of economy was the consequence of coinage reform. The old coins, weighing from 2,12 to 0,98 grams, were re-minted into imperial ones weighing 1,50 grams.¹⁸⁶⁷

The consequence of development of the monetary reform was the monetization of economy. Article 198 of Dušan's Code establishes that every free man had to pay a tax in dinar coins or grain,¹⁸⁶⁸ so if money were convertible per se, the grain could be also converted into money, i.e. exported or sold. Another change brought by the stabilized dinar was the possibility to hire bigger armies, especially mercenaries, who could be paid well. John Kantakouzenos reports that, in the Greek town

¹⁸⁵⁸ Laiou, Angeliki. "The Agrarian Economy, Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries," in: *The Economic History of Byzantium: from the seventh through the fifteenth century*, eds. A. Laiou and Ch. Bouras, Vol. I (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2002): 311-375.

¹⁸⁵⁹ *Actes de Xéropotamou*, pp. 187-189, no. 25.

¹⁸⁶⁰ *Actes de Lavra*, vol. III, pp. 37-38, no. 128.

¹⁸⁶¹ Korać, Dušan. "Novčani darovi Stefana Dušana svetogorskim manastirima," *ZRVI* 38 (1991): 5-18 (for the measurement of various currencies in Venetian *perpyra*, see pp. 8-10).

¹⁸⁶² Korać, Dušan. "Novčani darovi Stefana Dušana svetogorskim manastirima," *ZRVI* 38 (1991): 12.

¹⁸⁶³ Nerantzis, Nerantzis. "Metal Production towards the End of Byzantine Rule in Eastern Macedonia," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 6/2 (2006): 57-63.

¹⁸⁶⁴ Ivanišević, Vujadin. *Novčarstvo srednjovekovne Srbije* (Belgrade: Stubovi kulture, 2001): 35-36.

¹⁸⁶⁵ Jovanović, Miroslav. *Srpski srednjovekovni novac* (Belgrade: Aletea, 2012): 35.

¹⁸⁶⁶ *Zakonik Stefana Dušana* (1898), p. 133; *Dušanov Zakonik* (2010), p. 111.

¹⁸⁶⁷ Stojaković, Slobodanka. "Privredni razvoj i prva pojava novca u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji," *Dinar* 31 (2010), accessed at <http://srednjovekovnanumizmatika.blogspot.com/2010/12/privredni-razvoj-i-prva-pojava-novca-u.html>

¹⁸⁶⁸ *Zakonik Stefana Dušana* (1898), p. 146; *Dušanov Zakonik* (2010), p. 118.

of Berroia, Serbs established a German mercenary garrison,¹⁸⁶⁹ while, in 1343, the Byzantine emperor himself borrowed the Germans, “who were always ready for war, because they were paid,” by Stefan Dušan.¹⁸⁷⁰ Finally, monetization of economy simplified target financing of certain projects, such as a hospital in Hilandar, which was assigned to receive every year from Novo Brdo 4000 crossed *perpera*.¹⁸⁷¹

About 1348, Stefan Dušan and his family acquired Venetian citizenship,¹⁸⁷² which simplified trade between the two states, including mutual exemption from taxes and guarantee of compensation for the lost goods. The latter agreement was applied in 1350 by Venetian merchants, who were “burdened and disturbed with damaged possessions, which was made from those from Compagna and from this Preljub.” And they wrote to “the Lord king of Raška for compensation for the above-said damages” hoping that “he would instruct and warn this Preljub, his subject”.¹⁸⁷³ Gregory Preljub¹⁸⁷⁴ was a governor of Thessaly, and several important routes passed through his domain: via Egnatia’s appendix leading to Apollonia and a road from Avlona or Thebes to Larissa, Trikala, Berroia and further to Thessaloniki¹⁸⁷⁵ (this one was probably used by the Venetian merchants).

Finally, the international state facilitated mobility between regions. According to the Ragusian historian Giacomo Luccari (Lukarević), during Dušan’s visit to the city in 1353, the Signoria decided to commemorate the ruler’s victories in paintings and hired a Greek atelier:

“the government [Signoria] commissioned Greek masters to make images and figures which represented the victories and trophies that he [Stefan Dušan] took from the Bulgarians, Greeks, Hungarians, Turks, Macedonians, Tartars, Slavs, and Bosnians. Finally, it [the Signoria] wanted them to make a statue of fine stone; but considering that this sculpture lacks the delight which painting possesses, namely, that it doesn't have that loveliness which colours have, it commissioned a fine artist to paint a panel in natural size”.¹⁸⁷⁶

¹⁸⁶⁹ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, vol. III, pp. 123, 125. A Swabian knight Palman with his mercenaries was accepted by Dušan for military service in 1333, when he is mentioned as “stipendiarius domini regis Raxie”.

(Jireček, Konstantin. *Istorija Srba*, ed. Jovan Radonić Vol. I (Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1952): 111-113).

¹⁸⁷⁰ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. II, p. 354. In 1352 Kantakouzenos hired a garrison of the Catalans commanded by Juan de Peralta, whom he knew since their days in Serbia (Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 244). The Byzantines used services of the mercenaries, especially in the 13-14th centuries; Cumans, Alans, Germans and Turks were effective as professional soldiers and technicians, but were often considered greedy, see: Kyriakidis, *Warfare in Late Byzantium*, pp. 101-135; Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 139-156.

¹⁸⁷¹ *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, p. 494, no. 38.

¹⁸⁷² Ljubić, Šime, ed. *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium: Listine o odnošajih između južnoga Slavenstva i mletačke republike*, Vol. III (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1872): 185. 1868–91

¹⁸⁷³ Ljubić, Šime, ed. *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium: Listine o odnošajih između južnoga Slavenstva i mletačke republike*, Vol. III (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1872): 169.

¹⁸⁷⁴ Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, pp. 24, 108-110.

¹⁸⁷⁵ Pryor, John. “Modelling Bohemond’s march to Thessaloniki,” in: *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. J. Pryor (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006): 3. Gerolimatos Maria [Γερολυμάτου, Μαρία]. “Η Θήβα κέντρο εμπορίου και επικοινωνιών το 12ο αιώνα,” *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεκτα* 11 (1997): 97–111 (esp. pp. 101-102).

¹⁸⁷⁶ Gli fece anco il Dominio fare da' artefici greci l'immagini e figure che rappresentavano le vittorie e le spoglie ch'egli riportò da Bulgari, Greci, Ungheri, Turchi, Macedoni, Tartari, Slavi e Bossinesi: finalmente gli volse far una statua di pietra fina; ma considerando che questa scoltura manco diletta che la pittura, rispetto ch' elle non ha quella vaghezza che hanno i colori, lo fece da un valente pittore ritrarre in un quadro al naturale - *Copioso ristretto de gli annali di Rausa di Giacomo di Pietro Luccari* (Ragusa: Andrea Trevisan, 1790): 100.

This story is a good example of international mobility which was facilitated by the new empire and which was consciously or unconsciously one of the anti-crisis actions. In other words, Greeks from the crisis region in the absence of commissions could move to the more prosperous Ragusa to get commissions.

Probably the only measure which is certainly confirmed by written sources was the repopulation of the Macedonia region. Byzantine historians show this action in a bad light as the replacement of Greeks with Slavs. However, one can see that many of newcomers were settled in the territories previously abandoned as a result of civil wars and plague. When in 1350 the Byzantine emperor temporary re-conquered Berroia, he found the town being ruled by the “*archontes* of the Tribals.” Dušan had inhabited the town with many Serbs “not only soldiers, but also of noblemen” (τῶν δυνατῶν), sending away many of the Greek noblemen (συγκλητικῶν) being afraid of their betrayal.¹⁸⁷⁷ For many years, Serbian garrisons were settled in Edessa (Voden) and Gynaikokastron (these soldiers took with them wives and children).¹⁸⁷⁸ The words of Kantakouzenos shouldn't be perceived only in stylistically hostile terms: as one can realize from the juridical decision of Serres court of 1365,¹⁸⁷⁹ the Serbs were the minority among the noblemen, although they occupied important positions.

Serbian inhabitants were also settled in the depopulated countryside. In Berroia, “because the emperor [John Kantakouzenos] was approaching, not a few of them (Serbs) came from the villages, where they were settled,” because “they were afraid of the emperor's attack.”¹⁸⁸⁰ Similarly, some Serbs were placed in the vicinity of Serres. Thus, in the account of the capture of Matthew Kantakouzenos, the governor of Drama, *kesar* Vojihna, who defeated the Byzantine emperor, formed his army of “some Serbs gathered from the surrounding villages” near Serres.¹⁸⁸¹

The newcomers were also people of certain skills, a big group of Serbian workers (more than 10000) having been found by Kantakouzenos in Berroia; they were taken by Stefan Dušan for building the new acropolis.¹⁸⁸² Similarly, one might suggest the existence of a building atelier in Serres, at least here the acropolis was re-built as well during Dušan's time.¹⁸⁸³ Finally, to overcome piracy and forced migration as a result of slave-trade, Stefan Dušan issued a prohibition on Christian

¹⁸⁷⁷ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 121.

¹⁸⁷⁸ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. III, pp. 127, 136.

¹⁸⁷⁹ *Actes d'Esphigménou*, pp. 162-164, no. 27.

¹⁸⁸⁰ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 123.

¹⁸⁸¹ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 329.

¹⁸⁸² Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 125.

¹⁸⁸³ Beis, Nikolaos [Βέης, Νικόλαος]. “Οι κτίσται εν Σέρραις πύργου της αυγούστης ‘Ελένης,” *VV* 20/2-3 (1913): 302-319 (esp. p. 304).

slave sale: “Who sells a Christian into another unfaithful faith, let his arm be cut and his tongue cut off”.¹⁸⁸⁴

However, because the rule of Stefan Dušan over the Greek provinces did not last long (he died in 1355), the measures introduced by him had rather a short-lasting effect. The Serbian state was divided into several semi-independent principalities, which soon became victims of Turkish conquest.¹⁸⁸⁵ Thus, some of the territories of Macedonia returned for a while to the Byzantines and others appeared under the Ottomans.

6.3. Changing the Monastic Landscape by Generous Rule: Monastic Land Possessions in Southern Macedonia under the Serbian Rule (1345-1371)

On Christmas of 1345, Stefan Dušan proclaimed himself a *basileus* and *autokrator* of the Serbs and the Romans and on 16th of April. On Easter of 1346, in Skoplje, he was “crowned” as the emperor “of the Romans and the Serbs” by the previously ordained Serbian patriarch Joanikije in presence of Bulgarian Patriarch Simeon and “the protos of Holy Mount Athos with all elders of Athonite council.”¹⁸⁸⁶ In this way the new ruler, to whom, after autumn of 1345,¹⁸⁸⁷ was subjected all the territory of the Byzantine province Macedonia, except for the city Thessaloniki found a way to make an agreement with monastic communities of the occupied territories.

Though Stefan Dušan after the establishment of the Serbian Patriarch, was excommunicated by the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Kallistos I,¹⁸⁸⁸ the Tsar sent his *logothetes* Chrysos to the Mount Athos,¹⁸⁸⁹ requesting from the monks an official recognition of his power and authority. Stefan Dušan’s primarily demand was the inclusion of his name into the list of official royal commemorations performed by all monasteries on the Holy Mount. The Athonites agreed, but under the condition, that Tsar’s name will be preceded by that of Constantinopolitan Emperor.¹⁸⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸⁴ Article 21 - *Zakonik Stefana Dušana* (1898), p. 24; *Dušanov Zakonik* (2010), p. 79.

¹⁸⁸⁵ For an overview of the events on the Balkan peninsula after Stefan Dušan’s death, especially between 1355 and 1371, see: Novaković, Stojan. *Srbi i Turci XIV i XV veka* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1960): 128-193; Ostrogorski, Georgije. *Serska oblast posle Dušanove smrti* (Belgrade: Naučno delo, 1965); Mihaljčić, Rade. *Kraj srpskog carstva* (Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod, 1989); Mihaljčić, Rade. *Lazar Hrebeljanović. Istorija, kult, predanje* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1989): 36-54; Matanov, Hristo [Матанов, Христо]. *Югозападните български земи през XIV век* (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1986): 55-156; Bozhilov, Ivan, Gjuzelev, Vasil [Божилков, Иван, Гюзелев, Васил et al.], eds. *Istoriya na Bŭlgariya. Vol I: Istoriya na Srednovekovna Bŭlgariya VII-XIV vek* (Sofia: Anubis, 1999): 647-676.

¹⁸⁸⁶ *Zakonik Stefana Dušana* (1898), pp. 4-5; *Dušanov Zakonik* (2010), p. 71-72; About the coronation, see: Pirivatrić, Srđan. “Ulazak Stefana Dušana u carstvo,” *ZRVI* 44 (2007): 381-383.

¹⁸⁸⁷ On the dating of Dušan’s campaign see: Korać, “Sveta Gora pod srpskom vlašću,” pp. 21-27; Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, pp. 40-60.

¹⁸⁸⁸ Bogdanović, Dimitrije. “Izmirenje Srpske i Vizantijske crkve,” in: *O knezu Lazaru: Naučni skup u Kruševcu*, 1971, eds. I. Božić and V. Đurić (Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet u Beogradu, 1975): 82-85.

¹⁸⁸⁹ Mošin, Vladimir. *Grčke povelje*, p. 30.

¹⁸⁹⁰ Soulis, George. “Tsar Stephen Dušan and Mount Athos,” *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954): 127-130; Korać, “Sveta Gora pod srpskom vlašću,” pp. 15-32.

Stefan Dušan's own policy was stated in the so-called "General Chrysobull" addressed to all Athonite monasteries: he confirmed all the possessions given by previous donors, exempted these goods from all possible taxes and prohibited to compile cadastre registers on these territories.¹⁸⁹¹ Promising to keep the autonomy of the Holy Mount, Dušan nevertheless influenced its state of affairs and promoted those monasteries, which he favoured and which were eager to support him politically. The main lever was the distributing of lands on the newly occupied territories. In 1346-1348, he issued the confirmation of the properties to every Athonite monastery separately.¹⁸⁹² Moreover, to some of them (Vatopedi, Lavra, Panteleimon, Hilandar etc.), he donated new territories or rights (mainly, tax exemptions), while in those cases when the monastic possessions were lost due to the Serbian conquest (Iviron, Philotheou, Xeropotamou and Esphigmenou), he compensated them. Thus, a certain patterns in relations with the monasteries can be established on the basis of these charters:

- 1) Iviron, Philotheou, Xeropotamou and Esphigmen received several properties, but many of them were the compensations for the lost goods.
- 2) Lavra, Dochiariou, Xenophon, Zographou, St. George in Zablantia received some properties and annual payments from Stefan Dušan.
- 3) Menoikeion, Hilandar, St. Panteleimon, Vatopedi received numerous new properties and were obvious favorites of the Tsar.

In the first group of *chrysobulls* one can find a cliché that the donations of certain goods were made "in exchange for the occurred destructions and changes concerning the possessions and the *metochia*."¹⁸⁹³ In this way the emperor stated that the donations representd a compensation for the damaged and occupied properties. In case of Iviron,¹⁸⁹⁴ minor goods, which were not included into previous registers,¹⁸⁹⁵ occurred in the list of confirmed possessions, but the real gift was the tax exemption for possession in Radolibos amounted to 400 hyperpyra¹⁸⁹⁶ (200 – *zeugaratikion* and 200

¹⁸⁹¹ Mošin, Vladimir. *Grčke povelje*, pp. 30-31. On the charter's dating see: Živojinović, "Regesta grčkih povelja," p. 67; Korać, "Sveta Gora pod srpskom vlašću," pp. 45-52.

¹⁸⁹² About the role of the *chrysobulls* in the tsar's politics: Korać, "Sveta Gora pod srpskom vlašću," esp. pp. 45-58.

¹⁸⁹³ This "formula" occurs in all documents belonging to this group – Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, nos. VII, VIII, XII, XIII, pp. 42-51; 52-63; 84-93; 94-104, Živojinović, "Regesta grčkih povelja," pp. 68-69, 69-70, 72-73, 73-74.

¹⁸⁹⁴ *Actes d'Iviron*, Vol. IV, no. 89, pp. 112-115; Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no. VII, pp. 42-51; Živojinović, "Regesta grčkih povelja," p. 68-69.

¹⁸⁹⁵ The new possessions were: houses in Rentina and two paroikoi of Kalafados, monasteries of Holy martyr Kalē, and Sts. Theodores with their possessions and fields in Serres, *zeugelateion* in Brostiani (Brestiani - Psihiko), mill on the river above Zichni, Houses in Zichni, metochion of St. Nicholaos in Prebesikni (Trebesanin) with mills, vineyards and fields, *zeugelateion* in Koutzakiōn (Myrrinē) with possessions – about their location and importance see *Actes d'Iviron*, Vol. III, p. 15.

¹⁸⁹⁶ For comparison, in 1355 one modios of land near Zichni cost 1/2 hyperpyron – Morrisson, Cécile, Cheynet, Jean-Claude. "Prices and Wages in the Byzantine World," in: *The Economic History of Byzantium: from the seventh through the fifteenth century*, eds. A. Laiou and Ch. Bouras, Vol. II (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2002): 820. For importance of this tax release, see: Ostrogorski, Georgije. "Radolivo — selo svetogorskog manastira Ivirona" *ZRVI* 7 (1961): 67-84 (esp. pp. 73-75)

- *kephalaion*).¹⁸⁹⁷ However, Stefan Dušan's generosity was a compensation for the properties, taken from Iviron and given to the Russian monastery of St. Panteleimon.¹⁸⁹⁸ This moment is connected with the beginning of decline in Iviron's prestige: in acts of the first half of the 14th century, a representative of Iviron puts his signature immediately after the hegoumenos of Lavra, however in the documents of the mid-14th century the order starts to change and the second place after Lavra is more often occupied by the representative of Vatopedi, especially after 1366.¹⁸⁹⁹

In 1346, Philotheou monastery as well got a compensation "for the houses in Zihna which had been taken away by the order" of the Tsar.¹⁹⁰⁰ The *chrysobull* confirming the possessions and assigns some new payments and possessions to the monastery: an additional annual payment of 6 *hyperpyra* "which used to be taken by Patrikios" from the *paroikoi* of village Kala Dendra; the *paroikoi* and *proskathemenoi* in Tzainou;¹⁹⁰¹ the land in Zelihova (Nea Zichne) which used to belong to Pentaklesiotissa, together with the field of Prounaia, and a *zeugaratikon* from those *paroikoi* and other other properties. In 1347, Dušan issued another charter for Philotheou,¹⁹⁰² solving an old case of injustice toward the monastery: certain (Theodora) Kantakouzene¹⁹⁰³ occupied a part of Philotheou's metochion in Tzainou which later passed to (John) Margarites who, in turn, sold it to the *bašta*¹⁹⁰⁴ of Hilandar.¹⁹⁰⁵ The Emperor sent the metropolitans of Serres and Zichne who discovered that the injustice, indeed, took place, and Stefan Dušan decided that Philotheou should take the land back, but it ought to give its price to the *bašta*.

Esphigmenou monastery received two *chrysobulls* from the Tsar, both of which returned some confiscated properties to the monastery. The first document (1346)¹⁹⁰⁶ is a confirmation of existing

¹⁸⁹⁷ These taxes were paid on the measure of lands – Dölger, Franz. *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal: Buch-Kunstverlag Ettal, 1953): 257-258.

¹⁸⁹⁸ Villages Antzista with it mills, Dobnikeia and large zeugelateion in Kotsak - *Actes d'Iviron*, Vol. III, p. 13.

¹⁸⁹⁹ In the Tomos hagioreitikos (1339), the order is following: Protos, Lavra, Iviron, Vatopedi (Migne, *PG*, Vol. 150, col. 1236); in the act of protos Issak (1329-1333), kept at Koutloumous version the order is following: Protos, Lavra, Iviron, Vatopedi (*Actes de Kutlumas*, no. 15, pp. 74-75); In the act of the ktetor Matthew of Anapausa (1330), the order is the following: Lavra, Iviron, Vatopedi (*Actes de Kutlumas*, no. 16, pp. 78-79); The Athonite Council Decision on selling the cell of Kalligraphou (1345), the order is: Lavra, Vatopedi, Iviron (*Actes de Docheiariou*, no. 24, p. 181); The Decision of Athonite Council about the transfer of Katzar monydrion (1363), the order is following: Protos, Lavra, Iviron, Vatopedi (*Actes de Saint-Pantéléimon*, no. 13, p. 110); The decision of the Athonite council about the mill at Chandax (1366), the order is: the protos, Lavra, the ex-protos, Vatopedi, Iviron (*Actes de Chilandar: Actes grec* no. 152, p. 322); The decision of the Athonite council about the properties given by the Laskaris (1370), the order is: the protos, Vatopedi, Iviron (*Actes de Chilandar: Actes grec* no. 153, p. 324); the Third Testament of Chariton of Koutloumous (1378), the order is: the Bishop of Herissos, Lavra, Vatopedi, Iviron (*Actes de Kutlumas*, no. 36, p. 138).

¹⁹⁰⁰ Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no. VIII, pp. 52-63; Živojinović, "Regesta grčkih povelja," pp. 69-70.

¹⁹⁰¹ With vineyards, channels, fishery and marsh to the river Panakos (Angistis), the village Tzainou is situated 22 km to the south-east from Serres, see: Kravari, *Nouveaux Documents*, p. 281, no. 1, p. 290.

¹⁹⁰² Kravari, *Nouveaux Documents*, no. 4, pp. 302-308

¹⁹⁰³ Kravari, *Nouveaux Documents*, no. 4, p. 303.

¹⁹⁰⁴ On *bašta* (spiritual father) of Hilandar see: Živojinović, Mirijana. "Duhovnik manastira Hilandara," *Istorijski časopis* 28 (1981): 5-16.

¹⁹⁰⁵ In the present case the *bašta* was Antonije – for identification see: Kravari, *Nouveaux Documents*, no. 4, p. 305.

¹⁹⁰⁶ Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no. XIII, pp. 96-102; *Actes d'Esphigmenou*, no. 22, pp. 139-143. The act doesn't have the part with dating, see: Živojinović, "Regesta grčkih povelja," pp. 73-74.

goods and a recovery payment for the properties taken away,¹⁹⁰⁷ the compensation for “occurred destructions and changes.” A year later,¹⁹⁰⁸ for being “well-disposed” toward the Serbian Tsar, the monks of Esphigmenou enjoyed a rehabilitation of the integrity of village Krousovo which used to be taken away partially and distributed (as *pronia*?) between the Gavrielopoulos¹⁹⁰⁹ and Pharmakes.¹⁹¹⁰

Xeropotamou¹⁹¹¹ “in exchange for occurred destruction” received the *paroikoi* Katakalenoi taken from a previous owner (his name didn’t survive), *proskathemenoi* in one of its villages, an annual payment of 20 hyperpyra from the state smithery at Kondogrikon, and, possibly,¹⁹¹² some exemptions from various taxes.

In other words, these monasteries didn’t lose, but also didn’t gain new goods. They rather preserved the *status quo* during the Serbian rule. However, in cases of this group, Stefan Dušan also extended the tax exemptions onto the goods and the *proskathemenoi* which the monasteries would acquire in future.

The second group consists of the monasteries, usually very rich and important, which received some presents (lands, annual payments or cash donations) from the Serbian emperor.

Thus, in 1347 the Athonite Lavra¹⁹¹³ got a half of “refuge” (καταφύγιον) at Siderokausia (that which used to belong to the state and *pronoiaroi*), an annual payment amounted to 300 hyperpyra (from a fishery and a quay at Chrysopolis), the Eleusa monastery with its rights and payments as the metochion for Lavra’s hospital and an annual fee of 20 iron slices from the forge at Trilision and Brontos. In 1361, the monastery was endowed by another Serbian ruler, Tsar Stefan Uroš and his mother Jelena, who gave the monastery of All Saints,¹⁹¹⁴ probably situated at Serres,¹⁹¹⁵ with its possessions.¹⁹¹⁶ This rather generous donation was made for “honouring and [providing] the soul salvation for the three-times blessed and commemorated Tsar, our ruler and my father” and for the

¹⁹⁰⁷ A part of village Portrea, which used to be entirely a property of Esphigmenou, was given to a certain Anataulas and Dušan returns it to the monastery - *Actes d'Esphigmenou*, pp. 8, 20.

¹⁹⁰⁸ Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no. XIV, pp. 110-115.

¹⁹⁰⁹ *PLP*, no. 3432.

¹⁹¹⁰ *PLP*, nos. 29641-29642.

¹⁹¹¹ *Actes de Xeropotamou*, no. 25, pp. 183-187; Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no. XII, pp. 84-89; Živojinović, “Regesta grčkih povelja,” pp. 72-73.

¹⁹¹² The physical condition of act is poor and some lines are missing, the idea of tax exemptions is based on the reconstruction in *Actes de Xeropotamou*, no. 25, p. 188.

¹⁹¹³ *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, no. 128, pp. 35-37; Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no. XVI, pp. 116-125, Živojinović, “Regesta grčkih povelja,” pp. 76-77.

¹⁹¹⁴ *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, no. 140, pp. 82-85; Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no. XXVIII, pp. 200-207; Živojinović, “Regesta grčkih povelja,” p. 87.

¹⁹¹⁵ *Actes de Laura*, Vol. III, p. 84.

¹⁹¹⁶ Zeugelateion at Koremista, a village in Zagorion region with its prokathemenoi, pastures, two mills and vineyards, paroikoi in Toumpa with their staseis, zeugaleteion in Soungari with the prokathemenoi, several families and two mills in Emporion, vineyards in Malest and Treazista, income from a Jewish village next to Agios Konstantinos, village Tripista with its paroikoi, a mill in Siderokastron and 30 hyperpyra of annual income from Trilision. – *Actes de Laura*, Vol. III, p. 84; *Actes de Laura*, Vol. IV, p. 120, note 402; Smyrlis, La fortune, Carte 11.

commemoration of his name among “the commemorated blessed emperors and ktetors.”¹⁹¹⁷ In this way, the family of deceased Stefan Dušan tried to legitimize his memory, by adding his name “to the Synodikon” among Byzantine rulers and to set his image not as a conqueror, but rather as a God-installed ruler and generous ktetor.

Other monasteries from this group received lesser gifts: Docheiariou got a village of Arbenikaia (Ravenikia/ Megali Panagia in Chalkidiki) with a tower, people, its vicinities and pastures;¹⁹¹⁸ Xenophon¹⁹¹⁹ acquired a winter pasture at Sybre (Siviri in Kassandria) and a land of the Mouzakios in place called Myriophyton (Kalamaria).¹⁹²⁰ This policy might be shaped by special intention of Stefan Dušan who didn't want to strengthen the influence of these loyal to Byzantium monasteries in Macedonia, but, at the same time, acknowledged their importance and looked for means to avoid conflicts.

In case of Zographou, Dušan entered the power realm of another ruler, Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander. Serbian ruler didn't provide great gifts for this monastery, but demonstrated his political dominance by giving numerous tax exemption and returning the village Chantax under Zographou's control,¹⁹²¹ which “now passed under control and governance of” Stefan Dušan but had been “given somewhere else.” V. Korać considered that the property was taken from the monastery by John V,¹⁹²² and later occupied by Serbian king as Byzantine military *pronoia*.

The third group embraced monasteries, which Dušan promoted and endowed with large landed possessions.

The foundation of St. John Prodromos Menoikeion received many new properties which used to be owned by the Byzantine aristocrats and were either confiscated by the Serbian rule or abandoned by the noblemen fleeing Serres after the conquest. Initially, Menoikeion monastery of St. John Prodromos (Serres) received confirmation of its possessions and a right to settle the *proskathemenoi* in the village of Krabasmountou (*prostagma* of September, 1345).¹⁹²³ One month later (a *chrysobull* of October, 1345),¹⁹²⁴ the Serbian ruler assigned a complete tax exemption and a donation of properties in the vicinity of Serres: one *oikonomia* in a village Lenginion which used to belong to

¹⁹¹⁷ Solovjev Alexander and Mošin, Vladimir. *Grčke povelje*, no. XXVIII, p. 202

¹⁹¹⁸ *Actes de Docheiariou*, no. 25, pp. 183-184; Solovjev Alexander and Mošin, Vladimir. *Grčke povelje*, no. XXII, p. 170; Živojinović, Dragić. “Regesta grčkih povelja,” pp.81-82.

¹⁹¹⁹ *Actes de Xenophon*, no. 29, pp. 205-210; Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no. XXV, p. 186; Živojinović, Dragić. “Regesta grčkih povelja,” p. 83.

¹⁹²⁰ Present day Olynthos, for identification see: Lefort et al., *Paysages*, p. 216; Lefort, Jacques. *Villages de Macédoine: notices historiques et topographiques sur la Macédoine orientale au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1982): 102-104.

¹⁹²¹ On the later case of debating Chantax and its three mills between Zographou and Hilandar see: Živojinović, Mirjana, “Chantax et ses moulins,” *ZRVI* 23(1984): 119-139.

¹⁹²² Korać, “Sveta Gora pod srpskom vlašću,” p. 63

¹⁹²³ Guillou, *Les Archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, no. 38, pp. 122-123; Solovjev, Mošin, Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no. I, pp. 2-5 ; Živojinović, Dragić. “Regesta grčkih povelja,” p.64

¹⁹²⁴ Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, no. 39, pp. 124 - 131, Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no. II, pp. 6-17, Živojinović, “Regesta grčkih povelja,” p. 66.

a deceased Laskaris, a *zeugelateion* with three winter watermills which used be owned by a Kantakouzene; a *paroikos* in a village Melenikitzion, lands and buildings which were used to own the deceased Laskaris and his brother; an old village Protoknenze; a village Belidolo with two mills which used to be properties of a deceased *epi tou kanikleiou*; in the region of Panax, an old village called “oi Kynegoi” with its *paroikoi* and *proskathemenoi*, watermills, two additional state mills, oaks, and belonging lands; four channels on Poleava, to one of which four families of *proikoi* were attached. The support for the monastery of Menoikeion could promote the image of the Serbian ruler as pious and lawful successor of the Byzantine administration,¹⁹²⁵ therefore Stefan Dušan visited the foundation upon the conquest of Serres (September of 1345)¹⁹²⁶ and sponsored the portrait of Serbian ruling family as patrons of the monastery.¹⁹²⁷ In addition, the patronage over the foundation was regarded as a continuation of the Serbian royal family tradition as Simonis, the daughter of Andronikos II and wife of the King Uroš II Milutin, was the patron of Menoikeion,¹⁹²⁸ whereas her husband joint Simonis in this activity during the last years of his reign.¹⁹²⁹

St. Panteleimon monastery was one of his favorites as the Tsar ensured a double act of benefaction for it.¹⁹³⁰ Thus, in 1348(?),¹⁹³¹ according to the first (Greek) chrysobull, St. Panteleimon received several villages on Angites: Antzista (Jančište)¹⁹³² with its vicinity and pastures, Benikeia with its vicinity and pastures, Aigidomista¹⁹³³ with its vicinity and pastures, Dobnikeia with all its rights, farmers and a church of St. Kyriake.¹⁹³⁴ Later, on June 12 of 1349, the Tsar issued a Slavic

¹⁹²⁵ Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, pp. 152-155; Bakirtzis, *Hagios Ioannis Prodromos monastery*, pp. 66-72 (N. Bakirtzis considers that it was the Tsar's wife, Jelena, who became the new patron and *ephor* of the Menoikeion monastery).

¹⁹²⁶ Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, p. 153.

¹⁹²⁷ Djurić, Vojislav. “Les portraits des Serbes dans le monastère de St.-Jean-Prodrome au Mont Ménécée,” in: *Οι Σέρρες και η περιοχή τους: από την αρχαία στη μεταβυζαντινή κοινωνία* Vol. II (Thessaloniki-Serres: Demos Serron, 1998): 399–402.

¹⁹²⁸ The name of Simonis as the patron appears in the chrysobulls issued, on her demand, by Andronikos II for the Menoikeion, see: Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, no. 1, pp. 39-40 (1304), no. 7, pp. 50-51 (1317); no. 9, pp. 53-56 (1321); no.10, pp. 56-59 (1321); no. 12, pp. 61-62 (1322); no.13, pp. 63 (1322).

¹⁹²⁹ Two acts of Menoikeion, no. 9, pp. 53-56 (1321); no.10, pp. 56-59 (1321), were issued on behalf of both spouses. See also, Bakirtzis, *Hagios Ioannis Prodromos monastery*, pp. 51-52; Marković, Miodrag. “Serbia in Byzantium – the patronage of Serbian ktetors in the Byzantine empire,” in: *Byzantine heritage and Serbian art, Vol. II: Sacral art of the Serbian lands in the Middle Ages*, eds. D. Vojvodić, D. Popović (Belgrade: SANU, 2016): 62.

¹⁹³⁰ For discussion of the trustworthiness of the acts, see: Korać, “Sveta Gora pod srpskom vlašću,” pp.76-79.

¹⁹³¹ Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no. XVII, 124-126, dated with 1st Indiction of 6855 (sic!) [1348], so the indiction didn't match the year. This fact gave for Franz Dölger (*Byzantinische Diplomatie. 20 Aufsätze zum Urkundenwesen der Byzantiner* (Ettal: 1956): 164-173), P. Lemerle, G. Dagron and S. Ćirković (*Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmon*, App. III, pp. 146-153) had reasons to doubt its authenticity. However, Mirjana Živojinović (“Le Chrysobulle grec de l'empereur Dušan pour le monastère de Saint-Pantéléèmon,” *ZRVI* 23 (1984): 167-169) showed that the reason for its authenticity (it considered to be contemporary copies of the lost original).

¹⁹³² modern Angista, see: Lefort, Jacques et als. *Paysages*, p. 127

¹⁹³³ Nowadays village Prote next to Radolivos, for identification see: *Actes Saint-Pantéléèmon*, p. 98 and *Actes d'Iviron*, Vol. II, p. 185.

¹⁹³⁴ Identified with ruins of St. Kyriake church in 1,5 km to West from Radolivos, see: *Actes Saint- Pantéléèmon*, p. 98

chrysobull¹⁹³⁵ which added some new properties,¹⁹³⁶ situated in the region of Angitis, to “the monastery of Russians.” It granted the village of Novosel, next to Vlčište¹⁹³⁷ with its vicinity, mills, rights and a church of the Theotokos Athiniotissa; a *zeugelateion* in Kotsak[ion]¹⁹³⁸; and two villages placed outside of the core-properties of St. Panteleimon: lands (baština)¹⁹³⁹ of Kalojan (John) Masgidas,¹⁹⁴⁰ village Dragošta and St. George’s church at the village Alavandovo in Boimia (Vardar),¹⁹⁴¹ with its vineyards, mills and all the rights. Patronage of Stefan Dušan contributed to the material recovery of the monastery, but, at the same time, it included the foundation into the realm of Serbian power and “domesticated” it. It seems that the Serbs considered St. Panteleimon as their own monastery even in 1509, when nun Angelina, the widow of the governor of Serres despot Stefan Uglješa, pleaded Russian Prince Vasilij Ivanovich (1503-1533) on behalf of St. Panteleimon monastery, which she called her “patrimony.”¹⁹⁴²

Under Dušan’s rule the size of Hilandar’s domain reached its apogee,¹⁹⁴³ and, in the end of the 14th century, it owned over 30 *metochia* and about 360 villages on the territory of entire Serbian empire.¹⁹⁴⁴ The monastery gained the complete mastery over these lands, performing there administrative and juridical functions, which helped Hilandar functioning as an independent entity inside the Byzantine, Serbian or Ottoman states. In January of 1345,¹⁹⁴⁵ Stefan Dušan gave the village of Gandrohoros,¹⁹⁴⁶ situated on the newly occupied territories to the pyrgos Hrusija, a metochion of Hilandar. In 1347,¹⁹⁴⁷ on occasion of Dušan’s visit to Athos, monks of Hilandar asked¹⁹⁴⁸ him to “join” their possessions on Athos peninsula, situated around Zygos monastery and a pyrgos in

¹⁹³⁵ Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici*, p. 507-508.

¹⁹³⁶ It worth to notice that some of the properties (villages Antzista, Dobnikeia and zeugelateion in Kotsak) given to St. Panteleimon were taken from monastery of Iviron - *Actes d'Iviron*, Vol. IV, pp. 9-11, 118-119.

¹⁹³⁷ Kaimaris, Dimitrios, et als., “Digital processing of historical maps from Eastern Macedonia, Greece with the use of GIS- Geography of settlements and toponyms in space and time,” *International journal of geomatics and geosciences* 2/2 (2011): p. 592

¹⁹³⁸ The List of refugee settlements in Macedonia according to the data of the Refugee Rehabilitation Committee, the year 1928 [Κατάλογος των προσφυγικών συνοικισμών της Μακεδονίας σύμφωνα με τα στοιχεία της Επιτροπής Αποκαταστάσεως Προσφύγων (ΕΑΠ) έτος 1928] (<http://www.freewebs.com/onoma/eap.htm>) - nowadays Mirrini (Μυρρίνη)

¹⁹³⁹ On *baština* as allodial or patrimonial property, see: Ćirković Sima, Mihaljčić, Rade, eds. *Leksikon Srpskog Srednjeg veka* (Belgrade: Znanje, 1999): 31-33.

¹⁹⁴⁰ *PLP*, no. 17222

¹⁹⁴¹ Identified with village Valandovo in Macedonia (FYROM), see: *Actes du Laura*, Vol. III, p. 158

¹⁹⁴² Muravjev, Andrei N. [Муравьев, Андрей Н.], ed. *Сношения России с Востоком по делам церковным*, Vol. I (Saint-Petersburg, 1885): 19.

¹⁹⁴³ Korać, “Sveta Gora pod srpskom vlašću,” pp. 81-87.

¹⁹⁴⁴ Bogdanović, Dimitrije; Đurić, Vojislav; Medaković, Dejan and Đorđević Miodrag. *Hilandar* (Belgrade: Jugoslovenska revija, 1978): 40.

¹⁹⁴⁵ *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, no. 34, 478-480.

¹⁹⁴⁶ The location is identified on the basis of the text of the act, stating that the village is neighboring with Koutsos, see: Lefort, Jacques et als. *Paysages de Macedoine*, p. 179.

¹⁹⁴⁷ *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, no. 37, pp. 489-493.

¹⁹⁴⁸ *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, no. 37 489-493.

Scorpia.¹⁹⁴⁹ To meet these petitions the tsar bought territories called Livada and Paleokamenitsa from Lavra and, thus, extended the possessions of Hilandar on Athos to one fifth of the peninsula.¹⁹⁵⁰ Later, in 1348, Stefan Dušan confirmed old properties of Hilandar and presented it with donations in cash.¹⁹⁵¹ During the same year he issued a chrysobull for another metochion of the monastery, St. Sabbas' cell in Kareya, which got the village of Kosoriće in Metochia with its vicinities, pastures, vineyards, mills, fields, mountains, rights, and four new dependent villages (Doljani, Donje Polje, Čelopeci, Češkovo). Hilandar received another domain situated on the core-Serbian territories, namely the metochion of the Virgin in Htetovo,¹⁹⁵² which owned numerous fields and 9 villages in vicinity.¹⁹⁵³ At the same time, Dušan took care about the representation of his dynastic monastery on Greek territories and passed¹⁹⁵⁴ several villages in the region of Rentina: Kokalino,¹⁹⁵⁵ Lužac¹⁹⁵⁶ and Palaiochorion.¹⁹⁵⁷

During Dušan's life his courtiers, following the trend established by the ruler, gave numerous properties to Hilandar, which were situated mainly in the Slavic-speaking parts of the Empire. Thus, in 1345,¹⁹⁵⁸ Rudl, a *vlastelin* from Strumica, extended Hilandar's domain in the Northern Macedonia with villages of Borujevo (with the Hodegitria church) and Robovo and two fields (with two wells, *paroikoi*, pastures and an abandoned village) in Banjica. Around 1350, *sebastokrator* Branko gave the village of Hudince, while despotes Ivanko of Probištip – metochion of John the Baptist in Štip, with its rights and possessions,¹⁹⁵⁹ and in 1354 a noble woman Višeslava and her sons Bogdan and Bogoja donated a village Leskovljane¹⁹⁶⁰ with its vicinity and rights. In 1348, Dušan's cousin

¹⁹⁴⁹ Ruins of Zygos are situated now less than 100 m. from of Athos border, south-east from Ouranopoli, and Scorpia monastery is situated on the eastern side of Athonite peninsula, next to the gulf of Herissos, see; *Actes de Chilandar*, Vol. I, pp. 21-22.

¹⁹⁵⁰ Grujić, Radoslav. "Topografija Hilendarskih metohija u Solunskoj i Strumskoj oblasti od XII do XIV veka," in: *Zbornik radova posvećen Jovanu Cvijiću* (Belgrade, 1924): 530, 534.

¹⁹⁵¹ Dušan promises to Hilandar one tithe of all his personal possessions annually – on the day of St. George the monks should will take in Novo Brdo 4000 hyperpyra in silver, and taxes from villages – 2000 hepyrpera, the emperor also donated 200 hyperpera to monastic hospital for commemoration of his soul – more details about donations in cash see: Korać, Dušan. "Novčani darovi Stefana Dušana svetogorskim manastirima," *Istorijski časopis* 38 (1991): 8.

¹⁹⁵² Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici*, p. 424; *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, no. 36, pp. 483–489. The list of donations (p. 496) starts with the phrase: "what my Majesty gave"

¹⁹⁵³ The act of donation didn't survive, but the inventory list of possessions made in Hilandar gives a probable date 1346-1348. In the later chrysobull of 1348 Dušan tells that the monastery was given by his Majesty – *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, p. 496.

¹⁹⁵⁴ Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici*, pp. 432-433. About dating this act see: Živojinović, Dragić. "Hrisovulja cara Stefana Dušana za Hilandar o Lužačkoj metohiji," *SSA* 5 (2006): 99-113.

¹⁹⁵⁵ Nowadays the village Kokkalou, see: Lefort, Jacques et als. *Paysages de Macedoine*, p. 175,

¹⁹⁵⁶ Lefort, Jacques et als. *Paysages de Macedoine*, pp. 10, 68.

¹⁹⁵⁷ Lefort, Jacques et als. *Paysages de Macedoine*, p. 68.

¹⁹⁵⁸ Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici*, pp. 410-411; *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, pp. 481-483.

¹⁹⁵⁹ Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici*, p. 425.

¹⁹⁶⁰ Kravari, *Villes et villages*, p. 200.

Vojihna, ruler of Drama, made the only aristocratic donation of lands situated in the Eastern Macedonia:¹⁹⁶¹ it was the village of Potolino, in the lower part of Strymon river.¹⁹⁶²

Certainly, patronage of the Serbian Tsar and fast growth of Hilandar's properties affected its position in Athonite hierarchy. Thus, already in 1363, the signature of Hilandar's *hegoumenos* followed only that of Lavra, Iviron, Vatopedi and an *ex-protos*,¹⁹⁶³ and, in 1379, the signature of Serbian *hegoumenos*, hieromonk Sisoje, appeared immediately after that of Iviron (5th place).¹⁹⁶⁴

Stefan Dušan demonstrated imperial generosity toward Vatopedi monastery. According to the first chrysobull (May of 1346),¹⁹⁶⁵ the monastery got properties in the region of Kalamaria¹⁹⁶⁶ and exemptions from all the taxes. The ruler also returned to Vatopedi its lost goods in Raphalion and Krimota,¹⁹⁶⁷ situated close to Thessaloniki. After the visit to Mount Athos,¹⁹⁶⁸ during which Stefan Dušan "made *proskynesis* to Her (the Holy Virgin) in the venerable monastery dedicated to Her name, famous and called Vatopediou,"¹⁹⁶⁹ the Tsar issued another act, which confirmed the earlier donations of Stefan Dušan and his courtiers. This way, Vatopedi extended its territories in Kalamaria¹⁹⁷⁰ and received new properties in Drama (metochion of the Hagioi Anargyroi) and in Chrysopolis.¹⁹⁷¹

Although, once N. Oikonomides stated that "pious nobles...always showed a certain preference for Vatopedi,"¹⁹⁷² one must admit that multiple gifts were made by Byzantine noblemen who sided with the Serbian ruler (in the text of the Vatopedi chrysobulls they are called Dušan's *oikeioi*), only after the Tsar issued his first chrysobull of 1346. Thus, Greek courtiers endowed the monastery with lands in vicinity of Serres and Chrysopolis: George Phokopoulos Vatatzes¹⁹⁷³ – with the vineyards, fields, mills and guest-houses in the city of Serres and his hereditary land (500 *modioi*) next to Tholos;

¹⁹⁶¹ For kesar Vojihna, see: Vujošević, Žarko. "Hrisovulja cara Stefana Dušana Hilandaru o selu Potolino," *SSA* 5 (2006): 133-134.

¹⁹⁶² Nowadays Pethelinos, for identification see: Vujošević, Žarko. "Hrisovulja cara Stefana Dušana Hilandaru o selu Potolino," *SSA* 5 (2006): 135.

¹⁹⁶³ *Actes de Saint-Pantéléimon*, no. 13, 111.

¹⁹⁶⁴ *Actes de Kutlumis*, p. 138.

¹⁹⁶⁵ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 93, pp. 1198-202; Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no. IX, pp. 78-82; Živojinović, "Regesta grčkih povelja," pp. 71-72.

¹⁹⁶⁶ Village Hagios Mamas, "its vicinity, pastures and its rights" and 300 modioi land of Mouzake, - Lefort, Jacques. *Villages de Macédoine. I. La Chalcidique occidentale* (Paris: De Boccard, 1982): 145-147.

¹⁹⁶⁷ Nowadays Drimos, for identification, see: *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, p. 35.

¹⁹⁶⁸ During 1347-april 1348, for dating, see: Živojinović Mirjana, "De nouveau sur le séjour de l'empereur Dušan à l'Athos", *ZRVI* 21 (1982): 119-126.

¹⁹⁶⁹ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 97, pp. 211-216 (here quoted p. 214, l. 3-4); Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no. XVIII, p. 138-147; Živojinović, "Regesta grčkih povelja," p. 79.

¹⁹⁷⁰ Stairs of the Leontarioi and quey (paraskalion) on the Gulf of Kassandra (Identification made in: *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, p. 35), 300 modioi land of Mouzakes, "which is nearby" of Hagios Mamas, land of Tzakōnissē, land of Amnos (The exact location of these possessions is unknown - *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, p. 29).

¹⁹⁷¹ A spring from Saniane, 500 modioi of land "Aleuroun" at Chrysopolis and piece of land of 150 modioi close to the city, for identification, see: *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, p. 38.

¹⁹⁷² Oikonomides, Nikolaos. "Byzantine Vatopaidi: a monastery of the high Aristocracy," in: *The holy and great monastery of Vatopaidi: tradition, history, art* (Hagios Oros, Iera Megiste Mone Batopaidiou, 1998): 50

¹⁹⁷³ *PLP*, nos. 30241-30242; *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, p. 215, l. 15-16

Markos Aggelos Bardales¹⁹⁷⁴ - with buildings, guest-houses, fields and vineyards in Zihne; *megas etaireiarhes* Ioannes Margarites¹⁹⁷⁵ - with a village next to Dratzoba,¹⁹⁷⁶ a land in Mikra Nebolianine, a land in Kaisaroupolis and a land, a church and a guest-house at the city of Chrysopolis; military judge Maurophoros¹⁹⁷⁷ - with a guest-houses at the city of Zihne, a land, vineyards and fields out of the city, the whole farm in Gradiston,¹⁹⁷⁸ its territory, possessions, vicinities and pastures. In case of Vatopedi, Stefan Dušan's patronage also promoted the monastery in the hierarchy of Athonite community and, finally, allowed it to displace Iviron in the row of signatures and to take the place immediately after Lavra (see above).

For preferring some monasteries over others Serbian Tsar had several reasons. First of all, there were strong long-lasting connections between these monasteries and the dynasty of Nemanjići. Thus, Panteleimon was the first monastery, where St. Sava, founder of Serbian church passed the period of novitate.¹⁹⁷⁹ Later, he moved to Vatopedi and called his father St. Simeon Nemanja, the first Serbian national saint and founder of the dynasty,¹⁹⁸⁰ to join him. These Serbian saints, both made several benefactions to the monastery¹⁹⁸¹ and even, at the initial stage of their founding activities, they intended to renew Hilandar as a *metochion* of Vatopedi.¹⁹⁸² Menoikeion, as it has been noted, was patronized by Stefan Milutin and Simonis. Finally, Hilandar was the Serbian national representative on the Holy Mount and a dynastic patrimony of the Nemanjići.¹⁹⁸³

Thus, the idea of dynastic continuity and the mentioning of Sts. Simeon and Sava appeared only in the *prooimia* of the *chrysobulls* granted to the above-mentioned monasteries. For example the second *chrysobull* for Vatopedi states that Dušan endows it “because of love, which... blessed ancestors had and paid to this venerable monastery.”¹⁹⁸⁴ While the *prooimion* to the Slavic *chrysobull* for St. Panteleimon starts with an image of the tree of faith, which being watered with “faith devoutness” gives “the fruits of virtue.” Stefan Dušan’s ktetorship was depicted there as a

¹⁹⁷⁴ PLP, no. 217; *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, p. 215, l. 17-18.

¹⁹⁷⁵ PLP, no. 16850; *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, p. 215, l. 18-19.

¹⁹⁷⁶ Nowadays Leukothea, for identification, see: Lefort, Jacques et als. *Paysages de Macedoine*, p. 145.

¹⁹⁷⁷ PLP, no. 17504; *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, p. 215, l. 20-22.

¹⁹⁷⁸ The exact location of these possessions is unknown, but one may suggest that it situated close to Zihne, because in the text it is stated that the land and vineyards he inherited from his parents and he himself belonged to nobility of the city. Moreover, I consider, that these possessions were on south or south-east from city of Zichne, because from west and North the territory of archeological place of old Zihne is surrounded by mountain massif of Falakro, which is not suitable even for farming. See also: *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, p. 38.

¹⁹⁷⁹ Juhas-Georgijevska, Ljiljana, Jovanović, Tomislav, eds. *Domentijan. Žitije Svetog Save* (Belgrade: SANU, 2003): 14-18.

¹⁹⁸⁰ For more details about the canonization of St. Simeon see Popović, Danica. *Pod okriljem svetosti. Kult svetih vladara i relikvija u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade, 2006): 27-74.

¹⁹⁸¹ built new cells, churches of John Theologian and Transfiguration and walls, see: Juhas-Georgijevska, Ljiljana, Jovanović, Tomislav, eds. *Domentijan. Žitije Svetog Save* (Belgrade: SANU, 2003): 40-42, 72-74

¹⁹⁸² Juhas-Georgijevska, Ljiljana, Jovanović, Tomislav, eds. *Domentijan. Žitije Svetog Save* (Belgrade: SANU, 2003): 84-86.

¹⁹⁸³ Maksimović, Ljubomir. “Hilandar i srpska vladarska ideologija,” in: *Osam vekova Hilandara*, ed. V. Korać. (Belgrade: SANU, 2000): 9-16.

¹⁹⁸⁴ See text no. [6] in the Appendix VIII to the present chapter.

continuation of good deeds of his ancestors: he himself becomes “a branch of a good root” of “holy parents, namely Simeon Nemanja, the new myrrh-giver and the first ruler of Serbian lands, and the great saint and the first-bishop of our fatherland Sava.”¹⁹⁸⁵

Stefan Dušan's extreme generosity toward Hilandar can be better understood in the context of his dynastic ideology. Thus, Hilandar was built by his “holy parents, the righteous and holy Simeon Nemanja, new myrrh-giver and our saint and the first archbishop of our fatherland, kyr Sava,”¹⁹⁸⁶ here is situated the “myrrh-flowing” first burial of “holy progenitor Simeon,” which Dušan “venerated,”¹⁹⁸⁷ and that’s why with his pious patronage Dušan established himself as a legitimized heir in a row of sanctified ktetors. Moreover, in his understanding, ktetorship facilitated continuity not only with the ancestors, but also with the offspring, and strengthen the family ties. In some of his Athonite *chrysobulls* issued after his visit of 1347-1348 for the Holy Mount, the Serbian ruler included “god-loving tsaritsa of my Majesty augusta kyra Jelena and beloved son, king Uroš” among the ktetors.¹⁹⁸⁸ However, the origin from the holy ancestors was not sufficient reason to support his imperial claims. Probably, Stefan Dušan understood it and used the references to the holy dynastic origin alone in texts addressed to the monasteries he favoured. In other cases he motivates his imperial status with the only possible, but very efficient reason – the grace of God.

Loyalty and promotion of the Serbian state’s interests were other reasons for favouring Panteleimon, Menoikeion, Vatopedi and Hilandar foundations. Probably, with some assistance from Stefan Dušan, people belonging to his inner circle of friends were established on the important positions in the church hierarchy and caused so-called “Slavicization”¹⁹⁸⁹ of church life on the occupied territories. In the second half of 14th century, Jakov,¹⁹⁹⁰ the hegoumenos of the emperor’s own foundation of the Holy Arhangels, was appointed as the Metropolitan of Serres. And, as the Slavic Tetraevangelion of the British Museum Add. 39626 (1354-1355) ordered by the Metropolitan

¹⁹⁸⁵ Ternovsky, Filipp [Терновский, Филипп], ed. *Акты русского на Святом Афоне монастыря св. великомученика и целителя Пантелеимона* (Kiev: Kievopecherskaya Lavra, 1873): no. 47, pp. 351-355 (here quoted pp. 352 and 353).

¹⁹⁸⁶ *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, pp. 490-491 - here the Tsar also stated that he visited Athos in order to venerate the burial place of his ancestor, Simeon Nemanja. Dušan refers to the continuation of the ktetorial tradition, established by King Milutin (“holy king, saint grandfather”) in case of pyrgos Hrusija – *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, p. 479. Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija*, pp. 174-177.

¹⁹⁸⁷ *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, p. 502.

¹⁹⁸⁸ *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, p. 494-495.

¹⁹⁸⁹ Soulis, George. “Tsar Stephen Dušan and Mount Athos,” *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954): 139.

¹⁹⁹⁰ *PLP*, no. 7904.

attests, the town had a group of Slavic-speaking clergy.¹⁹⁹¹ Between 1348 and 1375, Serbs three times became the *protoi* of Athos¹⁹⁹² – Antonije,¹⁹⁹³ Dorothej¹⁹⁹⁴ and Sava.¹⁹⁹⁵

With Stefan Dušan's support, in 1349, monk Isaija, a Serb from Kosovo and a member of Hilandar's brotherhood, was chosen as the hegoumenos of St. Panteleimon monastery. The extended version of the Slavic *chrysobull*, faked between 1349 and 1353,¹⁹⁹⁶ narrates that Stefan Dušan "found revered among monks, beloved by me and loyal to me monk Isaija, and entrusted him, in many ways, to care and to keep this holy monastery."¹⁹⁹⁷ The Tsar's appointee, indeed, actively contributed to the international recognition of the Serbian empire, participating in the reconciliation between Serbian and Constantinopolitan churches (1375).¹⁹⁹⁸ During this time, some Slavic monks appeared even in traditionally Greek Vatopedi's brotherhood; this can be proved by the Slavic signatures of Theodosios of Vatopedi (1366) and Theophanes of Vatopedi (1370)¹⁹⁹⁹ and some Slavic manuscripts of that time, composed in the monastery.²⁰⁰⁰

Moreover, the data given by our source sheds some light on the changes occurred with the ownership of property in the Easter Macedonia after the Serbian conquest. Thus, the land bank that the emperor used for the distribution consisted of the properties requisitioned from Byzantine *proniarioi*, middle-class officials and possessions in Macedonia belonging to citizens of Thessaloniki (city he' has never captured). For example, before passing to possession of Vatopedi, a village of Hagios Mamas belonged to certain *stratiotai* Barbarenoi²⁰⁰¹ and 300 *modioi* of land in its vicinity were held by *kaballarios* Mouzakes.²⁰⁰² The land of Tzakonissa, the land of Amnos, vineyards and

¹⁹⁹¹ The Gospel Book has a colophon, portrait and dedicatory inscription of Jakov, see: Walter, Christopher. "Portrait of Jakov of Serres in London. Additional 39626," *Zograf* 7 (1976): 65-72; Gavrilović, Zaga. "The Gospels of Jakov of Serres (London, B.L., Add. MS 39626), the family Brankovic and the Monastery of St Paul, Mount Athos," in: *Through the looking glass: Byzantium through British eyes*, eds. R. Cormack, E. Jeffreys (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000): 135-144; Spatharakis, *The Portrait*, p. 89.

¹⁹⁹² More details see: Soulis, George. "Tsar Stephen Dušan and Mount Athos," *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954): 139.

¹⁹⁹³ *PLP*, no. 91253.

¹⁹⁹⁴ *PLP*, no. 5946.

¹⁹⁹⁵ *PLP*, no. 24642.

¹⁹⁹⁶ The extended version of Slavic chrysobull of Dušan forged between 1349-1353 (see: Živojinović, Mirijana. "Le chrysobulle grec de l'empereur Dusan pour le monastère de Saint-Pantéléèmon," *ZRVI* 23 (1984): 167-169).

¹⁹⁹⁷ Ternovsky, Filipp [Терновский, Филипп], ed. *Акты русского на Святом Афоне монастыря св. великомученика и целителя Пантелеимона* (Kiev: Kievopetcherskaya Lavra, 1873): 354.

¹⁹⁹⁸ About hegoumenos Isaija (*PLP*, no. 6746), who is primarily known as an author of a Slavic translation of *Corpus Areopagiticum* (1371) see: Mošin, Vladimir [Мошин, Владимир]. "Житие старца Исаяи, игумена русского монастыря на Афоне," in: *Юбилейный сборник Русского археологического общества в королевстве Югославии*, Vol. 3 (Belgrade-Novı Sad: Tipografija S. Filonova, 1940): 125-167; Trifunović, Đorđe [Трифуновић, Ђорђе]. *Писац и преводилац инок Исаяја* (Kruševac: Bagdala, 1980).

¹⁹⁹⁹ Pavlikanov, Kirillos [Παυλικιάνωφ, Κύριλλος]. *Σλάβοι μοναχοί στο 'Αγιον Όρος* (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2002): 4-5.

²⁰⁰⁰ Pavlikianov, Cyril. "A Short Catalogue of the Manuscripts in Vatopedi," *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα* 10 (1996): 296-302.

²⁰⁰¹ *PLP*, no. 2165.

²⁰⁰² *PLP*, no. 19427.

fields of others “citizens of Thessaloniki which they possessed in its (Hagios Mamas) vicinity” were also donated to Vatopedi²⁰⁰³ by the emperor.

A forge next Kontogroikou (given to Xeropotamou), “was earlier hold by” a *pronoiaros* Indanes from Zihne,²⁰⁰⁴ whose name can be reconstructed from *chrysobull* of John V Palaiologos.²⁰⁰⁵ Before Serbian donation, the monks paid 20 *hyperpyra* for using this forge to Indanes. In the same way, exempting Philotheou from payments for Kala Dendra, the emperor disables the rights of a certain Patrikios,²⁰⁰⁶ probably. a *pronoiaros*, to whom the peasants from this village had given 6 *hyperpyra*.

The case of the villages Antzista and Benikeia, which were given to St. Panteleimon’s monastery, Alexios Palaiologos,²⁰⁰⁷ the previous owner, confirmed the transfer of the properties to the monasteries in 1375, but he asked for an *adelphation* in exchange, in case he enters the foundation as a monk.²⁰⁰⁸ Alexios, a son of military commander (*megas hetaireiarches*) Michael Kabalares,²⁰⁰⁹ characterized these possessions he as “of my father,” and “received by imperial benevolence”, which suggests that it was an imperial *pronoia*. Further he states, that he lost the villages, because they “were given by the Serb to the monastery of Russian.”²⁰¹⁰ And again, the land resources that Stefan Dušan used for donations to monasteries came from the possessions of the middle rank byzantine military commander who received them as an imperial *pronoia*.

To Esphigmenou monastery, Dušan returned properties on Halkidiki (a half of the Portarea village - 1346) and on Strymon (“two thirds of village Krousovo” - 1347), which were taken away, probably during the civil wars, and given as a *pronoia* to Byzantine officers (Portarea – to Anatavlas,²⁰¹¹ one third of Krousovo – to Gabrielopoulos²⁰¹² and another one – to Pharmakes).²⁰¹³ The same situation occurred with the village of Zablantia, which was taken away from the monastery of St. George by *sebastokrator* John Angelos, the governor of Thessaly, and given to “*stratiotai*” and, afterwards, returned to the monastery by Stefan Dušan in 1348.²⁰¹⁴ The *chrysobull* given to Lavra by

²⁰⁰³ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, p. 215, l. 11.

²⁰⁰⁴ *PLP*, nos. 8206-8207; Bartusis, *Land and Privilege*, p. 495.

²⁰⁰⁵ *Actes de Xéropotamou*, no. 27, pp. 197-201.

²⁰⁰⁶ *PLP*, no. 22070.

²⁰⁰⁷ *PLP*, no. 21421.

²⁰⁰⁸ *Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmon*, no. 15, pp. 115-117 (quoted from p. 115), Korać, “Sveta Gora pod srpskom vlašću,” pp. 79 mistakenly suggested that the father of Alexios Palaiologos was Michael Kabasila.

²⁰⁰⁹ *PLP*, no. 10026.

²⁰¹⁰ *Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmon*, no. 15, p. 115, ll. 5 and 7.

²⁰¹¹ *PLP*, nos. 867-869, 871; see also, Shukurov, Rustam [Шукуров, Рустам]. “Анатавлы: тюркская фамилия на византийской службе,” *VV* 66 (2007): 193-207.

²⁰¹² *PLP*, no. 3432.

²⁰¹³ *PLP*, no. 29641; Bartusis, *Land and Privilege*, pp. 376-377.

²⁰¹⁴ Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, p. 164. Bartusis, *Land and Privilege*, p. 40.

Dušan states the origin of the given land directly (in that particular case, of the village of Siderokausia), “that which belonged to the state and *pronoiarioi*.”²⁰¹⁵

The successors of Stefan Dušan followed the model he established and made active endowment to the same monasteries which were favoured by the Tsar. Thus, Tsar’s widow, Jelena continued to perform patronage over Serres as it will be discussed in the last chapter of this dissertation, whereas another Serbian nobleman, *despotes* Jovan Uglješa ordered to adorn St. Nicholas’ chapel at the Menoikeion.²⁰¹⁶ In the second half of the 14th century the Monastery of St. Panteleimon became one of the most significant owners on the Mount Athos: in 1377 a noblemen Novak Mrasović donated to the Panteleimon a village Koprivjana²⁰¹⁷ and in 1378 Jovan and Konstantin Dragaši gave 32 villages, mostly situated in area of Strumica, later, in 1381, brothers Dejanovići presented it with more than 20 monasteries and church properties in different towns and villages in Northern and Central Macedonia.²⁰¹⁸

As for Hilandar, the Serbian nobility assigned properties from entire Macedonia to it. In 1358-1381 Serbian Athonite monastery got: from nobleman Vlatko - 6 villages near Kriva Palanka,²⁰¹⁹ in 1361 from tsar Uroš and his mother Jelena- a village on Strymon,²⁰²⁰ in the same year from *čelnik* Miloš - 4 villages,²⁰²¹ Vuk Branković passed to Hilandar about 10 villages and *metochia* near Trstenik (1365)²⁰²² and later, in 1366 *vojvoda* Nikola – monastery of St. Stefan in Konče with its possessions (12 villages).²⁰²³

Finally, one of few Greek Athonite monasteries,²⁰²⁴ which enjoyed ktetorship of Serbian rulers was Vatopedi. In 1359, on intervention of *kesar* Vojihna,²⁰²⁵ the Metropolitan of Drama agreed to return some properties to Vatopedi (*metochia* of the Theotokos Koriliotissa and Hagioi Anargyroi), whereas Vojihna himself and his wife gave the church of St. Photeine.²⁰²⁶ In 1365, the governor of

²⁰¹⁵ Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, p. 20 (“ὅσον εὐρίσκεται δημοσιακὸν καὶ προνοιαστικόν”)

²⁰¹⁶ Subotić, Kissas, “Nadgrobni natpis Jelene,” Djurić, Vojislav. “Les portraits des Serbes dans le monastère de St.-Jean-Prodrôme au Mont Ménécée,” in: *Οι Σέρρες και η περιοχή τους: από την αρχαία στη μεταβυζαντινή κοινωνία* Vol. II (Thessaloniki-Serres: Demos Serron, 1998): 402–405; Strati, Angeliki [Στρατή, Αγγελική] *Η ζωγραφική στην Ιερά Μονή Τιμίου Προδρόμου Σερρών 14ος-19ος αι.* (Thessaloniki: Mygdonia, 2007): 33-40, 53-64.

²⁰¹⁷ Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici*, pp. 509-510.

²⁰¹⁸ Angelov, Dimitar [Ангелов, Димитър]. “Рост и структура крупного монастырского землевладения в Северной и Средней Македонии в XIV в.,” *VV* 11(1959): 139.

²⁰¹⁹ Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici*, p. 435.

²⁰²⁰ Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici*, p. 439.

²⁰²¹ Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici*, pp. 440-441.

²⁰²² Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici*, pp. 442-444.

²⁰²³ Novaković, *Zakonski Spomenici*, pp. 439-445.

²⁰²⁴ Except for the above-mentioned case of tsar Uroš and Jelena's patronage of Lavra, Serbian rulers (kaiser Vojihna, despotes Jovan Ugleša and Vuk Branković) are also mentioned as ktetors of Koutloumous (*Actes de Kutlumis*, pp. 29, 30, 38, 110-116, 116-121, 141-147). In 1369, despot Jovan Ugleša donated to the monastery the village of Neohora, which was supported by chrysobull, issued in Slavic language (*Actes de Kutlumis*, pp. 230-231, *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, no. 57, p. 531).

²⁰²⁵ *PLP*, no. 2942.

²⁰²⁶ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 113, pp. 278-280.

Serres, Jovan Ugleša, donated the monastery of Spelaiotissa in Melnik,²⁰²⁷ to which he later added a *zeugelateion* next to the lake Poros (Bolbe).²⁰²⁸ Moreover, in the conflict between Vatopedi and Lavra over another monastery of the Speleiotissa (near Siderokausia), the governor took the side of the former and persuaded the *protos* Sava to make a decision, favourable for Vatopedi.²⁰²⁹ Jovan Ugleša commissioned a chapel dedicated to the Holy Anargyroi at the monastery and found an expensive Thessalonikian artistic atelier for its adornment.²⁰³⁰ In 1369, he also assigned the collection of taxes from the lake Poros (120 *hyperpyra*) to Vatopedi,²⁰³¹ and, finally, before Maritza battle (1371), the governor of Serres visited the monastery and presented a *chrysobull* endowing it with the village of St. Theodore on the shore of the same lake.²⁰³²

6.4. The rhetoric of *ktetoria*: Greek charters by Stefan Dušan

Except of attesting the economic transfer, some types of documents, primarily the imperial ones, contained significant rhetorical parts. The imperial *prooimia* expressed the common ideas, typical for the chancery circles, more sophisticated than that of the scribes of Athos.²⁰³³ The chrysobulle by John VIII Palaiologos, issued in 1407 to six monasteries of Constantinople, Thessalonica and Athos, assigning to these establishments revenues from the peninsula of Kassandria has one of such propaganda-oriented preface.²⁰³⁴ The *prooimion* states that all men must be grateful to God for his Incarnation, by all kinds of gifts, in thought, word and deed: in thought, for celebrating him as the benefactor of humanity, in word by praising him daily, together or in their hearts; in action, by offering him the best and the most precious possessions. If this is a duty for everybody, than it is even more befitting for the emperors, because God has honored them more than all other men, and they are models for others. Therefore the divine law, which prescribes giving to others, is superior to the law which requires the Greeks and barbarians to fight for their congeners. The imperial gift is conceived as an essential element for salvation, and can be understood as a kind of counter-gift granted to the great monasteries of the empire in exchange for the divine favor which the monks solicit by their prayers for the emperor. This way, the rhetorical *prooimion* underlined

²⁰²⁷ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 120, pp. 299-304.

²⁰²⁸ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no 122, pp. 306-308.

²⁰²⁹ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no 127, pp. 331-333.

²⁰³⁰ Todić, Branislav. "Srpske umetničke starine u manastiru Vatopedu," in: *Četvrta kazivanja o Svetoj Gori*, eds.M. Živojinović, M. Milosavljević (Belgrade: Prosveta, 2005): 139-143.

²⁰³¹ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 133, pp. 353-354.

²⁰³² *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 137, pp. 367-369.

²⁰³³ About the rhetoric and propaganda expressed in the prooimia of imperial chrysobulls, see: Angelov, Dimitar. *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204-1330* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 29-77.

²⁰³⁴ *Actes de Xeropotamou*, no. 28, pp. 202-208 and *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, no. 159, pp. 144-149.

the contractual nature of the gift, but, at the same time, represented the emperor as grateful and generous.

However, the Byzantine rhetoric of *prooimia* was sufficiently studied as a tool of propaganda and expression of political thought.²⁰³⁵ The same can be said about the *prooimia* of Slavic charters by the Serbian rulers which were regarded as the expression of political ideology, piety, and problems related to legality of succession and independence of the Serbian state.²⁰³⁶ However, the Greek charters issued by Serbian rulers didn't receive sufficient attention. The following study will address some particular problems of the Serbian ideology at the point of passage from the Kingdom to the Tsradom under Stefan Dušan.

Nikephoros Gregoras, describing Dušan's coronation, narrates that he "proclaimed himself as an emperor of the Romans, exchanged the barbaric life mode to the customs of the Romans, he evidently used *kalyptra* and all the famous clothes, which befit to this great power, and he uses (them) till now."²⁰³⁷ However, not only Byzantine-style regalia were adopted by Dušan, Serbian diplomacy which was influenced by the byzantine protocol even earlier,²⁰³⁸ now accepted its main elements (following the byzantine formular of chrysobull and prostagma, using the menologium for signing, applying the red ink for Tsar's signature, menologium and word λόγος etc.).²⁰³⁹ Serbian ruler started to issue the documents in Greek language addressing the monasteries and noblemen of Thessalia, Macedonia and Mount Athos.²⁰⁴⁰

The writers of these chrysobulls and *prostigmata* are still under question. They might come form a new Greek-language chancellery at court of Tsar Stefan Dušan²⁰⁴¹ or, as suggested by V. Mošin,²⁰⁴² the texts of these documents might have been composed by the recipients (monks of

²⁰³⁵ Angelov, Dimiter. *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204-1330* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Hunger, *Prooimion*; Bompaire, Jacques. "À propos des préambules des actes byzantins des xe-xie siècles", in: *Prédication et propagande au Moyen Age: Islam, Byzance, Occident. Actes du colloque organisé par l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne*, eds. G. Makdisi, D. Sourdel, and J. Sourdel-Thomine (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1983): 133-147.

²⁰³⁶ Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija*; Trifunović, Đurđe. "Molitveno i pohvalno kazivanje kralja Milutina," in: Id., *Sa svetogorskih izvora* (Belgrade: Službeni list, 2004): 115-118; Trifunović, Đurđe. "Autobiografska kazivanja kneza Lazara," in: Id., *Ogledi i prevodi (XIV – XVII vek)* (Belgrade: Istočnik, 1995): 25-30; Porčić, Nebojša. *Diplomatički obrasci srednjovekovnih vladarskih dokumenata: srpski primer*. PhD thesis. University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade, 2012; Ferjančić, Božidar. "Vladarska ideologija u srpskoj diplomaciji posle propasti Carstva, 1371," in: *O knezu Lazaru: Naučni skup u Kruševcu*, 1971, eds. I. Božić and V. Đurić (Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet u Beogradu, 1975): 139-150

²⁰³⁷ Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. II, pp. 746-747.

²⁰³⁸ Lascaris, Michel. "Influences byzantines dans la diplomatie bulgare, serbe et slavo-roumaine" *Byzantinoslavica* 3/2 (1931): 500-510 (esp. p. 504).

²⁰³⁹ Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, pp. LXXXVIII-XCIII.

²⁰⁴⁰ Živojinović, "Regesta grčkih povelja," p. 58. This article being the most up-to-date research on the topic enumerates 28 documents in Greek, issued by Stefan Dušan between 1344 and 1355.

²⁰⁴¹ Dölger, Franz. "Die byzantinische und mittelalterliche serbische Herrscherkanzlei," in: *Actes du XIIIe Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Ochride, 10-16 septembre, 1961*, Vol. I, (Belgrade: Naučno delo 1963): 83-103 (esp. pp. 100-103).

²⁰⁴² Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, p. CII.

Greek communities) and been given to the Tsar for signing. However, in any case, their content was suitable for both sides (the monasteries and Stefan Dušan himself) and reflected the concepts, shared by the Tsar and the monks. Following the byzantine structure, these documents have developed rhetoric *prooimia* containing ideas about the supreme power and methods of its execution, ktetorship and its function, relations between an autokrator and his subjects, the role of monasteries in the salvation of the donor's soul and the importance of ecclesiastic institutions for the government of Empire. The presence of these themes as well as the high-brow style and rhetoric complexity became the reasons to regard the Greek charters by Serbian rulers among the contemporary byzantine examples.²⁰⁴³

Among the Greek *prooimia* written under the rule of Stefan Dušan, one can distinguish several groups. The greatest number (18 documents) was issued for the Athonite foundations, the rest of the documents were given to the Thessalian monasteries of Virgin at Lykousada and St. George at Zavlantia, Macedonian monasteries of St. Jean the Baptist in Menoikeion (2 charters) and St. Athanasios at Zichne (2 charters), and to Greek aristocrats intending to endow other monasteries. The Athonite group, as it was noted by V. Mošin,²⁰⁴⁴ presents the most elaborate rhetorical examples and exhibits the polished byzantine style. In the *prooimia*, these documents create an image of the new ruler of the new Empire, formed of old Serbian and newly-conquered Greek lands, and formulate the most important for the new ideology concepts.

First of all, Stefan Dušan's *ktetoria* was represented as a "God-pleasing" [6]²⁰⁴⁵ and, at the same time, proper for a ruler, activity. It befits him, as being a good Christian, "to strive for the beautiful (things) with all the strengths" [1] and becomes "essential", because "to make good deeds" is "usual and natural" for an emperor, like "breathing" [2]. Taking care about churches and monasteries is represented as "benefaction" (εὐεργεσία) [1, 2, 3, 11, 12, 13] and "virtue" (ἀρετή) [9, 10], which characterizes a good rule and, even, is prescribed to the image of a proper sovereign. So, "If, indeed, any other virtue is proper for an emperor, then, the reverence toward the divine matters, striving and taking care about monasteries, dedicated to Him, should mandatory be the greatest one" [9]. Thus, Stefan Dušan is depicted as a proper, pious emperor, whose actions fit to the required 'standards' of a good rule which includes the care about churches and monasteries, situated on the lands, recently conquered by the Serbian empire. To support the image of the Serbian emperor as a legitimate power, ktetorial activities of the Tsar are juxtaposed with the Old

²⁰⁴³ Hunger, Herbert (Hunger, *Prooimion*) regarded two of these charters for exemplifying the ideas of "Power, received from God" and "Benefactoring," characteristic for the byzantine rhetorical *prooimia*, and he even didn't note specifically, that these charters were written by a different chancellery, than the Constantinopolitan, where the majority of documents, regarded by H. Hunger, were produced.

²⁰⁴⁴ Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, p. XCVIII-CL.

²⁰⁴⁵ The texts and translations of the documents are given in the Appendix VIII to this chapter, in the square brackets are placed the numbers of documents from the Appendix.

Testamental images and are considered as the accomplishing “of the Law and the prophets,” [9] i.e. in a typological way.

Ktetorship was understood as the Tsar’s way to be similar with the Creator, God Himself. In this sense, an emperor imitates God’s deeds of charity through the public display of *philanthropia*.²⁰⁴⁶ “And there is a need for my Majesty, possibly, to become like God, and in the very philanthropic way to govern those ones, who are under its (of my Majesty) power, and to establish holy churches of God... and as God gives to those, who love Him..., so my Majesty endows, in a worthy way, with benefactions those approaching it (my Majesty) gratefully” [13]. Thus, the image of the new Serbian sovereign is associated with the ‘gallery’ of pious Byzantine rulers depicted by means of rhetoric, and his charity becomes a proof of his truly imperial status.

However, there was one very important issue concerning Stefan Dušan’ ktetoria of the Athonite monasteries – he confirmed the previous possession; sometimes presented monasteries with new lands and properties, but he didn’t found new institutions and didn’t build new churches. In other words, in all the cases he played a role of a second ktetor whose rights were lesser than the ones of the original founders.²⁰⁴⁷ But rhetoric of his charters reveals a different point of view: “establishing the first grounds and foundations and building the holy churches... is praiseworthy and (their) deeds are god-pleasing, but not less praiseworthy are those ones who... lend possible support to them (monasteries) and order to accomplish those things which concern renovation and restoration of them” [6]. The “continuous care” is “not only proper, but necessarily, and, in a certain measure, it is greater in virtue, it is more admirable” [10]. In this sense, Stefan Dušan’s actions (giving the chrysobulls to Athonites monasteries and confirming their lands and privileges) are represented as the provision of support to the monasteries and the care about their economic stability which allowed the monks to be occupied with spiritual matters only and to dedicate time to prayers and veneration of God: “monks practicing askesis in them (monasteries) stayed undisturbed and calm for the deed of God itself” [2]).

The ultimate goal of this care, i.e. supplying monks with everything they need, is expressed in the chrysobull, given to St. Panteleimon’s monastery [10]. So, the monks shouldn’t care about material life, they should concentrate on their prayers to God, and, being commemorated in these prayers, a ktetor achieves desirable things: “taking great care and providing the sufficient economical independence for monks, living there, in order that those (monks) getting rid of all

²⁰⁴⁶ Rapp, Claudia. “Charity and Piety as Episcopal and Imperial Virtues in Late Antiquity,” In: *Charity and Giving in Monotheistic Religions*, ed. M. Frenkel, Ya. Lev (Berlin - New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009): 80-86; Hunger, *Prooimion*, pp. 143-153.

²⁰⁴⁷ Popović, Marko. “Les funeraillles du Ktitor: Aspect archeologique,” in: *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London, 21-26 August 2006*, eds. E. Jeffreys, F. K. Haarer, J. Ryder, Vol. I (Aldershot, Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2006): 99-130 (esp. p. 101).

concerns and living free from digressions stay only with God and rise their pure laudations and zealously pray for the power of it (my Majesty).” In other words, confirming privileges of the Athonite monasteries, Stefan Dušan set not only/not mainly pious, but also/rather political goals: the support of his political status of “tsar” by the Athonite monks and the expansion of the Serbian state. However, these goals are expressed in the rhetoric of piety as an opposition of “ktetorial donation,” thanked in “zealous prayers,” and the act of ktetorship becomes a rhetoric metaphor for the political and economic negotiations.

Becoming a ruler of a newly-joint nation Stefan Dušan felt a need to show continuity of rule with both previous royal traditions. Namely, he needed to become a legitimate heir of the Byzantine one in the Greek territories and that of the Nemanjići on the Serbian lands, as, otherwise, he could be considered a barbaric occupant of the Greek lands and an illegitimate Serbian ruler coming to power with a coup d’etat.²⁰⁴⁸ One of the ways to prove his legitimacy was the idea of the second ktetorship, i.e. the endowment or renovation of the foundations, made either by the byzantine emperors or by previous members of the Nemanjići. Thus, already the first-issued “General chrysobull” [1] indicates the idea of continuity clearly, so, among the reasons for ktetorship, one of the main is the imitation of good deeds of the ancestors. Acknowledging all kinds of labors and care about the good things by “the famous and blessed ancestors...my kingship ...willing and desiring to imitate (them) with all strength, and, especially, [to emulate] their indefatigable and passionate desire which revealed itself, plentifully and richly, on this Holy and sacred Mount Athos, (where they) making benefactions and giving them everything those needed.” In this way, the Serbian ruler developed the dynastic tradition of piety, imitating his ancestors in their pious good deeds at the place, where they made their own benefactions, i.e. on Mount Athos. The same idea was stated in charters for another Athonite monasteries even more explicitly, namely, in the donations to Vatopedi [6, 11] where the cult of the Tsar’s ancestors – Sts. Simeon and Sava – existed.²⁰⁴⁹ So, the Tsar assumed the duties of ktetorship here “because of love which, from the very beginning, my Majesty’s famous and blessed ancestors had and paid to this venerable monastery” [11]. He also outlined two important for his legitimization points: plenty of good deeds, made by the predecessors which are going to be imitated by Stefan Dušan, and the ancestors’ sanctity: “Vatopedi had received earlier great protection, good attitude and guidance from the glorious and blessed and holy ancestors of my Majesty, Simeon and Sava, and it had been living in happiness and prosperity, but... it lost what it used to have, and... my Majesty reinstating the labours of its (my Majesty’s) ancestors and started to renovate and to restore this venerable

²⁰⁴⁸ About the revolt of Stefan Dušan and his coming to power, see: Marjinović-Dušanić, Smilja. *Sveti kralj: Kult Stefana Dečanskog* (Belgrade: Clio, 2007): 308-321.

²⁰⁴⁹ Kisas, Sotiris. “Predstava svetog Save Srpskog kao ktitora manastira Vatopeda,” *ZLU* 19 (1983): 185-199.

monastery” [6]. Moreover, the idea of the dynastic continuity is expressed not only as beneficial for the Serbian internal affairs, but as advantageous for the Greek monasteries themselves. The prooimion of the charter [6] insists that it was exactly help and care of Sts. Simeon and Sava which allowed the monastery to live in prosperity, and, thus, the return of the Serbian rule to Mount Athos, in general, and to the monastery, in particular, would lead to the economic revival.

On the other hand, the benefactions of the new Tsar were not perceived as a break with previous, Byzantine tradition. So, the purpose of the rhetoric and the deeds themselves was to assure the monks that, with coming of the new power, nothing would be changed to worse in the lives and fortunes of their monasteries. First of all, as V. Mošin has noticed, almost all the time the charters were written “on the basis of older charters,”²⁰⁵⁰ which implied that all the possessions, described in the previous documents, would be kept under the ownership of certain monasteries. Moreover, for outlining this fact, a kind of formula appeared in Stefan Dušan’s Greek chrysobulls [5,7,8,9]: “monks practicing askesis from the venerable monastery.... turned to my Majesty concerning the fact that this sacred monastery holds by the right of old [chrysobulls] and prostagmata and inventory lists and other orders, [different] properties and metochia” [8]. And, by the issue of the document, the Tsar assures that these “possessions and metochia and other rights” which were supported by “old chrysobulls and prostagmata of glorious emperors” are now ensured for monasteries to “hold them without disturbance in all the times” under the Serbian rule established over these lands which issues the documents, signed by the new ruler.

Secondly, the act of secondary ktetorship, performed by Stefan Dušan is an opportunity to demonstrate the real or desirable state of political affairs. In the charter, addressed to Zographou [5], the sovereign described his relations with “the highest emperor of the Romans” Johannes Palaiologos²⁰⁵¹ and “the highest Tsar of the Bulgarians” Alexander,²⁰⁵² calling both of them “relatives.”²⁰⁵³ However, he expressed different attitude toward their political status: whereas

²⁰⁵⁰ Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, p. CI.

²⁰⁵¹ *PLP*, no. 21485. Stefan Dušan calls John V “a relative”, because the step-mother of Stefan Dušan was Maria Palaiologina (*PLP*, no. 21391), the daughter of the nephew of Andronikos II, *panhypersebastos* living in Thessaloniki (*PLP*, no. 21479).

²⁰⁵² *PLP*, no. 91374. Stefan Dušan calls Ivan Alexander “a brother” because the Serbian Tsar was married with Jelena, the sister of Ivan Alexander.

²⁰⁵³ About this Byzantine concept of family of rulers more detailed see: Obolensky, Dimitri. *The Byzantine commonwealth. Eastern Europe, 500-1453* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971): 5-41; Ostrogorsky, George. “The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order,” *The Slavonic and East European Review* 35/84 (Dec., 1956): 1-14; Dölger, Franz. “Die ‘Familie der Könige’ im Mittelalter,” in: Idem, *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964): 34-69 and Hunger, Herbert. “State and Society in Byzantium,” in Idem. *Epidosis. Gesammelte schriften zur byzantinischen Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte* (Munich: Editio Maris, 1989): 251-252.

Dušan expresses the continuity of settings with the byzantine emperor²⁰⁵⁴ by the renewal of the orders present in Byzantine chrysobulls (“on the basis of the chrysobull of a relative of my Majesty, the highest emperor of the Romans, lord Ioannis Palaiologos, (the monastery) was holding and ruling over it”), than toward Tsar Ivan-Alexander, he shows the relations of the domination-subjection, depicting the Bulgarian Tsar, as the one who asks for a chrysobull confirming the landed possessions of the Bulgarian monastery (“the highest Tsar of the Bulgarians, lord Alexander, asked and requested from my Majesty that this monastery would be provided with a chrysobull of my Majesty”).

On the other hand, the Serbian diplomatics written in Greek expresses the idea of the newly established Serbian rule as charitable and caring about subjects. Thus, many charters [3,4,6,7,8,10] describe political situation before Stefan Dušan’s conquest as “the time of disorder and distress” which brought “misfortunes” to monasteries and caused their “destruction”. And, therefore, the Serbian rule tried to represent itself as “taking care of the conquered towns and lands” [4]²⁰⁵⁵ and used these official documents as the means of political propaganda drawing comparison between the misfortunes of the Byzantine time and the new Serbian state which established order and peace, restoring monasteries, forsaking “the unfortunates of (my Majesty)” [2] and protecting the monastic possessions situated in the lands newly joint to the Serbian state.

Finally, the Greek Athonite chrysobulls by Stefan Dušan depicted the relations between the Tsar and the monasteries as a kind of mutually profitable parity. On the one hand, the ruler was represented as a layman being in need of the monks’ intercession to achieve future salvation [1, 3, 9, 13]. He imitated his ancestors who made donations “in useful and firm hope that, by these means, they themselves would appear in the kingdom of God, through the holy and god-pleasing prayers of the monks” [1] and relied on the monks’ advocacy. In one of the charters, given to monastery of Xenophon, it is written that the monks were “ordered ordered to perform special prayers for” the Tsar “with their whole souls”. The ruler especially insisted on helping not to institutions, but rather to monks themselves “in order that, by their petitions and prayers, my Majesty would gain the grace of human-loving God” [13]. In other words, by making donations to the Athonite monasteries Stefan Dušan, except achieving political purposes, expected to get spiritual benefits, typical for act of *ktetoria*, i.e. help in the future salvation of his soul.

²⁰⁵⁴ About the relations of Stefan Dušan as a Tsar with the Byzantine Empire, see: Ćirković, Sima. “Between Kingdom and Empire: Dušan's state 1346–1355 reconsidered” in: *The Expansion of Orthodox Europe: Byzantium, the Balkans and Russia*, ed. J. Shephard (Hampshire: Ashgate Variorum, 2007): 365-376; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija*, pp. 87-89.

²⁰⁵⁵ Nicol, *The Last centuries of Byzantium*, pp. 185-208 (esp. pp. 197-198). About the increase of population in the regions after 1340s –Laiou-Thomadakis, Angeliki. *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977): 223-266.

After the Tsar's stay on the Holy Mount another reason for presenting monasteries with endowments appeared in his chrysobulls, namely, the gratitude for hospitality (and, probably, political support) which he had enjoyed there in 1347-1348. Thus, after his visit to Lavra of St. Athanasios, the Tsar, being "more firmly and steadfastly seized, in pure and very heart, by love toward the holy" place, makes additional landed donations, "good deeds," "proportionally to a good attitude and assurance, which" [9] he had received at the monastery. However, a formula, stating, that the ruler performs "benevolence," because "monks demonstrated toward" him "good attitude and kindness," which appears in documents, dated by 1346 [3, 4], i.e. even before Dušan's Athonite pilgrimage, gives grounds for considering the new donations of the Serbian ruler to be the response to political support which he received from the Holy Mount.

On the other hand, the monks themselves were depicted as initiators of *ktetoria* and citizens of the new empire, "approaching" the ruler "with their whole soul and subjecting themselves to" him [2, 12]. Thus, in some of the charters the following formula appeared: "monks pleaded and asked that this venerable monastery would acquire good deeds and care from my Majesty" [3, 7, 8, 13]. This way, the *ktetoria* appeared to be a reward for the monks' loyalty toward the new rule, which was demonstrated not only rhetorically: in 1346, the delegation headed by the *protos* participated into Dušan's coronation, and, in 1348, a Serbian monk Antony was elected as the *protos*.²⁰⁵⁶

Consequently, these *prooimia*, being full of the formulas and clichés, typical for Byzantine rhetoric, differed from the content of the Slavic *prooimia*, composed for previous rulers from Nemanjići dynasty. With the means of the rhetorical *topoi*, these texts create an image of new emperor, suitable for the byzantine standards of good rule: he is pious, charitable, taking care about his subjects and pleases God. All these qualities are expressed through his *ktetorial* activity, which itself is essential for a good sovereign. On the other hand, these Greek texts construct an image of the supreme imperial power and, by the rhetorical devices, reflect the political circumstances through the metaphor of *ktetoria*. Thus, *ktetorship*, being itself a mandatory feature of the sovereign's public image, became necessary political tool of legitimization and recognition in the political negotiations of Stefan Dušan with the monasteries of the Holy Mount.

However, a comparison of the Greek charters and those, issued in Slavic language, can underline the differences into self-representation of the Tsar and prove the proposed hypothesis concerning the political agenda behind the Greek *prooimia*. Thus, in 1343-1345, Stefan Dušan issued several documents on behalf of Htetovo monastery dedicated to the Virgin and situated on

²⁰⁵⁶ Soulis, George. "Tsar Stephen Dušan and Mount Athos," *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954): 137.

the territory of Polog, conquered by the Serbian state in 1330s.²⁰⁵⁷ The charter under consideration, is Hilandar no. 9²⁰⁵⁸ which was identified as a contemporary and authentic on the grounds of paleography.²⁰⁵⁹

During these years, the Serbian king, except perusing the expansionist policies, also expressed his gratitude for the changes which occurred in his family to the Orthodox foundations. After several childless years of marriage, in 1336/1337, Stefan Dušan's wife Jelena gave birth to a boy who would continue the Nemanjići dynasty.²⁰⁶⁰ Thus, the motive of gratitude to the Virgin for this gift is underlined by the frequent use of epithets associated with "mercy" (being merciful, by your mercy, have mercy on me who committed more sins than others. – **МИЛОСТИВАТА ОУБЕ, МИЛОСТИВА ГОСПОДА, РОЖДЪШИИ МИЛОСТИЮ СИ И МЕНЕ ПОМИЛОУИ ПАЧЕ ВСѢХЪ СЪГРѢШЬША**). So, in the Slavic *prooimion* the Tsar underlined his position as a recipient of the Virgin's mercy and the grace from Her Son. He expresses the desire to render this "gift," referring, thus, to his son Uroš, who despite his very young age is also mentioned in the text:

Because of grace provided by you and your son, oh, the Most-Pure one, Stepan by the grace of God king with my son Uroš, the young king, being amazed and happy about those many divine gifts and thinking with the soul, and body and the whole mind, daily and nightly, how to return (to give thanks) to our Lord and his the Most-Pure Mother, and having in mind only to give back to Him the thanks and glory, and to take care about the holy churches until the day of our death supplying the insufficient things and accomplishing the things which were not accomplished by the holy parents of my kingship....²⁰⁶¹

As the display of penance and piety, Stefan Dušan promised to distribute a small portion of his fortune to the poor who "make all people to buy the Heavenly kingdom."²⁰⁶² So, in this way, both actions, the church benefactions and the distribution of alms, became the tools of returning the

²⁰⁵⁷ For the historical background as well as for proofs of the charters' authenticity see: Korać, Dušan. "Povelja kralja Stefana Dušana manastiru Svete Bogorodice u Tetovu. Prilog srpskoj diplomaciji i sfragistici," *ZRVI* 23 (1984): 141-165; Selish'ev, Afanasij [Селищев, Афанасий]. *Полог и его болгарское население* (Sofia: Naučni makedonski institut, 1929): 87-105.

²⁰⁵⁸ *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, no. 28, pp. 461-468; Slaveva, Lidia, ed. *Spomenici na srednovekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija*, Vol. III (Skopje: Institut za istraživanje na staroslovenskata kultura, 1980): 306-320.

²⁰⁵⁹ Turilov, Anatolij [Турилов, Анатолий]. "К отождествлению частей некоторых фрагментированных сербских рукописей конца XIII–XIV вв.," in: Id. *Межславянские культурные связи эпохи Средневековья и и источниковедение истории и культуры славян* (Moscow: Znak, 2012): 329.

²⁰⁶⁰ Babić, Gordana. "Portret kraljevića Uroša u Beloj crkvi karanskoj," *Zograf* 2 (1967): 17–19; Purković, Miodrag. *Jelena, žena cara Dušana* (Düsseldorf: Srpska pravoslavna eparhija za zapadnu Evropu, 1975): 8-9.

²⁰⁶¹ **по милости твоѣга сына и тебе, прѣчистата, степанъ по милости божикъ кралъ и съ сыномъ монъ оурошемъ младымъ кралемъ, дивещица се и веселеща се о толицѣхъ божикъ даровъ. мыслеща доушею и тѣломъ и всѣмъ оумомъ днь и ношь что въздавѣ господеву богоу нашему и прѣчистѣи кго матери, недооумѣюща се тѣкмо благодареник и славоу въсилати кмоу и до послѣднего издыханниа наю светлыми црквами пещи се недостатъчнаа въ нихъ испълнати и съвршати, таже и не достигоше съвршати светини родителъ кралкъвства ми —** *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, no. 28, p. 462.

²⁰⁶² **ноудещихъ всѣхъ коупити царство небесноу** - *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, no. 28, p. 462.

favor to God and His Mother. Thus, “having in mind the frightful and unpredictable hour of death hour,”²⁰⁶³ Stefan Dušan tries to reach salvation hoping on the intercession of the Theotokos.

Because of the above-stated reasons, the King decided to become the “ktetor” of Htetovo monastery which didn’t have a sponsor to renew it “by building and endowing with villages.”²⁰⁶⁴ However, as a ktetor’s activity, Stefan Dušan also sees the return of the villages which had been given to the monastery “under the Greek emperors and the holy parents of my kingship” and were lost (taken away) later. The example of his ancestor, St. Sava of Serbia, becomes another motivation for the ecclesiastic donations of the Serbian ruler, who proved his respect to St. Sava’s spiritual authority by calling him a “parent, teacher, mentor”²⁰⁶⁵ and quoting his words that the salvation can be acquired through “supplying the insufficient things to the houses of Lord.” Therefore, the king determined to make an act of piety and to become a ktetor for a ruining foundation:

And seeing the archimandritia of Htetovo falling down to the grounds, me... king Stepan with my beloved young son, king Uroš, we called ourselves the ktetors of archimandritia of Htetovo.²⁰⁶⁶

It worth noticing that, though the king’s son was at that moment a boy of six or seven years old, his name appeared in the charter together with his father’s name. Thus, the charter represented the act of reconstruction and endowment of the monastery as a joint family deed of piety.

In the charter, the royal *ktetoria* was depicted as the transfer of a part of the Kingdom’s lands to God: “I am transferring the Polog land on the territory of my kingdom,”²⁰⁶⁷ and, further, the entire process of the foundation establishment was described. Thus, the first step was to find a proper place (“and my kingship found a proper place in this area, monastery in Htetovo, dedicated to the Most Pure our Mistress Theotokos”), the next was to understand what kind of gift or endowment would be suitable for the monastery and which needs it has (“and my kingship saw in it (in the monastery) different legal documents and decrees for the future emperors and the decrees and orders of the holy-deceased parents of my kingship in form of chrysobulls to the Virgin of Htetovo, and nothing was given in the area of the Holy Virgin of Htetovo”), and, finally, the king needed to confirm the suitable gifts with the documents (“the villages with all the rights, and all the frontiers, and with hamlets, and with vineyards, and with bought lands and with churches built or lands given for commemoration, and with gifts of our kingship”).²⁰⁶⁸

²⁰⁶³ ВЪ ОУМѢ ВЪСПРИАХОВА СТРАШНЫИ И НЕИСПОВѢДИМЫИ ЧАСЬ СЪМРЪТНЫИ - *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, no. 28, p. 462.

²⁰⁶⁴ СЪ ЗИДАНИЕМЪ И СЪ ПРИДАНИЕМЪ СЕЛЬ - *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, no. 28, p. 463.

²⁰⁶⁵ РОДИТЕЛЬ И ОУЧИТЕЛЬ И НАСТВНИКЪ *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, no. 28, p. 463.

²⁰⁶⁶ ВИДѢВШАА АРХИМОУДРИТНЮ ХТѢТОВСКОУ ПАДШО СЕ ДО ОСНОВАНИИ И АЗЪ ... КРАЛЬ СТЕПАНЬ СЪ ВЪЗЛЮБЛЕННЫИМЪ МИ СЫНОМЪ МЛАДИМЪ КРАКМЪ ОУРОШЕМЪ НАРЕКОХОВА СЕ ХТИТОРА АРХИМОУДРИТНИ ХТѢТОВСКОИ — *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, no. 28, p. 463.

²⁰⁶⁷ ПРѢДАЮ ВЪ ОБЛАСТИ КРАКВѢСТВА МИ ЗЕМЛЮ ПОЛОЖСКОЮ - *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, no. 28, p. 464.

²⁰⁶⁸ И КРАКВѢСТВО МИ ОБРѢТЕ ВЪ ПРѢДѢЛѢ ТОМЪ МѢСТО ПОДОВНО, МОНАСТЫРЬ ОУ ХТѢТОВѢ. СЪЗДАНЫ ВЪ ИМЕ ПРѢЧНЫИ ВЛАДЫЧНИЦЕ НАШЕ БОГОРОДНИЦЕ. И КРАКВѢСТВО МИ (I assume here different reading than the

Therefore, as the charter demonstrates, Stefan Dušan considered among the main reasons for ktetorship the following: 1) Hope for the intercession of the Virgin during the Last Judgment. A prayer to the Virgin, reminding in its structure the Akathistos hymn with anaphoric “rejoice” and exclamations to the Theotokos, was included into the *prooimion* of the charter, as this way the king asked the Virgin about Her help and intercession on the Last Judgment; 2) Gratitude to the Virgin that he was established on the throne of the “holy ancestors” and received a son as a successor; 3) The lack of material support and ruined conditions of the Htetovo monastery.

As one can see, in the text of the Slavic charter, there are no references to political piety, *philanthropia* and God-like image of the king which are present in the Athonite Greek documents. Moreover, the reasons listed here have rather personal nature or serve to the private salvation of Stefan Dušan as an individual rather than as a ruler. One also can't encounter here the dialogic relations between the ruler and the monks, present in the Greek charters. While the dialogue-like relations do still exist, they turn into fervent supplication and praise addressed by the king to God and, especially, to His Mother in a poetic form. In other words, if the *prooimia* of the Greek charters had to create an image of a powerful ruler, comparable with the Byzantine ones, the Slavic charters of Stefan Dušan have more private character concerned with the problems of salvation, personal piety and gratitude to God.

6.5. Conclusions

Finally I'd like to make several conclusions concerning the results of Serbian endowing activities on the territories of Macedonia and Thessaly. The conquest of Stefan Dušan changed the “property landscape,” the Tsar generously granted new possessions to monasteries, but he also expected political support in return. The Serbian ruler enriched foundations which assured him in their loyalty: primarily, the Slavic monasteries of Hilandar and St. Panteleimon, headed by the Serbian *hegoumenoi*, and the Greek Menoikeion and Vatopedi. The latter ones were connected with the Nemanjići dynasty by bounds of ktetorship performed by Stefan Dušan's direct ancestors (Sts. Simeon and Sava and King Stefan Milutin), who were commemorated as ktetors and venerated as saints in Vatopedi²⁰⁶⁹ and Menoikeion, respectively.

editor, who suggested «ни») видѣ въ немъ всякіе правины и оутверждения прѣды боудущими цари и светопочившими родители кракъвства ми оутверждения и записания въ хрисовули светык богородице хтѣтовъскык ,ничемоу прѣложеноу быти въ области светык богородице хтѣтовъскык ,села съ всеми правинами и съ всеми мегами и съ заселениями и съ виноградн и съ коупакницами и съ задоушинами и съ подарованыными кракъвства нын. – *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, no. 28, p. 464.

²⁰⁶⁹ Kisas, Sotiris [Кисас, Сотирис]. “Predstava svetog Save Srpskoga kao ktitora manastira Vatopeda,” *ZLU* 19 (1983): 185-199; Todić, Branislav. “Srpske umetničke starine u manastiru Vatopedu,” in: *Četvrta kazivanja o Svetoj Gori*, eds.M. Živojinović, M. Milosavljević (Belgrade: Prosveta, 2005): 136-163.

To perform the land distributions, the Serbian ruler used territories which used to belong to Byzantine military middle- and law-rank officials, Serres noblemen, or the citizens of Thessaloniki. In the first case, the members of Byzantine army hold their lands as *pronoiai* and because the Byzantine army left Macedonia, the lands of *pronoiaroi* passed into hands of the Serbian ruler. This helped him to “redress an injustice” toward important foundations and to win over the Greek monks. In the second case, some noblemen affiliated with the Palaiologoi or John Kantakouzenos fled the city leaving their lands and houses unattended. Finally, the citizens of Thessaloniki, the Byzantine city, which never was captured by the Serbs, appeared to be cut off from their possessions on the occupied territories. This fact facilitated the transfer of these “nobody’s lands” into the land reserves which were distributed in a form of pious donations.

Here, I would like to notice that the actions undertaken by Stefan Dušan have not only changed the alignment of property in the region, but also established a kind of model for further benefactions made by his courtiers and successors. However, the important feature of donations made by this Serbian Tsar is that they were motivated by political, economic, ideological and pious reasons simultaneously. From the point of view of politics, this was the way to handle the relations with local ecclesiastic authorities and to gain their support. Economically, the donations ensured the repopulation of devastated lands and establishment of infrastructure in rural areas. The transfer of lands to the trustworthy monasteries could be regarded as a part of complex of economic measures undertaken by the new rule in order to revive and to improve the newly conquered territories. The deeds and, possibly, the ceremonies of donation promoted the image of pious and god-elected Tsar, whose authority was supported by his holy origins. And, finally, as a pious and powerful Christian, Stefan Dušan committed acts of benefaction and generosity toward the monasteries and monks who could address God on the ruler’s behalf.

A similar combination of motives was also observed in case of Byzantine Emperors of the Civil wars period. They as well tried to gain the affection of monasteries in order to assure their ideological support and to use their influence in provincial centres and rural areas. For this reason, the Byzantine emperors provided the Athonite and other grand foundations with the properties situated in towns and the capital in order to meet the economic demands of the monasteries. The latter, in turn, looked for opportunities allowing an easy access to market places, storages and transportation means and, thus, to become almost state-independent and self-sufficient institutions.

Additionally, in all regarded cases the royal and noble donations changed the landscape fabric, either rural or urban, establishing new economic and administrative ecclesiastic micro-centres (*metochia*) and favouring some foundations over others on ideological grounds. For the Balkan rulers, the endowments of monasteries became a part of their economic and public policies and the means to change the political landscape. In the state of constant wars and crises, the monastic administration

could organize and develop the lands, collect the taxes, and provide for defence of the peasants. In addition, it was the monks belonging to great monasteries who organized the promotion of the rulers' policies through the choice of the sovereigns to commemorate and the management of artistic works and inscriptions in their *metochia*. However, as the flip-side of this royal strategy was accumulation of lands, urban properties, and transportation means in the holding of great ecclesiastic foundations and their growing independence.

On the other hand, the rhetoric of donation-making allowed accommodating not only private concerns and expression of individual piety, but also the political concepts and propaganda messages, as it was the case with imperial documents issued by the Byzantine as well as by the Serbian rulers. These charters were usually issued in the form of the confirmation of the previous documents, but they were aimed on announcing the ideological concept of a rule which were expected to be accepted by the recipients of the documents. At the same time, the issuing authorities desired to represent the sovereigns into favourable light, ascribing to them the features associated with the pious and benevolent lordship.

Appendix VIII

Prooimia of the Athonite charters by King/Tsar Stefan Dušan

1. The “General” Chrysobull by King Stefan Dušan to All monasteries of the Holy Mount (November, indiction XIV, 6854 [1345]).

“To imitate the good (deeds) and to strive for the beautiful (things) with all the strengths is essential for all the Christians. Therefore, my kingship, loving and acknowledging all kinds of labours and care about the good things by my famous and blessed ancestors, willing and desiring to imitate (them) with all strength, and, especially, [to emulate] their indefatigable and passionate desire which revealed itself, plentifully and richly, on this Holy and sacred Mount Athos (where they) making benefactions and giving them everything those needed, in useful and firm hope that, by these means, they themselves would appear in the kingdom of God, through the holy and god-pleasing prayers of the monks. And now my kingship willing to follow and to imitate the good deeds and blessed works, as it was said, sent my servant, the *logothete* Chrysos, to the holy and sacred Mount Athos, pleading and asking the holy fathers through him that they would continuously make prayers and petitions about me to God and..... they would commemorate me in all these holy monasteries on it [Athos].”²⁰⁷⁰

2. The first chrysobull by Tsar Stefan Dušan to Iviron monastery (January, indiction XIV, 6854 [1346]).

As the breathing is usual and natural, so it is for an emperor to make good deeds. And if to make good deeds to all people is usual for an emperor, it is even more usual to make deeds to the people running away from the world and living as monks and staying only with God and themselves. That’s why my majesty accepting all those living on the Holy Mount of Athos and approaching me with their whole soul and subjecting themselves to my majesty, supplied all of them through the General chrysobull and made a rich benefaction to them, in order that the monks practicing asceticism in (the monasteries) stayed undisturbed and calm for the deed of God itself.²⁰⁷¹

²⁰⁷⁰ Μιμεῖσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ περὶ τὰ καλὰ ζελοῦν παντοτὶ σθένει χρεὼν ἐστὶ πᾶσι χριστιανοῖς. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ κραλότης μου τῶν αἰοιδίμων καὶ μακαρίων προγόνων μου περὶ τὰ καλὰ σπουδῇ πᾶσαν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν στέργουσα καὶ ἀποδεχομένη, ζηλοῦσά τε καὶ ἐθέλουσα μιμεῖσθαι πᾶση δυνάμει, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν ἀκόρεστον αὐτῶν καὶ διάπυρον πόθον, ὃν ἐν τῷ θεῷ καὶ σεβασμῷ ὄρει τῷ Ἁθῶ δαψιλῶς καὶ πλουσίως ἐνεδείξαντο, τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀπάσας μονὰς πολυτρόπως εὐεργετοῦντες καὶ ἐπιχορηγοῦντες αὐταῖς τὰ πρὸς χρεῖαν ἐν ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς καὶ βεβαίαις ὡς ἂν ἐντεῦθεν κάκεῖνοι διὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ θεοπειθῶν αὐτῶν εὐχῶν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείας τύχῃσι· τὰ τοῦτων τοίνυν ἀγαθὰ ἔργα καὶ μακαρίας πράξεις θέλουσα ζελοῦν καὶ μιμεῖσθαι, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ ἡ κραλότης μου ἀπέστειλε τὸν οἰκεῖον αὐτῇ λογοθέτην τὸν Χρυσὸν εἰς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἅγιον καὶ σεβάσιμον ὄρος τὸν Ἁθῶ, ἐξεαιτουμένη καὶ ἱκετεύουσα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἁγίους πατέρας, ὅπως συνεχῶς ποιῶσιν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς Θεὸν ἐντεύξεις καὶ ἱκεσίας ... καὶ νὰ μνημονεύωσιν ἐν ἀπάσαις αὐταῖς ἐν αὐτῷ σεβασμίαις μοναῖς... - Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, p. 30. About dating see - Živojinović, “Regesta grčkih povelja,” p. 67.

²⁰⁷¹ Ὡσπερ τὸ ἀναπνεῖν οἰκεῖον καὶ κατὰ φύσιν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐστὶν· εἰ γοῦν τὸ εὐεργετεῖν ἅπαντας οἰκεῖον τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, πολλῷ μᾶλλον οἰκειότερον ἀνθρώπους εὐεργετεῖν ἀπορραγέντας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ μονάσαντας καὶ Θεῷ μονῶ προσανέχοντας καὶ ἑαυτοῖς. Διὰ τοῦτο ἡ βασιλεία μου πάσας τὰς ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει τοῦ Ἁθῶ διακειμένας μονὰς ἀναδεξαμένη ὅλη ψυχῇ προσελθούσας καὶ ὑποταγείσας αὐτῇ, διὰ χρυσοβούλλου κοινοῦ πάσαις αὐταῖς πλουσίαν ἐχορήγησε καὶ παρέσχε τὴν εὐεργεσίαν, ὡς εἶναι τοὺς ἐνασκουμένους <ἐν> αὐταῖς μοναχοῦς ἀπερισπάτους ἀθορύβους πρὸς τὸ ἔργον αὐτὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ. - Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, p. 38. About dating see - Živojinović, “Regesta grčkih povelja,” pp. 67-68.

3. The chrysobull by Tsar Stefan Dušan to Iviron monastery (April, indiction XIV, 6854 [1346]).

When the practicing-ascetic monks from the venerable monastery of my Majesty ... of Iberions, placed on the Holy Mount Athos, turned to my Majesty concerning the fact that this venerable monastery holds, by the right of old chrysobulls and prostagmata and inventory lists and other orders, [different properties and lands]²⁰⁷²

Those monks pleaded and asked that this venerable monastery would acquire good deeds and care from my Majesty, because of the occurred destructions and changes concerning its possessions and its *metochia*... and because those monks demonstrated good attitude and kindness toward my Majesty, (my Majesty) expresses benevolence to it (monastery), and from the designated possessions of Radolibos...²⁰⁷³

4. The chrysobull by Tsar Stefan Dušan to Philotheou monastery (April, indiction XIV, 6854 [1346]).

My majesty taking care of the conquered towns and lands, because of the misfortunes and destructions that happened to them recently and because of the changes caused by the time of disorder and distress, therefore, decided that it is necessary not to forsake the unfortunate ones of (my Majesty) from the *metochia* and possessions placed in these (towns and lands) belonging to venerable monasteries situated on the holy Mount Athos, but it is better to display the most devout care toward them, because the monks practicing asceticism on it (Athos) demonstrated good attitude and kindness toward my Majesty.²⁰⁷⁴

5. The chrysobull by Tsar Stefan Dušan to Zographou monastery (April, indiction XIV, 6854 [1346]).

Because the venerable monastery, placed on the Holy Mount of Athos... (and) called Zographou, had possessed a village called Hantaka on the river Strumon, on the basis of the chrysobull of a relative of my Majesty, the highest emperor of the Romans, lord Ioannis Palaiologos, and (the monastery) was holding and ruling over it with all its pasture and vicinity... but after this land had passed under the control and governance of my Majesty, it was governed and given somewhere else. Recently, again, my Majesty decided, because of the request of the beloved brother of my Majesty, the highest Tsar of the Bulgarians, that this venerable monastery should hold this village of Hantaka and govern it and rule it as it used to do before. And, in this way, this beloved brother of my Majesty,

²⁰⁷² Ἐπεὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον ὄρος τοῦ Ἁθῶ διακειμένη σεβασμια μονῇ τῆς βασιλείας μου... τῶν Ἰβήρων ἀσκούμενοι μοναχοὶ ἀνέφερον τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου, ὅτι κατέχει ἡ τοιαύτη σεβασμία μονὴ διὰ παλαιγενῶν χρυσοβούλλων καὶ προταγμάτων καὶ παραδόσεων ἀπογραφικῶν καὶ ἐτέρων δικαιωμάτων [διάφορα κτήματα καὶ μετόχια] – Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, 44. About dating see – Živojinović, “Regesta grčkih povelja,” pp. 68-69.

²⁰⁷³ Ἐζήτησαν δε καὶ παρεκάλεσαν οἱ τοιοῦτοι μοναχοὶ τυχεῖν τὴν τοιαύτην σεβασμίαν μονὴν εὐεργεσίας καὶ προμηθείας παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας μου ἀντὶ τῆς γενομένης φθορᾶς καὶ καινοτομίας εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα κτήματα καὶ μετόχια ταύτης.....δι’ ἣν ἐνεδείξαντο εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν μου οἱ τοιοῦτοι μοναχοὶ σχέσιν καὶ εὐνοίαν, εὐεργετῇ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ δηλωθέντος κτήματος τοῦ Ραδολίβου... – Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, 48.

²⁰⁷⁴ Ἡ βασιλεία μου τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι προμήθειαν ποιουμένη τῶν προσηλθόντων τῇ δολοσύνῃ αὐτῆς κάστρων καὶ χωρῶν δι’ ἣν πρὸ ὀλίγου ὑπέστησαν κάκωσιν καὶ φθορᾶς καὶ καινοτομίας ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ καιροῦ ἀνομαλίας καὶ συγχύσεως, οὐκ οὐκ ἐκρίνε δέον ἀμοίρους ταύτης καταλιπεῖν τῶν ἐν τούτοις εὐρισκομένων μετοχίων καὶ κτημάτων τῶν σεβασμίων μονῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει τοῦ Ἀθῶνος διακειμένων, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ φιλοτιμότεραν ἐνδείξασθαι ἐν τούτοις τὴν προμήθειαν, δι’ ἣν ἐνεδείξαντο εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν μου οἱ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀσκούμενοι μοναχοὶ σχέσιν καὶ εὐνοίαν. – Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, 54. About dating see – Živojinović, “Regesta grčkih povelja,” pp. 69-70.

the highest Tsar of the Bulgarians, lord Alexander, asked and requested from my Majesty that this monastery would be provided with a chrysobull of my Majesty about this matter.²⁰⁷⁵

6. The chrysobull by Tsar Dušan to Vatopedi monastery (May, indiction XIV, 6854 [1346]).

The way of life of these ones establishing the first grounds and foundations and building holy churches and holy monuments and places for meditations, is praiseworthy and (their) deeds are god-pleasing, but not less praiseworthy are those ones who, seeing that with the passage of time these (foundations) came to nearly complete decay, lend them possible support and order to accomplish those things that concern the renovation and restoration of those (foundations). Because the venerable imperial monastery, situated on the Holy Mount Athos and dedicated to the honored name of the Most Pure Empress and Theotokos and called Vatopedi, had received earlier from the glorious and blessed and holy ancestors of my Majesty, Simeon and Sava, great protection, good attitude and guidance and had been living in happiness and prosperity, but later because of time and situation of distress and disorder it lost what it had had, and occurred in tenuity and great poverty, my Majesty, reinstating the labors of its (my Majesty) ancestors and starting to renovate and restore this venerable monastery to its happiness and previous condition, gives this Chrysobull Logos...²⁰⁷⁶

7. The chrysobull by Tsar Stefan Dušan to Xeropotamou monastery (April-May, indiction XIV, 6854 [1346]).

When the monks practicing ascesis from the venerable monastery of my Majesty in the name of the holy [40 famous martyrs], placed on the Holy Mount Athos ... and called Xeropotamou, turned to my Majesty concerning the fact that this venerable monastery holds, by the right of old chrysobulls and prostagmata and inventory [lists and other] orders, different properties and metochia.²⁰⁷⁷

²⁰⁷⁵ “Επει ή κατά τὸ ἅγιον ὄρος τοῦ Ἄθω διακειμένη σεβασμία μονή... ἐπικεκλημένη τοῦ Ζωγράφου, ἐκέκτητο περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Στρυμόνα χωρίον τὸν Χάντακα λεγόμενον διὰ χρυσοβούλλου τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ τῆς βασιλείας μου, τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου, καὶ κατεῖχε τοῦτο καὶ ἐνέμετο μετὰ πάσης τῆς νομῆς καὶ περιοχῆς αὐτοῦ... μεθὸ δὲ προσῆλθεν ἡ τοιαύτη χώρα τὴν ὑποταγὴν καὶ ὑποχειριότητα τῆς βασιλείας μου, ἐκρατήθη καὶ ἐδόθη ἀλλαγῶ, ἀρτίως δὲ πάλιν δι’ ἀξίωσιν τοῦ περιποθήτου ἀταδέλφου τῆς βασιλείας μου, τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου βασιλέως τῶν Βουλγάρων, διωρίσατο ἡ βασιλεία μου, ἵνα ἐπιλάβηται ἡ τοιαύτη σεβασμία μονή τὸ τοιοῦτον χωρίον τὸν Χάντακα καὶ κατέχη τοῦτο καὶ νέμῃται ὡς τὸ πρότερον, ἐξήτησεν δὲ ὡσαύτως ὁ περιπόθητος ἀτάδελφος τῆς βασιλείας μου ὁ ὑψηλότατος βασιλεὺς τῶν Βουλγάρων κύρ(ις) Ἀλῶξανδρος καὶ ἠξίωσε τὴν βασιλείαν μου, ἵνα πορίσῃται ἡ τοιαύτη μονή ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ χρυσόβουλλον τῆς βασιλείας μου.” – Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, p. 66. About dating see - Živojinović, “Regesta grčkih povelja,” pp. 70-71.

²⁰⁷⁶ “Καὶ τοῖς μὲν τὰ πρῶτα βάρη καὶ κρηπίδας αὐτὰς πηξαμένοις καὶ ἱεροῦς σηκοῦς καὶ εὐαγῇ σημεῖα καὶ φροντιστήρια δωμησαμένοις, καὶ δαψιλεῖς τούτοις τὰς δαπάνας προσαναλώσασιν, ἐπαινετὸς ὁ τρόπος καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις θεοφιλῆς· ἐπαινετοὶ δ’ οὐχ ἦντον κάκεῖνοι, ὅσοι τὰ τοιαῦτα συνορῶντες τῇ τοῦ χρόνου φορᾷ εἰς παντελῇ κατενεχθῆναι πτώσιν σχεδόν, τὴν δυνατὴν ἐν τούτοις βοήθειαν συνεισφέρουσι καὶ ὅσα γε εἰς ἀνακαινισμόν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπανόρθωσιν ἀφορᾷ, ἐκτελεῖν καθεστήκασιν. ἐπεὶ γοῦν καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει τοῦ Ἄθω σεβασμία βασιλικὴ μονή, ἡ εἰς ὄνομα τιμωμένη τῆς ὑπεράγνου δεσποίνης καὶ Θεομήτορος καὶ ἐπικεκλημένη τοῦ Βατοπεδίου, εἶχε μὲν πρότερον ἐκ τῶν προγόνων τῆς βασιλείας μου, τῶν αὐοιδίμων καὶ μακαριτῶν καὶ ἁγίων, τοῦ τε Συμεῶν καὶ Σάβα πολλὴν τὴν ἀναδοχὴν καὶ διάθεσιν καὶ κυβέρνησιν καὶ ἡύρισκετο ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ, μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνωμαλίας καὶ ἀταξίας ἐστερήθη, ὧν εἶχε, καὶ κατέστη ἐν στενότητι καὶ πτωχείᾳ μεγάλῃ, ἡ βασιλεία μου, ὥσπερ ἀνακτωμένη τοῦς τῶν προγόνων αὐτῆς κόπους καὶ ἀποδεχομένη ὑπανασώσασθαι καὶ ἀποκαταστήσαι τὴν τοιαύτην σεβασμίαν μονὴν εἰς τὴν αὐτῆς εὐδαιμονίαν τε καὶ κατάστασιν, τὸν παρόντα χρυσόβουλλον Λόγον ἐπιχορηγεῖ...” – Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, p. 78. About dating see - Živojinović, “Regesta grčkih povelja,” p. 74.

²⁰⁷⁷ “[Επει οἱ ἐν τῇ κατά τὸ ἅγιον ὄρος τοῦ Ἄθω διακειμένη σεβασμία μονή τῆς βασιλείας μου τῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι τῶν ἁγίων [... τεσσαράκοντα μαρτύρων τιμωμένη] καὶ ἐπικεκλημένη τοῦ Ξηροποτάμου ἀσκούμενοι μοναχοὶ ἀνέφερον [τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου, ὅτι κατέχει ἡ τοιαύτη σεβασμία μονή διὰ παλαιγενῶν χρυσοβούλλων καὶ προταγμάτων καὶ παραδόσεων [ἀπογραφικῶν καὶ ἐτέρων δικαιωμάτων διά]φορα κτήματα καὶ μετόχια...” – Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, p. 86. About dating see - Živojinović, “Regesta grčkih povelja,” pp. 72-73.

Those monks pleaded and asked that this venerable monastery would acquire good deeds and care from my Majesty, because of the destructions occurred and changes concerning its possessions and its metochia.²⁰⁷⁸

8. The chrysobull by Tsar Stefan Dušan to Esphigmenou monastery (April-May, indiction XIV, 6854 [1346]).

When the monks practicing ascesis from the venerable monastery of my Majesty in the name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, placed on the Holy Mount Athos, dedicated, and called Esphigmenou, turned to my Majesty concerning the fact that this venerable monastery holds, by the right of old [chrysobulls] and prostagmata and inventory lists and other orders, [different] properties and metochia...

Those monks pleaded and asked that this venerable monastery would acquire good deeds and care from my Majesty, because of the destructions occurred and changes concerning its possessions and its metochia.²⁰⁷⁹

9. The chrysobull by Tsar Stefan Dušan to the Lavra of St. Athanasios (December, indiction I, 6856 [1347]).

If, indeed, any other virtue is proper for an emperor, then, the reverence toward the divine matters, striving and taking care about monasteries, dedicated to Him, mandatory, should be the greatest one. In this way, charity is developed, as well as love toward God and thy neighbor accomplishes successfully the ideas of the Law and the prophets. Therefore, my Majesty, having by the grace of God zeal for and faith and care about His holy churches and holy monasteries, even earlier had heard about the venerable Lavra of our father Athanasios, situated on the Holy Mount Athos, and had hearty affection and love and assurance toward it. And when my Majesty came, by God's approval, to this Holy and sacred Mount, made *proskynesis* in other holy Divine churches, it (my Majesty) came to the above named holy Lavra and made *proskynesis* to the Most Holy Empress Theotokos and holy father Athanasios and saw the holy elders in it (Lavra) as well as this entire famous and all-astonishing monastery. And, being greatly grateful to the mercy of God, became more firmly and steadfastly seized, in pure and very heart, by love toward the holy Lavra. That's why I was moved to take upon myself the making of some greater good deeds, proportionally to the good attitude and assurance, which I had received.

.... And let them hold, without disturbance in all the times, all the possessions and metochia and other rights, which this venerable Lavra used to held on the basis of old chrysobulls and prostagmata of glorious emperors and other orders²⁰⁸⁰

²⁰⁷⁸ “[Εζήτησαν δε καὶ] παρεκάλεσαν οἱ τοιοῦτοι μοναχοὶ τυχεῖν τὴν τοιαύτην σεβασμίαν μονὴν εὐεργεσίας καὶ προμηθείας παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας μου ἀντὶ τῆς γενομένης φθορᾶς καὶ καινοτομίας εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα κτήματα καὶ μετόχια ταύτης” - Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, p. 88.

²⁰⁷⁹ “Ἐπεὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους τοῦ Ἀθωνος διακειμένη σεβασμία μονῇ τῆς βασιλείας μου τῇ εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τετιμημένη καὶ ἐπικεκλημένη τοῦ Ἐσφιγμένου ηροποτάμου ἀσκούμενοι μοναχοὶ ἀνέφερον τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου, ὅτι κατέχει ἡ τοιαύτη σεβασμία μονὴ διὰ παλαιγενῶν [χρυσοβούλλων] καὶ πρωταγμάτων καὶ παραδόσεων ἀπογραφικῶν καὶ ἐτέρων δικαιωμάτων [διάφορα] κτήματα καὶ μετόχια

Ἐζήτησαν δὲ καὶ παρεκάλεσαν οἱ τοιοῦτοι μοναχοὶ τυχεῖν τὴν τοιαύτην σεβασμίαν μονὴν εὐεργεσίας καὶ προμηθείας παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας μου ἀντὶ τῆς γενομένης φθορᾶς καὶ καινοτομίας εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα κτήματα καὶ μετόχια ταύτης.” - Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, pp. 96, 98. About dating see - Živojinović, “Regesta grčkih povelja,” pp. 73-74.

²⁰⁸⁰ Εἴπερ ἄλλη τις βασιλεὺς προσήκουσα ἀρετὴ, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσέβεια καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀφιερωμένας αὐτῷ μονὰς σπουδὴ καὶ ἐπιμέλεια περισπούδαστον εἶναι ὀφείλει. ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ ἡ φιланθρωπία συνάγεται καὶ ἡ πρὸς τε τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὸν πλησίον ἀγάπη κατορθοῦται τὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν πλήρωμα. καὶ ἡ βασιλεία μου γοῦν ζῆλον ἔχουσα καὶ πίστιν καὶ σπουδὴν τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτι εἰς τὰς ἀγίας αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας καὶ εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ μοναστήρια, ἤκουε μὲν καὶ πρότερον περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει τοῦ Ἀθῶ διακειμένης σεβασμίας Λαύρας τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου καὶ εἶχεν ἐγκάρδιον πόθον καὶ ἀγάπην καὶ πληροφορίαν εἰς αὐτήν. ὥς δὲ κατέλαβεν ἡ βασιλεία μου, Θεοῦ εὐδοκούντος, εἰς

10. The chrysobull by Tsar Stefan Dušan to the Russian monastery of St. Panteleimon (January, indiction I, 6855! [1348?]).

It is befitting and proper to a faithful and god-loving emperor to upkeep all the sanctuaries built for glorifying God and His servants and to take care about their preservation and, even more, - about the meditation places dedicated to souls and to provide the means for the life for monks staying in these places in which God is especially venerated. At the same time, to estimate more a continuous care about them, which is not only proper, but necessarily, and, in a certain extent, it is greater in virtue and it is more admirable. And in this way imperial piety and its generosity reveal themselves. Therefore and from God my Majesty about venerable monastery, situated on the Holy Mount Athos, dedicated to the name of great in martyrs and healer Panteleimon and called “of Russians,” which is in the need of great care and support, taking great care and sufficient economical independence of monks, living there, in order that those (monks) getting rid of all concerns and living free from digressions stay only with God and rise their pure laudations and zealously prayed for the power of it (my Majesty)...²⁰⁸¹

11. The chrysobull by Tsar Stefan Dušan to Vatopedi monastery (April, indiction I, 6856 [1348]).

Having received the numerous and great gifts from my Empress, the Most Holy and Theotokos, and because I have entrusted all what is mine to Her protection and help, I owe her numerous requitals and gratitude through deeds, and, since I was honored with Her help and support, and, because my fervent desire to Her has existed since long ago, I came to this Holy and Sacred Mount and made *proskynesis* to Her in the venerable monastery dedicated to Her name, famous and called Vatopediou... because of the above mentioned benefactions of Her toward me, and also because of love which, from the very beginning, my Majesty’s famous and blessed ancestors had and paid to this venerable monastery, but also because of warm love which, in a special way, my Majesty expressed, (my Majesty) gives this Chrysobull Logos....²⁰⁸²

τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο καὶ ἅγιον ὄρος, καὶ προσεκύνησε μὲν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας, εἰσῆλθον δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ῥηθείᾳ ἱερᾷ Λαύρα καὶ προσεκύνησα τὴν ὑπεραγίαν δέσποιναν Θεοτόκον καὶ τὸν ἅγιον πατέρα Ἀθανάσιον καὶ εἶδον καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἁγίους γέροντας καὶ ἅπαν τὸ περιβόητον τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι θαυμαζόμενον μοναστήριον, ἡγχαρίστησα μέγας τῷ ἔλθῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐκρατήθην βεβαιότερον καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον, μετὰ καθαρᾶς καὶ ἀληθινῆς καρδίας, εἰς τὴν ἀγάπην τῆς ἀγίας Λαύρας. Διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ ἐκινήθην, ἵνα καὶ μείζονάς τινας εὐεργεσίας ἐνδείξωμαι, ἀναλόγως πρὸς τὴν διάθεσιν καὶ πληροφορίαν, ἣν ἐκτησάμεν... ἵνα πάντα τὰ κτήματα καὶ μετόχια καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δίκαια, ἅπερ κέκτηται ἡ τοιαύτη σεβασμία Λαύρα διὰ τε παλαιγενῶν χρυσοβούλλων καὶ προταγμάτων τῶν αὐοιδίμων βασιλέων καὶ λοιπῶν δικαιωμάτων κατέχῃ ταῦτα καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐξῆς ἅπαντας χρόνους ἀνενοχλήτως.... – Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, p. 118. About dating see - Živojinović, “Regesta grčkih povelja,” pp. 76-77.

²⁰⁸¹ “Βασιλεῖ πιστῷ καὶ θεοφιλεῖ πάντα μὲν τὰ πρὸς δοξολογίαν Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ θεραπόντων ἀνεγχευμένα περιποιεῖσθαι τεμένη καὶ τῶν πρὸς σύστασιν αὐτῶν φροντίζειν, ἀρμόδιον καὶ προσήκον. πολλὰ δὲ πλεον τὰ εἰς ψυχῶν φροντιστήρια αφιερωθέντα καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀφορμὰς τοῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς προσκαρτεροῦσι μοναχοῖς ἐπιβραβεύοντα, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα Θεὸς θεραπεύεται. τῆνικαὶ καὶ τὴν περὶ ταῦτα διαμονὴν καὶ πρόνοιαν διὰ πλείονος ἔχειν. τότε γὰρ οὐ προσήκον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον. καὶ ὅσα μείζον εἰς ἀρετὴν, τοσοῦτα καὶ θαυμασιώτερον. Οὕτω κἀντεῦθεν ἡ βασιλικὴ εὐσέβεια καὶ τὸ ταύτης φιλότιμον διαδείκνυται. διὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ ἐκ Θεοῦ βασιλεία μου τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον ὄρος τοῦ Ἄθω διακειμένης σεβασμίας μονῆς, τῆς ἐπ’ ὀνόματι τοῦ μεγάλου ἐν μάρτυσι καὶ ἱαμματικοῦ Παντελεήμονος καὶ ἐπικεκλημένης τῶν Ῥώσων, πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ συγκροτήσεως δεομένης, πρόνοιαν πολλὴν καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μοναχῶν τὸ ἀνενδεές περιποιουμένη καὶ αὐταρκές, ὥς ἂν κἀκεῖνοι πάσης ἀπηλλαγμένοι φροντίδος καὶ ἀπερισπάστως διάγοντες μόνῳ Θεῷ προσανεχωσι καὶ τὰς δοξολογίας αὐτῶν καθαρὰς ἀναφέρωσι καὶ ἐκτενέστερον τοῦ κράτους αὐτῆς ὑπερεύχωνται...” – Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, pp. 126-128. About dating see - Živojinović, “Regesta grčkih povelja,” pp. 77-78.

²⁰⁸² “Πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων δωρεῶν ἀπολαύσας παρὰ τῆς πανυπεράγνου μου δεσποίνης καὶ Θεομήτορος, ἐπεὶ καὶ πάντα τὰ κατ’ ἐμαυτὸν εἰς τὴν προστασίαν καὶ βοήθειαν αὐτῆς ἀνεθέμην καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰς ὀφείλω αὐτῇ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς καὶ δι’ ἔργων εὐχαριστίας, ἐπειδὴ περ καὶ νῦν βοηθεῖα καὶ ἀντιλήγει αὐτῆς ἡξιώθην καὶ τῆς ἐκ πολλῶν τῶν χρόνων ἐνούσης

12. The chrysobull by Tsar Stefan Dušan to Esphigmenou monastery (Without date, probably circa 1348).

When the honorable monks of imperial monastery situated on the Holy Mount Athos and dedicated to Christ the Saviour, the true God, (and called) Esphigmenou, asked my Majesty, that I would accept it (monastery) and they (monks) would be affected by all kinds of care and benefactions of my Majesty...²⁰⁸³

13. The chrysobull by Tsar Stefan Dušan to Xenophontou monastery (June, indiction V, 6860 [1352]).

And there is a need for my Majesty possibly to become like God, and to govern, in the very philanthropic way, those ones who are under its (of my Majesty's) power, and to establish holy churches of God, in order that, by their petitions and prayers, my Majesty would gain the grace of human-loving God. And as God gives to those who love Him worthy requitals and fulfills their wishes, so my Majesty presents, in a worthy way, with benefactions, those ones approaching it (my Majesty) gratefully and fulfills their wishes. And, because the venerable monastery situated on the Holy Mount Athos, dedicated to the famous name of the saint and honored great martyr and trophy-bearer George, and called Xenophontou, was ordered to perform special prayers for my Majesty with their whole souls, and the monks, living and practicing ascesis there, asked to provide for them a chrysobull by my Majesty for everything that this venerable monastery holds on the basis of the chrysobulls and other old documents....²⁰⁸⁴

μοι θερμοτάτης ἐφέσεως καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τόδε τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἱερὸν ὄρος καὶ προσεκύνησα αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ σεβασμῇ μονῇ τῇ εἰς ὄνομα ταύτης <τιμωμένη> καὶ ἐπικεκλημένη τοῦ Βατοπεδίου... διάτε τὰς εἰς ἐμὲ ῥηθείας εὐεργεσίας αὐτῆς, ἅμα δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸν πόθον, ὃν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔσχον καὶ κατεβάλλοντο εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην σεβασμίαν μονὴν οἱ ἀοίδιμοι καὶ μακαρίται πρόγονοι τῆς βασιλείας μου, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ διὰ τὴν θερμὴν ἀγάπην, ἣν ἰδίως τρέφει ἡ βασιλεία μου εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην μονήν, τὸν παρόντα χρυσόβουλλον Λόγον..." – Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, 140. About dating see - Živojinović, "Regesta grčkih povelja," p. 79.

²⁰⁸³ "Ἐπεὶ ἐζήτησαν τὴν βασιλείαν μου οἱ τιμιώτατοι μοναχοὶ τῆς βασιλείας μονῆς ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει τῷ Ἄθῳ διακειμένης τῆς ἐπικεκλημένης τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ Ἑσφιγμένου, ἵνα ἀναδέξωμαι αὐτὴν καὶ παντοίας διάκεινται τῆς ἀναδοχῆς καὶ εὐεργεσίας τῆς βασιλείας μου." – Vladimir Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, 150.

²⁰⁸⁴ "Καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου δέον κατὰ τὸ δθνατὸν ἐξομοιοῦσθαι Θεῷ, [καὶ] φιανθρώπως ἄγαν τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα αὐτῆς οἰκονομεῖν καὶ συνιστᾶν [τὰ] τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν, ἵνα ταῖς αὐτῶν δεήσεσι καὶ παρακλήσεσιν ἐπισπάσῃται ἔλεον ἡ βασιλεία μου παρὰ τοῦ φιανθρώπου Θεοῦ καὶ καθὰ Θεὸς παρέχει τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτὸν ἀξίας τὰς ἀμοιβὰς καὶ τὴν θέλησιν αὐτῶν ποιεῖ, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία μου τοὺς προσερχομένους πρὸς αὐτὴν εὐγνωμόνως ἀξίως δωρεῖται τὰς εὐεργεσίας καὶ τὴν θέλησιν αὐτῶν πληροῖ. ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ σεβασμία μονὴ ἡ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει τῷ Ἄθῳ διακειμένη, ἡ εἰς ὄνομα τιμωμένη τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μαγαλομάρτυρος καὶ τροπαιοφόρου Γεωργίου καὶ ἐπικεκλημένη του Ξενοφώντος, ἐτάχθη εὐρίσκεσθαι ἰδίως τῆς βασιλείας μου εὐχεσθαι αὐτοὺς ὀλοψύχως, ἡστησαντο δὲ οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ εὐρίσκόμενοι καὶ ἀσκούμενοι μοναχοὶ ἐπιχορηγεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ χρυσόβουλλον τῆς βασιλείας μου εἰς ἅπερ κέκεται ἡ τοιαύτη σεβασμία μονὴ διὰ τε χρυσόβουλων καὶ λοιπῶν παλαιγενῶν δικαιωμάτων...." – Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, p. 186. About dating see - Živojinović, "Regesta grčkih povelja," p. 83.

7. The Landscape of Piety: Private Donations

As attested by archival documents of the Great Byzantine and Serbian monasteries, the period between the late 13th and early 15th centuries witnessed a strong social tendency, when members of the provincial Serbian and Byzantine nobility generously endowed the ecclesiastic foundations with lands and material gifts from their private funds and inherited patrimonial properties.²⁰⁸⁵ These donations, usually made at the end of life or in old age, were pious gifts aimed on receiving the future salvation. The donation deeds recorded endowments, including villages and their peasants (*paroikoi*), but they also listed agricultural units, such as fields, meadows and pastures.

In these documents, which were, sometimes, the only hope for posthumous commemoration and the act of repentance, provincial aristocrats and average inhabitants of towns and villages carefully described the territories which they transfer under the protection of the holy powers, and, in this way, they evaluated and re-imagined these lands in order to show them as important contribution to the economy of a gift-receiving monastery.

On the other hand, after accepting the gifts, the monasteries needed to establish their presence *in situ*. These ecclesiastical institutions were closely tied to the surrounding countryside;²⁰⁸⁶ the lands and tax revenues ensured their survival, whereas their authority and influence was based on the clergy appointed to the dependencies (*metochia*).²⁰⁸⁷ And therefore, monastic communities used several strategies to assure the recognition of their presence in the landscape:

- Physical delineation²⁰⁸⁸ of the possessions' borders in the presence of church and state authorities and local witnesses;
- Composition of the border delineation documents (*perihorismoi*, *synoria*) and registered fiscal surveys (*brebia*, *katastichoi*) signed by the local authorities and enlisted in the imperial chancellery;²⁰⁸⁹

²⁰⁸⁵ For the effects of these donations on the economy of monasteries, see: Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monastères*, esp. pp. 154 – 165 and 207 – 236 about the role of the landed donations in the monastic economy. Laiou-Thomadakis, Angeliki. *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977): 9-23; Some scholars saw the accumulation of wealth by the Orthodox Church in general, and by monasteries in particular as one of the causes of economic weakness of the Late Byzantine State and its military losses, see: Charanis, "Monastic Properties," esp. pp. 117-118; Papagianni, "Legal Institutions," pp. 1064-1069.

²⁰⁸⁶ For the role of monasteries in the shaping of rural landscape, see: Koder, Johannes. *Der Lebensraum der Byzantiner. Historisch-geographischer Abriß ihres mittelalterlichen Staates im östlichen Mittelmeerraum* (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1984): 109-112; Anthony Bryer, "The Late Byzantine Monastery in Town and Countryside," *Studies in Church History* 16 (1979): 219-241; Bakirtzis, Nikolas. "Locating Byzantine Monasteries: Spatial Considerations and Strategies in the Rural Landscape," in: *Experiencing Byzantium. Papers from the 44th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Newcastle and Durham, April 2011*, eds. C. Nesbitt, M. Jackson (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2013): 113-132; Smyrlis, Kostis, Banev, Guentcho, Konstantinidis, Giorgos. "Mount Athos and the Economy of Chalkidike, Tenth to Fifteenth century," in: *Η εξάκτινωση του Αγίου Όρους στον ορθόδοξο κόσμο: τα μετόχια / Mount Athos: Spreading the Light to the Orthodox World. The Metochia* (Mount Athos/Thessaloniki: Agioreitike Estia, 2015): 35-59.

²⁰⁸⁷ For the system of management of rural territories via *metochia* and visits of monastic *oikonomoi* to the villages, see: Smyrlis, Konstantinos. "The Management of Monastic Estates: The Evidence of the Typika," *DOP* 56 (2002): 245-261. The author also notices that the monasteries occasionally used services of lay managers.

²⁰⁸⁸ For the ways of establishing bordermarks on situ and other methods of the deliniation of monastic territories see the study conducted on the material of Serbian medieval diplomatics: Božanić, Snežana. *Čuvanje prostora: međe, granice i razgraničenja u srpskoj državi od 13 do 15 veka* (Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 2013).

²⁰⁸⁹ For the way of composing *katastih* and *brebia*, see: Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monastères*, pp. 103-104; Grünbart, Michael. "Securing and Preserving Written Documents in Byzantium," in: *Manuscripts and Archives*

- Construction of new *metochia* or restoration arrangements for old churches with the specific indications of the patron-monastery presence (dedications, choice of iconographies);
- Arrangement of commemoration lists of the donors and affiliated clergy according to the territorial principle (the Memorial books divided according to the provenance of commemorated persons).

7.1. Private Acts: Legal Features

The Byzantine law, later adopted by the Serbian legal practice,²⁰⁹⁰ inherited the concept of donation (δωρεά) from the Roman law as having contractual nature.²⁰⁹¹ It should have been composed by a notary and validated by three witnesses.²⁰⁹² As it was observed by H. Ahrweiler,²⁰⁹³ the act of donations in the Byzantine law fell into two main types: the pure donation (καθαρὰ δωρεά) and the conditional donation (δωρεά ὑπὸ αἴρεσιν). The pure donation meant that the parties were not burdened with obligations toward each other whereas in the case of a conditional gift, the performance of certain obligations by the parties was stipulated in the deed. The conditions of economic nature (for example, giving an adelphaton²⁰⁹⁴ to the donator or on his/her behalf), spiritual demands (commemorations, burials etc.), the circumstances postponing the acquisition of property (the fact of death of the donor) or encouraging the recipient for certain actions (improvement of property, keeping tenants etc.) could be among these prerequisite obligations. For example, the *protostrator* Theodore Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos Synnadenos²⁰⁹⁵ donated two *metochia* near Ezoba, of St. Demetrios and St. Kyriake, with the land of 800 *modioi* to Alypiou monastery with a condition to “join it (land) to the *metochia* and to meliorate it, to plant there vineyards and to make out of it what is worthy for

Comparative Views on Record-Keeping, eds. A. Bausi et als. (Boston/Berlin: De Gruyter., 2018): 319-338 (esp. 322-326 for monastic archives).

²⁰⁹⁰ For reception of the Byzantine law concerning the testaments in Serbia see; Šarkić, Srđan. “Pojam testamenta u rimskom, vizantijskom i srednjovekovnom srpskom pravu,” in: *Treća nacionalna konferencija vizantologa*, eds. Maksimović, Lj., Radošević, N., Radulović, E. (Belgrade–Kruševac: 2002): 85–90; For reception of Byzantine law in inheritance legal practices of Serbia see: Marković, Biljana. “Nasledno pravo u Dušanovom zakoniku i u Zakonu cara Justinijana,” in: *Zakonik cara Stefana Dušana: Zbornik radova*, eds. Ćirković, S., Čavoški, K. (Belgrade: SANU, 2005): 67–79. For legal establishments concerning gifts in Serbian law, see: Šarkić, Srđan. “Poklon u srednjovekovnom srpskom pravu,” *Istraživanja* 17 (2006): 7–15; Mirković, Zoran and Đurđević, Marko. “Pravila o poklonu u srpskom srednjovekovnom pravu,” *Anali Pravnog fakulteta u Beogradu*, 59/2 (2011): 63–90.

²⁰⁹¹ Morris, Rosemary. “Reciprocal Gifts on Mount Athos,” in: *The language of gift in early middle ages*, eds. W. Davies and P. Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010): 171–193, esp. p. 173.

²⁰⁹² Medvedev, Igor [Медведев, Игорь]. *Правовая культура Византийской империи* (St. Petersburg: Aleteia, 2001): 307-400.

²⁰⁹³ Ahrweiler, Hélène. “La concession des droits incorporels. Donations conditionnelles,” in: *Actes du XII Congrès International d'études byzantines*, Vol. II (Belgrade: SANU, 1964): 103-114 (esp. p. 103 here).

²⁰⁹⁴ A living allowance in kind given to the donator or on his behalf to another person/institution, see: Živojinović, Mirjana. “Adelfati u Vizantiji i srednjovekovnoj Srbiji,” *ZRVI* 11 (1968): 241-270; Živojinović, Mirjana. “Akti o adelfatima - prilog vizantijsko-srpskoj diplomatici,” *ZRVI* 50/2 (2013): 633-682.

²⁰⁹⁵ *PLP*, no. 27120.

acquisition and improvement of the aforesaid *monydria*.”²⁰⁹⁶ This way, the donation was motivated by the donor’s desire to preserve and to improve his family foundations.

However, it was the commemoration condition that became the most wide-spread among the donors of the Palaiologan period.²⁰⁹⁷ The exact way of commemorating could vary depending on status and value of the donor’s gift. Moreover, as in any legal agreement, the terms and conditions of the deal were negotiated in advance, and a person who passed a gift agreed on the way and frequency of commemoration in advance as well.

Often, the donors attached other conditions to the gift, and, except the memorial services, one deed might include a combination of a sale and spiritually-conditional donation or that of a donation and *adelphata*. Therefore, the borders between a donation, a sale, and an exchange were blurred.²⁰⁹⁸ On the other hand, the method of donation’s transfer could also vary significantly:

- The deed can come into effect and the property can be transferred during the donor’s life
- The deed can come into effect during the lifetime of the donor, but the property would be transferred after his/her death ;
- The deed can come into effect and the property can be transferred only after the donor’s death (testament).²⁰⁹⁹

Beside the gift transferred between still living persons (individuals or legal persons), both, Byzantine and Serbian law had a concept of a gift in case of death (Μετὰ θάνατον δῶρον, поклон за случај смрти, *donatio mortis causa*)²¹⁰⁰ which is described in the Byzantine *Prochiron*²¹⁰¹ legal collection as well as in *Zakonopravilo*²¹⁰² of St. Sava which included *Prochiron* as its 55th chapter.²¹⁰³ This type of donation contract was concluded between the agreed parties during the

²⁰⁹⁶ *Actes de Kutlumas*, no. 14, pp. 67-70. καὶ συνιστᾶν καὶ βελτιοῦν ταύτην, καταφυτεύειν τὸ ἐν [αὐτῇ ἀμ]πελῶνας, καὶ ποιεῖν ἐπ’ αὐτῇ ἄλλο εἴ τι ἂν δόξῃ αὐτοῖς εἰς περιποίησιν καὶ βελτίωσιν τῶν εἰρημένων μονυδρίων – Ibid., p. 69.

²⁰⁹⁷ Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monasteries*, pp. 133-135; Talbot, “The Byzantine Family and the Monastery,” p. 124; Morris, Rosemary. “Reciprocal gifts on Mount Athos,” in: *The language of gift in early Middle Ages*, eds. W. Davies, P. Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010): 171–193; Evangelatou-Notara, Florentia. “Ἀδελφᾶτον. Ψυχικόν. Evidence from Notes on Manuscripts,” *Byzantion* 75 (2005): 164–170.

²⁰⁹⁸ Talbot, “Women and Mt Athos,” p. 77; Talbot, Alice-Mary. “The Monastic World,” in: *A Social History of Byzantium*, ed. J. Haldon, (Chichester-Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009): 270-272.

²⁰⁹⁹ Not many testaments are preserved in the Byzantine archives, the majority of them was regarded in: Matović, *Zaveštanja u arhivama svetogorskih manastira*; As an addition to the regarded cases, one may add several testaments from the Prodromos Menoikeion Monastery (Cartulary B), see: the Testament by Lazaros Diakoneises (1282 or 1297), in: Bénou, ed., *Le codex B*, pp. 28-29; the Testament by Phillipos Arabantenos (1334), in: Bénou, ed., *Le codex B*, pp. 123-125; the Testament by Makarios Kozeakos (1330), in: Bénou, ed., *Le codex B*, pp., 259-261; the Testament by Jacob Mpalaes (1353), in: Bénou, ed., *Le codex B*, pp. 275-278; and the testament by Manuel Ioannakes (mid. 14th century) from the Trinity Meteora monastery, in: Sophianos, Demetrios [Σοφιανός, Δημήτριος] “Ἡ ἀνέκδοτη διαθήκη τοῦ Μανουήλ Ἰωαννάκη (μέσα 14' αἰ.) καὶ ἄλλα κείμενα σχετικά μὲ τὴ μονὴ τῆς Θεοτόκου στὸν Στύλο τῶν Σταγῶν,” *Byzantina Symmeikta* 9/2 (1994): 286-287.

²¹⁰⁰ Pantić, Dragan. *Poklon za slučaj smrti* (Belgrade: Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, 2015); Medvedev, Igor [Медведев, Игорь]. *Очерки византийской дипломатики: Частноправовой акт* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1988): 71-72; Matović, Tamara. “Μετὰ θάνατον δῶρον u svetogorskim aktima,” in: *ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΣ, Mélanges offerts à Mirjana Živojinović*, eds. B. Miljković and D. Dželebdžić, Vol. II (Belgrade: SANU, 2015): 427-441.

²¹⁰¹ *Jus graecoromanum*, Vol. II, Chapter XII, sections 1-7.

²¹⁰² Dučić, Nićifor. “Krmčija moračka (Opis rukopisa – Fotijevi predgovori – Gradski zakon),” *Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva, II odeljenje*, knjiga 8 (1877):62–64, 96–97.

²¹⁰³ About inclusion of the Prochiron into *Zakonopravilo* see: Bogdanović, Dimitrije. “Krmčija svetoga Save,” in: *Zbornik radova sa međunarodnog naučnog skupa “Sava Nemanjić – sveti Sava”*, ed. V. Đurić (Belgrade: SANU, 1979): 91–99.

lifetime of a donor, it would receive the legal force during the life of a donor, but came into effect from the moment of the donor's death (i.e. in case of a land transfer, a monastery would become a land owner during the donor's life, but would start to dispose the land only after the donor's death). The purpose of such agreement was to allow the donor to enjoy the possession of a property during his/her lifetime, but in case of the donor's death this transfer will not be debated by his/her heirs (in case of absence of a testament) since it didn't already belong to the donor.

The Byzantine legal terminology based not differentiating between the donation and the testament used, in practice, an inconsistent technical terminology to describe the transaction of property. Thus, a testament, ἀφιερωτήριον γράμμα²¹⁰⁴/ ιερωτήριον γράμμα²¹⁰⁵, does not necessarily have to be a unilateral declaration of will receiving the legal force after the testator's death and which can be changed until the moment of the death on the basis of the fundamental principle of the Roman last will.²¹⁰⁶ On contrary, the Byzantine testaments are rather shaped in the legal form of gifts (δωρεά), where monasteries play the role of recipients and the deed has a form of contract, accorded by both parties and requiring an agreement of both parties for the introduction of changes.²¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, in some cases the testator was still alive at the moment, when the actually transfer of the property's title happened, though she/he made a decision concerning the transfer of the property in the anticipation of his/her death, and in such cases a technical term παράδοσις²¹⁰⁸ was applied.²¹⁰⁹ Moreover, the term διαθήκη²¹¹⁰ was more often applied to the last wills made by the inhabitants of monasteries and can be substituted by the term βουλή/βούλησις,²¹¹¹ however its content is not necessary include a property transfer and was rather a spiritual testament.²¹¹²

Consequently, a donation as well as a testament was seen as a contract, based on the reciprocal exchange between donors and beneficiaries, but being, however, framed in the terms of pious and disinterested offering to a community endowed with a higher moral and spiritual power. In this sense, the rhetoric of pure, pious gift and sincere benefaction appeared to be very similar in testaments,

²¹⁰⁴ For example, *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, no. 170; *Actes du Pantocrator*, no. 8 and no. 9, pp. 88-94; *Actes de Chilandar: Actes grec*, no. 126, p. 263, l. 6.

²¹⁰⁵ *Actes de Kutlumis*, no. 35, p. 133, l. 25.

²¹⁰⁶ Berger, Adolf. *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, Vol. 43 (American Philosophical Society, 1968): 684-685

²¹⁰⁷ Matović, Zaveštanja u arhivama svetogorskih manastira, pp. 39-42; Medvedev, Igor [Медведев, Игорь]. *Очерки византийской дипломатики: Частноправовой акт* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1988): 48-53.

²¹⁰⁸ Concerning term paradosis in general see: Zepos, Panagiotos [Ζέπος, Παναγιώτης]. "Η παράδοσις δι' εγγράφου εν τω βυζαντινῷ και το μεταβυζαντινῷ δικαίῳ," in: *Τόμος 600 ετηρίδος Κωνσταντίνου Αρμενοπούλου* (Thessaloniki: 1952): 199-242; On the private donation documents in Byzantium see; Dölger, Franz. *Byzantinische Diplomatik* (Ettal: Buch-Kunstverlag Ettal, 1956): 338-445.

²¹⁰⁹ *Actes de Chilandar: Actes grec*, no. 117, p. 244, l. 108

²¹¹⁰ *Actes de Kutlumis*, p. 121. no. 35, pp. 133-134 and no. 36, pp. 134-136; *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. II, no. 75, p. 32, l. 50

²¹¹¹ *Actes de Kutlumis*, no. 36, p. 135, l. 5.; *Lavra*, Vol. II, no. 75, p. 32, l. 51.

²¹¹² *BMFD*, pp. 67, 125, 271, 313, 323, 1176, 1338, 1374 etc. Often, the Byzantine monastic foundation documents used the terms *diatheke* (testament), *diataxis* (rule), and *typikon* interchangeably, see: *BMFD*, p. 1296.

donation deeds, and donations against *adelphata*, and it persisted and advanced through the entire ‘Long 14th Century’ on the Balkans.

7.2 The Gifts of Noble Donors: Fears, Uncertainties, and Commemorations

The archives of Mt. Athos and Prodromos Monastery Menoikeion²¹¹³ contain a large number of private acts, related to the donation, exchange, and purchase-sale of patrimonial or matrimonial properties by Byzantine and Balkan noblemen and noble ladies. By N. Oikonomides’ assessment,²¹¹⁴ the number of private acts dealing with the donations and sale of *adelphata* grows steadily starting from the end of the 13th century and reaches its peak in the second half of the 14th century. The author considers that this behaviour is a response to the growing political and economic insecurity of the times, since both of these strategies (donations and buying of *adelphata*) represent the measures for securing somebody’s future, whether spiritually or economically. The present subchapter, therefore, is going to rely on the observations of N. Oikonomides and to look more carefully at the motivations which the noble donors had for the transfer of their properties and possessions to the ownership of the monasteries.

7.2.2. Donations to Spiritual Fathers

Upon renouncing secular life, the Byzantines often made generous gifts to the foundations where they were going to retire. Though the mandatory entrance gift (*apotage*) was prohibited, the voluntary donations were more than welcome.²¹¹⁵ So, a single man who prepared to enter a monastery could simply pass all his world possessions to the foundation. For example, Stamatios-Simon who entered Docheiariou in 1381 left his house in Thessaloniki and a vineyard of three *modioi* to the monastery.²¹¹⁶

In some cases, leaders of monasteries could instruct their spiritual children in the world in the way that they would express a desire to join the brotherhood and bequest their properties to the monastery. At least, the donation deed by Michael Hierakes (c. 1350) creates this impression.²¹¹⁷ The *doulos* of Emperor received some properties in Skala for his service, however, the hegoumenos of Koutloumous, influential spiritual leader Chariton persuaded Michael to take the monastic vows:

²¹¹³ The Athonite acts are systematically edited in the series “*Actes de l’Athos*,” which currently consists of 22 vols. The last one, *Actes de Vatopédi, de 1330 à 1376*, was published in 2006. The main collection of the Prodromos monastery is Serres was edited by Guillou *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, however the codex B from the same monastery containing majority of the Byzantine charters was published as an entity in: Bénou, *Le Codex B*.

²¹¹⁴ Oikonomides, “Patronage in Palaiologan Mt Athos,” p. 100.

²¹¹⁵ Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monastères*, pp. 136-138; Talbot, Alice-Mary. “The Monastic World,” in: *A Social History of Byzantium*, ed. J. Haldon, (Chichester-Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009): 260.

²¹¹⁶ *Actes de Docheiariou*, no. 47, pp. 251-252.

²¹¹⁷ *Actes de Koutloumous*, no. 24, pp. 97-99.

“my father kyr Chariton, the hegoumenos, came to me and promised the salvation and remission of my sins, I opened the blinded by wordly matters eyes of my soul, and I turned to what is needed and I gave a hand to the worthy and god-loving men”²¹¹⁸

So, before entering the monastery Michael Hierakes transferred his gift to Koutloumous: a *monydrion* of St. John the Baptist built in Skala, given by emperor’s mercy, with the surrounding buildings, and another building, next to a pyrgos, used as a yarn, a plot of land of 1500 *modioi*, 3 *zeugaria*, 100 sheep, 10 pigs, one carriage, one horse?, a windmill, fruits (γενημ(α)τα) of 120 *modioi*, and 200 measures of vine. However, Michael establishes a condition of a very detailed commemoration which would equate his spiritual rights with that of the ktetors:

the fathers and brothers should commemorate me in the vespers and matins, and in holy and sacred mystery-making (liturgy), in which a *prospora* should be brought and offered for our name, because through this prayer, I would get a pardon from the human-loving god for my bad mistakes. And after my death, commemorate me in the holy *brebion* in the way the ktetor are commemorated.²¹¹⁹

It seems that the spiritual fatherhood was one of the typical reasons for making the decision about giving gifts to monasteries. Monks, and, especially, *hegoumenoi* could exercise considerable influence on the lay members of Byzantine society.²¹²⁰ The Despot of Epiros, Thomas Preljubović, and his wife, Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina were instructed by the *hegoumenos* Cyrill, “a spiritual father of our majesties,”²¹²¹ to make their generous donation (the monastery of Theotokos Gabaliotissa) to Lavra in 1375. But even less rich and powerful persons were subjected to the influence of monastic leaders. John Adam and his wife Maria gave a hereditary fallow field of 130 *modioi* near Kosna not to the monastery of Prodromos Menoikeion in general, but, directly, “to our spiritual father kyr Joannikios as the *psychike dorea* for commemoration of our parents and us ourselves.”²¹²²

7.2.3. Donations of Serbian Nobility

The Serbian diplomatic tradition didn’t preserve much of private documents as the majority of charters were issued by the royal or archiepiscopal authorities and could include confirmations of the

²¹¹⁸ π(α)τήρ μου κύρ Χαρίτων πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐπεδήμησεν, εἰσηγούμενος, καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενος σ(ω)τηρίαν καὶ ἄφεσιν τῶν παρ’ ἐμοῦ πεπλημμελημένων, ἐὰν τοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀνοίξω τετυφλωμένους ἥδη ταῖς βιωτικαῖς μερίμναις, καὶ πρὸς τὸ δέον ἀπὶδω, καὶ χεῖρα βοηθείας ὀρέξω ἀνδράσιν ἐναρέτοις μὲν καὶ θεοφιλέσι – *Actes de Kutlumas*, no. 24, p. 98, l. 7-10.

²¹¹⁹ ὀφειλόντων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων π(α)τέρων καὶ ἀδ(ελφῶν) μνη[(μο)]νεύειν με ἐν τε τῷ ἐσπερινῷ καὶ τῷ ὀρθρῷ, καὶ ἐν τῇ θεΐᾳ καὶ ἱερᾷ μυσταγωγίᾳ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὀπηνίκα γίν[εται] εἰσφέρειν χρῆ καὶ προσκομίζειν προσφορὰν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡμετέρου ὀνόματος, ὡς ἂν διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης εὐχῆς καὶ ἐ[.....] τύχω συγγνώμης παρὰ τοῦ φιλαν(θρώπου) Θ(εο)ῦ ὑπὲρ ὧν κακῶς ἐπλημμέλησα· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀ[ποβίωσιν] μνημονεύειν με ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ βραβείῳ κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὁμοίως τῷ κτήτορι· - *Actes de Kutlumas*, no. 24, p. 99, l. 22-26.

²¹²⁰ Charanis, Peter. “The Monk as an Element of Byzantine Society,” *DOP* 25 (1971): 61-84 (esp. pp. 73-75); Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 90-142.

²¹²¹ *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, no. 146, pp. 100-104 (here quoted p. 103, l. 10).

²¹²² Bénou, *Le codex B*, pp. 49-50.

deeds issued by noblemen. In 1336-1337, Stefan Dušan issued a confirmation of donation made by a Radoslava on behalf of Hilandar monastery.²¹²³ This lady was a wife of certain Milša, a nobleman of Milutin's time,²¹²⁴ who was a founder of a monastery at the village Uložišta which became the object of the gift. According to the deed, Radoslava showed some documents issued by the king's predecessors (*zapisania*) proving the legality of her title and demanded to allow her the transfer of the property to Hilandar while keeping the right of usufruct until her death. Stefan Dušan confirmed the transfer and Radoslava's right for the usufruct:

And let Milša's wife Radoslava feeding until her death, and after her death let nobody own this place, neither son nor daughter, neither somebody from the family. And they can only come as it is the law for ktetors and can have a piece as all ktetors do. But they do not own anything, only the eternal commemoration, but it is the hegoumenos of Hilandar who owns.²¹²⁵

This text means that after the death of Radoslava, her children didn't have the rights over lands of the foundation, since the title of the property was passed to Hilandar by the force of the present charter. However, as the offspring of the ktetors they would have commemoration, the right of sojourn (да прихѡде) and a piece (комать), a small rent, provided for ktetors in case of financial need.²¹²⁶ However, the Serbian ruler approving this donation also makes his contribution as a gratitude to the Virgin for a miraculous gift (the birth of the heir)²¹²⁷ so he exempts the foundation from the state taxes.²¹²⁸

In 1366, Tsar Stefan Uroš confirmed the transfer of *metochion* of St. Stefan at Konča to Hilandar monastery.²¹²⁹ This church was constructed by *veliki vojvoda*²¹³⁰ Nikola Stanjević "on his lands received as hereditary which the father of my majesty [i.e. Emperor Stefan Dušan] assigned to him and confirmed as hereditary property until the end of time."²¹³¹ Together with the church, *veliki*

²¹²³ Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja, Subotin-Golubović, Tatjana. "Povelja kralja Stefana Dušana manastiru Hilandar," *SSA* 9 (2010): 63-73.

²¹²⁴ Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja, Subotin-Golubović, Tatjana. "Povelja kralja Stefana Dušana manastiru Hilandar," *SSA* 9 (2010): 73.

²¹²⁵ И да се храни Радосла(а)ва, Мил'шина жена до не съмр'ти, а по не съмр'ти да не вел(а)да мѣстѡмъ тѣм(ъ) ни с(ы)нъ ни дѣщи, ни кто ѡт рода, тѣмъ о да прихѡде какъ є законъ х'титѡрѡмъ и да имъ є комать како вѣсацѣм(ъ) х'титѡрѡмъ а да не вел(а)даю нищо; и да имъ є помень до вѣка, нѣ да вел(а)да игоумень х'иландарски - Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja, Subotin-Golubović, Tatjana. "Povelja kralja Stefana Dušana manastiru Hilandar," *SSA* 9 (2010): 65.

²¹²⁶ For the similar arrangements in Byzantine ktetorika typika see: Galatariotou, "Byzantine ktetorika typika," pp. 98-99.

²¹²⁷ ѡ б(о)ж(ъ)ствѣм(ъ) дарѡ еж(е) ми дас(тъ) вел(а)д(н)ка мои Х(ри)с(т)ъ — Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja, Subotin-Golubović, Tatjana. "Povelja kralja Stefana Dušana manastiru Hilandar," *SSA* 9 (2010): 65.

²¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

²¹²⁹ For history and the analysis of architecture and decoration of the church see: Gabelić, Smiljka. *Manastir Konče* (Belgrade: 2008).

²¹³⁰ About the title of *veliki vojvoda* as a high military rank, see: Blagojević, Miloš. *Državna uprava u srpskim srednjovekovnim zemljama* (Belgrade: 2001): 288-289; Mihaljević, Rade. *Vladarske titule oblasnih gospodara: prilog vladarskoj ideologiji u starijoj srpskoj prošlosti* (Belgrade: Srpska školska knjiga 2001): 126-127, 137-139.

²¹³¹ оу своен баштинѣ записъ а>нон, що моу јес(тъ) записалъ и оутвѣрдилъ родителъ ц(а)р(ъ)с(т)ва ми оу баштинѡу до вѣка - Bojanin, Stanoje. "Povelja cara Stefana Uroša kojom potvrđuje dar velikog vojvode Nikole Stanjevića manastiru Hilandaru," *SSA* 1 (2002): 103-115 (here p. 106)

vojvoda also gave several villages to the monastery: Konča, Lubnica, Treskavac, Suhi Dol, Dedino, Rakitac, Seništa, the village where Dobroslav Karbić had resided, a half of village Tudorice, Kostadinci, the village where Kostadin had resided, Negron(o)foti, Grkov Dol, Sveti Kostadin and others which are properties of Konča monastery. The size of this domain is quite impressive which suggests that the donor decided to subject to Hilandar either a great part of his patrimony or his entire hereditary possessions.²¹³² Such actions can be interpreted as a strategy, aimed on securing the future of this nobleman as a monk or an *adelphatarios* of a great monastery in cases of political calamities.²¹³³ Besides, being under administration of a great monastery, his private foundation would be taken care of and administered properly. On the other hand, the marble tomb slab which was kept in the narthex St. Stefan's church and bore inscription mentioning both, the title and the family name, of the patron²¹³⁴ witnesses that the *vojvoda* died as a layman and was buried in his private church. And though the donation made by Nikola Stanjević to Hilandar was unusually large and, probably, encouraged by political motives, in the confirmation charter, the Serbian tsar presents the transfer as an act of piety, undertaken for the commemoration of both, the founder and the ruler: "And my majesty gives and subjects this church to the Mother of God of Hilandar for commemoration of my majesty and the brother of my majesty, the *vojvoda* Nikola."²¹³⁵

The tradition of the royal confirmation documents issuing for private acts was kept in Serbia, even after the fall of the central state (in 1371). The local lords, appearing on the territory which used to be the Empire of Serbs and Greeks, followed the example of their imperial predecessors and certified the donation deeds of their subjects. In 1377, the governor of Strymon area, *despot* Jovan Dragaš²¹³⁶ confirmed the transfer of the church of St. Blasios built by the *čelnik* of Štip Stanislav to Hilnadar monastery. The foundation at Štip was fully an enterprise of the nobleman who decided to pass it to the greater and more influential Athonite institution, whereas the ruler only released St.

²¹³² A. Solovjev suggested that Nikola Stanjević rather assumed his entire territory since he didn't have the offspring (Solovjev, Aleksandar. "Končanski praktik," *ZRVI* 3 (1955): 92), while R. Mihaljčić suggested that though the *veliki vojvoda* should have had children, as the sanction of the document mentions "children of the *vojvoda*" (ДѢТЕ ВОЈЕВОДИНО), Nikola Stanjević was pushed away from the political activities of this time and, probably, decided to become a monk (Mihaljčić, Rade. *Kraj srpskog carstva* (Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod, 1989): 90-92).

²¹³³ For this strategy used by Serbian and Byzantine nobility in cases of wars and political unrest see: Ivanović, Milos. "Sveta Gora kao utočište za vlastelu iz Srpske Despotovine," *Naš trag* 3-4 (2013): 358-369; Zachariadou, "A Safe and Holy Mountain."

²¹³⁴ **НИКОЛА СТАНЕВИЊ ВЕЛИКИ ВОЈЕВОДА КТИТОРЪ** - Gabelić, Smiljka. *Manastir Konče* (Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet, 2008): 27-34 (quotation from p. 27).

²¹³⁵ **И ТОУЗИ ЦР(Ь)К(Ь)ВОУ ПРИЛАГА И ПОТПИСОУЮ Ц(А)Р(Ь)С(Т)ВО МИ МАТЕРИ БОЖИИЕ ХАЛАНДАРСКОИ ВЪ ПОМЕНЬ Ц(А)Р(Ь)С(Т)ВА МИ И ВЪ ПОМЕНЬ БР(А)ТА Ц(А)Р(Ь)С(Т)ВА МИ ВОЈЕВОДЕ НИКОЛЕ** - Bojanin, Stanoje. "Povelja cara Stefana Uroša kojom potvrđuje dar velikog vojvode Nikole Stanjevića manastiru Hilandaru," *SSA* 1 (2002): 106.

²¹³⁶ Mihaljčić, Rade. *Kraj srpskog carstva* (Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod, 1989): 173-181; For the territory of the Dragaši state, see: Matanov, Christo [Матанов, Христо]. *Княжеството на Драгаши: Към историята на Североизточна Македония в предосманската епоха* (Sofia: Gal-Iko, 1997).

Blasios' church from the taxes and confirmed its possessions.²¹³⁷ Nevertheless, the formula "for my commemoration and for the soul of my majesty" (въ помень и въ задоушию царьства ни)²¹³⁸ appears in the text as if the donation would be made by Jovan Dragaš himself.

The discussed examples show that Serbian diplomatic tradition considered necessary to assure any private document related to the property transfer by a royal charter. Issuing these charters, Serbian lords represented the donations, made by the noblemen as made by the donors and rulers together.

7.2.4. Donations of Byzantine Aristocracy

The majority of Athonite private acts connected to the property transfers were produced with participation of members of aristocracy (the Palaiologoi, Kantakouzenoi, Doukai, Philanthropenoi, Tornikoi etc.) and rich bourgeoisie from urban centers (Thessaloniki, Serres etc.) as one of the agreement parties.²¹³⁹ It seems to be very advantageous for monasteries to get a nobleman belonging to a rich and famous family as a donor; as often, the donations made by one member of the family determined the direction for benefactions, made by other members of the same noble house. Thus, *megas papias* Arsenios Tzamlakon (PLP, no. 27752) made a significant donation to Vatopedi at two instances, 1355 and 1356.²¹⁴⁰ This active participant of the Byzantine civil wars and a member of a rich noble dynasty from Thessaloniki,²¹⁴¹ decided to retire as a monk in Vatopedi, after the defeat of John Kantakouzenos.

Initially, in 1355, Arsenios assigned his part of the hereditary lands in Prinaron to Vatopedi.²¹⁴² Received by Arsenios' grandfather by the chrysobull of Emperor John Doukas III Vatatzes (1222-1254), this domain encompassed diverse properties: arable lands, vineyards, mills, pastures and also it included *exaleimmata*,²¹⁴³ lands abandoned by the paroikoi due to "the confusion of affairs." Arsenios himself built a *kastellion* called Sthalanesion next to this domain; this fact, taken together with the information about the abandoned lands hints to the consequences of the civil wars and the

²¹³⁷ Sima Ćirković (*Actes de Saint-Panteleemon*, p. 174) considered that this church with its possessions could be given to Hilandar in exchange of villages on Strymon given to St. Panteleimon monastery after the debates between these two Athonite foundations (about the conflict see: Živojinović, Mirjana. "Le conflit entre Chilandar et Saint-Pantéléèmon au sujet du village de Breznica," *Byzantinoslavica* 56 (1995): 237-244).

²¹³⁸ Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, p. 453.

²¹³⁹ Kravari, Vassiliki. "Les actes privés des Monastères de l'Athos et l'unité du patrimoine familial," In: *Eherecht und Familiengut in Antike und Mittelalter* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1992): 77-88; Medvedev, Igor [Медведев, Игорь]. *Очерки византийской дипломатики: Частноправовой акт* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1988); Pavlikianov, The Medieval Aristocracy ;

²¹⁴⁰ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 105, pp. 245-249 and no. 107, pp. 252-257.

²¹⁴¹ About Arsenios Tzamlakon and the Tzamlakoi, see: Malatras, *Social Structure*, pp. 61-64; Malatras, Christos. "The "social aspects" of the second civil war in Byzantium (1341-1354)," in: *Thessalonique au temps des Zélotes (1342-1350). Actes de la table ronde organisée dans le cadre du 22e Congrès international des études byzantines, à Sofia, le 25 août 2011*, ed. M.-H. Congourdeau (Paris: ACHCByz, 2014): 99-116.

²¹⁴² *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 105, pp. 245-249.

²¹⁴³ Bartusis, Mark. "Exaleimma: Escheat in Byzantium," *DOP* 40 (1986): 55-81.

presence of piracy in the region.²¹⁴⁴ The donor also added several pastures for sheep, winter pastures, and his part of the annual fair of St. Symeon in the domain called Bela. Motivating this rather generous donation, Arsenios underlined specifically that it was performed for the salvation of his soul and not against an annual pension (*adelphaton*) which seem to be the most common practice of this period:

“for the sake of salvation of our soul and the souls of all our [relatives], my deceased spouse and the children of my loins, I give and transfer from my hereditary possessions which I hold in the free and undisturbed mode, not for the sake of procurance of other *adelphata*, but only for the pure acquisition of the salvation of our soul”²¹⁴⁵

A year later, already being the monk of Vatopedi, Arsenios produced a second donation deed. This time, he added new properties to those already being in the ownership of the monastery: his mansions in Thessaloniki in the Kataphyge quarter, together with the church of the Virgin Kamariotissa, and his part of the hereditary land near Thessaloniki, on the river Galikos,²¹⁴⁶ which included the salt mines and litoral lands where he again built a tower.²¹⁴⁷ As the domain was owned by the Tzamlakoi brothers jointly, Arsenios allowed them to use the tower, even after its passage to the monastery. Writing the second deed, Arsenios became more specific about the desirable return, he demands to be properly buried in the monastery and inscribed in the memorial books, together with his children and wife. The author is perfectly aware about his unusual generosity which turns to be the reasons to be commemorated as one of the founders:

After my death, I order to take care about me and being buried by the monks of the monastery with honour as well as commemorated in the [monastery] as one of the ktetors as I have offered and transferred to it the [properties] of great value, and also my wife and with my children should be commemorated. And let the servants left after my death have the *diakonias* (pensions) without interruption, until they are alive and live in the monastery and are subjected to the leader and other monks as other brothers.²¹⁴⁸

As the proves, the rich aristocrats upon entering a monastery partially preserved their lifestyle; Arsenios took with him three servants for whom the monastery should have provided the sustenance, however it was a very small remuneration for the extensive and diverse properties which the donor ceded to the foundation. Nevertheless, in the present example one may observe the tendency, discussed in previous chapters of this work, namely, the expansion of the term ktetor whose meaning

²¹⁴⁴ For the practice of the rural fortification in Byzantium, see: Smyrlis, Kostis. “Estate fortifications in Late Byzantine Macedonia: the Athonite evidence,” in: *Hinter den Mauern und auf dem offenen Land: Leben im Byzantinischen*, eds. D.F. Reich, J.Drauschke (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2016): 189-205, esp. p.203 for the tower in Prinarion.

²¹⁴⁵ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 105, p. 247, l. 6-10.

²¹⁴⁶ About the importance of the domain of the Tzamlakoi for the economy of the region, see: Laiou, Angeliki. “Economic Activities of Vatopedi in the Fourteenth Century.” in: *Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου. Παράδοση, ιστορία, τέχνη*, ed. I. Papaggelos, Vol. II (Agion Oros: Iera Megiste Mone Batopaidiou, 1996). (Athens, 1999): 55-72.

²¹⁴⁷ Smyrlis, Kostis. “Estate fortifications in Late Byzantine Macedonia: the Athonite evidence,” in: *Hinter den Mauern und auf dem offenen Land: Leben im Byzantinischen*, eds. D.F. Reich, J.Drauschke (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2016): 197 (for the tower in Galikos).

²¹⁴⁸ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 107, p. 256, l. 32-35.

started to include not only the actual founders, but also generous donors. Arsenios seems to have made an independent decision as he makes no reference to an approval of the domain transfer by his brothers, though the family held and administered both domains, in Prinaron and Galikos, jointly.

A few years later, in 1362, Arsenios' brother *megas stratopedarches* Demetrios (PLP, no. 27755) donated to Vatopedi his shared (a quarter) of the domain in Galikos.²¹⁴⁹ As one may understand from the *prooimion*, the lands have deteriorated due to the same “troubles,” discussed in the previous subchapters. On the other hand, since monasteries tried to unify their domains, the lands of Demetrios, even being in a decayed state, would be necessary for the rural development.²¹⁵⁰ However, the rhetoric of donation stresses not economic advantage of the receiver, but the purity of donor's intention over the quality of the gift:

Whereas the little we give is pleasing for God, as he himself has shown long ago, by accepting the two copper coins from the widow favorably. As he would accept the offered because of right decision and burning desire; also [let he accept] our offering favorably, which is [given] for the endless benefactions which we had received from him. And though in the relation to our gift, the time of troubles caused the misery, not the mediocrity and small size of the gift is what he takes into consideration, but our desire and purity of intention, and kindness is what he accepts.²¹⁵¹

Though Demetrios wanted to be buried in a different foundation, the monastery of Psychosostria in Constantinople being a metochion of Vatopedi, he gave very precise and meticulous directions for the commemoration, organized in Vatopedi on his behalf:

Also, the monks practicing askesis in the above-mentioned revered royal monastery of my Most Holy Virgin, Vatopedi, should perform the commemoration in their prayers to God and petitions for my wretched and miserable soul, to perform, without interruption, a small ektines on every Sunday during the matins and they should proclaim “Lord have Mercy” (*Kyrie eleison*) three times for me miserable. And for these (goods), the honoured monks practicing askesis in the revered and holy monastery of the Most Holy Mother of God called Psychosostria, situated in the glorified by God and elevated by God Constantinople, being a metochion of revered royal monastery Vatopedi, in which I am going to be buried [when I will be] dead, also as long as I will be alive, should perform well, according to their strengths, the customary commemorations of my soul, that God would become merciful toward me through the advocacy of his most pure Mother...²¹⁵²

As one may notice, the concerns of the donor with the afterlife deepened and, comparing to his brother, Demetrios pointed out to his own sinfulness (“mediocre and poor soul”) and the necessity of the advocacy of the monks and the Virgin for his future salvation. This rhetoric of a donor as a penitent sinner vs. a monastery-receiver as the community assisting in the donor's salvation finds its further development in the *prooimia* of the noble donations of the second half of the 14th century. Its

²¹⁴⁹ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 118, pp. 291-295.

²¹⁵⁰ For the ways of the estate management, see: Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monastères*, pp. 184-206.

²¹⁵¹ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 118, p. 294, l.1-5

²¹⁵² *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 118, p. 294, l. 14-24.

appearance may be associated with the military and political calamities of the 14th century which enhanced the sense of uncertainty of earthly life for the members of the Balkan nobility.

In 1370, the son of Arsenios, the *oikeios* of the emperor Michael Tzamplakon (*PLP*, no. 27760) and his sons, Alexios and John, transferred the last share of the domain in Prinaron to Vatopedi.²¹⁵³ In his hope for the grace of God and in desire of the pardon of his sins, he passes to Vatopedi his share of the patrimonial land and winter pastures, which he used to hold together with the deceased brother Alexios Kaballarios for “the salvation of their soul.” Michael’s donation starts with a metaphor of the monastery as a safe harbour where one may find the way to the salvation and pardon of sins:

Offerings and transfers given to the holy monasteries and other pious houses by people and gifts are not only god-pleasing and beloved by God, but also soul-helping and salvation-assisting. And against other quays and bays these are the most welcoming for those running from the great sea of life and the waves of worldly uncertainty to the local calmness and the [monastic] way of life and they wiped away the many sins, which the soul has accumulated, releasing from them and destroying them.²¹⁵⁴

As the following part of the act shows Michael decided to repeat the pattern established by his father and to enter the monastery in the end of his life. Possibly, the transfer of the domain can be regarded as a “payment” for the retirement place:

And for this my donation, my name and that of my deceased brother kyr Alexios Kaballarios should be inscribed into the holy Brebion of the monastery and commemorated outside of the [sanctuary] according to the custom by the local monks. When I myself appeared here, the venerable elders gave me a cell and one pension of adelphaton for my sustenance and rest²¹⁵⁵

Perhaps, both tendencies observed in this deed, namely, the decision to retire in a monastery and careful and attentive demand for the necessary commemoration rituals may be associated with the same phenomenon, which occurred in the Late Byzantine period and was observed by several authors on a later material²¹⁵⁶ or Slavic Balkan examples.²¹⁵⁷ In the world, full of uncertainties and fears (if wars, raids, hunger, political defeats etc.),²¹⁵⁸ the monasteries were perceived as safe places providing small, but certain income (*adelphata*) or humble, but secure residence. Therefore, the donation of lands and other agricultural units can be perceived as an attempt to invest in physical and psychological security of the donor, he/she would be supported economically in the case of crises and would be continuously cared spiritually, through prayers and commemorations.

²¹⁵³ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol II, no. 135, pp. 358-364.

²¹⁵⁴ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol II, no. 135, p. 361, l. 1-5 and p. 363, l. 1-5 (the document is preserved in two contemporary medieval copies).

²¹⁵⁵ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol II, no. 135, p. 362, l. 20-24 and p. 363-364, l. 26-29.

²¹⁵⁶ Zachariadou, “A Safe and Holy Mountain”;

²¹⁵⁷ Ivanović, Miloš. “Sveta gora kao utočište za vlastelu iz Srpske despotovine,” *Naš Trag* 3-4/2013 (2013): 358-369.

²¹⁵⁸ About the fear in late Byzantine culture, see: Radić, Radivoj. *Strah u poznoj Vizantiji* (Belgrade: Stubovi Kulture, 2000): esp. Vol. I, pp. 133-202 about the fear of raids and hunger

One noble family may not limit their donations only to one foundation, but, in case of having sufficient resources, perform patronage over several important monasteries simultaneously. Thus, several members of the Masgidas family were associated with the Prodrornos monastery in Serres. Certain Andronios and John Masgidas presented Menoikeion Prodrornos monastery with an image of St. John, ornamented with an epigram commemorating the gift of the brothers.²¹⁵⁹ Their brother, Athanasios Masgidas (d. 1336), was buried in the same monastery as it was witnessed by a tomb slab with a funerary epigram.²¹⁶⁰ This tomb once was placed in the narthex of the Menoikeion katholikon,²¹⁶¹ a place, usually assigned not for ordinary monks, but important benefactors who entered the monastery. At the same time John and his wife Eirine Masgidas donated to Ivion monastery 300 *modioi* of their hereditary arable land near Kotzakion (1324)²¹⁶² which situated on the river Angites, not far from Zichne.²¹⁶³ This donation was made for the sake of the family commemoration, i.e. John and Eirine as well as John's parents would receive an annual remembrance and daily singing:

They should inscribe into the memorial (ψυχοχαρτίω) of the monastery the names of our parents, i.e. Kallistratos and Marths, the monk and the nun, and us ourselves, i.e. John and Eirine, and to commemorate them and us in the holy liturgies taking place there and other daily singing (μεθήμεριναῖς ὕμνωδίαῖς) in accordance with the prevailing in it (monastery) order and custom, it also perform annually once a year a special service, as long as this holy monastery continues to exist, a commemoration for the above-said souls by [all?] venerable hieromonks who happen to be in the monastery, being dressed in sacerdotal vestment, having candles in their hands, and putting kollyba and other befitting things for the commemoration services.²¹⁶⁴

As the description of the befitting arrangements are quite detailed (candles, garments, kollyba) one may assume that the commemorative feast should have been performed solemnly, and the lands granted by the couple would assure the necessary income to cover the expenditures for the celebration.

²¹⁵⁹ Papageorgiu, Petros N. "Zu Theodoros Pediasimos," *BZ* 10/2 (1901): 428.

²¹⁶⁰ More details about the prosopography of the Masgidas family see: Shukurov, Rustam. *The Byzantine Turks, 1204-1461* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2016): 197-200; *PLP* no. 17222 wrongly mixes up two different persons with the name John Masgides, on this issue see: Ivion III, 287 and Kravari, Philotheou, no. 4, 26-27.

²¹⁶¹ Papageorgiu, Petros N. "Zu Theodoros Pediasimos," *BZ* 10/2 (1901): 428; Mercati, Silvio. "Sull'epitafio di Atanasio Masgidas nel monastero del Prodrorno presso Serres," *OCP* 13 (1947): 39-44; Strati Angeliki [Στρατή, Αγγελική]. "Ἡ επιτύμβια ἐπιγραφή τοῦ Αθανασίου Μασγιδά στη Μονή Τιμίου Προδρόμου Σερρών. Σχόλια καὶ παρατηρήσεις," in: *Κερμάτια; φιλίας. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον Ιωάννη Τουράτσογλου*, eds. S. Drougou et al. (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2009): 143 -149.

²¹⁶² *Actes d'Ivion*, Vol. III, no. 81, pp. 286-289.

²¹⁶³ *Actes d'Ivion*, Vol. IV, p. 14.

²¹⁶⁴ ὁφείλουσα ἐγγράψαι ἐν τῷ τῆς μονῆς ψυχοχαρτίῳ τὰς ὀνομασίας τῶν γονέων ἡμῶν, ἤτοι Καλλιστρατοῦ καὶ Μάρθας τῶν μοναχῶν, καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, Ἰω(άνν)ου δηλαδὴ καὶ Εἰρήνης, καὶ μνημονεύειν αὐτῶν τὲ καὶ ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς κατ' αὐτὴν γινομ(έν)αις θείαις τὲ ἱεροτελεστείαις καὶ [ἄλλ]αῖς μεθήμεριναῖς ὕμνωδίαῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐπικρατήσασαν ἐν αὐτῇ τάξιν τὲ καὶ συνήθειαν, ἰδίως δὲ ἐκτελεῖν κατεξαίρ[ε]τον ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ ἐνιαυτῷ, μέχρι τῆς τῆς τοιαύτης ἀγίας μονῆς διαμονῆς καὶ συστάσεως, μνημόσυνον ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰρημένων ψυχῶν διὰ τῶν εὐρισκομ(ένων) ἐν τῇ μονῇ τιμίων ἱερομονάχων, τὰς ἱερατικὰς ἐνδεδυμένων στολάς, κηροὺς τὲ μετὰ χεῖρας ἐχόντων, κολύβων προτιθεμένων καὶ ἄλλης προσηκούσης τῷ μνημοσύνῳ οἰκονομίας· - *Actes d'Ivion*, Vol. III, no. 81, pp. 288-289, l. 22-27.

The Greek nobility who preserved their place in the administration in the Empire of Stefan Dušan repeated the same pattern of relations with the highest authority that the Serbian nobility, discussed in previous chapters. Namely, as the Chrysobull to the monastery of Holy Archangels attests,²¹⁶⁵ six more noblemen made donations to the royal foundation, simultaneously with the endowment actions of the king Stefan Dušan. The same strategy was adopted by the Greek subjects, namely, they endowed the same foundation as the Serbian autocrat, possibly, with the properties situated in the same region. Thus, in 1350 (?), Stefan Dušan's subject, Kalabaris, who is called "faithful noblemen of my Majesty Kalavar" (правовѣрни властелини ц(а)рства ми **КАЛАВАР**),²¹⁶⁶ presented Lavra of St. Athanasios with a land plot on the Ploumiska river, near Rentina.²¹⁶⁷ The formal reason for the donation is "for the salvation of soul," but the nobleman himself confirms that he imitates the emperor in his actions as the prooimion to his deed reads the following:

Since, lead by God and the Most Holy Virgin, and holy father Athanasios of Athos, my sovereign and emperor gave the place Kokalas to the venerable and holy Lavra by the chrysobull, I also give [the land] on the river Ploumiska with all its borders and the river streams.²¹⁶⁸

Further, the author guaranteed that the property would be exempted from several taxes and charges, both of Byzantine and Serbian origin, including the *mitation* (sale of wheat at the reduce price), *skylomankon* (sustenance for royal kennel men), *seno* (supply of hay), *provod* (escort of royal authorities), *pozobesma* (forage for royal horses), *kommerkion* (10% tax on merchandise goods), *psunj* (supplementary tax on transportation) etc. The tax immunity was a widespread type of donation in the Serbian Empire.²¹⁶⁹ As it was only the imperial administration who could grant the tax immunities, in order to receive these immunities for the lands under consideration the donor should have been favoured by the Serbian Emperor himself.

7.2.5. Donations against Adelphata

The grant of property to a monastery could be conditioned not only by spiritual obligations, but also by material reimbursement, more precisely, by a monastic pension (*adelphaton*). It was a living allowance in kind (measured amounts of wheat, vegetables, vine, oil etc.) given by a monastery to a person for the time of life. As it was a private agreement, the terms may vary greatly between the cases; sometimes, it was stipulated that the *adelphaton* can be inherited, otherwise, its payment may

²¹⁶⁵ *Svetoarhandelovska hrisovulja*, pp. 91, 98, 109, 110.

²¹⁶⁶ Živojinović, Dragić. "Hrisovulja cara Stefana Dušana za Hilandar o Lužackoj metohiji," *SSA* 5 (2006): p. 102, l. 15-16: For identification of the Kalabaris as a subject of the Serbian Emperor (possibly, as *megas hetairiarches* Michael Kavalaris), mentioned in the earlier chrysobull, see: *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, no.130, p. 43 with the reference to the opinion of Prof. Dr. Marjana Živojinović.

²¹⁶⁷ *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, no.130, pp. 42-45.

²¹⁶⁸ *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, no.130, p. 45, l. 1-4.

²¹⁶⁹ Taranovski, *Istorija srpskog prava*, pp. 28-29, 94-98, 206.

be ceased with the death or the grantor or another specified person.²¹⁷⁰ In general, the *adelphata* were regarded as safe investment in the old age²¹⁷¹ or a life-time annuity in case of economic troubles.

For example, an elderly widow left without husband could pass her share of the family properties to the care of a monastery in order to have assurance and constant income in her old age. The agreement between the Prodromos monastery and a nun Magdalene, a widow of Penentares, starts with a *prooimion* much reminding those of Testaments. Explaining the reasons behind the gift she refers to the old age and approaching death: “because we should always remember about death, and especially when an illness press us up, and not only those who are approaching an old age, but also the young ones...” Moreover, she considers that “the thought about death turns a soul to better things,” and, therefore, she makes an endowment as a preparation for the future death, “in order that the sentence of death wouldn’t overtake me unexpectedly.”²¹⁷² However, this document is de facto an agreement about the provision of an adelphaton: Magdalene gives a mill working all year against an annual life-long fee of 6 nomismata and a commemoration of her, her husband and brother. Nevertheless, later, she writes a shorter document called both, the donation (*dorea*) and the testament (*diathike*),²¹⁷³ which confirms her desire to transfer the mill to Menoikeion foundation.

Sometimes, the donors and their heirs would enter in the donation+adelphata agreement out of necessity and, in many of such cases, the monasteries appeared to be those who were in the money. The most exemplary and well-studied²¹⁷⁴ case of the adelphata is a dossier associated with a domain at Hermeleia passed by the *oikeios* of the emperor Manuel Deblitzenos (*PLP*, no. 91757) to the monastery of Docheiariou (1381). Regarding this case and several others, A. Laiou established that the value of an *adelphaton* usually matched the price of the donated possessions, but also it could vary greatly, depending on the political, economic and personal reasons.

Thus, a combination of unfortunate events, namely of Serbian occupation, Turkish conquest and monastic greed turned a family of military nobility of Thessaloniki, the Dabletzenoi, from wealthy land-owners into people in need. Before 1381, Manuel Deblitzenos passed a set of diverse

²¹⁷⁰ For the phenomenon of *adelphata*, see: Živojinović, Mirjana. “Adelfati u Vizantiji i Srednjovekovnoj Srbiji,” *ZRVI* 11 (1968): 241-270; Talbot, “Women and Mt Athos,” pp. 75-76; Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monasteries*, pp. 135-138, 144-145; Laiou, Angeliki. “Economic Activities of Vatopedi in the Fourteenth Century.” in: *Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου. Παράδοση, ιστορία, τέχνη*, ed. I. Papaggelos, Vol. II (Agion Oros: Iera Megiste Mone Batopaidiou, 1996) (Athens, 1999): 67-72; Bartusis, *Land and Privilege*, 153; Malatras, *Social Structure*, esp. pp. 222-223 and 412-414 (table 17).

²¹⁷¹ Talbot, Alice Mary. “Old Age in Byzantium,” *BZ* 77 (1984): 275-279.

²¹⁷² Bénou, *Le Codex B*, p. 43.

²¹⁷³ Bénou, *Le Codex B*, p. 45.

²¹⁷⁴ Oikonomides, Nicolas. “The properties of the Deblitzenoi in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,” in: *Charanis Studies. Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, ed. A. Laiou-Thomadakis (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1980): 176-198; Laiou, Angeliki. “Economic Activities of Vatopedi in the Fourteenth Century.” in: *Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου. Παράδοση, ιστορία, τέχνη*, ed. I. Papaggelos, Vol. II (Agion Oros: Iera Megiste Mone Batopaidiou, 1996) (Athens, 1999): 67-68; Malatras, *Social Structure*, pp. 77-79; Stavrou, *Socio-economic Conditions in 14th and 15th Century Thessalonike*, pp. 161-162; 174-175.

properties in Hermeleia to Docheiariou.²¹⁷⁵ He has recently restituted this domain after it was lost due to the rule of Serbian power and tyranny (τὴν [δ]εσποτείαν [τῆς τῶν Σ]έρβων ἀρχῆς καὶ τυραννίδος). Apparently, the lands were not in a good condition not being cared for the dozens of years and, not being able to assure necessary investments, Manuel decided to pass them to the monastery (probably, against the payment of *adelphata*). However, soon, he tried to take the properties back since the monks “didn’t follow the agreement” (μὴ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλως συμφωνήσατε), but the dispute was settled by the metropolitan of Thessaloniki, who persuaded Manuel to conclude a second agreement with Docheiariou which included the solemn commemoration of Manuel’s parents and three *adelphata*, given to the donor and inherited by the persons of his choice after the death.

After Manuel’s death, it was his wife Maria who inherited the *adelphata* in 1389,²¹⁷⁶ but promised them to be ceased after her death. Finally, in 1419, Theodora, Manuel’s daughter, tried to return the domain to the family. The Metropolitan of Thessaloniki, after careful examination of the case, decided that the monastery was a lawful owner of the property, but Theodora may receive the *adelphata* and the sum of 12 *hyperpyra* after she renounces her claims over the domain.²¹⁷⁷ Thus, relying on the conclusions of N. Oikonomides, A. Laiou and N. Necipoğlu,²¹⁷⁸ who considered that the value of the domain was much higher than that of the three *adelphata*, even given in the lifespan of three persons, one may notice that it was the political hardships (such as the civil wars, the Serbian occupation, and, later, the Turkish raids and sieges) which forced the noble family to donate the ruined properties to the Athonite foundation. And in this case, all pious conditions, such as the inscriptions of Manuel’s parents or his daughter and her husband in the *brebia*, can be seen as a pretext for an economic contract.

In other cases, oppositely, the initial pious donation could be later supplemented by an agreement about the *adelphata*, in case if the donor fell into financial troubles. In 1369, the *megas domestikos* Alexios Atouemes Metochites passed his domain in Stylarion region (place Leontariou, Chalkidiki) to Vatopedi.²¹⁷⁹ These lands, received as a dowry (*proikian*) from Alexios’ father Theodore Metochites (*PLP*, no. 17982), consisted of circa 13000 *modioi*, included various properties, and were supplemented by an grant of cash amounted to 200 ounces of ducats. A month later, the

²¹⁷⁵ *Actes de Docheiariou*, no. 48, pp. 252-257; Pavlikianov, *Aristocracy*, 40-42.

²¹⁷⁶ *Actes de Docheiariou*, nos. 50-51, pp. 265-269.

²¹⁷⁷ *Actes de Docheiariou*, nos. 57-58, pp. 290-297.

²¹⁷⁸ Oikonomides, Nicolas. “The properties of the Deblitzenoi in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,” in: *Charanis Studies. Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, ed. A. Laiou-Thomadakis (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1980): 176-198; Laiou, Angeliki. “Economic Activities of Vatopedi in the Fourteenth Century.” in: *Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου. Παράδοση, ιστορία, τέχνη*, ed. I. Papaggelos, Vol. II (Agion Oros: Iera Megiste Mone Batopaidiou, 1996) (Athens, 1999): 67-68; Necipoğlu, Nevra. *Byzantium Between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 57-60.

²¹⁷⁹ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 129, pp. 340-343.

donor asked to add two more *adelphata* and a right to reside in the monastery's old house for the same donation.²¹⁸⁰

The first part of the deal is witnessed not by a donation act, but by the assurance letter given by the monks in return. According to the text Alexios, during his visit to the Holy Mount (καταλαβῶν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν τοῦ Βατοπεδίου μονήν), took an oath to make the gift and handed the deed to the icon of the Virgin pronouncing a curse:

Then he with his own hands hang <the donation charter> to the icon of the Virgin, saying, “she will be an adversary,” and “in this century and in the future one, to the one who wants to destroy or change this my deed for the sake of my soul.” And he asked that we would perform for this a liturgy every Tuesday of the week for his soul, while he is alive and after his death.²¹⁸¹

For this generous donation, he wanted “to make every Tuesday a liturgy for his soul, him being alive or dead, until our holy and revered monastery stays, and also to inscribe his name in the *brebion* and, after his death, to perform a customary for us commemoration for him.”²¹⁸² This way, he made the Virgin to be a simultaneously a witness, a recipient and a guarantor of his donation, as she can intervene to protect her property and punish a violator of the agreement.

In the second act concerning the same deal, Alexios specifies that his name should be commemorated on *proskomidia*, which “happens in the middle of the liturgy,” that it would be inscribed in the *brebion* and mentioned by the priest, that the brothers would repeat 13 times “lord have mercy” on his behalf.²¹⁸³ Moreover, to motivate his gift, Alexios applies the Biblical topology comparing the Athonite monastery with the Tabernacle of Moses:

For the ancient tabernacle, built by Bezalel, God ordered that all would be called to make their offerings, donating of their free will, and nobody was exempted, even among the poorest ones. In the similar way, for the new tabernacle, I mean for the holy church of God, all great emperors should offer their donations, all nobles and archons as well as the poor ones should donate according to their possibilities²¹⁸⁴

The Tabernacle was one of the most common biblical prototypes of the church, understood as being forethought by God's inspiration and created by efforts of men. In this sense, not only with an architect or a founder, but any benefactor making a grant or an offering, inspired by God's providence can be compared with Bezalel (Exodus 31:1-6, 38, 39). In a similar way, a provincial Laconian

²¹⁸⁰ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 130, pp. 343-347.

²¹⁸¹ ὅπερ οἰκειας χερσίν ἀπηώρησεν εἰς τὴν σε(βασμίαν) εἰκόνα τῆς Θεομήτορος, «αὐτήν ἔχειν ἀντίδικον», ἐφωνήσας. «καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι τὸν βουλευθέντα ἀναντρέψαι ἢ διασεῖσαι τὴν παροῦσαν μου ψυχικὴν πρᾶξιν». – *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no 129, pp. 340-343 (p. 342, l. 4-6).

²¹⁸² καὶ ἀναιτήσας ἡμῖν ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ τούτου καθ' ἐκάστην τῶν ἡμερῶν τρίτην λειτουργίαν ἕνεκεν τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς καὶ ζῶντος καὶ ἀθανάτου *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 129, p. 342, l. 6-9.

²¹⁸³ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 130, p. 347, l. 9-11.

²¹⁸⁴ (Καὶ) τῇ παλαιᾷ ἐκείνῃ (καὶ) μωσαϊκῇ κιβωτῷ ἦν Βασελεὴλ ἐτεκτῆνατο Θεοῦ διατατομένου πάντες μὲν εἰσέφερ(ον) κηρυττόμε(ν)οι, οἱ δὲ (καὶ) αὐτεπάγγελτοι, (καὶ) οὐδεὶς ἦν ἀσυντε(λῆς) οὐδὲ τῶν πενεστέ(ρων). ὁμοίως δὲ τῇ νέᾳ ταύτῃ σκηνῇ, τῇ ἀγία λέγω τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία, πάντες μὲν βασιλεῖς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς ἀφιερῶσιν προσάγουσι πάντες (δὲ) εὐγενεῖς (καὶ) ἄρχοντες (καὶ) πτωχοὶ κ(α)τ(ὰ) δύναμιν ἕκαστος δροφοροῦσι – *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 130, p. 346, l. 1-3.

military of the Palaiologan time, Constantine Spanes, the most noble *pansebastos* and *tzaousios* of the the Melingoi, compared his foundation with the tabernacle constructed by Bezalel in a dedicatory epigram engirdling the walls in his church of St. Nicholas at Platsa (Mani).²¹⁸⁵ However, in the present *prooimion* the tabernacle is a metaphor of an enterprise made with collective offerings as the Athonite monasteries was supported by numerous donations.

In reality, the pious concerns of Alexios were combined with quite worldly fears. Though, being a wealthy landowner and a high dignitary²¹⁸⁶ Alexios displayed the signs of social anxiety, typical for this unstable epoch. Besides the commemoration, he demanded four *adelphata* altogether from the monastery as well as an old cell (*kellion palaion archontarikion*) and the acceptance for him and two of his servants.²¹⁸⁷ This means that he contemplated a possibility to settle at the monastery in the case of necessity.

7.2.6. Donations of the Citizens of Serres

Finally, a small case study of a town may give an impression about the scale and quantity of donations given to monasteries by noblemen and urban population. The two cartularies of the of St. John Prodromos Menoikeion were made one after another within a short interval, Cartulary A being usually dated to 1345-522188 (though some authors proposed other dates),²¹⁸⁹ and cartulary B being composed soon after 1356.²¹⁹⁰ These manuscripts have a number of overlapping imperial chrysobulls,²¹⁹¹ but the rest of their contents varies. The first collection (A), once called the “Founder’s codex,”²¹⁹² can be understood as a corpus of statutory acts expressing the essence of the monastic institution’s governance, administration, and regulations. It includes the founders’ Typikon (1324), 11 chrysobulls (1309-45), two imperial prostagmata (1325, 1324), and one patriarchal

²¹⁸⁵ For the epigram and the discussion of Constantine Spanes’ inscription, see: Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, pp. 215-219.

²¹⁸⁶ Pavlikanov, *Medieval Aristocracy*, pp. 140-141.

²¹⁸⁷ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 129, l. 12-14, and no. 130, l. 14-16.

²¹⁸⁸ Dujčev, Ivan. “Le cartulaire A du monastère de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée retrouvé,” *REB* 16 (1958): 171; Guillou *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, p. 18.

²¹⁸⁹ 1344 by F. Dölger (Dölger, Franz. *Die Urkunden des Johannes-Prodromos-Klosters bei Serrai*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, München, 1935) and with end of the 14th – early 15th by V. Laurent (Laurent, Vitalien. “Remarques sur le cartulaire du couvent de Saint-Jean Prodrome sur le Mont Ménécée,” *REB* 18 (1960): 295).

²¹⁹⁰ The date is proposed on the basis of the last donation act survived in the codex Le codex B (Guillou, “Introduction”, in Bénou, ed., *Le codex B*, p. 2).

²¹⁹¹ They are: 1) Chrysobull of Andronikos II (1309): Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, 146-155 = Bénou, ed., *Le codex B*, pp. 183-184; 2) Chrysobull of Andronikos II (1317): Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, pp. 156-160 = Bénou, ed., *Le codex B*, pp. 184-185; 3) Chrysobull of Andronikos II (1321): Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, pp. 161-172 = Bénou, ed., *Le codex B*, pp. 181-183; 4) Chrysobull of Andronikos III (1321): Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, pp. 172-184 = Bénou, ed., *Le codex B*, pp. 185-187; 5) Chrysobull of Andronikos III (1329) Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, pp. 195-207 = Bénou, ed., *Le codex B*, pp. 187-190; Chrysobull of Andronikos III (1332): Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, pp. 208-224 = Bénou, ed., *Le codex B*, pp. 190-192.

²¹⁹² *BMFD*, p. 1580.

sigillion (1324).²¹⁹³ Codex B, contrarily, deals with matters of economy and landed properties, consisting mainly of private acts, land descriptions, and imperial documents, the role of which is to confirm the legality of property transactions. The private donation and purchase charters, dated between the late 13th and the early 15th century, are arranged in several combined principles (territorial units, donors' names, and metochia) which, nevertheless, creates small groups of dossiers.

Among these private acts one may find about 90 persons, mainly citizens of Serres, Zichne and neighboring villages, who granted their properties to St. John Monastery and its *metochia*. As the Appendix IX to this chapter demonstrates, the predominant reason for the pious transfer was the commemoration of soul of the grantor and his/her relatives (practically all the donors whose motivation is known from the texts). Among other common reasons there are the acquisition of one or several *adelphata* (11 cases), for giving the entry gift (9 cases), for burial (4 cases), due to spiritual fatherhood of the *hegoumenos* (3 cases), given in a testament (5 cases), and for the commemoration of the rulers (3 cases). These motivations do not represent separate instances, i.e. one document may include several motivations (for example, the entry gift and burial or spiritual fatherhood and an adelphaton), but, nevertheless they draw a bright image of the spiritual and economic concerns prompting the inhabitants of Serres to make the ecclesiastic investments.

Thus, the predominant concerns are the commemoration and salvation of soul, and they are included in both, simple donations and testaments. The number of testaments is relatively small (5 out of 90) and often a testament is preceded by a donation of property. Thus, in cases of nun Magdalena and monk Jacob Mpalaes, the transfer of gifts was already performed and the testaments only assured the transaction.

The second popular reason is adelphata. I included in this group two types of donors, i.e. those who need the pensions living outside of the monastery, and those who enter or plan to enter the Menoikeion brotherhood and want to assure a convenient lifestyle after the vows. However, it is very indicative for that period that some of the donors ask to have a pension in the future, namely they were not going to ask for the payment right now, but only if once they would appear in financial troubles. Thus, Stephen Patrikios, Alexios Xipheas, Constantine Trypommates stipulated that they may need the pensions if they would be forced to enter the monastery; John Sarakenos is more decisive as he is definite about taking the vows but postpones it until the indefinite future; most interestingly, rich noble lady Eirine Choumnaina Palaiologine asks to keep for her 2 adelpahta, in case she would move to Serres.

In the wording of their donations, all these people display two typical anxieties of their time, the concerns about the salvation of the soul and the fear of economic, military, or political instability

²¹⁹³ Dujčev, Ivan. "Le cartulaire A du monastère de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée retrouvé", *REB* 16 (1958): 169-171; Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, pp. 19-20.

which may lead to their personal downfall and insolvency. Probably, the demands for the commemorations of the royal powers, made by three “servants of the Emperor” (the *megas domestikos*, servant of the emperor, Alexios Rhaoul; the servant of the emperor, Demetrios Bastralites; the servant, sister and aunt of the emperor Eirine Choumnaina Palaiologine) can be regarded as a symptom of this social anxiety. Though, these officials pray for different rulers (Alexios Rhaoul and Demetrios Bastralites – for Stefan Dušan, Eirine Choumnaina – for Andronikos III), they hope to secure the stability of government and their own place in the elite by petitioning to the supernatural forces for health, might, and military success of the royal patrons.

7.2.7. Conclusions

Probably, the main feature unifying all regarded and referred donation documents issued by members of nobility is their attention to the commemorative rituals and rites, necessary for the salvation of the donor’s soul. This interest may be explained by a sense of discrepancy between the notion of ideal Christian life and the life of a socially active person burdened by necessary sins (such as involvement into politics, commerce, and military actions, or personal emotional expressions and attachments). At the same time, the inhabitants of monasteries being secluded (at least, ideally) from the social life could be appointed the mediators petitioning to god for the pious but sinful donors.

Sometimes, the described framework of ‘donation for commemoration’ became a rhetorical cliché masking the real economic motives of a donor (for example, a life-long pension) or a recipient (acquisition of economically profitable domains). In such cases, the only way to make a distinction between the pure acts of sale or exchange and the so-called donations is to calculate the difference in value. Namely, the value of properties given by donor should be more than the cost of benefits received by him/her; and, thus, the difference in costs became the actual gift to a monastery.

Being well-aware about the value of their offerings, some donors, such as Michael Hierakes or Arssenios Tzamlakon demanded to acknowledge their generosity by the elevation to the status of *ktetor*. Such people would receive more often and solemn commemorative services as well as the right of burial at the foundation. This tendency for equating *ktetors* and donors was observed in previous chapters in a different source material, but the present cases may hint to an average size of a donation, necessary for a *ktetor*-status: it should be either an extraordinary large land transfer or an offering of a functional *metochion*.

A family tradition, personal connection with *hegoumenoi*, or following the example of a royal donor can be listed among the reasons for choosing one foundation over another. Generally, the relations of patronage created stable connections between noble families and certain monasteries and arranged functioning communication networks between monks and laymen.

7.3. Non-elite Donations and the Social Structure of the Lower Classes

The archives of monasteries keep the deeds and agreements with predominantly economic content and, since the economic assets which were at disposal of the lower classes, from the low military nobility²¹⁹⁴ and average bourgeoisie to the wealthy peasants, were not great, they much more rarely participated into the agreements on the property transfers. Some archives preserve the tax registers (*praktika*) which list peasants' households and their possessions, however this information can't be applied for studying the everyday activities of this class and their spiritual concerns. Though the reconstruction of the inheritance patterns and taxes deductible from this kind of sources were applied by A. Laiou in her book on the Macedonian peasantry in the 14th century, as she investigated the economic activities and household structure of the peasantry families.²¹⁹⁵

Consequently, this subchapter will pose a problem of the Byzantine and Serbian lower classes taking the donor role. The evidences for the topic are scattered, but it doesn't mean that one can't build a discussion around the few preserved sources and general information about the structure of certain social group. Thus, I am going to find those members of the lower classes who had sufficient means for making a donation and, afterwards, I am going to illustrate my thesis with the few known examples. Moreover, I do propose to understand the lower rural and urban classes in a broader sense, as a mix of the upper peasantry/craftsmen with the lower officials and the priesthood, as they all cohabited in a certain place, had in a great part the common economic interests, and, probably, shared similar cultural background.

7.3.1. The lower classes in Byzantium and Serbia: can they be donors?

The peasantry as a social group was divided into the dependant land-owner (*paroikoi*), recently resettles peasants (*proskathemenoi*), hired workers (*misthioi*),²¹⁹⁶ and independent (*eletheroi*), not

²¹⁹⁴ Concerning difficulties into distinguishing low provincial military nobility and peasantry, see: Bartusis, Mark. "On the Problem of Smallholding Soldiers in Late Byzantium," *DOP* 44 (1990): 1-26; Laiou, Angeliki. "The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Palaeologan Period: A Story of Arrested Development," *Viator* 4 (1973): 142-143. However, even being poor the small pronioia-holders were socially superior to paroikoi and other peasantry since they had the privileges attached to their social class.

²¹⁹⁵ Laiou, Angeliki. *Peasant society in the late Byzantine Empire: a social and demographic study* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977). For a study of the composition of praktika see; Lefort, Jacques. "Observations diplomatiques et paléographiques sur les praktika du XIVE siècle," in: *La Paléographie grecque et byzantine* eds., J. Bompaire, J. Irigoin. (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1977): 461-472.

²¹⁹⁶ Syuzyumov, Michael [Сюзюмов, Михаил]. "О наемном труде в Византии," *Ученые записки Уральского Государственного Университета имени А. М. Горького* 25 (1958): 147-173.

paying taxes but not owning lands.²¹⁹⁷ G. Ostrogorski considered that by the 14th century the state and free peasants almost disappeared and turned into rural population, dependant, either on the private land-owners or on the monasteries.²¹⁹⁸ A degradation of the peasantry's condition could be attributed to the difficulties that the Byzantine Empire passed through that time: wars, pestilence and piracy leading to abandonment of rural holdings and impoverishment of many peasants.²¹⁹⁹

However, J. Lefort and A. Laiou²²⁰⁰ demonstrated that the rural society of the 14th century was much more complex and diverse; it relied on various forms of horizontal associations, showed signs of stratification and involvement into the economy of exchange. Recent research has also proved that from the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century, the Athonite archives provide an account for existence of some large well-off peasant farms on the island of Lemnos.²²⁰¹

Moreover, Ch. Giros has proved that, on the territory of Macedonia during the Late Byzantine period, the network of the fortified villages appeared;²²⁰² they changed the structure of the rural society and created the village elites, consisting of the local clergy, notaries, soldiers and officers and even the wealthy peasants and entrepreneurs (for example, millers). These villages were organized around a *kastron*, guarded by a garrison and headed by a *kastrophylax*, whereas the social status of these soldiers could be something equal to gentry. But more often than not, the Byzantine peasants were still regarded rather as subjects of donations and not as active participants of the pious deeds.

The late Byzantine urban population is even more difficult to define, according to the classification proposed by K.-P. Matschke and F. Tinnefeld,²²⁰³ one can distinguish three strata of the late Byzantine society; the first was the landed aristocracy, both lay and ecclesiastical, the second, which can be partially indentified with bureaucracy, was the appearing middle-class, the *mesoi*, and included minor officials and minor clergy, merchants, small landholders, and successful artisans; the third, lowest, strata was represented by poor, small artisans, manual laborers, and free peasantry.

²¹⁹⁷ For research on groups of Byzantine peasantry and their status see: Gorjanov, Boris [Горянов, Борис]. "Византийское крестьянство при Палеологах," VV 3 (1950): 19-50. For general overview of the Byzantine peasantry including different forms of dependency, see: Kazhdan, Alexander. "The Peasantry," In: *The Byzantines*, ed. G. Cavallo (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997): 43-73.

²¹⁹⁸ Ostrogorski, Georgije. *Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine* (Brussels: Éditions de Byzantion, 1956) : 41-74.

²¹⁹⁹ Lefort, Jacques. "Les villages de Macédoine Orientale au Moyen Âge (X^e-XIV^e siècles)," in: *Les villages dans l'empire byzantin*, eds. J. Lefort, C. Morrisson and J.-P. Sodini (Paris: Lethielleux, 2005): 289-299.

²²⁰⁰ Lefort, Jacques. "Rural Economy and Social Relations in the Countryside," *DOP* 47 (1993): 101-113; Laiou, Angeliki. "The Agrarian Economy, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries," in: *The Economic History of Byzantium: from the seventh through the fifteenth century*, eds. A. Laiou and Ch. Bouras, Vol. I (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2002): 311-375.

²²⁰¹ Gómez, Raúl Estangüi. "Quelques paysans aisés dans l'empire byzantin du XVe siècle," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Moyen Âge* 124/2 (2012): 429-444.

²²⁰² Giros, Christophe. "Les élites rurales de Macédoine, XIII^e-XIV^e siècle," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Moyen Âge* 124/2 (2012): 511-519.

²²⁰³ Matschke Klaus-Peter and Tinnefeld, Franz. *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz: Gruppen, Strukturen und Lebensformen* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 2001).

In her article about the population of Serres, A. Laiou suggested dividing the urban population into three strata endowed with different degrees of political power; the first, the landed aristocracy of Constantinopolitan origin, which occupied the highest administrative positions and were in possession of the greatest wealth; the second, consisting of the local nobility who started to become richer and more influential from the 14th century on, and the third, most numerous, comprised the middle class, including the merchants and the wealthiest part of the artisans.²²⁰⁴ In this division the poor were seemingly deprived of political influence. N. Oikonomides, on his side, considered that the new group acquiring political power in the urban centers was the *mesoi*, whom he identified with the rich citizens involved into banking, trade and industries.²²⁰⁵ K.-P. Matschke proposed that the *mesoi* should be considered more broadly as people involved into the performance of everyday economic and administrative activities on behalf of the state, their community or aristocracy.²²⁰⁶

In her recent research on the late Byzantine Thessaloniki, N. Necipoğlu suggested that, in the 14th and 15th centuries, the division of society was unstable and, since more aristocracy started to be involved in trade activities, it is wise to return to mere economic social stratification of the urban society as the rich and the poor.²²⁰⁷ Investigating the 14th-century society of Serres, Ch. Malatras proposed, along with the simple economic division, to represent the Byzantine society as a social pyramid built on the variety of stratification; as he describes, it was headed by aristocracy (military and civilian) and bottomed by the *paroikoi*, however in the middle one can see the multitude of different groups, defined by their occupation, place of living (cities or countryside) and amount of possessions.²²⁰⁸

The Serbian low- and middle- classes are even more elusive, in sources as well as in the scholarship.²²⁰⁹ The *meropsi* (dependant villagers), *vlasi* (dependant stock-breeders), *otroci* (a kind of slaves), *majstori* (dependant tradesmen), village priests and *sokalnici*²²¹⁰ (whose position and occupation are not completely clear) belonged to the dependant population of Medieval Serbia.²²¹¹ In

²²⁰⁴ Laiou, Angeliki. “Κοινωνικές δυνάμεις στις Σέρρες στο 14ο αιώνα” in: *Οι Σέρρες και η περιοχή τους: από την αρχαία στη μεταβυζαντινή κοινωνία* Vol. II (Thessaloniki-Serres: Demos Serron, 1998): 203-219.

²²⁰⁵ Oikonomides, Nicolas. *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIIIe- XVe siècles)* (Montréal-Paris: 1979): 114-123 (esp. pp. 114-115).

²²⁰⁶ Matschke Klaus-Peter and Tinnefeld, Franz. *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz: Gruppen, Strukturen und Lebensformen* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 2001): 99-138, 154–157, 166–172.

²²⁰⁷ Necipoğlu, Nevra. *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 41-55.

²²⁰⁸ Malatras, *Social structure*, esp. pp. 44-95.

²²⁰⁹ For recent studies on the urban and rural population in Medieval Serbia, see: Šarkić, Srđan. *Srednjovekovno srpsko pravo* (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1995) and Blagojević, Miloš. *Zemljoradnja u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade: Istorijski Institut, 1973).

²²¹⁰ Radojković, Borislav M. (*O sokalnicima, rasprava iz socijalnih odnosa u staroj srpskoj državi srednjeg veka* (Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1937)) considered that sokalnici belonged to the lowest administration of the villages, while Solovjev, Alexander (“Sokalnici i otroci u uporedno-istorijskoj svetlosti,” *Glasnik skopskog naučnog društva* 19 (1938): 103-132) thought that they are freed or semi-dependant people, similar to meropsi, but performing some special duties toward the feudals.

²²¹¹ Taranovski, *Istorija srpskog prava*, pp. 5-120.

the documents of Stefan Dušan's time a term *sebri*²²¹² appeared with the meaning of non-elite population,²²¹³ including peasants, urban inhabitants, village priests, artisans etc.

Meanwhile, the elite of the Serbian kingdom (later, Empire) was also not homogenous.²²¹⁴ The nobility or, as it is often called, *vlastela* consisted of several layers including aristocracy (*vlastelini*), lower nobility (*vlasteličići*),²²¹⁵ knights (*voinici*),²²¹⁶ as well as pronioia-holders (*pronijari*),²²¹⁷ who received their lands conditionally under the duty to perform a military service. Dušan's Law Code also distinguished the great and the smaller nobility (*velika i mala vlastela*)²²¹⁸ and certain middle people (*srednii ljudi*).²²¹⁹ In regard to the latter group, T. Taranovski equated them with the *mala vlastela*, while Mihaljčić with the *vlasteličići*.²²²⁰ John Kantakouzenos who visited Serbian court of Stefan Dušan in 1342²²²¹ distinguished noblemen from the aristocracy (τις των ευγενέστερων και μεγάλα δυναμένων)²²²² and noted that some of them received their power and wealth due to the service to the sovereign.²²²³ As recent research has proven, the nobility with lower income and pronioia-holders composed the majority of the upper strata in Medieval Serbia, especially in the period after Stefan Dušan's rule.²²²⁴

Serbian urban population was as well a mixed strata,²²²⁵ the majority belonged to the group of *sebri*, as the article 94 of the Dušan's Law Code mentioned that *sebri* can live either in cities or in countryside (*župa*).²²²⁶ The cities conquered from Byzantium under Stefan Dušan preserved their special autonomy and social structure, which was confirmed by the chrysobulls²²²⁷ given by the

²²¹² *Zakonik Stefana Dušana* (1898), pp. 119–120; *Dušanov Zakonik* (2010), p. 107.

²²¹³ Taranovski, *Istorija srpskog prava*, pp. 50–55; Šarkić, Srđan. *Srednjovekovno srpsko pravo* (Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1995): 30–35.

²²¹⁴ Ćirković, Sima. "Počeci socijalne hijerarhije kod Srba," *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju* 3 (1994): 223–235; Šarkić, Srđan. "Pravni položaj vlastele u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji," *Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta u Novom Sadu* 44/1 (2010): 7–28

²²¹⁵ For the discussion of the topic of Serbian nobility see: Mihaljčić, Rade. *Kraj srpskog carstva* (Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod, 1989): esp. pp. 92–94; Ivanović, *Vlastela države srpskih despota*, esp. pp. 14–63, for bibliography on the topic see: Mihaljčić, Rade. "Vlastela," in: *Leksikon Srpskog Srednjeg veka* eds. S. Ćirković, R. Mihaljčić (Belgrade: Znanje, 1999): 87–89; Mihaljčić, Rade. "Vlasteličići," in: *Leksikon Srpskog Srednjeg veka* eds. S. Ćirković, R. Mihaljčić (Belgrade: Znanje, 1999): 91–92.

²²¹⁶ Taranovski, *Istorija srpskog prava*, pp. 42–45; Blagojević, Miloš. "Zakon svetog Simeona i svetog Save," in: *Sava Nemanjić–Sveti Sava. Istorija i predanje*, ed. V. Đurić (Belgrade: SANU, 1979): 160–164; Šarkić, Srđan. "Pravni položaj vlastele u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji," *Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta, Novi Sad* 44/1 (2010): 21; However, this strata being present in earlier sources disappeared by the mid-14th century.

²²¹⁷ Ivanović, *Vlastela države srpskih despota*, pp. 376–390.

²²¹⁸ *Zakonik Stefana Dušana* (1898), pp. 51–52, 93, 103–104, 119–120; *Dušanov Zakonik* (2010), pp. 87, 107, 99, 103.

²²¹⁹ *Zakonik Stefana Dušana* (1898), pp. 119–120; *Dušanov Zakonik* (2010), p. 107.

²²²⁰ Taranovski, *Istorija srpskog prava*, p. 38.

²²²¹ For the commented reading of the chapter dedicated to this visit see: *Vizantijski izvori*, Vol. VI, pp. 377–407.

²²²² Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. II, p. 261.

²²²³ Ferjančić, Božidar. "Stefan Dušan i srpska vlastela u delu Jovana Kantakuzina," *ZRVI* 33 (1994): 177–192 (esp. p. 185).

²²²⁴ Ivanović, *Vlastela države srpskih despota*, here p. 179.

²²²⁵ Šarkić, Srđan. "Gradsko stanovništvo u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji," *Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta, Novi Sad* 45/2 (2011): 17–27.

²²²⁶ *Zakonik Stefana Dušana* (1898), pp. 73–74; *Dušanov Zakonik* (2010), p. 94.

²²²⁷ For the similar practice in Byzantium see: Kyritses, Demetrios. "The "Common chrysobulls" of cities and the pattern of ownership in Late Byzantium," *Byzantina Symmeikta* 13 (1999): 229–245.

Serbian ruler to these urban communities.²²²⁸ Indeed, as later legal sources proved the system of administration and court procedures in Greek cities under Serbian rule were in line with the Byzantine practices.²²²⁹

However, in case of minor donors, there is a social category in medieval Serbia which was simultaneously personally free, not burdened by many taxes, legally allowed to have hereditary lands (*baština*) and didn't belong to the nobility. It is the priests who were entitled either to have their own properties or to receive three fields from a feudal (state/monastery/nobleman):

And priests who are landowners (*baštinici*) should have their own land, and they are free, and other priests, who have no hereditary land (*baština*), they are legally entitled for three fields, and the priests are personally (kapa – a private person) free. If he (a priest) takes more [than three fields], then he works for this land in churches according to the law.²²³⁰

There is also a 45th article of the Law Code dedicated to the hereditary churches which starts with the phrase “the nobility and other people who have the hereditary churches on their hereditary property” (И властѣле и ннын людїе кон имаю цркви баштинне оу своихъ баштинахъ),²²³¹ which assumed that, except for noblemen, there were other categories of people who owned hereditary lands. And indeed, the already mentioned *sebri* were entitled for the court procedures and they were considered to be a special strata since they could call for witnessing only people belonging to the same social group:

As it was the law of my grandfather, the holy king, that for the great nobility (веліимъ властеломъ) only the great nobility can be witnesses, and the middle people can be only with their companions (дружина), and for the *sebri*, only their companions (дружина) can be witnesses...²²³²

This layer of independent small proprietors was not always recognized by the scholars, some considered that *sebri* was a general term for the dependant population altogether,²²³³ however, there

²²²⁸ See chapters 124 and 176 of the Law Code - *Zakonik Stefana Dušana* (1898), pp. 95, 137-138; *Dušanov Zakonik* (2010), pp. 100, 113-114.

²²²⁹ Živojinović, Mirjana. “Sudstvo u grčkim oblastima srpskog carstva,” *ZRVI* 10 (1967): 197-249.

²²³⁰ И попове баштинници да си имаю свою баштинноу земљу. и да соу свободни. А нны попове. кон не имаю баштинне, да им се дадоу три нивѣ законите, и да јестъ капа поповскаа свободна. Ако ли веќе оузмеѣ вт тези земље да работа црквама по закону - *Zakonik Stefana Dušana* (1898), pp. 29-30; *Dušanov Zakonik* (2010), p. 81.

²²³¹ И властѣле и ннын людїе кои имаю цркви баштинне у своихъ баштинахъ, да нѣсть вольнь господинь царь ни патриархъ ни инъ светитель тези цркве подъ велію подложити црковъ, развѣ да сі е вольнь баштиникъ да си стави свога калогѣра и да га доведе къ светителю да га благослови светитель у чиии будѣ иноріи, и да вблада светитель у тоизи цркви духовним дѣломъ. - *Zakonik Stefana Dušana* (1898), pp. 40-41; *Dušanov Zakonik* (2010), p. 84.

²²³² Како јестъ былъ законъ дѣда царева ми у светаго краля да су веліимъ властеломъ веліи властеле поротци, а срѣднимъ людемъ противу ихъ дружина, а себрьдиямъ нихъ дружина да су поротци... *Zakonik Stefana Dušana* (1898), pp. 119-120; *Dušanov Zakonik* (2010), 107.

²²³³ Taranovski. *Istoriја srpskog prava*, p. 48 – T. Taranovski considered that, by the time of Stefan Dušan, the free peasantry was practically extinct. He points out that the Code divides the entire population into the two general groups, the ruling landlords and subordinated population, *sebri*. This way he considered *sebri* to be a general term for all kinds of the dependant population.

is also a possibility that except the *meropsi*, *sokalnici* and *majstori*, it included a small group of personally free and non-elite property owner (*baštini*), some of whom belonged to priesthood or urban population. Indeed, the Code ignores the small-scale property-owning citizens of towns, situated inside of the Serbian Kingdom, and their rights are not differentiated from other tax-burdened categories; however the reality might differ from the law. As it will be discussed later, some Serbian minor proprietors did donate their properties to the monasteries, and, possibly, many of them belonged to the category of priests or other personally free and non-noble owners, about whom the sources didn't preserve much information.²²³⁴

7.3.2. The village society and the village piety: Who had the means?

The only work regarding peasants as possible donors was an article by A. Laiou,²²³⁵ who came to conclusion that the majority of donations to the great monasteries were made by peasants under the external pressure and not voluntarily. Moreover, by comparing the donations made for the salvation of soul and the dedicatory inscriptions mentioning the entire village, she called the peasants “a reluctant donor”²²³⁶ who, however, was ready to exercise patronage over a local church by small contributions, as it is attested by inscriptions.

Possibly, the position of A. Laiou can be justified in regard to some donations made as a part of collective sales/donation deals conducted in a short time-period between 1308 and 1312 by the group of 54 persons from Xeropotamou monastery which the author examines closely in her work.²²³⁷ However, in this article regarded only the lowest strata of peasants, and underlined that a *sebastos* or an *anagnostes* can't be considered among peasants.²²³⁸ I would like here to apply the approach used by Sh. Gerstel into her anthropological research on the Byzantine village²²³⁹ under which she regarded all rural inhabitants as active participants of acts of piety, notwithstanding their tax or social status.

In other words, the rural elites which were discussed by Ch. Giros²²⁴⁰ were as much a part of a village as a hard-working peasant. About the appearance of such people in the Palaiologan period one can judge on both, the Byzantine monastic documents and preserved inscriptions.²²⁴¹ Precisely these upper-class villagers could be responsible for the starting of a church project as well as for the organization of group donations on behalf of a monastery. In case of collective sales and/or donations

²²³⁴ Šarkić, Srđan. “Maistorije, sokalnici i seoski popovi” *Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta, Novi Sad* 45/2 (2011): 59–67.

²²³⁵ Laiou, “The Peasant as Donor.”

²²³⁶ Laiou, “The Peasant as Donor,” p. 116.

²²³⁷ *Actes de Xeropotamou*, no. 16, pp. 110-127.

²²³⁸ Laiou. “The Peasant as Donor,” pp. 109-110.

²²³⁹ Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, pp. 2-3.

²²⁴⁰ Giros, Christophe. “Les élites rurales de Macédoine, XIII^e-XIV^e siècle,” *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Moyen Âge* 124/2 (2012): 511-519.

²²⁴¹ About participation of the village communities in building churches see: Kalopissi-Verti, “Church Foundations by Entire Villages”; Gerstel, Kalopissi-Verti, “The Agency of the Village Widow”; Kalopissi-Verti, “Collective Patterns of Patronage.”

(like Xeropotmou no. 16 or Vatopedi no. 43) there was usually at least one representative of local elite who could initiate the affair (Michael sebastos Sabentzes, the *doulos* of the emperor, and George, *chatophylax* of the bishopric of Hierissos, accordingly).

7.3.3. The Village Noblemen as a Donor

The village noblemen did not have sufficient means for making their own foundation or even passing a sufficient land gift to a great foundation, and in this sense, they did not differ much from their non-noble neighbours. In a carefully crafted act, one of such rural noble donors found a solution into the transfer a fruit of his labour to a chosen monastery. In 1292, *sebastos* Peter Doukopoulos called his donation to the monastery of Iviron the interchanging (ἀμοιβαίου) given “for the sake of remembrance” (μνημοσύνου ἔνεκα). The mill was built on the lands of the village given to the donor as a *pronoia* by the emperor (κατὰ πρόνοιαν) τοῦ κραταιοῦ (καὶ) ἁγίου ἡμ(ῶν) αὐθέντ(ου) (καὶ) βασιλ(έως) διαφέροντό(ς) μοι χωρίου), and, therefore, as a *pronoia* it was burdened by a tax of two *hyperpyra* which the donor was going to bear himself until he was alive (ἄν ἐγὼ τοῖς ζῶσι συναρι<θ>μῶμαι).²²⁴² As the lands were *pronoia* Peter Doukopoulos couldn’t transfer them and he presented the monastery only with a mill and trees which were the results of his own efforts.²²⁴³ So the water-mill and gardens in the village Daphne near Thessaloniki²²⁴⁴ were given in exchange for the monks to perform continuous commemorations for ten persons (Peter himself and his wife Maria, his grandmother Markine the nun, parents, Ignatios and Euphemia the monk and nun, parents of his wife, Nicholas and Anastasia, his brother Manuel, his paternal uncle Gerasimos the monk, and his daughter Christodoule the nun). Moreover, he gave very precise directions on the way of the ritual performance:

The commemoration should be performed in this holy monastery for the [memory] of all these people, who are written in the holy diptychs of the monastery: all the year round their names should be mentioned in the performed in this monastery liturgies, in accordance with the order and custom of commemorations of the monastery. Once in every year [they should be commemorated] with *kollybas*, candles and *prosporas*, and other typical provisions, and, besides, [they should be commemorated] with commemorative singing of psalms and holy liturgy. This should take place on the evening of January 15th and the next day, January 16th.²²⁴⁵

²²⁴² In more details about the complications on the passing the *pronoia*, see: Bartusis, *Land and Privilege*, pp. 222, 474-475, 486.

²²⁴³ Concerning this case M. Bartusis thinks alienation of *pronoia* on behalf of the monastery actually took place. See, Bartusis, *Land and Privilege*, p. 486.

²²⁴⁴ *Actes d'Iviron*, vol. III, p. 41.

²²⁴⁵ ποιῆται μνημόσυν(ον) διηνεκ(ἐς) ἐμοῦ τὲ καὶ τῆς συζύγου μου, Πέτρου (καὶ) Μαρίας, τ(ῆς) μάμμ(ης) μου Μακρίν(ης) μοναχῆς, τῶν γεννητόρ(ων) μου Ἰγνατίου (καὶ) Εὐφημίας τῶν μοναχ(ῶν), τῶν γεννητ(ό)ρ(ων) τῆς συζύγ(ου) μου Νικολ(ά)ου (καὶ) Ἀναστασίας μοναχ(ῆς), τοῦ αὐταδέλφου μου Μανουήλ, τοῦ πρὸς πατρὸς(ς) θείου μου Γερασίμου μοναχοῦ (καὶ) τῆς θυγατρὸς(ς) μου Χριστοδοῦλ(ης) μοναχῆς· ὁ δὲ μνημόσυν(ον) (καὶ) ἔσται τῇ ἁγία ταύτῃ μον(ῇ) τελοῦμ(ε)ν(ον) ὑπὲρ πάντ(ων) τουτωνὶ τῶν προσ(ώ)π(ων), ἐγγραφέντ(ων) (καὶ) τ(οῖς) ἱεροῖς διπτύχοις αὐτ(ῆς), παρὰ πάντα μ(έν) τ(ὸν) χρόνον διὰ μόν(ης) τῆς ἐξ ὀνόμ(α)το(ς) ἀναφορᾶς ἐν ταῖς παρ’ αὐτῇ τελοῦμ(έ)ν(αις) θείαις ἱεροτελεστί(αις) κατὰ τ(ὴν) ἐν αὐτῇ περὶ τ(οὺς) μνημονευομ(έ)ν(ους) τάξ(ιν) τὲ (καὶ) συνήθει(αν), ἅπαξ δὲ ἐκάστ(ου)

Peter also stipulated that he and his wife should be as well remembered in this join commemorative service as the living (during their lifetime), and, in case of taking the vows, their names should be changed in the diptychs as well. Except for the translated passage the author mentioned “commemoration” two times more in his document (l. 22 and l. 31) which points out to the importance of the rituals for the delivery of the agreement. Moreover, as it seems that the Doukopouloi were going to follow the family tradition and to become a monk and a nun in the end of their lives, as all their ancestors are mentioned in the deed under their monastic names and Peter himself stipulated the change of the couple’s names in the diptychs. Perhaps, his good knowledge of the commemorative rituals can be regarded as another confirmation of this decision. In addition, it seems that Peter Doukopoulos and his brother George were also significant patrons of Lavra monastery as their names appear in the Memorial of that monastery.²²⁴⁶

This nobleman, except for being a *pronoiaros*, bears two distinctive titles, the *sebastos* and *doulos* of the Emperor. In the Palaiologan period the title of *sebastos* depreciated and was usually given to the commanders of the ethnic units²²⁴⁷ or to the functionaries of the fiscal units, especially in the remote provinces.²²⁴⁸ This title was not used by aristocrats, and the Kodinos’ list puts it extremely low, on the 78th position.²²⁴⁹ The *douloi* of the emperor were extremely large group meaning, sometimes, the entirety of people in the service to the state.²²⁵⁰ Peter was, most probably, a noble member of the local village elites. And people like him could become leaders of the communities into such pious activities, like donations and building foundations.²²⁵¹ So, except for being a preparation for the monastic life, Peter’s donation to Iviron can be seen as a step raising status of his family in the community through the establishment of spiritual ties with the famous Athonite foundation.

ένιαυτοῦ (καί) διὰ κολύβ(ων), κηρῶν τε (καί) προσφορῶν τῆς τε λοιπ(ῆς) συνήθ(ους) οἰκονομίας τῶν τοιούτ(ων), καί προσέτι διὰ ψαλμωδίας μνημονευτ(ικῆς) (καί) θείας λειτουργίας, τῆς μ(έν) τελοῦμ(έν)ν(ης) κατὰ τ(ῆν) πεντεκαίδεκάτ(ην) τοῦ Ἰαννουαρίου ἐσπέρας, τῆς δὲ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐξκαιδεκάτῃ, συναριθμουμ(έν)ν(ων) μ(έν), (ὥς) εἴρητ(αι), τ(οῖς) εἰρημ(έ)νοις ἄλλοις προσώποις ἐν τῇ τοῦ συμφωνουμ(έν)νου μνημοσύνου τούτου τελετῇ κάμοῦ (καί) τῆς συζύγου μου, μνημονευομ(έν)ν(ων) δὲ ἕως ἂν ζῶμ(εν) (ὥς) ζῶντ(ων), μετὰ (δὲ) τ(ῆν) ἡμῶν τελε<υ>τ(ῆν) ὡς ἀποβεβιωκότ(ων), μεταγραφέντ(ων) τοῖς ἱεροῖς διπτύχοις (καί) τῶν ὀνομ(ά)τ(ων) ἡμῶν, εἴπερ μοναδικ(όν) μεταμφιασάμενοι σχῆμα (καί) ταῦτα συμμεταμείβομ(εν). – *Actes d’Iviron*, Vol. III, no. 66, 126-129. (here l. 26-30).

²²⁴⁶ Beyer, Hans-Veit. “Michael Sphrantzes im Totengedenkbuch des Lavraklosters und als Verfasser eines Gedichtes auf Mariä Verkündigung” *JÖB* 40 (1990): 297-302.

²²⁴⁷ Kazhdan, Alexander. “Sebastos,” *ODB*, Vol. III, p. 1863; Ahrweiler, Hélène. “Le sebasto, chef de groupes ethniques, in: *Polychronion. Festschrift für Franz Dölger*, ed. P. Wirth, Vol. I (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1966): 34-38.

²²⁴⁸ Kyritses, *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, pp. 23-28, 409-413.

²²⁴⁹ *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court*, p. 298.

²²⁵⁰ Kyritses, *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, p. 15. Though, R. Macrides and D. Angelov in a way equated the *douloi* and the *oikeioi* (*Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court*, p. 300).

²²⁵¹ Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits*, pp. 33-35. One of such Palaiologan *sebastoi* was Constantine Spanes, who is known from his foundation of St. Nicholas in Platsa (Mani) and some other sources, see: Glykatzis-Ahrweiler, Hélène. “Une mention méconnue des Mélingues du Taygète,” *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 86/1 (1962): 1-10; Mouriki, Doula. *Les fresques de l’église de Saint-Nicholas à Platsa du Magne* (Athens: Banque d’Attique, 1975): 77.

7.3.4. The “Best” of a Village

Apparently, group of village elites could also include the village priests, some well-to-do farmers or artisans and old and respectable heads of families and elderly, and therefore wise, leaders of communities (one of the acts which will be regarded below points out that the village gerontes were of 70 years old). Already in the mid of the 13th century several acts allow to trace the social stratification of the Macedonian villages.

An act of Basil Aparchon and Nikephoros Mallas (1267) concerns the complicated debates over a property called Provlakas which arised between monasteries of Zographou and Lavra.²²⁵² Because of the great confusion between the foundations, the emperor, by issuing a *horismos* and sending it to the *kephale* of Thessaloniki *sebastokrator* Constantine Tornikes, ordered to settle the dispute. The governor appointed the treasurer (*sakelliou*) of the metropolis of Thessaloniki, Nikephoros Mallas, and Basil Eparchon to solve the case on place. The officials came to Hierissos on Sunday and gathered the locals in a church where, under the threat of excommunication, they were asked to witness concerning the ownership of the domain. They witnessed on behalf of Zographou and the officials accompanied by “the best of the village of Hierissos” went to the field.²²⁵³ After the mentioning the “best” of the villagers the deed lists 30 names, among whom only two pair of people have the same surnames, and only two were children of priests (ὁ τοῦ πα(πᾶ) Δη(μητρίου) Νικόλ(αος) and ὁ τοῦ παπ(ᾶ) Νικήτ(α) Γεώρ(γτος)). This fact suggests that relatively many village inhabitants could be included among the “best,” as the Macedonian villages of the 14th century had on average from 500 to 1000 inhabitants (including women and children).²²⁵⁴

In 1274, the *gerontes* of two villages, Roudava and Kamena, to the west from Hierissos, testified during the settlement of a land dispute between Hilandar and Xeropotamou.²²⁵⁵ In a similar situation in 1290, the bishop of Thessaloniki organized the hearings of a dispute between Zigraphou and Hilandar, which was attended by the clerics and all the elders of Hierissos (τοῦ κλήρου ... τῶν ὅλων γερόν(των) τοῦ Ἱερισσ(οῦ) and, similarly, in the Slavic translation ВЪСЕГО СЪБОРА И ВЪСЕХ

²²⁵² *Documents of Zographou*, no. 7, pp. 135-152.

²²⁵³ Ἐπεὶ (καὶ) πρ(ὸς) αὐτ(ᾶ) τ(ᾶ) χωρά(φια) κατελάβομ(εν), οἱ ἀπὸ τ(ῆς) τοῦ Ἱερισσ(οῦ) χώρ(ας) κρείττον(ες) ὅς(οι) περ ἔτυχ(ον) δηλα(δῆ) σὺν ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς χωραφί(οις) καταλαβ(εῖν) – *Documents of Zographou*, no. 7, p. 148, l. 22-23.

²²⁵⁴ The village of Gomatou had 537 inhabitants in 1321; Lavra had 503 *paroikoi* in Selada in 1300. Radolibos, in the theme of Strymon, was one of the most populated settlements and had approximately 1,000 people. In 1316 its population was 972 persons in 222 households and in 1341 it amounted to 1060 people in 219, see: *Actes d'Iviron*, Vol. IV, no. 16, p.19; Laiou-Thomadakis, Angeliki E. *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A Social and Demographic Study* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977): 43; Laiou, Angeliki. “The Agrarian Economy, Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries,” in: *The Economic History of Byzantium: from the seventh through the fifteenth century*, eds. A. Laiou and Ch. Bouras, Vol. I (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2002): 315-318. Lefort, Jacques. “Population and landscape in eastern Macedonia during the Middle Ages: the example of Radolibos,” in: *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, ed. A. Bryer and H. Lowry (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1986): 11-22 (esp. pp. 14-15).

²²⁵⁵ *Actes de Chilandar*, Vol. I, no. 9, pp. 128-135.

старьць еришкн). Several of these elders, including the protopapas, his deputy (*deutereuon*), three priests, three hierodeacons and twelve *gerontes*, witnessed on the case.²²⁵⁶

A document of 1297 sheds light on the village organization in Komitissa.²²⁵⁷ The local governor *megalyperochos* Manuel Trixas sent a *pansebastos protasekretes* to settle a conflict between Vatopedi and Hilandar. The official recorded the testimonies of the villagers made on behalf of the Serbian foundation, which were inscribed in the document. The text demonstrated that the entire population of Komitissa came there, to testify under oath on the boundaries between the properties of the two monasteries. The assembly included two priests, the notables (*gerontes*), the proprietors (*oikodespotai*) and all the people (*laos*) of the village (ἅπαντ(ες) ἡ ἔπουκη τ(ῆς) Κομιτίσης, ἱεροῖς, γέροντες, οἰκοδεσπ(ό)τ(αι) (καὶ) ὁ ληπὸ(ς) λαός).²²⁵⁸ Moreover, some of the *gerontes* were indeed senior people, as the deed suggests that they had at least seventy years.

Concerning a dispute between Karakallou and Zographou over borders of Lontziane village (1357), the monks of Zographou composed a falsified act, contemporary to the events, based on the real documents, including *periorismoι* and court decisions. In one of its fragments, a *protovestarches* and manager (*logaristes*) John, who was an administrator of the previous owner of the property, decided to use the testimonies of the villages of the neighboring settlement called Dekalista, who indicated the borders between their properties and Lonziane:

...and to come to the conclusion on the basis of [testimonies of] the hereditary owners (κληρονόμων) of the village Dekalista, and they swore with the agency of the holy cross and pointed out the passing borders of Dekalista, and taking the holy Gospel, the Holy cross and the icon of the Most Holy Theotokos they came to the Aspron Kremnon [mountain], in which a border stone was inserted, and pronounced the oath this way.²²⁵⁹

As one can see, the village elite consisting of notables (*gerontes*) becoming the intermediary between the powerful or their representatives and peasant tenants. Some members of these elites could build a small monastery, or maintain privileged ties with the monks of a larger establishment.

Similar tendencies were attested in the Southern Serbian villages during the 14th century. I underline here, that the analyzed event took place in the southern part of the Kingdom on the territories which were under the Byzantine administration before the late 13th century.²²⁶⁰

²²⁵⁶ *Documents of Zographou*, no. 15, pp. 191-197.

²²⁵⁷ About importance of the village for the Holy Mount, its administration, economy and defense systems as well as about the long-lasting disputes between Hilandar and other monasteries see: Ostrogorski, Georgije. "Komitisa i svetogorski manastiri," *ZRVI* 13 (1971), 221-256 and Živojinovic, Mirjana. "Komitisa u svetlosti novih dokumenata," *ZRVI* 41 (2004): 279-291.

²²⁵⁸ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. I, no. 26, pp. 187-191.

²²⁵⁹ ἐπιλογὴν ποιησασθαι ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸ χωρίου Δεκαλίστης κληρονόμων καὶ ὀρκισαὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ καὶ διαβάσεως τοῦ τιμί(ου) στ(αυ)ροῦ καὶ ὑποδεῖξαι τὰ διαφ(έ)ροντα δίκαια τῇ Δεκαλίστα, οἱ καὶ λαβόντες ἐπὶ χεῖρας τὸ τε ἅγιον εὐ(αγγέλιον), τὸν τίμιον στ(αυ)ρὸν καὶ εἰκόνα τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θε(οτό)κου, ἔστησαν εἰς τὸν Ἄσπρον Κρημνὸν εἰς ὃν καὶ τὸ λίθινον λαυράτον ἦν ἐμπεπηγμ(ένον) καὶ ἐπωμόσαντο οὕτως· - *Documents of Zographou*, no. 4 falsified, pp. 526-532 (here quoted p. 532, l. 57-60).

²²⁶⁰ Immediately after coming to power in 1282, Milutin started military operations against Byzantium, as was expected by the Serbian nobility. Altogether during 1282-1283 the king made three military operations against Byzantium and as

Consequently, one can't exclude that the social stratification of that village was shaped differently than on more northern Serbian lands. Composed between the fall of 1342 and spring of 1343,²²⁶¹ the Brebion of Htetovo monastery²²⁶² reflects the court and commemorative practices in the region of Polog. At the same time, it is a rare source in Serbian history, since almost no private acts and not so many court proceedings are preserved in Slavic language.

One of the documents included into the Brebion deals with an urging long-lasting land dispute occurred between the Htetovo monastery and the local landlord Progon over the village of Pleš, concerning which the bishopric of Prizren was forced to intervene. Thus, appearing on the place, the bishop George Markuš gathered all people and made them to testify in relation to the ownership of the land:

On the 4th day of November the noblemen (властела) and common people (хора) gathered near the [church] of the Mother of god Htetovo, [among them were] sebast Pasarel, kyr Kalinik, Makarije, Kalojan, Pardo and his brother Theodore and Theodore from Leskovljane, and George Soulima, and kyr Alexa, the brother of Vlacho-bishop,²²⁶³ and others the noblemen (богаре) and common people (хора). And the bishop of Prizren George Markuš took their oaths, and all the elders and noblemen (старце и властеле) went to the hill of Pleš to solve [the dispute] concerning to whom Pleš belonged, to Progon or to the Church, through [giving] the testimonies. And the bishop kyr Kalinik sworn that the one who knows the truth and does not want to say [it], will be maledicted. And the elder Pribislav, a man of Markuš, as well as Bratina and Stanko, told that Pleš belonged to the Church from the ancient times, and four brothers used to rent this church property/stasis (дръжали соу цръквѣноу стась), and two brothers had stolen [it] and sold to Progon for three buckets of wine. And kyr Alexa told: When my brother the Vlacho-bishop was an archimandrite of Htetovo, I was in the monastery as a child and I knew well that Progon didn't collected taxes (мѣтехаше) from Pleš. And later, Progon planted barley in Pleš, but my brother, the Vlacho-bishop ordered to collect the cattle from the entire village and to pasture there.²²⁶⁴

a result "received by the sword a land of Skoplje and Ovčepolje and Pološko and Dabr," see: *Spomenici za srednovekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija*, eds. K. Ilievska; V. Mošin, Vol. I (Skopje: Arhiv na Makedonija, 1975): 313. For the description of the same events in hagiography see: Daničić, Đure, ed. *Arhiepiskop Danilo i drugi: Životi kraljeva i Arhiepiskopa srpskih* (Zagreb: Svetozar Galac, 1886): 108-109. For the analysis of the exact border between the state and the consequences of the political consequences of the conquest see: Živojinović, Marija. "La frontière serbobyzantine dans les premières décennies du XIV^e siècle," in: *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία κατά τον ΙΔ' αιώνα / Byzantium and Serbia in the 14th century*, eds. E. Papadopoulou, D. Dialetti (Athens: Instituto Byzantinon Ereunon, 1996): 57; Nicol, *The last centuries of Byzantium*, p. 68; Bozhilov, Ivan, Gjuzele, Vasil [Божилев, Иван, Гюзелев, Васил et al.], eds. *История на България. Vol I: История на Средновековна България VII-XIV век* (Sofia: Anubis, 1999): 538 and commentaries by Ljubomir Maksimović on Gregorius Pachymeres' History, see: *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije*, Vol. VI, pp. 31-33.

²²⁶¹ Bubalo, Đorđe. "O nazivu i vremenu nastanka popisa imanja Htetovskog manastira," *SSA* 1 (2002): 177-194.

²²⁶² For identification of the locality, see: Kravari, Vassiliki. *Villes et villages de Macédoine occidentale* (Paris: P.Lethielleux, 1989): 190.

²²⁶³ For the discussion of the term Vlacho-bishop as a bishop of the Vlachs see: Gyóni, Mathias. "L'évêché vlaque de l'archevêché bulgare d'Achris aux XI^e–XIV^e siècles," *Etudes Slaves et Roumaines* 1 (1948): 148-159, 224-233 (esp. 230);

²²⁶⁴ Мѣсеца ноембра Д днь събраше се властеле и хора къ матерн божнен оу Хтетовоу, себастъ Пасарель, кнрь Калинькъ, Макарие, Калоианъ, Пардо и братъ мюу Теоодоръ и Теоодоръ оуъ Лѣсковляне и Георгин Соулица, и кнрь Алѣѣа, братъ Влахо епископовъ, и нини прочи богаре и хора. И закле нх епископъ призрѣньски Георгини Маркоушъ все старце и властеле, и ндоше на Плѣшъ на брьдо, да нзнандоутъ по свѣдочьбѣ: чниа је Плѣшъ, нан јесть цръковна нан Прогонова. И закле епископъ и кнрь Калиниькъ кто знаещо право та не хке рече, да јесть проклетъ. И рече старць Приенславъ, Маркоушекъ чловѣкъ, и Братина и Стан'ко цръковна јесть Плѣшъ оуъ вѣка, и дръжали соу цръквѣноу стась Д братина, и оукрадоста се два брата и продадоше Прогоноу половинноу Плѣша

Afterwards the witnesses put their signatures on the document. The text continues with the words of the Prizren bishop who intended to buy this property: “I want to buy every [property], which I find to be a place of a church, because I am a real owner [of such places], and I bought it. And the one who violates this [agreement] will pay 500 hyperpyra to the King.” The deed concludes with the signature of the nomikos Nikola.²²⁶⁵

I gave this text at length to demonstrate who the participants of the court session were and what their role was. So, initially, both, noblemen, called in the text either *vlastela* or *bojare*, and common people (χορρα), were present, however, only elders²²⁶⁶ and noblemen (старце и властеле) went further to testify on the case. On the other hand, among the listed names, only one held the title of *sebastos* (Pasarel) and two more were marked as *kyr* (bishop Kalinik and Alexa, a brother of bishop). Others, including the witnesses, do not have titles or distinctions, so they, probably, belonged to the so-called elders. Some of these people (Pardo and his brother Theodore, George Soulima) appear again, in another document discussed below, among the donors giving their fields to Htetovo monastery. Their presence in both documents demonstrates that they had certain social importance among the villagers, but also owned the economic means, which allow them to allot some lands on behalf of the Church.

Analyzing this case Boban Petrovski was right noticing that the common law was applied for the resolution of the dispute,²²⁶⁷ and neither Serbian nor Byzantine official legal systems. However, his observations should be supplemented by two important remarks: first of all, at court proceedings prove, the Byzantine law was not followed in courts consistently,²²⁶⁸ but rather the judge and the parties tried to find a compromise, so might be the case of the Serbian law. Secondly, the usage of the elders’ testimonies is not a unique local feature as Petrovski thinks, but rather it reflexes the general Byzantine practice discussed above.

за Г вѣдра вина. И рече кнѣзъ Алеѡа кѣда бѣше ѡнъ братъ Влахо ѡпнскопъ оу Хтѣтовѣ архидиоудрнтѣ, тога бѣхъ на оу манастирѣн диатетемъ и добрѣ знамѣ иере не метехаше Прогонъ съ Плъшномъ, паче бѣ поскъаль Прогонъ ичмѣнь, и рече братъ ѡнъ Влахо ѡпнскопъ и събрахоу говѣда всего села и попасоше га” - Slaveva, Lidija. “Diplomatičko-pravnite spomenici za istorijata na Polog i sosednite kraevi vo XIV vek,” in: Spomenici za srednovekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija, Vol. III (Skopje: Arhiv na Makedonija, 1980): 283-299 (here p. 289-291).

²²⁶⁵ ѡтъкоупнтѣ хкю, гдѣ нахогю црѣковно мѣсто, понеже иемѣ соущи господарѣ и ѡтъкоупнхѣ. а кто х’ке снѣ потворнтѣ да плати господиноу кралоу Ф перперѣ. поплъ Ннкола нномнк писа и подписа – Slaveva, Lidija. “Diplomatičko-pravnite spomenici za istorijata na Polog i sosednite kraevi vo XIV vek,” in: Spomenici za srednovekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija, Vol. III (Skopje: Arhiv na Makedonija, 1980): 291-292.

²²⁶⁶ Miloš Blagojević associate these elders with the leaders of the tribal communities which were still in power in the Medieval Balkans (Blagojević, Miloš. *Državna uprava u srpskim srednjovekovnim zemljama* (Belgrade: Službeni list, 1997): 14-15)

²²⁶⁷ Petrovski, Boban. “Interwined Legal System: Church Authorities Versus Local Feudal Landlords (in Central-Southern Europe),” *Imago Temporis - Medium Aevum* 8 (2014): 193-210.

²²⁶⁸ Oikonomides, Nicolas “The Peira of Eustathios Rhomaïos: An Abortive Attempt to Innovate in Byzantine Law,” *Fontes monores* 7 (1986): 169–192; Macrides, Ruth. “Nomos and Canon on Paper and in Court,” in: *Church and People in Byzantium*, ed. R. Morris (Birmingham: Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, 1990): 61–85.

There is a similar case dated to 1327 concerning the border between the lands belonging to Hilandar in Kosorići and Dmitar and Borislav, children of *tepčija*²²⁶⁹ Hardomil. In this case, the monks of the Athonite foundation addressed the king who, after listening the counterarguments of his noblemen, decided to send an official (*pristav*)²²⁷⁰ to gether local witnesses and to establish the borders between the possessions:

My majesty decided that they should bring twelfth elders of this *župa*²²⁷¹ (*stariniki župljane*), the trustworthy men, who would take an fearful oath, and after comming to the borderline they would should where the bordeline goes.²²⁷²

The names of these trustworthy locals are listed in the charter indicating that they belong to four villages not being neither in possession of Hilandar nor that of Hardomil's sons. Later, after receiving the court verdict on the case, the same *župljane* are called to witness the establishment of the new borderline. These events taking place in the Hvosno *župa* (Metohija region, South Serbia)²²⁷³ reflect the court practices established in the Old Serbian territories. One of the differences with the case of Htetovo is the absence of common people (χορὰ) in the court gathering in Kosorići, however a group of respected and trustworthy villagers is still present. Similarly, the charter establishes a fine of 500 hyperpyra in case of violation of provisions set by the court.²²⁷⁴ Nevertheless, as one can see both countries, Byzantium and Serbian Kingdom, during the 14th century had a layer of non-noble villagers who, at the same time, excercised certain administrative power and social influence. These people also can be the village donors associated with great monasteries.

7.3.5. A Collective Donation of Village Residents

In 1320s, the residents of the village of Palaion Pegadion conducted several agreements on donation or sale through the agency of Peter, son in law of Tzernes Karbounas, a founder of a local monastery dedicated to the Archangels.²²⁷⁵ A series of agreements was enclosed into a donation deed

²²⁶⁹ About the office of *tepčija* as involved into land administration and cadastre services see: Blagojević, Miloš.

“*Tepčije u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji, Bosni i Hrvatskoj*,” *Istorijski glasnik* 1–2 (1976): 7–47; Blagojević, Miloš. *Državna uprava u srpskim srednjovekovnim zemljama* (Belgrade: Službeni list, 1997): 25–30.

²²⁷⁰ About *pristav* as an auxiliary office in court procedures, see: Veselinović, Andrija. “*Pristav*,” in: *Leksikon Srpskog Srednjeg veka*, eds. S. Ćirković R. Mihaljčić (Belgrade: Znanje, 1999): 587.

²²⁷¹ For the term *župa* as the main unit of territorial and administrative division of Serbian lands see: Tomović, Gordana. “*Župa*,” in: *Leksikon Srpskog Srednjeg veka*, eds. S. Ćirković R. Mihaljčić (Belgrade: Znanje, 1999): 195–198 (with bibliography).

²²⁷² соудн крал(е)вс(тво) ми да поведоу ВІ стариникъ жоупланы дос(то)вѣрнихъ чл(овѣ)къ да се закалноу страшним(ъ) заклетиѣмъ, дошѣдше на мегоу да оукажоу коудѣ ꙗ мѣга - Mišić, Siniša. “Hrisovulja kralja Stefana Uroša III Hilandaru o sporu oko međa Kruševske metohije,” *SSA* 3 (2004): 3–17 (here p. 5).

²²⁷³ For history, composition and administration of Kruševo metochion, see: Mladenović, Srđan B. *Kruševska metohija, Hilendarski posed u Hvosnu* (Niš: Centar za crkvene studije, 2013).

²²⁷⁴ Mišić, Siniša. “Hrisovulja kralja Stefana Uroša III Hilandaru o sporu oko međa Kruševske metohije,” *SSA* 3 (2004): 7.

²²⁷⁵ *Documents of Zographou*, no. 25, pp. 269–276.

passed to the Athonite monastery. Initially, Peter and his wife Rhoedo built a church with their own expenses, supplied it with necessary properties (a hereditary field of 103 *modioi*, a vineyard, orchard) and passed it to Zographou for the salvation of their souls (διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν). Peter was, probably, a minor *archon*, since his deed is witnessed by five persons bearing epitet kyr²²⁷⁶ and one priest. The main document concerning the transfer of the *monydrion* is followed by several acts of donation and sale made by the proprietors of the neighboring lands:

Nicholas Kryoneres sells a field near the church to Zographou, and donates a vineyard of 1 *stremma* and a garden, situated near Peter's estate, for the salvation of his father's soul (δια τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μου).

Michael Karbounas, a relative of the founder, sells a field in the vicinity of Peter's church to Zographou and donates, for the same motive as Nicholas (δια τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μου), another field near the property of a priest Constantine.

Dragotzes, Michael the son of Stana, Nicholas Makroioannes and Michael Karbounas sell their lands, priced in a range from a hyperperon to a 0,5 hyperperon per modios (though the deal of Makroioannes also involves an ox) to the church of the Holy Archangel.

Finally, the participants close the deal with the Athonite monastery in presence of "the priests of this village Palaion Pegadion, but also of all gerontes."²²⁷⁷ The ownership of the metochion was later legitimized through a chrysobull received by Zographou from Andronikos II (September 1325)²²⁷⁸

According to V. Kravari, Palaion Pegadion, which in 1394 was already held by the monastery of Pantokrator, can be situated in about 3 km southwest of modern Ano Mesolakkia (between Drama and Amphipopolis),²²⁷⁹ neighboring to the region of Loukovikia (Lokvica) where Zographou had some properties in the 14th century.²²⁸⁰ Thus, all the participants of this agreement belonged to the village community and were represented in the final deal by the local wealthy individual, who could afford to build a foundation on his own expenses and who had connections with the regional administration. The price received by these landowners does not much differ from the one paid by Xeropotamou for the sales in case of the acts regarded by A. Laiou which she considered to be dumping.

The arrangements of the acts and their content indicate the following sequence of events. After the erection of the Archangels' church the donor performed or arranged several deals with neighbors,

²²⁷⁶ Concerning epitet kyr as a distinction of a noble, or at least high social status see: Kyritses, *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, pp. 12-14.

²²⁷⁷ Ἐγγεῶ(ν) δὲ ἡ τηάντη πράσ(ις) κατενό(πιον) τῶν ιερέ(ων) τῆς τοιαύτ(ης) χώρ(ας) τοῦ Παλε(ού) Πυγαδί(ου), ἀλλ(ὰ) δὴ καὶ τῶν γερόν(των) πάντ(ων). – ²²⁷⁷ *Documents of Zographou*, no. 25, p. 275, l. 61-63.

²²⁷⁸ *Documents of Zographou*, no. 26, pp. 276-282.

²²⁷⁹ *Actes du Pantocrator*, p. 33 (note 43).

²²⁸⁰ *Documents of Zographou*, no. 25, p. 272.

and only afterwards presented his foundation to the Athonite monastery. This sequence indicates that even if certain pressure and dominance was exercised on the sellers, it was conducted on the local interpersonal level within the village hierarchy.

A similar way of interaction can be observed in a group of acts combining sale and donation and conducted between the monastery of Vatopedi and the villagers of Hierissos.²²⁸¹ Several notables of the village participated in this collective deed, in particular Nicholas Melissenos, who gave a field of six modioi, the *chartophylax* Georges, and a priest Theodore Kormos, who donated a field worth of five hyperpyres, size about four modioi. Some of them, Nicholas Melissenos and *chartophylax* Georges also appeared as witnesses in other acts of sale.

A mix of transfer and sale can be observed in case of Zoe and Eirene, daughters of the deceased *kyr* George, the *protopapas* of Hierissos, who transferred the property under the same agreement with Vatopedi. Initially, the ladies sold one field for 14 nomismata, whereas in the following deed, they, on behalf of the deceased and with the approval of their uncle, transferred another field as an execution of the last will of their father, “for the salvation of the soul” (χάριν ψυχικῆς σωτηρί(ας) and “that the deceased would have the suitable commemoration and would be written in the brebion of the church” (ἔχῃ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὸ μνημοσυνόν του καθ(ὼς) καὶ ἐγράφη εἰς τὸ βραβεῖ(ον) τῆς ἐκκλη(σίας)).²²⁸²

In 1327 John, son of Sisinius, and his wife Kale “thinking about this terrible day of the judgment as being sinful wanted to put partially in order [things] concerning salvation of souls in commemoration (μνημόσυνον) of our parents and us ourselves.”²²⁸³ So they give a part of a mill near Rebethiana for the salvation of their souls (ψυχικὴν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν) to the monastery of Koutloumous. However, they actually receive a small remuneration (τίμημα μικρὸν) of four hyperpyra from the *oikonomos kyr* Maxim. This way, the difference between the market price of the property and the received remuneration was the actual donation of the couple. In 1303, in Hierissos, a brother and a sister handed to Vatopedi a field of twelve modioi, which constitutes a part of their inheritance which their father had reserved for the salvation of his soul. The choice of the monastery belongs to the children.²²⁸⁴

In Serres, many small donor passed their gifts to the foundation of Menoikeon. A. Laiou regarded a case of a monk Demetrios Dermokaites,²²⁸⁵ whose donation she considered to be an example of the “pressure” exercised by the monks of Menoikeon. Namely the monks tried to scare

²²⁸¹ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. I, no. 43, pp. 238-257.

²²⁸² *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. I, no. 43, sections IV and V, p.246.

²²⁸³ ἐνθυμηθέντες τὴν φοβερὰν ἐκείνην ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως ὥς ὅτι ἁμαρτωλοὶ ὄντες, ἠθελήσαμεν τί μερικὸν διατάξασθαι περὶ ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας, εἰς μνημόσυνον τῶν ἐμῶν γονέων καὶ ἡμῶν. – *Actes de Kutlimus*, no. 13, pp. 66-67 (here quoted p. 67, l. 3-5)

²²⁸⁴ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. I, no. 35.

²²⁸⁵ Laiou, “The Peasant as Donor,” p. 113.

the poor man on his deathbed with the Last Judgment, and he agreed to pass a field and a mill to them.²²⁸⁶ However, this interpretation seems exaggerated, if one takes into consideration several other acts given to the same monastery and built on a similar formular: a donation of Lazaros Diakoneises, who gave 360 modioi of land to enter St. John's brotherhood²²⁸⁷ or a testament of Makarios Kozeakos who left his small church (eukterion), 2/3 of a vineyard and a beehive to the monastery of St. Anastasia Pharmokalytria.²²⁸⁸ Moreover, some of the private donors, like John Adam and his wife Maria²²⁸⁹ or Leon Tzagkaropoulos and his wife Eudokia²²⁹⁰ donated follow lands (130 modioi and 40 stremmata, accordingly) with a partial remuneration (7 and 9 nomismata), which size, as it seems, they established themselves. Moreover, these two couples also mention the spiritual fatherhood of Ioannikios, alongside with establishing the commemorations, as the reasons for their "psychike dorea."

These and similar donations made on the behalf of the great monasteries can be considered a consequence of certain "pressure," if one understands, under this term, a fear of the judgment for sins in the Afterlife, produced by monks being spiritual fathers of the villages living near the properties of the great monasteries. However, it seems to be more suitable to consider these donations to be made because of the mixture of fear, piety and respect which the village inhabitants had toward the spiritual authority of the monks.

Among the Serbian donors, one can also find several ones belonging to the low-nobility or even peasantry; in this sense the discussed brebion of Htetovo Virgin's monastery offers some information.²²⁹¹ It lists fields and meadows belonging to the monastery, out of which 34 fields, field parts and meadows were sold and 50 were given as a gift.²²⁹² In majority of cases the donors give their property for the sake of soul (за души), but there are a couple of cases when they were more specific, for example certain Redir gave his field following the example of Pardo kyr Teodor (видѣв того... приложи за доушю), while Nanaja donated a field because she didn't have children (ѣре немѣше порода).²²⁹³ Son-in-law of Chrys Nikola, Budislav, Vladimir, Oupta, grandson of Kras Dimiter, priest Dobrota and Hranislav made donations for future burials (за гроб). Kyr Teodor Sulima gave a field for the burial of kyr Nikifor, wheread Radica for the burial of her brother. Also certain Savdik gave some money and a field saying: "Me, Savdik, seeing that I still do not have children, I made a donation to the Mother of God... I also give a field, in order that the church would

²²⁸⁶ Bénou, *Le codex B*, p. 79, no. 33.

²²⁸⁷ Bénou, *Le codex B*, no. 5, pp. 28-29

²²⁸⁸ Bénou, *Le codex B*, no. 149, pp. 259-261

²²⁸⁹ Bénou, *Le codex B*, no. 16, pp. 49-50

²²⁹⁰ Bénou, *Le codex B*, no. 15, pp. 47-49

²²⁹¹ Slaveva, "Popis na imotite na htetovskiot manastir," pp. 277-299.

²²⁹² Slaveva, "Popis na imotite na htetovskiot manastir," pp. 279-282.

²²⁹³ Slaveva, "Popis na imotite na htetovskiot manastir," p. 297, no. 74.

commemorate me.”²²⁹⁴ Sometimes, like in Greek charters, a mix of sale and donation occurs, as Kaliman, a grandson of Sulima, sold his field to the monastery, but added to the deed of sale the following phrase: “everything which [the church] didn’t reimburse me I pardon to the church.”²²⁹⁵ It means that, exactly as in case of John and Kale’s donation to Koutloumous, Kaliman’s gift was a difference between the received and the market price. If one compares the list of the small donors with the list of those “usual people” being present during the court processions, at least two, or maybe three names will coincide, it is certain Pardo, who together with his children makes several small donations, George Soulima, and Theodore, Pardo’s brother. This way, one can assume that these people represented the elite of their class, had sufficient means for endowment and attracted enough respect to be present in court. They could be exactly these minor donors of non-elite origin, who are often overlooked, being overshadowed by the medieval aristocracy.

In the end of this discussion of the village donors, I would like to turn attention to a story of one foundation which itself became a gift to a greater monastery. This story can explain some additional reasons for making the pious gifts, such as solitude and the old age of a donor, who needed assistance from the monastic community, as well as the patron’s desire to preserve the ecclesiastic status of his foundation, which, otherwise, would be abandoned and ruined. Ioannitzas (Joseph) Bardas the hieromonk, being an “emigrant from his lands” (ξενιτεύσας τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος) going from place to place discovered a church Aspre Ekklesia in Seladas, which didn’t have possessions except of 2 modioi of non-use vineyards. Because he liked how the place looked, he decided to live there: “I can’t say how much toils and expenses I invested during 17 years which I stayed for construction of this holy church and cells around it.” He hired some peasants, “Podaradas for 1 hyperperon and Paganos, Esphagmenos and Pesiakos for 1 hyperperon for each,” for assisting him during the construction works. According to Ioannitzas, the construction was going very slow, due to the lack of funds: “With my own toils and sweats I constructed the church and painted it, conducted water and grew the vineyard and many and various fruit-bearing trees.” With many additional efforts, he himself also conducted the pipes for the vineyards and gardens. So, he wanted to stay there until the death and even constructed a tomb inside the church. However, when Ioannitzas became old and ill he didn’t have somebody to take care about him and turned to Gerasimos, the *hegoumenos* of Lavra to allow staying at the Holy Mount in his old days. For the care provided by the monks and the *hegoumenos*, the hieromonk transferred the Aspre Ekklesia to the Megiste Lavra. The village Selades, next to which the rebuilt church was situated, belonged to Lavra as it was witnessed by the chrysobull

²²⁹⁴ **Азъ Савдикъ, видѣвъ юре не имамъ порога да що приложихъ матери Божіе . давамъ ниву . да ме поменуе црква .** - Slaveva, “Popis na imotite na htetovski ot manastir,” p. 297, no. 76

²²⁹⁵ **Азъ Калиманъ, Соулиминъ вноукъ продахъ ниву цркви Матере Божіе... и що ми не доплатише, все простихъ цркви** – Slaveva, “Popis na imotite na htetovski ot manastir,” p. 296, no. 65.

of Michael VIII (1263),²²⁹⁶ whereas the *agridion* of Aspra Ekklesia appears only in the document of Anronikos II (1298),²²⁹⁷ which means that, indeed, the mentioned church appeared as a separate unit only during this time. Moreover, since the village in the proximity belonged to the Lavra, Ioannitzas' choice to seek help from the monk of this foundation seems the most logical.

7.3.6. The Gifts of Urban Population: Cui prodest?

The donations made by the urban population of two main provincial cities of the Byzantine empire, Thessaloniki and Serres were discussed, among other topics, in two recently defended doctoral theses by Athanasia Stavrou²²⁹⁸ and Christos Malatras,²²⁹⁹ and therefore, my observations will be made as certain additions to the information analyzed by these two scholars. More precisely, I am going to answer the question, why a member of the new provident group of urban bourgeoisie which recently appeared in Byzantium may wish to endow an ecclesiastic foundation. Among the main reasons for the passage of a property can be listed the following: the ruined condition of property, which was still under the tax burden, and the desire to preserve an ecclesiastic status of a property. Simultaneously, the urban centers had their own small private foundations which were sponsored and endowed by the founders, in such cases the foundation could be used for the spiritual needs of a community.

The donation and *adelphata* deeds composed by town notaries demonstrate a different legal quality, some, usually produced on behalf of aristocrats and rich citizens of important cities (Thessaloniki, Serres), have no legal contradictions and accurately explain the origin of the property rights etc.; others attest *de jure* illegal transfers of property which the parties of contract are not aware of.²³⁰⁰ The following case may illustrate an average level of notarial competence available for the middle-class urban population.

For example, certain citizen of Thessaloniki Hierakina acting at behest of her recently deceased father John Magidiotes transferred a vineyard at Monodendrion of five *modioi*, its ongoing vintage, and some adjacent territories to the monastery of Xenophon (c. 1348).²³⁰¹ John Magidiotes being illiterate announced his wish in the presence of Hierakina and other witnesses on his deathbed, and, consequently, the present donation follows his instructions. John (Joachim – after taking the vows) wanted his name and that of his wife, nun Maria, to be inscribed into the *brebion* of Xenophon and

²²⁹⁶ *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. II, no. 72 l. 40

²²⁹⁷ *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. II, no. 89, l. 106

²²⁹⁸ Stavrou, *Socio-economic Conditions in 14th and 15th Century Thessalonike*, esp. pp. 137-199.

²²⁹⁹ Malatras, *Social structure*, esp. pp. 186-290.

²³⁰⁰ Kravari, Vassiliki. "Les actes privés des Monasteres de l'Athos et l'unité du patrimoine familial," in: *Eherecht und Familiengut in Antike und Mittelalter* (München: Oldenbourg, 1992):77-78.

²³⁰¹ *Actes de Xenophon*, no. 28, pp. 204-207.

commemorated in course of the liturgy and other hymnodia and also he hoped to cover the costs of their annual personal commemorations with the income from the vineyard (l. 21-25). This transfer had, supposedly, a problematic legal issue as the vineyard was planted on the territory belonging to the Monastery of Chortaitou²³⁰² which is stated directly in the act but not discussed with the representatives of the Chortaitou in any way. However, neither the donor, nor the hegoumenos of Xenophon, present at the signing of the deed, nor the notary see an obstacle for the putting the agreement into action. The fact that the male testator was illiterate may witness about non-elite social position whereas the low economic value of the provided gift is also a sign of relatively low income of the family.

The transfer of property by testament or the donation with a temporal withholding of usufruct by the grantor were quite popular among the middle class urban inhabitants. And act from Xenophon monastery dated to 1324 gives an insight into the possibility of performing the *donatio causa mortis* in case of Thessaloniki inhabitants.²³⁰³ The monk Laurentios Kladon passed a monydrion of the Theotokos built by his own “toils and expense” (οἰκεῖ(οις) κόποις καὶ ἀναλώμα(σ)ιν) to Xenophon. The foundation situated in the quarter called Hippodromos, near the east wall of the city and the Gates of Rome, and was given with all its properties and rights, namely cells and the yard, vineyards surrounding the monastery, a group of buildings in the same quarter built by the author of the act with the channels and a well, two small unoccupied buildings, one of which was given to the monastery by a priest and his daughter, eight *modioi* of vineyard in Mikra Karydea and a piece of uncultivated land. The donor agreed with Xenophon to use these possessions during his lifetime, and to pass them to the Athonite foundation in the complete ownership and disposal after his death. The donor also ordered to inscribe the names of twelfth persons, except for his own, into the *brebion* and demanded to carry out “continuous commemorations... during all holy liturgies and other hymnodias performed” at the monastery.²³⁰⁴ Among these persons, there are five women and seven men; seven are laymen and five are monks and nuns. Obviously, these are members of the donor’s family and, possibly, his close associates. Such small monasteries were usually founded by lay and private persons who, after some events in their life, decided to take vows.²³⁰⁵ As a consequence of the family nature of this private monastery, the list of commemorated founders is quite long. Moreover, the demand for keeping the lifetime usufruct can be explained by the complete reliance of the donor on

²³⁰² For the history of the monastery, see: Manoledakes, Manoles [Μανωλεδάκης Μανόλης]. Από τον Κισσό στον Χορτιάτη (Thessaloniki: Ekdosis Kornilia Sphakianake, 2007): 109-127.

²³⁰³ *Actes de Xenophon*, no. 20, pp. 162-166.

²³⁰⁴ ἐν τ(οῖς) ἱεροῖς τε βρεβί(οις) αὐτῆς ἐγγράψασα τὰ ὀνόμ(α)τα ταῦτα· Κλήμεντο(ς) ἱερομονάχου, Ἡσαΐου ἱερομονάχου, ἐμοῦ τὲ αὐτοῦ, Ματθαίου μοναχοῦ, Εὐγενί(ας) μοναχῆς, Γεωργίου, Καλῆς, Γεωργίου, Λέοντο(ς), Νικήτ(α), Μαρί(ας), Εἰρήνης καὶ Αἰκατερίν(ης) μοναχῆς, μνημονεύη τούτ(ων) ἀδιαλείπτ(ως) εἰς τ(ὸν) ἐξῆς χρόν(ον) ἐν πάσ(αις) τ(αῖς) κατ’ αὐτὴν τελουμ(έ)ν(αις) θεῖ(αις) ἱεροτελεστί(αις) (καὶ) λοιπ(αῖς) ὑμνωδί(αις) – *Actes de Xenophon*, no. 20, p. 165, l. 29-31, cf. 163, l. 8.

²³⁰⁵ Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 150-151.

the profit derived from the possessions of the institution. These family religious enterprises were also the main source of income for their owners, while the grounds where they were built could be even a family houses.²³⁰⁶ However, as C. Smyrlis pointed out,²³⁰⁷ the owners of these foundations worried for their future, and preferred to make them a dependency of a bigger institution to secure their proper functioning.

Indeed, there are situations, described in the Athonite acts, when, after the death of a founder, a foundation fell into ruins or appeared in private hands of laymen. In some cases, to provide the proper maintenance of private foundations, abandoned after the ktetor's death, a bishopric or a metropolis decided to cede them as a dependencies to a bigger foundation. In 1299, the Metropolitan of Thessaloniki Jacob passed a *monydrion* of St. Balsios at Hermeleia to Zographou.²³⁰⁸ About the agricultural character of the small foundation, as well as about the acute need in its proper management, witnessed the list of possessions which included: a vineyard, three buildings, some arable lands surrounding the foundation, a pair of oxen with their rig, 22 beehives, 3 small barrels, including one containing wine, grain, washtubs and working tools. So, there were two preconditions for its ownership. The first, giving to the metropolis two *litra* of wax annually, reflected the fact that the seat in Thessaloniki preferred to avoid the troubles of the domain's management and to receive only a part of the final product (wax from the beehives). The second demand can demonstrate the spiritual needs of the small provincial foundations, so Zographou was obliged to keep the religious character of the domain, to ensure the singing of psalms (ψαλμωδίας), the burning of lights (λυχνοκαΐας) and the celebrations of the feasts as well as to commemorate the holy emperors, the bishop of Thessaloniki and the founders of the *monydrion*.²³⁰⁹

Similarly with the rural donors, some of the bourgeoisie' members could decide to pass their properties to a monastery as a consequence of childlessness. For example, the middle-class Sanianoï couple decided to give their two houses in Constantinople to the Hodegon monastery, one immediately, and one after their death. Their donation act (1390) survived in Urbinat Gr. 80 (the Kodikon of the patriarchal acts), fol. 200r, and became a rare instance of the Constantinopolitan donation deeds.²³¹⁰ The spouses explain their family situation in the following rhetorically ornamented words:

There are many among those poor in mind, who are not ashamed to beat their chest and to grieve concerning the fact they do not leave after them heirs for their homes and

²³⁰⁶ Smyrlis, "Small Family Foundations," p. 114.

²³⁰⁷ Smyrlis, "Small Family Foundations," p. 118.

²³⁰⁸ *Documents of Zographou*, no. 16, pp. 198-200.

²³⁰⁹ (ἐ)πιμελεῖσθ(αι) τ(ῶν) [ἐν] τῇ μονῇ εἰς (ἐ)πίδοσ(ιν) (καὶ) φροντίζειν τ(ῆς) τ(ου) να(οῦ) ψαλμωδί(ας) (καὶ) λυχνοκαΐ(ας) (καὶ) τ(ῆς) κατ' ἔτ(ος) ἐορτ(ῆς), (καὶ) πάντ(ων) παντοί(ας) οἰκονομί(ας), [...] μνημον(εῦ)ειν τὲ τ(ῶν) ἁγίων βασιλέ(ων), τ(οῦ) κ(α)τὰ καιρ(οῦς) τ(ῆς) Θ(εσσαλονίκης) ἀρχιερέ(ως) (καὶ) τ(ῶν) τ(οῦ) κελλί(ου) κτητόρων. - *Documents of Zographou*, no. 16, p. 200, l. 14-17.

²³¹⁰ Failler, Albert. "Une donation des époux Sanianoï au monastère des Hodègoi," *REB* 34 (1976): 111-117.

successors for their property, and the absence of children much concerns them, and they feel great sadness about leaving the present things. But we are not, as those who suffer this way so much, because we are very happy not to possess the corruptible and mortal heirs, but to pass our houses to the Mother of the Lord.²³¹¹

So, the childless couple, Constantine Sanianos and Theodora Berhopolitissa, passed their houses to the monastery, expecting the spiritual reward in the afterlife: that “better and incorruptible mansions will welcome” them through the mediation of the Virgin (πρόσκαιρων μείζους τε και άφθαρτους τη αυτής μεσιτεία κομίσασθαι). They also pose some conditions concerning the burial arrangements to the monks, who are obliged:

To prepare for us a tomb and to construct it carefully so that our remains can be deposited there, and to make two liturgies each week for our souls, on Tuesday and Thursday, as long as the monastery remains.²³¹²

Though, in the very end of the deed the couple adds that they also want to receive an adelphaton from the monastery “as gratitude.”²³¹³ This way, the Sanianoi resolved the potential problems they could have in absence of heirs during their old years; namely they demanded the provision of the economic support (adelphaton), the funeral arrangements and the remembrance from the members of the monastic community instead of absent younger relatives.

Demetrios Kabasilas passed his 2 *stasia* (holdings for tenures) in Hermeleia to the monastery of Vatopedi in 1331.²³¹⁴ The entire tone of the act demonstrates his pious motives behind the donation. In the donation’s motivation part, he uses a construction with two synonyms, love (στοργή) and attachment (άγάπη), which enforces the meaning and creates an impression of intensity of his feeling: I make donation...because I have love and attachment to the monastery and to my ruling holy fathers and brothers living there.²³¹⁵ And then again, he states that the gift was made for the pious and Christian reasons, “And I give it because of salvation of my soul and my commemoration, if God allows so because of my sins,” however, in the very end, Demetrios, finally, disclosed his economic grounds, “and [because stasia] appeared in bad condition as a consequence of the raid of godless

²³¹¹ Πολλοί μέν τίνες ουκ αισχύνονται κόπτεσθαι και λυπεΐσθαι τών σμικρολόγων οίς δήπουθεν οὐκ εΐσιν εξ εαυτών κληρονόμοι τών οικιών και τών κτημάτων διάδοχοι, και τοσούτον τούτων άπτεται τό της άπαιδίας, ώστε και μετ' οδύνης οτι πλείστης δοκοῦσιν απαλλάττεσθαι τών παρόντων ήμϊν δε οὐχ ὅπως ουδέν τι τοιούτον ενεστι πάσχειν, ώστε και χαίρομεν μάλιστα μη φθαρτοῖς και θνητοῖς χρώμενοι κληρονόμοις, άλλα τη του Κυρίου μητρί τών οικιών εξιστάμενοι. - Failler, Albert. “Une donation des époux Sanianoi au monastère des Hodègoi,” *REB* 34 (1976): 115.

²³¹² εύτρεπίσαι δέ τάφον ήμϊν και έπιτηδείως τούτον κατασκευάσαι, ώστε τα ημών έν αυτό κατατεθήναι λείψανα, και λειτουργίας δύο εφ' εκάστης εβδομάδος ποιείν υπέρ τών ψυχών ημών κατά τε την τρίτην ημέραν και δή και την πέμπτην μέχρις αν ή μονή διασφζηται. - Failler, Albert. “Une donation des époux Sanianoi au monastère des Hodègoi,” *REB* 34 (1976):117.

²³¹³ Όφείλομεν δέ εχειν από της μονής και ευλογίας χάριν άδελφατον εν – Failler, Albert. “Une donation des époux Sanianoi au monastère des Hodègoi,” *REB* 34 (1976):117.

²³¹⁴ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, pp. 71-74.

²³¹⁵ Παραδίδωμι ... δι' ην έχω στοργήν και ζέσιν και άγάπην προς τε την μονήν και τούς έν αυτή εύρισκομένους αύθεντας άγίους πατέρας και άδελφούς μου – *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, p. 73, l 1-3

Turks.”²³¹⁶ Thus, this act gives a very good example of the privat benefaction’s rhetorics: the pious reasoning dominated over real-life economic motives and, in a way, screened them. The exact status of this benefactor is not clear, in the signature Demetrios called himself “a servant (doulos) of our mighty and holy emperor,” but doesn’t bear any further title. He may be the same person with of other Demetrios Kabasilas, mentioned in various Athonite documents, and being, mainly, the middle-size properties’ holders and the bearers of notarial offices from Thessaloniki and Chalkidiki region.²³¹⁷

This act was kept in a dossier,²³¹⁸ together with several other donation deeds and a description of stasia in Hermeleia.²³¹⁹ Among the donors mentioned by other documents there was another member of the same family, George Kabasila,²³²⁰ as well as Demetrios Deblitzenos²³²¹ and a priest Nikolas Bladon.²³²² The deeds, composed by these donors are either too short or too damaged to understand their motivation, though the deed of Nikolas Bladon as well states: “I give it for the salvation of my soul.”²³²³ However, as it seems, the real reason behind this group of donations should be looked into a combination of factors. On the one hand, it is obvious that the monastery pursued its interests into composing a land domain consisting of smaller possessions. On the other hand, as the deed of Demetrios Kabasilas’ states, the possessions (mainly, *statsia* – lands intended for tenures) were in bad state because of the Turkish attacks, and were, probably, burdened by taxes and didn’t bring sufficient income, at least to a small private landowner.

Indeed, during the second quarter of the 14th century, there were several devastating Turkish raids in the region of Chalkidiki, the Aydin emirate adopted a strategy of continual coast attack that produces a permanent state of alert in the provinces.²³²⁴ During spring of 1326 one of such attacks made several monks, including George Sinaites and young Gregory Palamas to abandon their hermitages, in Magoula and Glossia,²³²⁵ accordingly and to flee to Thessaloniki and later to other

²³¹⁶ Παραδίδωμι δὲ ταῦτα ψυχικῆς ἔνεκεν σωτηρίας καὶ /μνημοσύνου μου/ ἔπει παρεχώρησεν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας μου, καὶ εὐρίσκοντ(αι) καὶ παντελῶς ἀποριμένα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν ἀθέων Τούρκων - *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, p. 73-74, l. 5-6.

²³¹⁷ *PLP*, nos. 10079-10085, esp. 10081 and 10085

²³¹⁸ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, p. 72.

²³¹⁹ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, nos. 73-77, pp. 74-82. See as well pp. 27-28 and Theocharides, Georgios [Θεοχαρίδης, Γεώργιος]. *Καπετανίκια της Μακεδονίας: Συμβολή εις Την Διοικητικὴν Ἱστορίαν Καὶ Γεωγραφίαν Της Μακεδονίας Κατὰ Τους Μετὰ Την Φραγκοκρατίαν Χρονους* (Thessaloniki: Etaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, 1954): 76.

²³²⁰ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, nos. 73-74, pp. 74-76.

²³²¹ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 75, pp. 76-77. This benefactor belonged to military nobility of Thessaloniki. For the composition of Demetrios Deblitzenos’ fortune see: Oikonomides, Nicolas. “The properties of the Deblitzenoi in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,” in: *Charanis Studies: Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, ed. A. Laiou-Thomadakis (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1980): 176-198; Apparently, this person was also a benefactor of Docheiariou monastery, and, being later a supporter of John VI Kantakouzenos, received from him a donation, namely he received a part of lands (taxes from the lands), which he held as pronioia, in hereditary ownership, see: *Actes de Docheiariou*, no. 26, pp. 184-186; Bartusis, *Land and Privilege*, pp. 457-458, 381, 610.

²³²² *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 76, pp. 78-79.

²³²³ Τοῦτο γὰρ παραδίδωμι ἔνεκεν ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας, see: *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no. 76, p. 79.

²³²⁴ Zachariadou, Elizabeth. “Holy war in the Aegean during the fourteenth century,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4/1 (1989): 212-225 (esp. p. 215).

²³²⁵ Živojinović, Mirjana. “Concerning Turkish Assaults on Mount Athos in the 14th Century, based on Byzantine sources,” *Prilozi za orientalni filologiju* 30 (1980): 505-506.

destinations. So, according to the Life of Gregory Sinaites by the Patriarch Kallistos the raids happened the following way:

Suddenly godless and barbaric nation of Agarians, raising up made a raid to the Holy Mount and robbed it, in the unpronounceable decision of [fate], they bind by ropes all the monks practicing askesis there and kidnapped [them], as from an unexpected ambushing. Seeing such things, this man of God, because he suffered much from these barbarians and because the disorder and turmoil distract his mind, deprive him from calmness and cease the natural energy and state of mind, he again turned his mind toward the holy and revered top of the Sinai mountain. Thus, he reached Thessaloniki having with him the above-mentioned disciples, and me among them.²³²⁶

In the similar way Philopheos Kokkinos in the Palamas' encomium describes the fear and uncertainty caused to the hesychasts monks, especially those living outside of the fortified monasteries, caused by attacks of the *Acheminidoi*.²³²⁷ Under these circumstances, the transferring of the ruined properties to a monastery was a good way to avoid taxation, to pass problems associated with the Turkish and safety of inhabitants and the property raids to another party and to receive some reward, at least in the form of spiritual protection and establishment of the connections with an important foundation.

Some late documents dated toward the end of the Empire demonstrate how difficult it was to support a foundation. Besides the initial construction or renovation, a founder or an ephoros was also burdened by the obligation to support the ecclesiastic institution he/she was affiliated with. In 1400, Patriarch Matthew I (1397-1410) prescribed to the founders to pay a salary (*roga*) to priests serving at their foundations or to let them collecting all the contributions from the believers.²³²⁸ A 15th-century document (1415) from Dionysiou monastery attests²³²⁹ that in order to support the continuous prayers on their behalf and commemorations with hymnodies a group of 45 salt-workers (*alykarioi*) from Thessaloniki decided to hire a hieromonk for their monastery of St. Paul, placed close to the *stoa* of the via Egnatia. They accorded to pay annual salary (*roga/misthos*) of 100 aspra for the services, while this money will be deduced from the salaries of the workers by their chief (*protalykarios*). This agreement is a rare written evidence for collective patronage of a church foundation, it demonstrate a mechanism of establishing a religious confraternity²³³⁰

²³²⁶ Ромуловский, Иван [Помяловский, Иван], ed. *Житие иже во святых отца нашего Григория Синаита по рукописи Московской Синодальной библиотеки* (Saint Petersburg: 1899): § 15, p. 33, 18-28.

²³²⁷ Tsames, Demetrios G. [Τσάμης, Δημήτριος Γ.], ed., *Φιλοθέου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Κοκκίνου ἀγιολογικὰ ἔργα. Α΄ Θεσσαλονικεῖς ἄγιοι* (Thessaloniki: Kentron Byzantinon Ereunon, 1985): § 24, 3-16, p. 452.

²³²⁸ MM, Vol. II, pp. 391-393; Darrouzès, *Les Regestes*, Vol. VI, no. 3135, pp. 377-378.

²³²⁹ *Actes de Dionysiou*, no.14, pp. 92-97. For salt industry in Thessaloniki see Matschke, Klaus-Peter. "Bemerkungen zum spatbyzantinischen Salzmonopol", in: *Studia Byzantina II: Beiträge aus der byzantinistischen Forschung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik zum XIV. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongreß Bukarest, 1971* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973): 38.

²³³⁰ On Byzantine confraternities see: Horden, Peregrine. "The Confraternities of Byzantium," in: *Studies in Church History 23: Voluntary religion: Papers read at the 1985 Summer Meeting and the 1986 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, eds. W.J. Sheils, D. Wood (Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1986): 25-45; Rapp, Claudia. *Brother-making in Late-Antiquity and Byzantium: Monks, Laymen, and Christian* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2016): 17-19; Nesbitt, John and Wiita, John. "A Confraternity of the Comnenian Era," *BZ* 68 (1975): 360-384.

(synodia/syntrophia) through collective funds and, probably, collective commemoration. Similar cases can be also found in the documents of the Lusignan Cyprus (confraternity of St. Nicholas church in Laukosia – συναδέλφοι τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας)²³³¹ and Venetian Kerkyra/Corfu (the brothers and founders of the Hodegetria church in Agraphoi).²³³² Such foundations were used not only for ordinary services, but also for burials of members belong to a confraternity or a guild. The Book of Eparchos describing regulations for some professional guilds, gives legal provision for a guild of notaries and prescribes: “When a notary dies, all of them must gather in their gowns and lead him to the grave, so that the funeral, according to his office, is worthy.”²³³³ Probably, a church would be an appropriate place for appointing this type of gathering, while the existence of the guild’s own foundation would lower the cost of the “worthy” burials.

7.3.7. Conclusions

This way, the members of the rich peasantry and village priesthood had the appropriate legal status, authority and means to become the minor donors of the ecclesiastic foundations. Their reasons for patronage seemed to be both, pious and practical. As a donation could be a way to pay respect to a monastery, to assure future commemoration and/or burial place as well as to become a member of a brotherhood. On the other hand, the absence of heirs, a desire to preserve an ecclesiastic status of a foundation, and a remuneration/adelpheaton can be the practical reasons, the additional or the leading ones.

Moreover, in the Byzantine cases many of properties belonging to the minor owners were damaged due to the Turkish and Serbian raids; and, as a consequence, being burdened by taxation, these properties didn’t bring profit to the owners. The transfer of such domains to a greater monastery owning the lands in a proximity could be profitable for both parties, for a donor, as he/she passed the tax burden to a monastery and received the spiritual benefits, and for a monastery, which had sufficient means to invest and to populate the abandoned territories, it was an asset in the need for redevelopment.

7.4. Preliminary Conclusions

On the basis of the regarded issues, one may conclude that practically all classes of the Balkan societies were involved into the performance of the pious land offerings to ecclesiastic institutions,

²³³¹ Darrouzès, Jean. “Notes pour servir à l’histoire de Chypre (deuxième article),” *Kypriakai Spoudai* 20 (1956): 55.

²³³² Karydes, Spyros [Καρύδης, Σπύρος]. *Η Οδηγήτρια Αγραφών Κέρκυρας. Ψηφίδες από τη μακραίωνη ιστορία της* (Kerkyra/Corfu: Ieros naos Yperagias Theotokou Odegetrias Kerkyras, 2011): 109-111

²³³³ Koder, Johannes, ed. *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991): 85: “Όταν ταβουλλάριος τελευτήσῃ. οφείλουσι ιτάντες συναθροίζεσθαι μετὰ των ἐφεστρίδων αὐτῶν καί μέχρι του τάφου τούτου παραπέμπειν. ὡς ἂν ἐνδοξος καὶ ἡ κηδεία κατὰ τὴν ἱεροχέρησιν εἴη

to the degree of their economic possibilities. At first sight, all these donations are similar in their primary motivation, i.e. to achieve the salvation through commemorations for the endowments. Nevertheless, this surface rhetoric didn't always reflect the real motives, or, better to say, was combined with other intentions.

The nobility and upper urban class, except expressing the true fear of the supernatural punishment, were also guided by economic and political motives. Usually, the members of the elites followed their political and family affinities when choosing a foundation to endow. However, often the real economic hardships and wars pushed these people to transfer their vast, but devastated domains to the hands of monks against the provision of retirement places or life-long pensions. Being well-aware of the importance of these hereditary possessions, the nobility considered the difference in the value of a domain and an *adelphaton* to be an actual gift. When not asking anything in return, the members of elites demanded to recognize their extreme generosity and to equate their spiritual rights to that of the founders.

Finally, the minor, usually rural, donors endowed the ecclesiastic foundation with micro land plots (such as a field or a half of mill), but committed these action out of a mix of pious, social, and economic motivations. First of all, the spiritual ties with an important ecclesiastic foundation might raise the social status of a grantor within his/her village community. Often, these villagers had a desire to establish their own foundations, but passed them to a greater monastery in the end. Not being sufficiently rich, villagers couldn't provide for the maintenance of their private foundations and their transfer under the auspices of a greater religious community assured the preservation of the ecclesiastic status of the property and continuous commemoration of donors and founders. Finally, some micro offerings of the peasants' lands could be regarded as a way to avoid tax payments from devastated or unfertile territories.

Appendix IX

The List of Donors of the St. John Prodromos Monastery Menoikeion according to the Cartulary B²³³⁴

Donator	Social status	Type of donation	location	Type of land	Specific features of the land	Reasons for donation	year	pages
Lazaros Diakoneises	monk	Donation by testament	near Merichea	360 modioi	near the fallow field of Tzympenes and Dragotas	To accept the great schema at the monastery	April, ind. 10 1282 or 1297	28-29
Magdalena, widow of Penentares	nun	Donation for annual life-long fee of 6 nomismata, later confirmed by a testament		mill working all year	Was a common ownership with her brother	preparation for future death, commemoration of Magdalena, her husband and her brother	September, ind. 3, 1304 or 1391	43-45
John Adam and his wife Maria		Partial donation and partial sale for 7 nomismata	near Kosna	Hereditary 130 modioi of fallow field	proximity to the possessions of (Leon?) τζαγκαροπουλου, near a river and a road	spiritual fatherhood of Joannikios, psychike dorea, for commemoration of our parents and us	February ind. 12, late 13 th c.	49-50
Leon Tzagkaropoulos and his wife Eudokia		Partial donation and partial sale for 9 nomismata	near Kosna	Hereditary fallow field of 40 stremmata	Near the river and near the royal border (basilikon synoron) and land of Pelagios	Psychike dorea, spiritual fatherhood of Joannikios, a half given for the salvation of the souls of parents and us sinful, a half sold “because of our poverty”	October, ind. 12, late 13 th c.	47-49
Nicetas Xiphias and his wife Anna	a servant of the emperor, stratiotes	Partial donation and partial sale for 8 nomismata, received from spiritual father,	near Kosna	Hereditary fallow field	Near the lands of the monastery	For salvation of soul, for commemoration of souls and salvation of our parent, for our soul salvation and commemoration of our parents (repeated 3 times in the text)	April, ind. 1, late 13 th – early 14 th c.	51-52

²³³⁴ The Cartulary and the page numbers are given in accordance with the edition: Bénou, ed., *Le codex B*.

		bishop of Zichne						
Germanos Kladon and his son-in-law Demetrios Rouphinos		Donation	Near Libadion	fallow field of 3 zeugaria received by donation and gift of the emperor	Near fallow field of Amyras and a public road	For commemoration and salvation of our souls	August, ind. 14, 1301 (?)	53-54
Symeon Madarites, his wife Eudokia, his sons Michael and Leon		Partial donation and partial donation for an annual life-long fee of 2 adelphata, notwithstanding of the laic or monastic status of Madarites	Near Esphagmenos and near Katapotamia of Zichne	Hereditary land received from Kounales ? zeugelateia of 600 modioi and one hereditary watermill	200 modioi near the domain of St. Barbara monastery given for commemoration and 400 modioi + a watermill, close to another watermill of Madarites in Konstomyron, given for 2 adelphata	Spiritual fatherhood of the bishop of Zichne, his guidance and authority, for the names of the ancestors to be inscribed in the dyptichs and commemorated	March, ind.3, 1305	59-61
Komnenoi Patrikioi, parents of cousins Leon and Stephen Patrikioi	Sons are servants of the emperor, a brother of the donors is John Komnenos Patrikios	Confirmation of donation made by the grandfather and the fathers of the Parokoi + measurements of the vineyards made by Manouel Koubaras + exchange act of Leon and Stephen Patrikioi	Ptelea Boulgarizon Balte	A) A Land near Ptelea, replaced later by the same size land in Boulgarizon. The grandfather of the Patrikioi wanted to give this land to Menoikeion A church of Theotokos Eleousa as a metochion with 100 modioi of vineyards of not inherited lands in place called Balte and another vineyard of 20 modioi near the church B) According to the measurements of the Eleousa lands by Manouel Koubaras it included the following possessions: 1) Vineyard, next to... together with fruit trees, of 10 modioi 2) Land from offering of the same Patrikios next to the same church		Grandfather and fathers gave possessions for their commemoration, the sons replaced the possession for not disturbing memories of their parents	14 th c., 1330	73-74 74-75 75-76

				<p>3) 20 modioi of vineyards in Mpealitza</p> <p>4) From the not inherited lands of a deacon in a place called Balta, next to Michael Borbitze and two roads, modioi 100</p> <p>5) Another land from long ago made donation of the dead father of the Komnenos Patrikios given to Prodrornos monastery in place called Ptelea of 300 modioi, this was exchanged... instead of it he gave another land, next to the mentioned zeugelateion called Bougarizo, from the side of Mpealitza, next to, next to a road, 230 modioi.</p> <p>6) Another land, between two lakes, called Mesonyson of 60 modioi</p> <p>7) A land for vineyards of 10 modioi next to Mesonyson</p> <p>8) A land of 440 modioi next to Mesonyson</p> <p>C) Act of Leon and Stephen Patrikioi for replacement of the monydrion at Boulgarizo with a church of st. Blasios. 1330</p>				
Stephen Patrikios	Servant of the emperor, monk	A donation in exchange for one adelphaton	Ptelea	As much land as exists		For the salvation of the soul, for our (!) commemoration, for the commemoration according to the custom and for burial at the monastery as a brother, Stephen asks for an adelphaton in case of having a possibility to become a monk during the bad time	1330	76-77
Demetrios Dermokaite, Dionysios as a monk	Monk Dionysios	Donation and a Testament	Karea Anapotami a	Land of 24 stremmata and a mill received from the parents		falling in a great weakness and having a fear of a hour of the death Demetrios wanted that the monks regarded him as a spiritual brother (pneumatikos)	March ind. 6, 14th century	79

						in Christ (i.e. to take the vows). For inscribing the names of the donor and of his brother into the book of the monastery.		
Theodore Metochites	Megas logothetes, father in law of the emperor	Donation act is not preserved, a sale contract between the logothetes and the family of Manouel N...; description of property of the metochion of Saviour Gastelenkou; mentioned in the Chrysobull by Andronikos III on the immunities for Saviour monastery at Gastelenkou	Srastlibitza Krabasmountos	1) Psychike dorea of the emperor to the N... family sold for 80 nomismata to the logothetes 2) Country estate within the village community 55 modioi	1) Near lands of Krabasmountos and Neagoslabos and Legginios, near a royal road leading from Melnik 2) received by the logothetes from charistike of Krokas		The sale contract is of 1316-1317	80-82 85-86 377-380
George Phokopoulos, and his wife Anna	oikeios of Andronikos III and of Stefan Dusan	Sale contract 1324, exchange contract of 1334, permission to use river for mills, charters of Stefan Dusan of 1352. Donation act with a condition	Serres Lestiane Toumba	1) houses next to houses of Paloukes and in front of Boutze 2) magkinion (mancipium – formal purchase) next to.. 3) mills above the gates of Klyzomenos 4) land in Lestiane and Toumba	from purchase and from his own labor and expense – chrysobull of Stefan Dusan, which he can give to a monastery dowries (ta androa and ta gunaikeia) given under a condition	Because God envisaged human salvation, there are many roads leading to it, and Phokopoulos and his wife in order to reach the salvation in the end of their futile and turbulent life decided to dedicated their dowries (ta androa and ta gunaikeia) to the monastery.	Dusan's acts - 1352; donation act 1353	91-93, 97-98, 98-99, 99, 102-104, 288-290

		of adelphata and rent.			of adelphata (described in measures of food etc.) and a rent (embatikon) from the mill, after the death of the donors the monastery receives everything.			
Mother of Michael Pelargos		Sale and exchange contract of Michael Pelargos	Skokon	A fallow field in Skokon		For taking the vows	Before 1325 (?)	120-121
John Sarakenos	Oikeios of an emperor, sebastos	Conditional donation (proxenesis): for 2 adelphata during laic life and one adelphaton by the time of entering the monastery	Lestiane Serres Modion	Zeugelateion in Lestiane, 1,5 stremata of kathisma, land in Modion, about which he had a trial with the son of Dragoi, a yoke of oxen with a carriage. Houses John will hold until his death		For entering the monastery in future	March, ind. 4	121-123
Philippe Arbantenos (monk Philimon)		Testament (proxenesis) including a list of properties	Pegaditza	Ospetia, zeugelateion in Pegaditza with a half of a meadow, vineyards in Hagios Ioannes of 2 stremmata, vineyards, 1 stremma and a half, another vineyard in Trevesiniotika of 2 stremmata, zeugarion and its seeds, "a small ornated icon on which there is an image of Jesus Christ and of two holy Great martyrs and miracle-workers Theodoroi," a carriage with metal wheels, a donkey.		Falling into weakness and fearing the approaching death, wanted to have salvation of the soul. He will be buried in the monastery	April, ind. 2 1334	123-125

George Doukas Nestorgos and his wife Eudokia Palaiologina	logothetes	Donation (proxenesis) under condition of adelphata (rent) during lifetime		Possessions from dowry and sales	From dowry and sales, next to a mill of the monastery	From making usual commemorations as it is a rule at the monastery	1 of March, ind. 6, 14 th c., 1353 (?)	125-126
Alexios Asanes and his wife Maria by the will of their mother Senaxerine		Donation by the will of mother of dotal property received from her mother (Doukaine Troulene)	Serres	Ergasterion (workshop)	Next to the royal gates and houses of the priest of the Archestrategos' church and of Melachrenos. It was given to her as a dowry by her mother		October, ind. 2, 14 th c.	127-128
Alexios Xipheas		Donation under condition of adelphata, which he loses if he stays a layman	Serres	Ergasterion (workshop)	Next to the royal gates, it costs 100 nomismata, out of which 58 he receives, and 42 leaves for an adelphaton	In case Alexios would like to become a monk	March, 11 ind. 1343	136-138
Boilas Kardames		Donation under condition of two adelphata CEU eTD Collection	Serres	Houses (ospitia) in the lower castle with yards and gates, magkipeon (mancipium) and another house with upper floors and a basement, which are placed above the gates		The couple decided to leave the troubles and storms of the life and to become a monk and a nun. For two adelphata and for taking monastic schema at this monastery. For the salvation of soul and help of god.	14 th c., 1342-1353 (?)	149-150
Constantine Trypommatas	Protallagator, oikeios of an emperor	Donation (ekdoterion) under condition	Serres	House (ospetion) of the mother in law, a half of a vineyard in a	Second half of the vineyard is given as a dowry to Doukas Iokas	For the commemoration of the buried (tafikos) mother in law and her memory and others of our family (?) laying down in	November, ind. 3, 1349	154-156

		of one adelphaton		place of holy John Theologos		that monastery and written in the holy paper (iero charte) in which they always are commemorated. To give one adelphaton in case Constantine wants to become a monk		
George Kalambakos		Donation gramma	Tholos	A fallow land	Acquired from John Phronismos	Decided to become a monk at the monastery	December, ind. 12, 1328	158-159
Mauros, son of Theochares, and his wife Eirine		Donation letter	Zichne (?)	A place for a building (oikotopia)	From inheritance, next to St. Anastasia Pharmakolyptria, next to the yards and possessions of it.	For the salvation of souls of the donors and their parents	July, ind. 12, 1329	160-161
Justin	Priest	Donation letter	Next to Zelichobe in Dratzobitza	A fallow field	From inheritance, Next to Zelichobe in Dratzobitza, close to Kakodike	For commemoration of our (!) souls and my ancestors	April, ind. 13, 1330	162-163
Basil Katharos		Donation act	Dratzobitza	Fallow field	From inheritance	For the salvation of my soul and of my ancestors	June, ind. 15, 1332	163-164
Theodore, son of Sarakenos	Kyr	Donation under condition of adelphaton at the monastery CEU eTD Collection	Zichne Panagia Sthalabista Tholos Lamomata	Houses in Zichne, next to his brother kyr Leon, vineyard in Panagia of 3 stremata, vineyard in Sthalabista with a place for vineyard and nut-trees (karuon), places for yards (aulatopoi) in Tholos of 3 stremata, land in Lamomata	From inheritance	Decided to become a monk and enter the Prodromos monastery and to live there his life. Theodore gives the gift for the sake of an adelphaton.	March, ind. 12, 1329	164-165

				which is next to exaleima of Dragnes and land earlier owned by Palaiologos				
Alexios Angelos and his wife Eirine	Servant of the emperor, kastrophylax of Zichne	Donation, approved by the brother in law (Leon Gobenos)	Zichne	A house (oikema)	From inheritance	In a donation way (prosenektikos), for the salvation of soul of us and our parents	March, ind. 12, 1329	167-168
Guillaume Kabalarios		Donation	?	A fallow field of 3 stremata	Next to metochion of the Prodromos monastery		July, ind. 6, 1326 (?)	185-186
George Phrangopoulos and his wife Kale		Donation	Dratzobitza Aedonitzin	A place for vineyard (ampelotopion), neighboring Simon Soterichos and Theodore Kakodikes, another one in Aedonitzin	The first is received from a chrysobull of deceased Gazes, the second is from inheritance	In a donation way (prosenektikos), for the salvation of soul	December, ind. 12, 1328	186
Martha nun (Maria), wife? of dead Maroules		Donation letter	Steilon	A vineyard	Next to Myre	for the salvation of soul	December, ind. 12, 1328	187-188
Kosma hieromonk		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Dratzobyztze	A land and a vineyard from a donation, 22 modioi with fruit trees	Next to the monydrion	From donation	14 th c.	190-194 (190)
Mamantzene		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region	Modioi ?	Next to Theodore Bekos	From donation	14 th c.	190-194 (191)
Berges		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region	Modioi 5	Next to Komianos	From donation	14 th c.	190-194 (191)

Theodore M.so.nio...		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region	Modioi 4		From donation	14 th c.	190-194 (191)
Dionysios Mamantzes and his son		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region	Modioi 7		From donation	14 th c.	190-194 (191)
Eirine		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region	Modioi 10	Next to Pekoules	From donation	14 th c.	190-194 (191)
? Klados		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region	Modioi ?	Next to John, from grandparent	From donation	14 th c.	190-194 (191)
Demetrios Chalomeos		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region	Modioi 7	Next to logaristes Brakokodounes	From donation and sales	14 th c.	190-194 (191-192)
Ouranos from Dramioton		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region	Modioi 6	Next to Zapatos	From donation	14 th c.	190-194 (192)
Madarites	pansebastos	Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region	A vineyard with an in-fence territory (ampeloperibolon), modioi 32	Next to Raioannos and Koukouras	From donation and sale	14 th c.	190-194 (192)
Fronimos		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region	Modioi 10	Next to Protopapas	From donation	14 th c.	190-194 (192)
By me (the author of the inventory)	Megas logariastes	Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region-Dratzobytsa	Vineyard of modioi 7	Next to a road	From donation to the monastery of St. Basil	14 th c.	190-194 (192)

Sarantos		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region- Dratzobytza	Vineyard of modioi 12	Next to John Theodosios and priest Constantine	From donation to the monastery	14 th c.	190-194 (192)
Rokas		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region-	Vineyard of modioi 3	Next to Baris	From donation to the monastery	14 th c.	190-194 (193)
Kamatere		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region	Land from Rhomanos Tzikos, 2 modioi, in which there is a mulberry tree, 4 olives and 3 almonds and other fruit trees, a place for houses	next to Keramotou and Protosaltos, a place for houses is close to Kaballarios and Myres	From donation to the monastery	14 th c.	190-194 (193)
Adrianoupolitis		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region	Place for houses	Next to Chenatos	From donation to the monastery	14 th c.	190-194 (193)
Rhepas Spathas		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region	Fallow land, 16 modioi	Next to Komprektes	From donation to the monastery	14 th c.	190-194 (193)
?	primmykarios	Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region	Fallow land, modioi 20	Next to Kourianos and Agios Georgios	From donation to the monastery	14 th c.	190-194 (193)
Germaos Drosenos		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region	Fallow land, 12 modioi	Next to John	From donation to the monastery	14 th c.	190-194 (193)
Prisel		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region	Fallow land, 4 modioi	Next to Aletras and the church of St. George Banitziotes	From donation to the monastery	14 th c.	190-194 (193)

Diobatisse		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region-Gliniane	Fallow land, 12 modioi	Next to ieraniotes Chalkesis and a road	From donation to the monastery	14 th c.	190-194 (194)
Ioanitzopoulina		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region-Keramarion	Fallow land, 6 modioi	Next to Gradistina and Ioanitzopoulos	From donation to the monastery	14 th c.	190-194 (194)
Alexios Bastralitos		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region	Fallow land, 30 modioi	Next to Bastralitos and Stratelatos	From donation to the monastery	14 th c.	190-194 (194)
Protopapas		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region-Porina	A garden 6 modioi	Next to chartophylax and Papanikolaos	From donation to the monastery	14 th c.	190-194 (194)
Protopapas		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region-Porina	A garden 6 modioi	Next to chartophylax and Papanikolaos	From donation to the monastery	14 th c.	190-194 (194)
Blegkotes		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region	20 modioi	Next to Stratalaios and Goumperas	From donation to the monastery	14 th c.	190-194 (194)
Gobenos		Inventory of Asomatos monastery possessions	Zichne region	Year-long working mill		From donation to the monastery	14 th c.	190-194 (194)
Kardames Nicholas	kyr	Periorismos of the given land	Next to theotokos Trillission church	200 modioi of land	By the horismos of despotes	Land given by Kardames Nicholas	14 th c.	204
Alexios Rhaoul	Megas domestikos, servant of the emperor	Donation act, sanctioned by horismos of Dusan (not preserved)	Zelichobe	1) land (chorafion) is next to land called Sthlaboemporion and 3 roads (from Asomatos to Kremna,	1) Donation is sanctioned by emperor Stefan by prostagma, who gave	The monastery has shortage of land next to the metochion of Asomatos, and doesn't have how to cultivate its lands in Zalichobe. For the salvation of	3 Sept., 6 ind., after 1345	205-206

				from Zelichobe to Tzainos, from Lokoubikeia to Tholos) 2) land close to Mnemories and between two road, one public, from Lokoubikeia to Tholos, and from Asomatos to Tzainos	(euergete) the land 2) inside there exaleimmata of paroikoi, next to exalaimmata of Sakoulas	the soul of the emperor and commemoration of Rhaoul. For the prayers and commemoration made by the monks.		
(Leon?) Bardales ²³³⁵	protasekretis	Katastichon of Metochion of St. John Prodromos	Zichne castle	Baths (loetron)	Inside the monastic yard		After 1338?	207-208
Kokine		Katastichon of Metochion of St. John Prodromos	Zichne castle	Houses (oikemata)	Inside the castle of Zichne		After 1338?	207-208
Cyprian ²³³⁶	Bishop of Pheremai	Donation Act, false (?), donation act, original. 1 – afieroterion gramma, 2 – ekdterion gramma 3) Act of Niphon patriarch, c. 1310 4) Witnessing of bishop of	Trilission	1) Monydrion in Trilission of Theotokos Dempelakes and 2 metochia with it, next to Trouliane (Theotokos Tzerne) and next to Mestos (Theotokos Gradistos) – from sales and from a gift of Oikomenikos patriarch (for arrangement and beatification – eis sustasin kai beltiwsin) 2) Monydrion in Trilission of Theotokos Dempelakes and 2 metochia with it, next to Trouliane (Theotokos Tzerne) and next to Mestos (Theotokos Gradistos) – passed from passed archbishop of Philippes Kallinikos, because of the relativity and fatherly love (patrikon filtron), he passed it with a letter in witnessing of the bishop		For usual commemoration and annual kanonikon as a bishop of Pheremai 4) The bishop of Melnik explains that once the monydrion had times of prosperity but now it fell into a complete destruction (all its beauty is taken away) and the bishop of Pheremai decided to give it to the monastery of Prodromos	1333	224-232

²³³⁵ Sevčenko, Ihor. “Leon Bardales et les juges generaux ou la corruption des incorruptibles,” *Byzantion* 19 (1949): 247-259.

²³³⁶ Guillou, *Les Archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, pp.182-183 considered this act to be a forgery, but based on the original text

		Melnik, Metrophanes 5) description of properties 6) prostagma of andronikos III confirming the donation		<p>of Nikopolis. The 3 monasteries are passed with all possessions and people and cattle. For arrangement and beatification – eis sustasin kai beltiwsin by the monks. As a witness is the bishop of Melnik (Metrophanes).</p> <p>3) The act of Niphon is a confirmation of taxation-free position of the monastery (ktemata akatadoulota di apographikon apokatastasewn, eleuthera) and tell the story of foundation of the monastery by Gerasimon and his son Theodore, who became monks in that monastery, after the death of his father Theodore as a memory about him improved and arranged the monastery from his own expenses, but because Theodore didn't have children he left the monastery to his relatives (anepsioi), who became eforoi, and sent a letter to the patriarch to keep the monastery safe of taxes.</p>				
Demetrios Bastralites, wife Eudokia, daughters Euphemia and Maria	Servant of the emperor (Dusan?)	10 Letter, ekdoterion gramma 2) Ekdoterion gramma CEU eTD Collection	Ouske Kato Ouske	1) Aulotopion of Iantzoz, 6 strema 2) land in Kato Ouske	1) From Exaleimmata ypostaseis, next to Parapapa and priest Theodore 2) hereditary from parents, on the basis of chrysobulls and prostagmata from the emperors	For memory of our god-crowned rulers and us For commemoration of our ancestors and us	March, ind. 10, 14thc. 1353	245-246

Maria Branena, died		Inventory of possessions in Kato Ouske	Kato Ouske	Ypostasis (peasant's property) of priest Zampilibas Konstantinos with a monastery of St. George, it was of Maria Branena until her death		For her commemoration	1342?	243-245
Joseph Margaritos	kyr	Inventory of possessions in Kato Ouske	Kato Ouske	Ypostasis (peasant's property) of Zarides (dead), his property to the monastery	Given for 3 adelphata		1342?	243-245
Demetrios Nomikos	Son of the protopriest of Zampitlib as	Donation latter		Gives his own ypostasis, received from parents, ½ house (another half – brother), aulotopion 6 modioi, land in Ptelea, 10 modioi, land in Klitza, 4 modioi, land in Bysina Moggila, 2 modioi, land in Baloggon, 20 modioi, land in Plagin, 1,5 modioi and a vineyard of 2 modioi		For an adelphaton	14 th century	248-249
Jacob Mpalaes		1) Katastichon of Anastasia Pharmakolyptria 2) sigillion 1338 3) Chrysobull sigillion of Andronikos III 4) orismos /prostagma of Andronikos III confirming donation to Prodromos monastery 5) confirmation of Stefan Dusan	Monastery Theotokos Ostrine and Anastasia Pharmakolyptria monastery near Zichne and some other properties in the same region	1) Hereditary and old documents, katastichon of Frangopoulos, from chrysobulls – 6 families, 3 having cattle, donation of Jacob to his monastery 2) [Theotokos Ostrine] has in Slavitz another metochion of Anastasia, which has a vineyard with fruit trees, 4 modioi, and nut trees – 41 items, fallow field in Milea, 60 modioi and another up and down to the road – 7 modioi; Anastasia monastery has aulotopion 3 modioi, church territory of 1,5 modioi with 2 nut trees, vineyards in Broulea, lands of exaleimmata of Tzaxeires, 5 modioi, lands “given by pious and god-loving people” in Gliniane - 19 modioi, in bratza		No. 3 A. Guillou considered that Jacob was a “partisan of Andronikos III.” ²³³⁷ My majesty seeing such a great zeal and plead, and pure thoughts and faith ... and service for my majesty ... confirmed and added 20 nomismata annually No. 6 the patriarch confirmed to Jacob the right to possess the monasteries, under the condition that he will arrange and beautify them and to commemorate in canonical way during anaphora the name of the patriarch.	1332, 1338, after 1345, April of 1353	256-278 (dossier)

²³³⁷ Guillou, *Les Archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, p. 97.

		of privileges (free of taxes) 6) act of patriarch John Kalekas 7) testament of Jacob		– 15 modioi, in Syrakon – 20 modioi, in Kourilan – 4 modioi, in Oulitza – 4 modioi + 6 etc. Sum: vineyards – 17 modioi, lands – 777 modioi 3) asked the emperor to give him a chrysobull for monydrion Theotokos Ostrine in kastron of Zichne and its dependancy, St. Anastasia. The emperor gave it to Jacob, who after his death can give it to whomever. And territory of 200 modioi in Tholos of kyr alexios Palaiologos, 20 modioi + 20 nomismata from Jews of Zichne annually. 7) In the testament he divides his goods between the relatives and the monastery. To the Prodromos he gives: a field at Eboleane, places for yards at Porenoi and another one, 1 cow and a third of seeds, 2 new and 2 old barrels, 7 books, 2 pitchforks, 2 mattocks, an axe, strickle, and confirms the transfer of 2 <i>monydria</i>	No. 7 Adelphaton which he has at the Prodromos he can by agreement with the monk to pass to anybody, so it either given to the relative who enters the monastery or to his brother Demetrios and his cousin Demetrios, if nobody enters. He also leaves to his spiritual father 13 hyperpyra “for my burial and timely commemorations” and asks him to distribute the rest of money		
Makarios Kozeakos	monk	Testament, partially for St. Anastasia monastery		Gives a chapel (eukterion) built by him of Theotokos Spelaiotissa and his donations (vineyards and a field given by Solari), and 1 aviary to St. Anastasia monastery	Falling into weakness and being afraid of the secret of death. For commemoration of my toils of soul and of my ancestors. A third of the donation, he gives to brother, spiritual father	1340	259-261 No. 149
Theodore Kaballarios Dekalabrias		Act CEU eTD Collection	Near Zichne	Some time ago he gave a land to monk Makarios Kozeakos to build a monydrion, near St. Anastasia, as well as fields and places for vineyards near that monastery, and Makarios made there vineyards, and out of them 1/3 – to brother, 1/3 to St. Anastasia, 1/3 to Kaballarios, which he sold to St. Anastasia for 6 ounces of ducats		August, ind., 8	262-263

Ypomone, nun	Wife of sakellarios George Mourmour as	1) Donation act confirmed by her daughter, Xanthes under condition of an adelphaton 2) Confirmation of the donation by Makarios, metropolitan of Serres 3) Periorismos by the Prodromos	Near Serres	1) The monastery of George called Kryonerites, built by her and her husband, and holy object and books, and also not without the possessions and livestock, which are written down separately in the katastichon. 2) Metropolitan's confirmation bind the George monastery as a metochion of the Prodromos. To have singing and lighted up candles there and to venerate there non-stop the memory of our holy rules and of the ktetors of the monastery. 3) the George monastery had vineyards, houses in Serres, houses (given by kyr Xenos Mourmouras), several lands, another vineyard + olive garden, a xenodocheion		For beautification and improvement of the monks of the monastery. She and her husband gave the dowries (proika) in advance to their children, what is left is given to the foundation. For salvation of the souls and for an adelphaton which is described in details (grain, wine, vegetables, olives, cheese, beans, nuts, mulberry, woods)	July 1339, October of 1339	281-288
Zebros	sakellios	Periorismos of St. George Kryonerites	Near Zichne, in Slabitza	Olives			Before 1339	287
Xanthes Mourmoura	Daughter of sakellarios George Mourmour as	Detailed inventory of St. George Kryonerites	Near Merichia	Land, 120 modioi	Given by the metropolitan of Zichne to Xanthes as a dowry	From donation to the monastery	14 th century	290-293
Glykis		Detailed inventory of St. George Kryonerites		Land, 30 modioi	Near land bought from daughter of Triboles	From donation to the monastery	14 th century	290-293
Ikanakios		Detailed inventory of St. George Kryonerites		Fallow field, 4 modioi	Next to the mills of Palakes	From donation to the monastery	14 th century	290-293
Apelmenes		Detailed inventory of St.	Aggelitzis	Fallow land, 2 modioi		From donation to the monastery	14 th century	290-293

		George Kryonerites						
Arabatenos		Detailed inventories of St. George Kryonerites	Libobyston	Land, 200 modioi, there are monastic house and a vineyard in it	Near public road and a river	From donation to the monastery	14 th century	290-293, 294-298
Melissenos		Detailed inventories of St. George Kryonerites	Libobyston	Land, 12 modioi,	Near the land given by Arabatenos	From donation to the monastery	14 th century	290-293, 294-298
Botrydas		Detailed inventories of St. George Kryonerites	Libobyston	Fallow land, 10 modioi, winery in it	Near the land given by Melissenos	From donation to the monastery	14 th century	290-293, 294-298
Arabantas		Detailed inventory of St. George Kryonerites	Aggelitzis	Fallow land, 16 modioi		From donation to the monastery	14 th century	290-293
Nestoggos or Kardames ?		Detailed inventories of St. George Kryonerites	Serres	Place for gardens	In the great Pyrgos of Agios Nicholas	From donation to the monastery	14 th century	290-293, 294-298
Synadenos		Detailed inventory of St. George Kryonerites	Serres	Bricks workshop (keramarion) and the land with it, 5 stremata, a household which is called of Rhabdas		From donation to the monastery	14 th century	290-293
Phokopoulos		Detailed inventory of St. George Kryonerites	Serres	Two-eyed mill ²³³⁸ near gates of Klysomenos, houses with a magkipeion		From donation to the monastery	14 th century	290-293
Asanina		Detailed inventory of St.	Serres	Oikema kapelikon – house with a shop		From donation to the monastery	14 th century	290-293

²³³⁸ Cavanagh, William et al. *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: The Laconia Survey. Archaeological data*. Vol. 2 (Athens: British School at Athens, 1996): 352-355.

		George Kryonerites						
Zebos	Sakellios of the metropolis of Serres	Detailed inventories of St. George Kryonerites	Serres	House with an ergasterion – workshop	Next to royal gates	From donation to the monastery	14 th century	290-293, 294-298
Glykis		Detailed inventory of St. George Kryonerites	Serres	2 houses with the second floor and a basement		From donation to the monastery	14 th century	290-293
Sarakenos		Detailed inventory of St. George Kryonerites	Lestiane	Fallow land inside a village, 5 modioi	Nest to land of Balsamina	From donation to the monastery	14 th century	290-293
Mariamne		Detailed inventory of St. George Kryonerites	Kontaris	Fallow land inside a village, 5 modioi	Next to Loupenari	From donation to the monastery	14 th century	290-293
Arabantas		Detailed inventory of possession in Serres	Serres	Hostels		From donation to the monastery	14 th century	294-298
Philippos		Detailed inventory of possession in Serres	Agios Basilios	Vineyards		From donation to the monastery	14 th century	294-298
Tzintzes and Rhogologos		Detailed inventory of possession in Serres		Vineyards in the olive gardens		From donation to the monastery	14 th century	294-298
Constantine Cholebeares ²³³⁹		Donation letter under condition of 2 adelphata	Palatia tes Despoinas	Monastery of St. John the Baptist, which is passed with all holy	Next to the Klyzomenos gates, goes down	Because all things and deeds in life become dust and smoke, and no one stays here, the only thing	September, ind.	298-300

²³³⁹ PLP no. 30879 - Priest, founder of the Prodromos Monastery in Serrhai before 1341/42, gives this monastery to the Prodromos Monastery. M. Schaller (Schaller, Martin. *Prosopographische und diplomatische Ergänzungen zum Codex B des Ioannes Prodromos-Klosters bei Serrhai*. Diplomarbeit. Universität Wien, 2013, pp. 82-83) corrected the date to 1382.

			next to Serres	clothes and books, and possessions which starts from the Klyzomenos gates and goes down to the road (detailed description)	to the road, in parallel to the border with possessions of sakellarios Dokianos, and with another road and wastelands (? eroimhs) to the right, neighboring a kastron's wall of Diasitos	which stays is a good deed, and that's why I built from my own things, toils and expenses a monastery. For 2 adelphata, usual for other adelphterioi (described in details)	6, 1342 ? or 1382	
Maria Basilike	protallagat oresa	Donation under condition of adelphaton	Tholos Zichne region	All my upostasis from dowry (proikos): 1) aulotopion in Tholos with kathedra, 2) another alotopion nearby of 2 stremma, which was after death of brother, Leon Mpyres, hold by her husband 3) aulotopion near Rhadilas 4) aulotopion Gounikos near Chryselios 5-10) vineyards – in Glempoukon, Dratzobytyza, near a road going to Tholos, near possessions of kastrophylax John Konstomoiros, near Bastraliton 11-12) fields – next to Bladimoiros in Almyra and in Lamomata		For one adelphaton given either to the donatrisse or to her aunt, a nun. Adelphaton consists of grain, vine, beans and vegetable, olive oil, a pair of shoes, salt, woods.	August, ind. 2 14 th c., after 1342?	304-306
Eirine Choumnaina Palaiologine ²³⁴⁰	Servant and sister and aunt of the emperor	Donation and sale acts, Confirmation chrysobull of Stefan Dusan		1) A monastery of St. John the Baptist with it possessions (aulotopion) of 25 modioi was given to be rebuilt. 2) Sale contract was on 846 modioi of land in Tholos for 160 ounces of ducats.		To receive commemoration of the ruling ancestors and the donatrisse. No. 3 to have 2 adelphata till the end of life, one at the monastery, kept in case she will appear in	1355-1356	308-316

²³⁴⁰ PLP 30936, Daughter of Nikephoros Choumnos, briefly married to the despot John Palaiologos, son of Andronikos II and his second wife, Yolanda of Montferrat. Abbess of the Convent of Philanthropenos Soter in Constantinople, see: Hero, Angela Constandinides. "Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina, Abbess of the Convent of Philanthropos Soter in Constantinople," *BF* 9 (1985): 119-157; Donald M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady: Ten Portraits, 1250-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 59-70.

				3) donation of the rest of her hereditary (gonika ktēma) lands in Tholos (zeugelateion) under condition of 2 adelphata 4) in the chrysobull Dusan calls her “my aunt” (theia mou)		Serres, and one given in Constantinople in 3 ounces of ducats. And to have after death usual established commemorations, to have weekly one liturgy (kata eudomada) for our souls till this monastery stays		
Kyr Demetrios	Despot Son of Andronikos II (?)	Act of exachros Galaktion allowing to Prodromos monastery to build a new church on the land, given by kyr Demetrios	Diosseiaretou	A Land and ruins of an earlier building		From donation to the monastery	The act by Galaktion is of 14 th c. The donation date of unknown	394-395
Constantin Makrenos	domestikos	Prostagma of Andronikos III confirming the deal		Confirmation of exchange of the income 100 hyperpyra from the possession given by Makrenos with oikonomia of primmikerios Basilikos of the same sum	Income from properties	before 1333	The date of donation is unknown	Prodromos Cartulary A, Guillou, <i>Les Archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome</i> , p. 95-96

8. Commemoration as a Commodity: Noble Donations in Byzantium and Serbia

One of the points in discussion of the matter of patronage and donations to Byzantine and Serbian monasteries should be the analysis of exchange relations between the foundations and the individuals. These relations can be described, in a simplified manner, as making economic investments for the spiritual care (gifts for commemorations).²³⁴¹ As a social practice, the commemoration was expressed in various material and juridical forms. On the one hand, organized tombs, burial portraits and votive movable gifts (icons, vessels, textiles, manuscripts etc.) became necessary material objects bearing the traces of a dead person in the world of living. On the other hand, prayers, reading of the diptychs, liturgical rituals, visiting of graves and eating on behalf of a deceased were a contribution of the living ones toward communication with the departed. Finally, the *prooimia* of donation charters and last wills, dedicatory inscriptions and epigrams accompanying the burials gave voices to the dead provided them with a communication tools connecting the world and the afterlife. The entire “industry” of the ecclesiastic foundations started to be aimed on various types of commemorations with the increasing time devoted to various rituals of the remembrance. From the Byzantine point of view, the very idea of the foundation establishment was seen in the glorification of God and commemoration on behalf of different groups of believers. According to the Testament by presbyter Alexios Tesaites (1232): “Those who erect churches, they do it for three reasons: first, to praise God; second, to pray for the emperors; third, to commemorate those who are buried there and the orthodox everywhere.”²³⁴²

Consequently, in this chapter, I am going to focus on the group of rites and prayers which were performed as acts of commemoration (of dead or alive) by the endowed ecclesiastic institutions. Therefore, I find it necessary to clarify and analyze the rituals for which the medieval people were ready to pay significant monetary prices, usually given in form of gifts or endowment. Consequently, this chapter addresses the structures and the peculiarities of the commemorative rituals on the basis of the donation deeds, *ktetorika typika* and some *euchologia*. It also provides some observations

²³⁴¹ On a general discussion of the Maussian theory of exchange as applied to the medieval practices of ecclesiastic donations, see: Silber, Ilana. “Gift-Giving in the Great Traditions: The Case of Donations to Monasteries in the Medieval West,” *European Journal of Sociology* 36/2 (1995): 209-243; Silber, Ilana. “Neither Mauss nor Veyne? Peter Brown’s Interpretative Path to the Gift,” in: *The Gift in Antiquity. Studies in the Ancient World: Comparative Histories*, ed. M. Satlow (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013): 202-220; Silber, Ilana. “Beyond Purity and Danger: Gift-Giving in the Monotheistic Religions,” in: *Gifts and Interests*, ed. T. Vandevelde (Louvain: Peeters, 2000): 115-132. On the practice of the donations at the point of death for the commemoration and salvation of soul, see: Bacci, Michele. *Investimenti per l’aldilà. Arte e raccomandazione dell’anima nel Medioevo* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2003); Rantala, Tuule. “Monastic Donations by Widows: Morning Gifts as Assets,” in: *Planning for Old Age and Death in Fifteenth-Century Sweden*, eds M. Korpiola and A. Lahtinen (Leiden: Brill, 2018): 66-87; For the cases when economic rather than pious reasons prompted donations, see: Zachariadou, Elizabeth. “Some Remarks About Dedications to Monasteries in the Late 14th Century,” in: *Ο Άθως στους 14ο-16ο αιώνες / Mount Athos in the 14th-16th centuries*, ed. D. Komini-Dialeti (Athens: Ethniko Idryma Ereunon, 1997): 27-31.

²³⁴² MM, Vol. IV, p. 425. Translations: Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual*, p. 61.

concerning the concepts of the afterlife, structure of memorial books and inscription which were used for the purposes of remembrance.

8.1. Byzantine Theology of the Afterlife and the Role of Commemorations

In the recent work on *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium* V. Marinis²³⁴³ regarded the Byzantine theology of Death and the role of commemorations as developed at several stages. At the early stage, thanks to the main church fathers, the concepts on the afterlife inherited from the pagan Antiquity, Jewish theology, Biblical texts, and local traditions, merge into a cohesive system of the ideas associated with the Last Judgement, the resurrection, the Paradise and Hades,²³⁴⁴ and the preliminary judgement after the Death. Here he underlines the decisive role of pseudo- Athanasios's *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* for the future Byzantine theology, as pseudo-Athanasios developed the concepts of the intermediate state of souls in the Paradise and Hades and the provisional judgment taking place before the final Judgement. At the second, the Middle-Byzantine stage, the Lives of saints (such as *Life of Andrew the Fool*, dated with the 8th or 9th century, *Life of Basil the Younger* of 950s or 960s, and *Life of Niphon*, written in 1095) instruct the readers about the ordeals of the soul after the corporal death and the role of the tollhouses which the soul, assisted by the angels, passes on her way to the Paradise.²³⁴⁵

V. Marinis proves demonstratively that, in its entirety, the Byzantine theology of the afterlife was completed during the last centuries of the Empire and it took the final shape in course of the arguments with the Latins concerning the Purgatory.²³⁴⁶ In these conditions, Mark of Ephesus (Manuel Eugenikos) formulates the complex concept of the intermediary judgement and the necessity of commemoration. According to him, neither the righteous nor the sinners receive their final allotment before the last Judgment, but rather their preliminary stay in the Paradise and Hades, and the soul in the Hades suffer from the darkness of shame, remorse, and the fear of unknown. However, between the blessed ones and the sinners, there is the largest group of souls, the *mesoi*, who did not repent fully or committed minor sins. Moreover, all categories of the dead benefit from the liturgies and commemorations: the sinners get some release or break in their tortures, the righteous get the glory in a greater measure and the *mesoi* may be freed from their punishment.²³⁴⁷

To the analysis conducted by V. Marinis, I only would like to add some additions concerning the audiences of various texts dealing with the afterlife and commemoration. Indeed, the theory of Manuel Eugenikos was developed as a response to the Latin views of Purgatory, during the Council

²³⁴³ Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium*

²³⁴⁴ Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium*, pp. 15-27.

²³⁴⁵ Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium*, pp. 28-48.

²³⁴⁶ Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium*, pp. 74-81.

²³⁴⁷ Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium*, pp. 76-80, 102-106.

of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1445)²³⁴⁸ and, consequently, had a very limited circulation. It seems that the liturgical works of Symeon of Thessaloniki²³⁴⁹ and Nicholas Kabasilas²³⁵⁰ which explained the memorial services and *proskomidia* as providing assistance in salvation for sinful souls, petitioning to the Lord, and thanksgiving, were predominantly aimed on the urban and monastic learnt clergy.

Therefore, I assume that the main source of information on the Byzantine doctrine about the Afterlife should be looked among much more popular texts, namely, the texts of funerary and memorial services and daily sermons. These texts, being delivered to wider audiences during the church services, shaped the need and desire of posthumous commemorations in hearts of the ecclesiastic communities. In this sense, a short sermon of the Saturday of Souls (Saturday of Meatfare)²³⁵¹ written by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (d. 1335) and preserved in numerous manuscripts of the 14th to 15th centuries,²³⁵² seems to be more instructive for the wider audience. This text is a part of the Synaxarion for the Lenten Triodion, the service book which provides various readings for the period of the pre-lenten weeks, from the Sunday of Publicans and Pharisees to the Saturday of All Saints. This writing was not only popular among the Byzantines, but also received a great popularity among the Balkan Slavs, as the earliest translation of the text was made by monk Zakfej of Zographou monastery in the first half of the 14th century.²³⁵³

In the sermon for the Saturday of Souls (the day for the remembrance of dead), the author explains that the holy fathers established to commemorate “all Christians” who have not received a proper commemoration. He explains why this precise day was chosen for the joint remembrance and proceeds with the set of stories supporting the idea of the commemoration of the dead by the living as assistance in the afterlife. He brings such entertaining examples²³⁵⁴ as the encounter of St. Makarios with a skull of a pagan answering that the prayers of holy men help to receive release from

²³⁴⁸ For the role of Manuel Eugenikos in the Council and his writings on the Purgatory concept, see: Ambrosios (Pogodin), Archimandrite [Амвросий (Погодин), Архимандрит]. *Святой Марк Эфесский и Флорентийская уния* (Jordanville: Typography of the Holy Trinity Monastery, 1963): esp. pp. 44-168

²³⁴⁹ PG, 155, cols. 841-848, the explanation about the post-corporal life of the soul is a part of Symeon's “Answers” to 83 questions of Gabriel of Pentapolis (Question 4).

²³⁵⁰ PG, 150, cols. 384-390, the explanation of the petitioning and thanksgiving meanings of *proskomidia* is a chapter in Kabasilas' “Explanation on the Divine Liturgy.”

²³⁵¹ *Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου του Ξανθοπούλλου, Συναξάρια εις τας Επισήμους εορτάς, του Τριωδίου, και του Πεντηκοσταρίου* (Venice: Giovanni Antonio Juliani, 1650): 6-10.

²³⁵² The Pinakes Catalogue by Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes provides 50 manuscripts, kept in various collections, and the majority of which are dated with the 14th to 15th century, see: <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/12694/> (last accessed on 02.03.2019).

²³⁵³ Попов, Георги [Попов Георги]. “Новооткрито сведение за преводаческа дейност на български книжовници от Света гора през първата половина на XIV в.” *B'lgarski jezik* 6 (1978): 497-507. For the spread of various Triodion translations among Serbs and Bulgarians during the 14th century, see: Taseva, Lora [Тасева, Лора]. “Триодните синаксари у южните славяни през 14 век (Постен цикъл),” *Slavjanska Filologija* 23 [Доклади и статии за XIII международен конгрес на славистите] (2003): 5-17; Taseva, Lora [Тасева, Лора]. “Книжните взаимоотношения между Святой Горой и Тырново в свете текстовой традиции Триодного синаксаря,” in: *Преводите през XIV столетие на Балканите: Доклади от международната конференция*, ed. L. Taseva (Sofia: BAN, 2004): 185-203

²³⁵⁴ *Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου του Ξανθοπούλλου, Συναξάρια εις τας Επισήμους εορτάς, του Τριωδίου, και του Πεντηκοσταρίου* (Venice: Giovanni Antonio Juliani, 1650): 7-8.

tortures; St. Gregory Dialogos who managed to get Emperor Trajan from the Hades; and Empress Theodora who delivered Emperor Theophiles from the eternal condemnation by the petitions of the holy confessors.²³⁵⁵ In addition, with the reference to St. Athanasios, Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos explains the basic principle of the benefits provided by the commemorations (“if the deceased was a sinner he would receive a pardon of his sins, and if he was a righteous one, he would have an increase in his virtues”)²³⁵⁶ and insists that the performer of memorial rituals also receives the divine grace because of love and compassion he/she displayed.

The second part of the text is devoted to the post-corporal fate of souls and the question of divine predestination. Namely, Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos argues that the pious and sinful souls are held separately, the former enjoying hope for the future salvation and the latter being in fear of their unknown destiny, and, though the Divinity knows everything in advance, the sins committed on earth during the life and the mode of death take place with His permission, but not by His will. The text ends with the parallelism, established between the days of commemorations (third, nine, fortieth) and the stages of the development of a human fetus, which should remind to the listeners/readers about the gradual association/separation between the body and soul.

8.2. The Rituals: Funerary Services

The Byzantine rituals associated with a person's death fall into two significant groups, those associated with the burial itself and those taking place in remembrance of the deceased. The first group included several stages starting from the preparation of the body at home or in a cell, proceeding to the service taking place in a church and finishing with some rituals (for example, pouring consecrated oil on a grave²³⁵⁷ or pronouncing an oration) which take place at a cemetery or at the church narthex.²³⁵⁸ The second group of rites includes various ways of commemoration, some of them following immediately the burial within days, others being performed over many years after.

²³⁵⁵ For the appearance and development of these stories in Byzantine theology, see: Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium*, pp. 98-100; Afinogenos, Dimitri [Афиногенов, Дмитрий], ed. *Повесть о прощении императора Феодфила» и Торжество Православия* (Moscow: Indrik, 2003).

²³⁵⁶ εἰς εἶναι ἀμαρτωλὸς ὁ ἀπεθαμμένος σου διὰ τὰ λύσεις τὰ ἀμαρτήματά του. εἰ δὲ ἤδη εἶναι δίκαιος τὰ τοῦ γέννη αὔξησης τῶν δὲ ἀρετῶν τοῦ - Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου τοῦ Ξαντοπούλλου, *Συναξάρια εἰς τὰς Ἐπισήμους εορτάς, τοῦ Τριωδίου, καὶ τοῦ Πεντηκοσταρίου* (Venice: Giovanni Antonio Juliani, 1650): 8 (the spelling is in accordance with the original edition).

²³⁵⁷ For the custom of pouring the consecrated oil, see the discussion of Symeon of Thessaloniki, *PG* Vol. CLV, col. 520-521.

²³⁵⁸ Velkovska, “Funeral Rites,” pp. 31-40; For readings of monodia on the places of burial, see: of Sideras, Alexander. *Die byzantinischen Grabreden. Prosopographie, Datierung, Überlieferung 142 Epitaphien und Monodien ecus dem byzantinischen Jahrtausend* [Vol. XIX, *Wiener Byzantinische Studien*] (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994) which contains a collection of twelve monodies of Late Byzantine period, which could be entirely or partially read on the burial places.

The first group of rituals, from the death to burial received much attention of scholars, primarily due to well preserved source,²³⁵⁹ whereas the latter group, though being attested by significant number of sources (especially, by some typika and euchologia) has not yet been studied well in all its aspects. Partially, this neglect²³⁶⁰ can be explained by the nature of certain commemoration rites which derive from the text of the funeral services, in part or completely.²³⁶¹

The funeral Byzantine church services, indeed, are characterized by a great diversity. By the 12th century, the Byzantine church developed a great variety of funeral services for different categories of people, depending on their age, gender, occupation and a classes of clergy (babies, women, nuns, priests, deacons, bishops etc.),²³⁶² but even among the services addressed to one category of deceased it is barely possible to find two manuscripts containing identical sequences.²³⁶³ However, the backbone of these services was shaped, in the majority of cases, around the reading of several Psalms (almost always – 118, often – 50 and 90), a collection three other psalms with antiphons, a funerary canon and some other elements,²³⁶⁴ and from the 12th century on the structure of all these various services was greatly influenced by the one written for deceased monks and shaped on the layout of the matins.²³⁶⁵ The differences in services mainly were caused by choices in hymnography (*kanons*, *troparia*, *stichera*) and prayers. Th. Christodoulou has numbered a variation of forty-five different prayers and twenty-five kanons intended for funerals.²³⁶⁶

²³⁵⁹ One of the earliest summary of various, church and family, Byzantine customs associated with the burials was given by: Koukoules, Phaidon [Κουκουλές, Φαίδων]. *Βυζαντινών βίος και πολιτισμός*, Vol. IV (Athens: s.n. 1948–1957): 208–211; Koukoules, Phaidon [Κουκουλές, Φαίδων]. “Βυζαντινών νεκρικά έθιμα,” *Epeteris Etaireias Byzantinon Spoudon* 16 (1951): 3-80; An overview of the church rites was made by: Kyriakakis, James. “Byzantine Burial Customs: Care of the Deceased from Death to the Prothesis,” *GOTR* 19 (1974): 37-72; the discussion of the same rites, but with a focus of narrative sources, primarily saints’ lives was made in: Abrahamse, Dorothy. “Rituals of Death in the Middle Byzantine Period,” *GOTR* 29/2 (1984): 125-134; Velkovska, “Funeral Rites,” pp. 21-51 dedicated the research to the texts of funeral services preserved into the middle-Byzantine euchologia; Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead*, pp. 182–243 – dedicated a chapter of her PhD Thesis to the reflection of the burial church rituals in the construction of church tombs and their association with the rituals (on the basis of commentaries on the texts by Symeon of Thessaloniki).

²³⁶⁰ Some general observations on the liturgical commemoration system in Byzantium were made in: Chitwood, Zachary. “Gedenken und Kultus. Griechisch – Orthodoxe,” in: *Das soziale System Stiftung*, ed. M. Borgolte, Vol. II (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2016): 147-165 and Grünbart, Michael. “Zur Memorialkultur im byzantinischen Mittelalter,” in: *Byzantine Religious Culture: Studies in Honor of Alice-Mary Talbot*, eds. D. Sullivan, E. Fisher, and S. Papaioannou (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2012): 373–394 (esp. pp. 379-386).

²³⁶¹ Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium*, p. 94.

²³⁶² Bruni, Vitaliano. *I funerali di un sacerdote nel rito bizantino secondo gli eucologi manoscritti di lingua greca* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing House, 1972): esp. pp. 43-79;

²³⁶³ Galadza, Peter. “The Evolution of Funerals for Monks in the Byzantine Realm: From the Tenth to the Sixteenth Century,” *OCP* 70 (2004): 225–257.

²³⁶⁴ Velkovska, “Funeral Rites”; Eadem, “Funeral Rites in the East,” in: *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, Vol. IV, Sacraments and Sacramentals, ed. A. J. Chupungco (Collegeville, MN: 2000): 345-354.

²³⁶⁵ Bruni, Vitaliano. *I funerali di un sacerdote nel rito bizantino secondi gli eucologi manoscritti di lingua Greca* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing House, 1972): 120; Velkovska, “Funeral Rites,” pp. 34-35. However, M. Arranz suggested that this kind of services were shaped on the basis of parochial pannychis, see: Arranz, Miguel. “Les prières presbytérales des Petites Heures dans l’ancien Euchologe byzantin,” *OCP* 39 (1973): 29–82.

²³⁶⁶ Christodoulos, Themistoklis [Χριστοδούλος, Θεμιστοκλής]. *Η νεκρωσιμη ακολουθια κατα τους χειρογραφους κωδικες 10ου-12ου αιωνος* (Thera: Thesbites, 2005): Vol. I, 180-222, 243.

The main block of the funerary Byzantine service is still unchangeable even in modern Orthodox Churches, it consisting of the Immaculate (the 17th kathisma οἱ Μακαρίσμοι – Ἄμωμος Psalm 118), readings from the Acts and Gospels, *ektenes* and a kanon.²³⁶⁷ The Immaculate can be preceded by Psalm 90, *ektenes/synapte* (structured petitioning, litanies), troparia and some prayers, while the kanon, after the 3rd and 6th odes is interrupted by *ektenes* and *kontakia*. Next part includes three *antiphonoi* (on Ps. 22, 28, 83), each followed by *ektenes* and short readings, a prokimenon with the Gospel and/or Acts readings, a final *ektenes* with *troparia* and the *apolytis* (dismissal).²³⁶⁸ Sometimes, in the end of a service one can also find Laudes (Ps. 148-150).²³⁶⁹ This structure will be later discussed in connection with the memorial services, such as *parakleseis* and *trisagia*.

A Byzantine burial also had a public component, often performed by laymen, that is orations. Nikephoros Gregoras mentioned several times in his History that he composed the funerary orations: at the death of Andronikos II, at the death of Theodore Metochites, and at the death of Andronikos III.²³⁷⁰ And if in case of the death of Metochites, one can't realize when the speech was made, then, in case of the emperors Nikephoros pronounced his speeches within first three days after their death, on the second day – for Andronikos II and on the third – for Andronikos III. Moreover, on the demand of Andronikos III's wife, the rhetor performed the improvised speech at the palace, after the empress spent three initial mourning days at the monastery of Hodegon, next to her husband's burial. Some texts also witness a custom of singing funeral melodies, crying and burning candles at the tombs, as the Monody on the death of Theodore II Palaiologos (1448) suggests that these customs were performed by the inhabitants of Constantinople: "...it (Constantinople) rather sings mournful and funeral hymns, burns lamps on the tomb and raises great and loud weep on your behalf".²³⁷¹

However, both, the burial service and the tomb rites didn't mandatory took place at the foundation which a sponsor endowed; the majority of the attested donations are given for the commemoration and not for burial.

²³⁶⁷ Trempelas, Panagiotēs [Τρεμπέλας, Παναγιώτης]. *Τρεις Λειτουργίες κατά τους εν Αθήναις κώδικας* (Athens: Patriarchike Epistemonike Epitrope, 1935): 60.

²³⁶⁸ Christodoulos, Themistoklis [Χριστοδούλος, Θεμιστοκλής]. "Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία στὴ χειρόγραφη παράδοση τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ εὐχολογίου," in: Τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θανάτου στὴ λατρεία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Πρακτικά Θ' Πανελληνίου Λειτουργικοῦ Συμποσίου, Βόλος, 5-7 Νοεμβρίου 2007, accessed (28.03.2018) at: http://www.ecclesia.gr/greek/holysynod/committees/liturgical/christodoulou_them_nekrosim.html#ftn21

²³⁶⁹ Velkovska, "Funeral Rites According," p. 32; Velkovska, Elena. "Funeral Rites in the East," in: *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, Vol. IV, Sacraments and Sacramentals, ed. A. J. Chupungco (Collegeville, MN: 2000): 348.

²³⁷⁰ Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, Vol. I, pp. 465-472, ch. 10.1 (Andronikos II), pp. 474-481, ch. 10.2 (Metochites) and pp. 559-565, ch. 11.11 (Andronikos III).

²³⁷¹ ἀφῆκε δὲ μᾶλλον ὕμνον ἐξόδιον καὶ προπεμπτηρίους ἀνῆψε λαμπάδας ἐπὶ ταφῇ καὶ θροῦν ἀνήγειρε μέγαν καὶ κλαυθμὸν ἐπὶ σοί, - Anonymos Monody on the death of Theodore II Palaiologos, see: Lampros, *Παλαιολογία καὶ Πελοποννησιακά* Vol. IV, p. 179.

8.3. Commemoration rituals. Communal Commemorations

The commemorations procedures, on the other hand, can be divided into two major groups, namely the communal rituals and the private ones.²³⁷² The communal group consists of the liturgical commemoration in the *proskomidia* and during the anaphoral intercession, as well as of services for dead performed on the Saturday of the Meatfare (the Saturday of souls – Ψυχασάββατα or Σάββατα τῶν ψυχῶν), the Saturday of Cheesefare, and the Saturday before the Pentecost.²³⁷³ Thus, the monks of St. Mamas' Foundation in Constantinople could on these days commemorate their deceased brothers and *hegoumenoi*, as well as their kins:

Certainly, on the Saturday of Meatfare, the Saturday of Cheesefare, and the Saturday of Pentecost let *stauria* also be made on their behalf and let four of those who have already passed away be commemorated at each staurion. But, if they should be superiors, let individual offerings [of eucharistic bread] be made and let them, too, be commemorated. Likewise in the commemorations of each one of [the monks] let a liturgy and offering [of Eucharistic bread] be made on his behalf.²³⁷⁴

Besides the communal services, every monk of St. Mamas' also could receive one staurion as “an offering for the commemoration of their parents” on these days. This term “*stauria*” means an offering of eucharistic bread in the shape cross,²³⁷⁵ however other *typika*, except for the Kecharitomene rule having similar arrangements of the *stauria* for the nuns,²³⁷⁶ suggest to offer kollyba on these days, which can explain this ritual use of bread.

In addition to the special Saturdays, some monasteries could celebrate weakly services for deceased. In the monastery of the Mother of God Machairas in Cyprus, all the monks (“who respect and abide by this custom”) should be commemorated “in all the evening and morning doxologies and services while they are alive and after death.”²³⁷⁷ However, one may assume that the author means a group commemoration (without naming) in this passage, since, later in the text, the following commands are given:

“whenever someone has recently died, he should be remembered during each service, and I mean during matins and the liturgy and vespers, until his commemoration on the fortieth day, during which also every day one offering will be made on his behalf.”²³⁷⁸

The Typikon of St. John the Baptist's monastery on Mt. Menoikeon foreseen the communal commemorations on every Saturday, whereas the remembrance of ktetors was performed separately on Tuesdays:

²³⁷² For such division see: Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium*, p. 94.

²³⁷³ Taft, *The Diptychs*, p. 119-120.

²³⁷⁴ *BMFD*, p. 1020.

²³⁷⁵ *BMFD*, p. 1689

²³⁷⁶ *BMFD*, p. 700

²³⁷⁷ *BMFD*, p. 1130.

²³⁷⁸ *BMFD*, p. 1163.

On Thursdays celebrate it in honor of the founders, also with kollyba and a treat [of an extra serving of wine] in the refectory. On Saturdays the liturgy will be celebrated in the same way in memory of those who have fallen asleep.²³⁷⁹

Similarly, the Typikon of St. Mamas prescribes the common commemoration for all deceased brothers, taking place on each Friday, after the Office of *Lychnikon* in the exonarthex. The text indicates that this special office included the *kanon* for the dead and *ekteneis*, which, probably, means that it was a kind of memorial service (what is called in modern Russian Orthodox Church *panikhida*, but in Greek – Ακολουθία τοῦ μνημοσυνου) shaped similarly with the burial one. Nowadays, similar offices can be encountered in the Psalters with Offices and special books of canons for the dead. Thus, the beginning of all *kanons* includes the prayer of Trisagion, two Psalms (90 and 50), the Lord's prayer, the *troparion* of the 8th Tone ("By depth of Thy wisdom..") and a short *ektenes*. They also, similarly with funeral services ends with another *ektenes*, another *troparion* of the 4th Tone ("With the spirits of the righteous made perfect..."), repetition of the "Lord, have mercy" for 40 times, and commemorative prayer for the departed. These *kanons* were contained by the Book of Octoechos under the Saturday services as the second *kanons* for the matins, but usually they were sung on the Friday evenings.²³⁸⁰ The majority of the hymnographic works was written by Theophanes the Graptos (his name is included as an acrostic in the Greek *kanon* of the 5th Tone and in the acrostic of the *kanons* on the 3rd, 6th and 7th Tones in Slavic), they were very early translated into Slavic, in the times of Klimentos of Ohrid, and, therefore, similar offices can be expected to be taken in the Balkan Slavic monasteries.²³⁸¹

In similar cases, the Typikon of Euergetis monastery, which became the prototype for those many Rules discussed here,²³⁸² prescribes the parallel performance of the *kanon* for the dead and the usual *pannychis* in two different church spaces.²³⁸³ The Serbian *typika* written for Studenica and Hilandar by St. Sava almost precisely repeat the text from the Euergetis typikon:

"when the number of the dead brothers increases too much, and you have three, four or more commemorations to celebrate in one week, and than those ones who perform commemorations would miss, on the daily basis, the *kanons* prescribed for the *pannychis*. I command that it shouldn't happen. So, if somebody of the brotherhood

²³⁷⁹ *BMFD*, p. 1601; Guillou, *Les archives de saint-Jean-Prodrôme*, p. 171: τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ < μνήμην > διὰ τοὺς κτήτορας, ὁμοίως μετὰ κολύβων καὶ εὐλογίας ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ τῷ δὲ σαββάτῳ διὰ τὴν κεκοιμημένων ἀνάμνησιν ὁμοίως γενήσεται.

²³⁸⁰ Dimitria (Nikolaeva), ed. *Каноны о усопших восьми гласов* (Moscow: Danilovsky Blagovestnik, 2002): 3-4.

²³⁸¹ Yovcheva, Maria [Йовчева, Мария]. "Древнеславянский Октоих: реконструкция его состава и структур," in: *Liturgische Hymnen nach byzantinischem Ritus bei den Slaven in ältester Zeit*, eds. H. Rothe, D. Christians (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 2007): 52-53, 58.

²³⁸² Jordan, Robert. "The Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, Its Children and Grandchildren," in: *The Theotokos Evergetis and eleventh-century monasticism*, ed. M. Mullet and A. Kirby (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1994): 215-245; John Philip Thomas. "Documentary evidence from the Byzantine monastic typika for the history of the Evergetine reform movement," in: *The Theotokos Evergetis and eleventh-century monasticism*, ed. M. Mullet and A. Kirby (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1994): 246-273.

²³⁸³ Jordan, Robert H. and Morris, Rosemary, eds. and trans. *The Hypotyposis of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, Constantinople* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012): 201-202.

wants, he can go and sing for the dead, but the rest should stay and sing the *pannychis* prescribed in the *parakletikos*.”²³⁸⁴

On the basis of this information G. Babić suggested that the *pannychis* took place in the *katholika* of monasteries, while the commemorative services were performed in the subsidiary chapels.²³⁸⁵ As this text and its Euergetis prototype prove, the care for the dead became an increasingly demanding duty for the monasteries, and, by the 14th century, at least one of the great monasteries having many donors to commemorate tried to abandon or to reduce the commemorative services (this topic as it will be discussed later in the chapter).²³⁸⁶

Finally, the most usual group commemorations took place during the liturgy and the preparation of the holy gifts. For these purposes, the churches composed their own lists with the names of the living and the dead which are often mentioned in *typika* as the *diptycha*. Priests should have consulted these lists before starting a liturgy and where all brotherhood of monasteries and their benefactors and ktetors were inscribed in.²³⁸⁷ However, as it was deduced by Taft,²³⁸⁸ in the Middle and, especially, Later Byzantine tradition, memorial books for silent reciting during the anaphoral intercession or the *prothesis* commemoration started to be understood under the term “*diptycha*.” As the one who reads them was a priest and not a deacon as it would be in case of the publically-recited *diptycha*. That means, there was no public reading of the deceased’ names in churches, in the period under consideration.

Nevertheless, these lists were considered very important documents by the founders. As usually the foundations were (re-)built, at least partially, for the performance of the commemorative services, the memorial lists almost embodied the purpose of erecting a monastery. Consequently, Michael VIII for his foundation of the Archangel Michael prescribed to have the *diptycha* in two copies, one being kept in “the library of the monastery and the other in the care of the ecclesiarch”.²³⁸⁹

Initially, these lists were read before the proper liturgy, during the rite of *prothesis*, in course of which the bread and wine were prepared for their later transformation during the liturgy. The rite

²³⁸⁴ оумножившим се братинѣм оумирающѣмъ многаши въ єдиномъ недѣлѣ Г или Д паметѣ сътещи се или вещими. Тоужьно боудеть комоуждо паметъ творити въ панахыдахъ дневны. Да уставляють се ѡтлоучени канони панахыдахъ дневны ... да не боудеть то повелѣвакмы тако ꙗще кѣмъ оуть братикъ да идеть и да поють за мрътвыхъ изволите. а прочѣи да поють въ параклитницѣ въ законнѣю панахидѣ - Jovanović, Tomislav, ed. *Sveti Sava. Sabrana Dela* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1998): p. 106.

²³⁸⁵ Babić, Gordana. *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines. Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques*. PhD Thesis (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1969): esp. p. 51. The idea of the use of narthex space for the burials and commemorations’ performance was developed by Stanković, Nebojša. *At the Threshold of the Heavens: The Narthex and Adjacent Spaces in Middle Byzantine Churches of Mount Athos (10th-11th Centuries) - Architecture, Function, Meaning*, PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2017, esp. pp. 235-251

²³⁸⁶ For this example see: Stojanović, *Zapisi i natpisi*, Vol. III (Sremski Karlovci: 1905): pp. 68-70.

²³⁸⁷ *BMFD*, pp. 52, 343, 345, 350, 494, 669, 688, 700, 702, 743, 823, 929, 999, 1021, 1047, 1056, 1077, 1163, 1209, 1213, 1229.

²³⁸⁸ Taft, *Diptychs*, pp. 113-114.

²³⁸⁹ *BMFD*, p. 1229

was partially stabilized by the 14th century, with some details (texts of prayers, number of *prospophora*) continuing to vary even in the 14th and 15th centuries.²³⁹⁰ According to the rite preserved in the *Diataxis* by Philotheos Kokkinos, the living members of community were commemorated during the *proskomidia* (prothesis) ceremony, by taking particle out of the fourth *prospophora* and the dead – by taking particles of the fifth one.²³⁹¹

During the liturgy, the living and the dead can be commemorated also jointly in several litanies/petitioning prayers called in Greek *Δέησις*, *ἐκτενής* and *συναπτή*. However, these commemorations are general and list people by names rarely, except for cases of special litanies made during the private *parakleseis*.²³⁹² Though, the *deesis* following the Gospel readings, recorded in some Euchologia (Cod. 713, Cod. 394, Cod. 661, Cod. 877 of the National Library in Athens, dated from the 12th to the 15th century),²³⁹³ includes the remembrance of the founders. Therefore, the proper liturgical commemoration happened during the *intercessio* of the liturgical anaphora,²³⁹⁴ after the transformation of the bread and wine into the flesh and blood. Then the priest reads the lists of the dead and living, simultaneously censuring the altar.²³⁹⁵ Before middle/late byzantine period, while the priest was reading the concluding part of the anaphora, the deacon read so-called diptycha aloud.

²³⁹⁰ For discussion of changes in the *proskomidia* (prothesis rite) and their interpretations during the Late Byzantine period see: Muretov, Sergei D. [Муретов, Сергей Д.] “Чин проскомидии в греческой Церкви с XII до половины XIV века,” *Чтения в Обществе любителей духовного просвещения* 1894/2 (1894):192-216.

²³⁹¹ The following description of the prothesis rite is based on the 14th century *Diataxis* manuscript from St. Panteleimon monastery (Trepelas. *Αἱ τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι*, pp. 2-5) and the 16th century manuscript from Esphigmenou monastery (Dmitrievsky, *Описание литургических рукописей*, Vol. II: Euchologia, pp. 955-958) With the help of special instrument called a spear the priest takes particles out of five *prospophora* with the according supplications. Taking particles out of the first bread is a remembrance about the sacrifice of Christ; and the pronounced text and performed piercing of the bread remind about the moment of the crucifixion. And after the union (mixing of wine and water) takes the second *prospophora* and takes out particles in remembrance of the Virgin. The third *prospophora* is intended for commemorating the saints, taking the particles and pronouncing their names according to their types (prophets, apostles, holy fathers, martyrs, virgins etc.). The fourth *prospophora* is intended for the living, so the priest commemorates the patriarchs, bishops, rulers, heads and members of the monastic community, the country by taking out particles. Still holding the forth *prospophora*, he “pronounces the living by names, and, if he wants, says in the following way: “And we are also praying for the remissions of sins of your servant Raboulas hieromonk” (Ἐτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν τοῦ δούλου σοῦ).” And afterwards, taking the last, fifth, host, the priest commemorate the departed in the same way taking out different particles for the different groups of the patriarchs, rulers, monks, founders of the church and other dead whose names he pronounces with the phrase: “remember, Lord, the soul of your servant” (Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σοῦ...). After finishing the commemoration the priest censes the prothesis.

²³⁹² Skaballanovich, Michail [Скабалланович, Михаил]. *Толковый Типикон*, Vol. II (Moscow: Tipografija Korchak-Novitskogo, 1910): 75-103, 106-107, 143-155, 158-163.

²³⁹³ Trepelas. *Αἱ τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι*, pp. 58-60.

²³⁹⁴ For the development of the anaphora’s intercession (inclusion of saints, commemoration of the Virgin etc.) see: Winkler, Gabriele. “Die Interzessionen der Chrysostomusanaphora in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung,” *OCP* 36 (1970): 301-336 and 37 (1971): 333-383.

²³⁹⁵ Here are commemorated the diptycha of deceased, the priest prays: we pray to the Lord for the Holy John, the prophet, Prodomos and Baptist [...] And he commemorates all the deceased in the hope of raising from the dead for the eternal life. And then he commemorates those whom he wants. [...] In the beginning, remember Lord, (a bishop) and then the diptychs of living are commemorated. The priest bowing prays: Remember, Lord, the monastery, in which we live, and the entire city and land and the believers living in it. Remember, Lord, because of the greatness of your mercy, also our highest (bishop) [...] Remember, Lord, those who sail, travel, who are ill, who are tired, who are in captivity, and about their salvation. And then he remembers the living: Remember, Lord, those who bring the gifts and improve your holy churches, and remember the poor, etc. Dmitrievsky, *Описание литургических рукописей*, Vol. II: Euchologia, pp. 960-961,

However, this tradition got extinct by the 14th century, though it left the trace in the naming of the commemorative lists as the *dypticha* (together with *brebion* or *μνημονευόμενοις χάρτοις*).²³⁹⁶

However, by the 14th century some additional prayers for the dead were introduced into various parts of the church, especially, monastic services in the *Typika* related to so-called Jerusalem *Typikon*.²³⁹⁷ These petitions, sometimes mentioning the dead by their names, were included into the following parts of services:²³⁹⁸

- *Ekteneis* of the services of the vespers, matins and the liturgy (“Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεός... Ἔτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ μακαρίας μνήμης καὶ αἰωνίου ἀναπαύσεως τῶν ψυχῶν...” / “have mercy upon us, Lord... And also we pray for the blessed memory and the eternal repose of the souls”)
- In the final course of the *mesonyktikon* and *apodeipnon*, one may encounter up to 12th petitions starting with “Ἐὐξώμεθα”/ “Let pray”.
- A *troparion* for the dead may be included in the service of the 3rd hour
- Also the second part of the daily *mesonyktikon* may include the “Trisagion for the dead” with addition of two psalms (120 and 133), three *troparia* for the dead (“Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, ὡς ἀγαθός...” / “Remember, Lord, is good...”) and the *Theotokion*, accompanied by the prayer for the dead (Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τῶν ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι ἀναστάσεως... / Remember, Lord, all in the hope of resurrection...).

After the 15th century, the Athonite practice started to be more stabilized, and by the Modern time certain, though quite significant blocks of service were dedicated to the commemorations, communal as well as private. In commentaries to the translation of the Hagiorite *Typikon*, the translator Monk Dorimedont (Suhinin) describes²³⁹⁹ the modern practice of the commemoration at the monastery of St. Paul at Athos:

- a) About 500 names of the brethren who lived in the monastery in the past century are commemorated daily in the *proskomidia* during the third or sixth hour. In course of litanies (*ekteneis*) of the Vespers, Matins and Liturgies the recently deceased brethren (up to three years after their death) are commemorated;
- b) on Sunday and holidays, when the service with *polyeleos* or a vigil is performed, about 50 names of ktetors and great benefactors of the monastery are commemorated at *proskomidia* and in course of all special litanies of the daily circle (commemorative petitions are added to the litanies);
- c) The names of benefactors from the *Synodik* (“Παρηγσία”) are divided into 12 chapters. At the *proskomidia*, performed at the main altar of the cathedral church, the names of one of these chapters are read in turns.
- d) In course of the Pannychis on Saturday service, usually performed in a burial chapel, about 500 names of the brethren are read

²³⁹⁶ This division is proposed by Taft, *Diptychs*, esp. pp. 110-125.

²³⁹⁷ Skaballanovich, Michail [Скабалланович, Михаил]. *Толковый Типикон*, Vol. I (Moscow: Tipografija Korchak-Novitskogo, 1910): 153-155.

²³⁹⁸ Phountoules, Ioannes [Φουντουλῆς, Ιωάννης]. *Τελετουργικά Θέματα*, vol. III (Athens: Apostoliki Diakonia, 2007): 35-36.

²³⁹⁹ Dorimedont (Suhinin) [Доримедонт (Сухинина)], ed. and trans. *Святогорский устав церковного последования [Συνοδία Χρυσοστόμου Ιερομονάχου Ι. Κελλίου Ευαγγελισμού Καρεών, Αγιορειτικόν τυπικόν της εκκλησιαστικής ακολουθίας]* (Sergijev Posad: Troice-Sergieva Lavra, 2002): 18, 33, 41-42, 44.

Thus, as one may see the number and sequence of the commemorative rituals expanded significantly during the Late Byzantine period. This tendency may be associated with a better preservation of records, including the names of the dead donors and monastic brethren, but also with a growing interest to the memorial rituals from the part of private donors who were willing to pay (in cash, lands, artistic objects) for their names to be remembered in course of as many as possible number of services. Perhaps, the shift in Byzantine theology played a decisive role here: if, in the earlier period, the main role in somebody's salvation belonged to the holy persons, sharing their grace and petitioning God directly (as the saints' Lives show),²⁴⁰⁰ the Late Byzantine period is characterized by the idea of the commemoration rituals, performed by the Church and community, being main assistance in the salvation and avoidance of the eternal tortures, as one may find it in the writings by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, Symeon of Thessaloniki, Nicholas Kabasilas, Manuel Eugenikos, referred or discussed above.

8.4. Commemoration rituals. Private Commemorations

The private commemorations were typically performed following the burial,²⁴⁰¹ and on the third, ninth, and fortieth day after his death, and then annually,²⁴⁰² however, by a special agreement between an ecclesiastic institution and a sponsor, private commemorations could take various shapes and be performed even daily, as some sources below will indicate.

Those services made after certain number of days since the burial were the most typical for the private commemoration. The evidences for these services are given by various sources, typika and commentaries. The rule for commemoration on the third, ninth and fortieth day be traced back to the Apostolic constitution,²⁴⁰³ whereas the Byzantine, up to the period of the 14th and 15th century, continued to contemplating and explaining the custom which provided a smooth passage to the Afterlife for a soul.²⁴⁰⁴ The Typikon of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the Monastery of the Archangel

²⁴⁰⁰ For the significant role of the holy persons (saints, confessors, monks) in the salvation of ones' soul and them being the mediators between God and humanity, see: Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium*, pp. 28-48; Morris, *Monks and Laymen*, pp. 95-98; Rapp, Claudia. "For Next to God, You Are My Salvation': Reflections on the Rise of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," in *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, eds. J. Howard-Johnston and P. A. Hayward, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999): 63-81 (with prior bibliography).

²⁴⁰¹ For the rituals of burial and their symbolism, see: Abrahamse, Dorothy. "Rituals of Death in the Middle Byzantine Period," *GOTR* 29/2 (1984): 125-134.

²⁴⁰² Velkovska, "Funeral Rites," pp. 21-22; On the stages of the separation of the soul from body, see: Dagron, Gilbert. "Troisième, neuvième et quarantième jours dans la tradition byzantine: temps chrétien et anthropologie," in *Le Temps Chrétien de la Fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge IIIe-XIIIe siècles*, ed. J. M. Leroux (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1984): 419-430.

²⁴⁰³ Velkovska, "Funeral Rites," p. 22.

²⁴⁰⁴ For Commentaries of Symeon of Thessaloniki see: *PG*, Vol. 155.col. 692B-C. For the translation of this text and other commentaries see: Brooks, *Commemoration of the Dead*, pp. 210-213 and 454-457.

Michael on Mount Auxentios gives the following indications concerning the customary commemorations:

Let the obligatory commemoration of the dead be celebrated first in connection with the funeral service for each one according to the prevailing custom, then on the third day, the ninth, and the fortieth. In the evening the commemoration should include the *kollyba* and the canon of the dead, and on the next day a more complete memorial service should be held with the *kollyba* and the liturgy²⁴⁰⁵

In case of not so splendid commemorations, for example for the remembrance of a monk belonging to certain brotherhood, the customary third, ninth, and fortieth days can “be sung in the narthex of the church,” as well with a consecration of *kollyba*, as the Typikon of St. Mamas commands. Instead of a private liturgy, the monk’s memory is celebrated during the rite of *prothesis* with “an offering” of a bread particle at “every liturgy... until the fortieth-day commemoration” and with some kind of memorial services “at matins and vespers until the aforesaid fortieth day.”²⁴⁰⁶

The *kollyba* mentioned in these texts was an offering for the dead, initially associated with the cult of saints. It consists of boiled wheat with honey, fruits almonds, walnuts, raisins and granules and nowadays can be ornamented and contain other sweet products. By the middle-Byzantine time *kollyba*²⁴⁰⁷ was initially consecrated with a special service and afterwards shared by the participants of the ritual or can be brought to the tomb as *κάνίσκια* (offering).²⁴⁰⁸

Furthermore, the ktetors and donors are very diverse in their demands for the personalized services. Except for the fact that they all demanded some kind of splendid memorial services, the terms and structures of these services varied greatly. Among the services they mention there are at least three different types of commemorations: Trisagion, *parastasimon*, and *parakleses*, all of them having a supplicatory character and a certain similarity with the funeral services.

Usually, the commemoration demands are fashioned personally and vary in details greatly. For example, the entire 40th Chapter of St. Mamas’ Typikon is dedicated to various ways in which the refounder of the monastery, George the Cappadocian, steward of the imperial treasury under Manuel I Komnenos, should be venerated after his death.²⁴⁰⁹ In this sense, the third founder, Athanasios Philanthropenos, gave very precise directions:

²⁴⁰⁵ BMFD, p. 1229; Dmitrievsky, *Описание литургических рукописей*, Vol. I: *Typika*, p.788: Τελείσθω τοῖς τελευτήσασιν τὸ χρεών, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ τῇ ὁσίᾳ ἐκάστου ἀνήκοντα, κατὰ τὴν κρατήσασαν συνήθειαν, εἶτα τρίτα, ἔννατα, καὶ τεσσαρακοστά, πρὸς ἐσπέραν μὲν, τῆς μνήμης γενομένης χολύβοις τε καὶ νεκρωσίμῳ κανόνι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν, τελεώτερον ἀποδομένης κολύβοις τε καὶ ἱεουργίᾳ μυστικῇ.

²⁴⁰⁶ BMFD, p. 1020.

²⁴⁰⁷ Schmidt, Bernhardt. “Totengebräuche und Gräberkultus im heutigen Griechenland,” *Archiv für Religionswissenschaften* 24 (1926): 281–318 and 25 (1927): 52–82; Petit, Louis. “Le grande controverse des colybes,” *Échos d’Orient* 2 (1898): 321–331; Gautier, Paul. “Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator,” *REB* 32 (1974): p. 43, note 21.

²⁴⁰⁸ Balsamon, Commentary on the 4th Canon of the Holy Apostles, see: Ralles&Potles, Vol. II, p. 6.

²⁴⁰⁹ BMFD, p. 974.

Whenever you offer an *ektenes* on his behalf at every office of the divine ritual, say aloud six times “Kyrie eleison” at both vespers and matins, and the liturgy, and, after the dismissal of vespers and matins on every day that is free of fasting, apart from Sundays and feasts of the Lord, sing at his grave the customary parastasimon and “Among the spirits of the righteous,” and the rest, and let also an *ektenes* be made on his behalf, the “Kyrie eleison” being sung fifteen times; and at each liturgy let one offering [of eucharistic bread] be offered on his behalf.

In other words, except for the annual memorial service which is described into the next paragraph, monks should perform several types of other memorial rituals on behalf of the refounder: the Eucharistic commemoration with the particles, the inclusion of his name in the *ekteneis* (supplications), pronounced during all types of services, and, finally, the performance of a *parastasimon* (παραστάσιμον or παραστάσις).

The word “*parastasimon/parastasis*” is not so often encountered in the Byzantine Euchologia, in one case it meant a part of a burial service, which took place before the giving of the last kiss (*aspasmos*),²⁴¹⁰ but, obviously, in case of St. Mamas’ Typikon it referred a commemorative and not a burial service. This word is widely used by the Slavs (парастан or парастос) and the Romanians (*parastas*) with the meaning of the *panihida* (not Greek *pannychis*), i.e. a commemoration service with a canon, psalms and *ekteneis* and lauds. Indeed, in his Slavic Euchologion of the 17th century, Peter Mohila gives an explanation that the *parastasis* is a Greek word meaning the supplication and it refers to the supplication, made on behalf of a departed soul by the Christians and is accompanied with an offering of the *kollyba*. So he called it “the concern for the departed.” This service can be inserted either in the very evening or after the matins and before the liturgy.²⁴¹¹ Consequently, this term covers a great variety of services, usually named in Byzantine euchologia as “Ακολουθία εις κόλυβα” or “Ακολουθία εις μνημόσυνον” or “Ακολουθία νεκρώσιμος ψαλλομένη επί κολύβων”²⁴¹² (of priest/bishop/monk/layman etc.);²⁴¹³ and the structure of these services, as it was noted by Phountoules, indeedm remains a slightly abbreviated burial service including the Psalms (90, 50), *Makarismoi*, *ektenes*, the kanon and *troparia*. Besides, the indicated by the typikon Troparion of the 4th Tone (“Μετά πνευμάτων δικαίων τετελειωμένων” / “Among the spirits of the righteous”) is indeed a part of the extended burial and commemoration services.²⁴¹⁴ Similarly, the performance of the *parastasimon* on behalf of founders was demanded by the Empress Irene Doukaina Komnene for the

²⁴¹⁰ Dmitrievsky, *Описание литургических рукописей*, Vol. II: Euchologia, p. 138.

²⁴¹¹ *Service Book by Peter Mohila* [Требник Петра Могилы] (Kiev: 1645), part 1, fol. 848 (ωμν), accessed on 15.12.2017 at https://azbyka.ru/otechnik/assets/uploads/books/10260/trebnik-petra-mogily_1.pdf, see also: Demetrakos, Demetrios [Δημητράκος, Δημήτρης]. *Μεγά Λεξικόν Όλης της Ελληνικής Γλώσσης* (Athens: Dome, 1953-1958): Vol. III: Α-Π, pp. 443 and 465

²⁴¹² For the services of this type see: Dmitrievsky, *Описание литургических рукописей*, Vol. II: Euchologia, pp. 327, 393, 717, 771, 894, etc.

²⁴¹³ Phountoules, Ioannes [Φουντουλής, Ιωάννης], ed. *Ακολουθία τοῦ Μνημοσύνου* (Thessaloniki: Isthys, 1979): 7-8, 19ff.

²⁴¹⁴ Dmitrievsky, *Описание литургических рукописей*, Vol. II: Euchologia, pp. 285, 591, 772, 981.

nuns of the Kecharitomene (1110-1116), by Theodora Synadene, the aristocratic foundress of Bebaia Elpis (1327-1335) in Constantinople, and by the Patriarch Matthew I for the Monastery of Charsianeites (1407).²⁴¹⁵

Concerning another service, called *Trisagion* by the founders,²⁴¹⁶ V. Bruni²⁴¹⁷ noted that it was taking its shape gradually: starting from the 11th century it was performed as a prayer and, with the insertion of new components, it received its contemporary structure of the commemorative service, similar with a shorten *parastasimon*, by the 14th century. Indeed, several authors of the typika mean different things under this term, but all of them used the word with the reference to the commemorative practices. For the author of the Eleousa Typikon (1085-1106) the *trisagion* is still a prayer, not a service, which, however, was read on behalf of the founder and was completed with an addition of the 90th Psalm, typical for the burial services.²⁴¹⁸ In the Messina Typikon of San Salvatore (1131-1332) it was pronounced for the “brothers fallen asleep,”²⁴¹⁹ whereas, in the St. Sava’s of Serbia Typikon for St. Sabbas’ Cell in Karyes, this word already referred to a service. It was performed during the *agrypnia* of Saturdays (the day, dedicated to the remembrance of the dead),²⁴²⁰ supplemented with the *kanon*, Psalm 50, *Makarismoi*, the Gospel readings etc. Finally, for Michael VIII’s Typikon, it became a private commemorative service, supplemented with hymnography (“remembrance with the *trisagion* and the rest of the psalmody”). The monks of the Archangel Michael’s Monastery should perform it daily, on behalf of the deceased parents and great parents of the founder: *megas doux* Lord Alexios (Antony the monk), his wife Eirene Komnene (Eugenia the nun), *megas domestikos* Lord Andronikos (Arsenios the monk) and his wife Lady Theodora Komnene (Theodosia the nun).²⁴²¹

In some cases, like in the Testament by Nymphodora the nun (1445),²⁴²² the founders demanded to perform a *paraklesis* on certain days of the week. This service, in the difference with others, was addressed to the Theotokos and was constructed not around a *kanon* for the departed as it was in all previous cases, but around the *kanon* of the 8th Tone for the Virgin (Πολλοῖς συνεχόμενος πειρασμοῖς / Многими содержимъ напастьми), ascribed to St. Theosteriktos.²⁴²³ This service had a very

²⁴¹⁵ *BMFD*, pp. 700, 1021, 1555.

²⁴¹⁶ Dmitrievsky, *Описание литургических рукописей*, Vol. II: Euchologia, pp. 285, 555.

²⁴¹⁷ Bruni, Vitaliano. *I funerali di un sacerdote nel rito bizantino secondi gli eucologi manoscritti di lingua Greca* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing House, 1972): 86, 98-99, 100. For the manuscripts containing the Trisagion service and some commentaries concerning the development of its structure, see: Preda, Nicolae. “Le Trisagion pour les défunts (analyse historico-liturgique),” *Teologia* 69/4 (2016): 86-96.

²⁴¹⁸ *BFMD*, p. 176.

²⁴¹⁹ *BMFD*, p. 646.

²⁴²⁰ *BMFD*, p. 1335.

²⁴²¹ *BMFD*, p. 1228.

²⁴²² *Actes de Xeropotamou*, no. 30, p. 217.

²⁴²³ Tomadakes, Nikolaos [Τωμαδάκης, Νικόλαος]. *Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν Βυζαντινὴν Φιλολογίαν*, Vol. II: Η βυζαντινὴ Ὑμνογραφία καὶ Ποίησις (Athens: Myrtides, 1965-1969): 81-152 (esp. pp. 130-152) considers that the *kanon* can be

pronounced supplicatory character, including such exclamations as: “Most Holy Theotokos save us” (Ὑπεραγία Θεοτόκε, σῶσον ἡμᾶς / Пресвятая Богородице спаси насъ)²⁴²⁴ and containing the readings of the Psalms 142 and, especially, the Psalm 50, typical for the commemoration services.

Finally, all the founders demanded to celebrate splendidly their annual commemorations²⁴²⁵ as well as anniversaries of their relatives’ deaths. Some of these founders, for example Isaak Komnenos in his *Kosmosoteira Typikon*,²⁴²⁶ were very meticulous in the descriptions of the burial rituals and the services to be performed after their death. In fact, these solemn memorial services were not limited to the founders, but were celebrated also for the donors and sponsors of foundations. The *Typikon* of Bebaia Elpis by Theodora Synadene,²⁴²⁷ discussed in the previous chapters, is very exemplary in this sense. Its entire chapter XXII is concerned with the dates and modes of memorial services for the foundress and her relatives, and it ranges the solemnity of these services in accordance with the measure of endowments, made by the sponsors. The main difference between these services was a number of candles and lamps, prescribed for the memorials.

This concern of the sponsors with the illumination is often present in the *Typika*. Isaak Komnenos prescribed that four lamps would be lit “in the very middle of the church, and two candelabra with eight candleholders should stand by the two icons set out for veneration,” i.e. the *proskynetaria* with images of Supremely-good Christ and the Mother of God *Kosmosoteira*;²⁴²⁸ whereas the Empress Eirene Doukaina Komnene demanded the candles of certain weight and type for the feasts of the Virgin and prescribed to keep the candles after the great feasts to use them for the usual days until they burnt up completely.²⁴²⁹ Two explanations can be given for this interest in the church lighting: on the one hand, as it was noted by D. Kotoula,²⁴³⁰ the light, given by the lamps and candles, was a metaphoric expression of the divine illumination and grace. On the other hand, the price of oil and wax used for the illumination seems to be significant, so it is logical that those patrons who invest more efforts and properties should be remembered with more expenses. The directions given by Issak Komnenos witness about the economic reasoning behind the illumination

written by Theophanes the Confessor and it was ascribed as of Theosteriktos due to the change of the monastic name by Theophanes.

²⁴²⁴ For the text of the paraklesis see: Goar, *Euchologion*, pp. 673-677, for its use for funerary purposes, Дмитриевский, *Описание литургических рукописей...*, Vol. II, p. 735.

²⁴²⁵ This topic was several times discussed by different scholars: Galatariotou, “Byzantine ktetorika typika,” pp. 93-95; Garland, “Till Death do us Part?,” pp. 41, 49-51; Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife*, pp. 95-96;

²⁴²⁶ Ševčenko, Nancy. “The Tomb of Isaak Komnenos at Pherrai,” *GOTR* 29 (1984): 135–140; *BMFD*, pp. 798, 802, 805, 815-816, 828, 838-839. Isaak Komnenos describes not only his own burial and the rituals reformed on behalf of his soul after death, but also the *proskynetaria* images and number of candles lit for him during other days.

²⁴²⁷ *BMFD*, pp. 1556-1558.

²⁴²⁸ *BMFD*, p. 802.

²⁴²⁹ *BMFD*, pp. 696-698.

²⁴³⁰ Kotoula, Dimitra. “With respect to the lavishness of the illumination’: The Dramaturgy of Light in the Burial Chapel of the Monastic Founder,” in: *Hierotopy of Light and Fire in the Culture of the Byzantine World*, ed. A. Lidov (Moscow: Indrik, 2013): 185–199.

arrangements: he instructed the *hegoumenos* to buy olive oil once a year, on the island of Ainos and from the ships directly, because the price there was lower than that of the merchants.²⁴³¹ It was as well the economic grounds that made Theodora Synadene to prescribe the use of olive oil in food only on the great feasts, Sundays, and in case of illness.²⁴³² Nevertheless, the Athonite tradition of the night vigils for ktetors prescribes a very splendid illumination: it includes the distribution of candles to all participants, given for the sake of the ktetors' souls (ψυχοκέρριον), and the lightening of all the candles in the *katholikon's choros* and candelabra.²⁴³³

This way, similarly with the communal commemoration rituals, the private commemorations got diversified during the Late Byzantine period. Moreover, as one may notice, the founders had a direct impact on the composition and frequency of the services' performance. Often, they chose a certain type of service or demanded various lighting arrangements which means that the authors of *Typika* were well-aware of the ecclesiastic rituals and their "value" for the well-being and salvation of the commissioners.

8.5. The problem of Private Liturgies in Byzantium

There is also a question of private liturgies in Byzantium which somehow remains open. Both, the Byzantine ktetorika *Typika* and the donation charters, attest that the ktetors and sponsors commissioned private liturgies on their behalf.²⁴³⁴ The popularity of small architectural additional spaces, supplied with altar-tables, such as side chapels, confirm this fact.²⁴³⁵ However, no liturgical sources known to me attest it, and, besides, the modern-day Orthodox Churches consider this practice "deeply alien to the spirit of the Orthodoxy," as it was expressed by the theologian Alexander Shmeman.²⁴³⁶ Most probably, from the point of view of ritual, these liturgies didn't differ from the usual ones, except for the names mentioned in the *proskomidia* and during the anaphorial intercessions. Constantine Akropolites for his foundation of Anastasis commissioned a special chapel where such private liturgies took place:

I purchased the chapel which is inserted near the large church,... and I want this debt [i.e., contribution] to be used for my commemorative services... The divine and holy liturgy should be celebrated in this [chapel] three times a week; but if it should be necessary for the liturgy to be celebrated there more often, on account of certain people's request or some other necessity, I do not forbid it, rather I like and welcome [the idea]... The first

²⁴³¹ *BMFD*, p. 826.

²⁴³² *BMFD*, p. 1547.

²⁴³³ Klimenko, Maxim [Клименко, Максим] "Особенности совершения всенощного бдения в монастырях Святой Горы Афон," *Bogoslovskie trudy* 33 (1997): 136.

²⁴³⁴ Kennedy, Cyril. "The Divine Liturgy and the Byzantine Funeral: History and Contemporary Practice," *Liturgy* 33/1 (2018): 26-33 (esp. p. 28).

²⁴³⁵ Mathews, Thomas. "'Private Liturgy' in Byzantine Architecture: Toward a Re-appraisal," *Cahiers archéologiques* 30 (1982): 125-138.

²⁴³⁶ Shmeman, Alexander [Шмеман, Александр]. *Православное Богослужение. Литургия*, accessed at: <https://azbyka.ru/pravoslavnoe-bogosluzhenie-liturgiia> on 12.12.2018.

[liturgy] should be offered to our Savior Christ on the first day [of the week], the Lord's Day, as is customary; the second on Thursday, in commemoration of the memory of St. Lazarus, after whom the church is named; and the third on Saturday, the last day of the week, on behalf of the soul of my late mother Eudokia, and on behalf of myself, Constantine, and my wife Maria.²⁴³⁷

So, as one can see Constantine not only foreseen a space for his own private liturgies, but also allowed it to be used for the demands of later sponsors. Since two liturgies can't be performed on the same day on the same altar, it was necessary to provide a church with an additional altar, in case of performing private liturgies.²⁴³⁸ Sometimes, according to the founder's wish, the private liturgies and commemorations were performed on somebody's else behalf, most usually of a relative or an emperor. In his Testament for the Monastery of Charsianeites (1407) Patriarch Matthew demanded to commemorate Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425) who assisted to the monastery granting tax exemptions.²⁴³⁹ As a gratitude to the emperor Matthew, the Patriarch commanded to appoint a private liturgy once a week, conducted in Manuel's name exclusively, whereas, during the usual eucharists on other days of the week, the emperor's name should have been included among others in the commemoration lists:

Wherefore I enjoin and beg of you that each week the monks in this holy monastery celebrate a liturgy solely in honor of the holy emperor and his family. You should not be content with this, but whenever the liturgy is celebrated, you should commemorate the name of the holy emperor and his family.

In other words, the imperial family received two types of liturgical commemoration, one private and another communal in the course of usual *prothesis* and *anaphora* rites.

This practice of organizing commemorations as the sign of gratitude to a ruler who endowed the monastery, granted tax exemptions, or otherwise assisted a foundation was relatively common during the regarded period. The private commemoration itself was perceived as a significant and valuable contra-gift, an honour which signalized about extraordinary generosity. And though an emperor distributed lands or privileges related to the state treasure, the sovereign received the honours as a private person (because in his role of sovereign he was commemorated in a different parts of the church service, see Chapter 5.2.5 of this work) This commemoration could function as a

²⁴³⁷ *BMFD*, pp 1379-1380; Delehay, Hippolyte, "Constantini Acropolitae hagiographi byzantini epistularum manipulus" *Analecta Bollandiana* 51 (1933): 282-283.

²⁴³⁸ This practice is considered canonical in accordance with the rules establish by Ignatios the God-bearer in his Epistle to the Philadelphians, Chapter IV: "For there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup to [show forth] the unity of His blood; one altar; as there is one bishop," see: Roberts, Alexander, Coxe, Arthur Cleveland et. al., eds. and trans., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325*, Vol. I (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980 [1886]): 81.

²⁴³⁹ *BMFD*, p. 1659; Hunger, Herbert. "Das Testament des Patriarchen Matthaios I (1397-1410)," *BZ* 51 (1958): 288-309.

way of preserving social memory about the person, i.e. of his philanthropy, glory, and good governance.

In a similar way, the commemoration-obligation could be transferred together with the transfer of a property. In his Testament (1335),²⁴⁴⁰ the *hegoumenos* of Hilandar Gervasije narrated how he received the village Choudina on Strymon with income of 40 hyperpyra as a gift from the Byzantine emperor:

when our holy and mighty ruler and emperor made a benefaction to me and granted... a village Choudina on the river of Strymon... and confirmed (it) to me and assigned by holy and revered chrysobull from the highest unsurpassed love of god which he spread and stretch out to many in multiple ways because of the remembrance of god for the sake of glory and praise of his mighty and holy rule²⁴⁴¹

Therefore, expecting the “approaching death” Gervasije would like to preserve “the unforgettable memory of our mighty and holy ruler and emperor” and to leave “an imprint (*stelographia*), as one may say and a trustworthy testimony of his benefactions and gifts”²⁴⁴² and passed the village with its income to Hilandar’s ownership. Gervasije motivated the donation as “for the sake of the soul-salvation (*psychikon*) and eternal memory of our mighty and holy ruler and emperor,” and ordered to “all fathers and brothers” to pray to God helping the emperor and to petition about his the salvation as well as the salvation of Gervasije himself.²⁴⁴³ It seems that this village income which the *hegoumenos* has as a private possession had a commemoration-obligation attached: being a clergy member Gervasije could perform personally the petitions for the unnamed emperor (Andronikos II or Andronikos III), and with the transfer of the property to the monastery the obligation was as well transferred and from that moment on it should be performed by the brotherhood as now they became the beneficiaries of the imperial gift.

On the other hand, a commemoration can be a gift offered in advance to individuals endowed with power in anticipation of greater benefactions. In 1445, monk Meletios, who, before taking the vows, had belonged to the middle-ranking aristocracy,²⁴⁴⁴ addressed John VIII Palaiologos²⁴⁴⁵ on behalf of a small private foundation, dedicated to All Saints and built on the Holy Mount.²⁴⁴⁶ Meletios promised to the emperor to commemorate his wife²⁴⁴⁷ performing “the liturgy for the soul of the

²⁴⁴⁰ *Actes de Chilandar: Actes grec*, no. 126, pp. 263-264.

²⁴⁴¹ *Actes de Chilandar: Actes grec*, no. 126, p. 263, l. 9-16.

²⁴⁴² *Actes de Chilandar: Actes grec*, no. 126, p. 263, l. 20-22.

²⁴⁴³ *Actes de Chilandar: Actes grec*, no. 126, p. 264, l. 30-31 and l. 36-41.

²⁴⁴⁴ *PLP*, no. 17743; Pavlikyanov, *The Medieval Aristocracy*, pp. 49-50.

²⁴⁴⁵ *PLP*, no. 21481

²⁴⁴⁶ *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, no. 169, p. 185-187.

²⁴⁴⁷ Probably, Maria of Trebizond (*PLP*, no. 21397) who died in 1439, however, Lemerle considers that the *despoina*, mentioned here is Helen Dragaš who is still alive (*Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, p. 186). It is unclear in the text whether the *despoina* is alive or dead, but since Meletios mentions Sunday liturgy, the day traditionally dedicated to the commemoration of the dead in the ecclesiastic calendar, one may assume that the empress was already dead.

blessed empress on every Saturday”²⁴⁴⁸ and got some annual allowances of wheat and dried vegetables as a reward.

An opposite situation was also possible, i.e. the monks could approach a ruler for a benefaction and the ruler would set a condition to perform a liturgy or a commemoration. The monks of the Great Lavra approached the the despotes of Lemnos, Demetrios Palaiologos (1447)²⁴⁴⁹ asking him to abolish a tax on the monastery’s sheep in exchange for liturgical commemoration. The *despotes* agreed stating in his *horismos* that the monks “should perform at the monastery a liturgy, which they make every week, in the day of Tuesday for the soul of my holy lady and *despoina*, the mother of my majesty.”²⁴⁵⁰

During the very late period, starting from the last decades of the 14th century, the Byzantine emperors themselves started to demand the monasteries to perform the private liturgies on their behalf or behalf of their relatives. In 1407, John VII Palaiologos distributed the tenth (δεκατία), received in vegetables from several villages at Kassandria, between the monasteries of Pantokrator, the Great Lavra, Vatopedi, Prodromos in Thessaloniki, Xeropotamou and St. Paul.²⁴⁵¹ In exchange, the emperor established a very detailed description of the posthumous liturgies he expected to be commemorated in after his death. Moreover, in these instructions, every monastery was given a special assignment to commemorate either the emperor alone, or together with his father or together with his wife. The donor doesn’t mention additional liturgical prescriptions like canons or prayers, but rather suggests distributing alms or helping the ill and poor, in other words to perform the acts of charity in his remembrance. However, he values the acts of charity less than the liturgical commemorations:

Until my majesty is still alive it doesn’t want something from the monks of these monasteries, but leaves it to their self-determination, as much as they want or are able to make for the sake of our souls, either through liturgies or through almsgiving. But when I end my life, I want the following from every of these monasteries: that every monastery would perform one liturgy once a week, in whatever day it suits. And the monastery of my Christ Pantokrator would perform it for the soul of the glorious and blessed deceased emperor, the father of my majesty and for my soul as well. The monasteries of the Great Lavra and Vatopedi would make a liturgy for my soul and for the soul of my beloved *augusta kyra* Eirine. The monasteries of the revered Prodromos, Xeropotmou and that of holy Paul would perform liturgies only for my soul. If some of them wish to perform additionally, on behalf of my soul either, something for the poor, or for the brothers or for the captives or for the sick, it would bring the grace of God, and it would be much blessed at that instance. But if someone tries, at any time, to cease the performance of the necessary demanded liturgy, this one would be among the above-mentioned friends of the Satan...”²⁴⁵²

²⁴⁴⁸ οἱ ἐν τῇ μονῇ ἐκτελῶσι λειτουργίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς μακαριτίδος δεσποίνης καθ’ ἑβδομάδα - *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, no. 169, p. 187.

²⁴⁴⁹ *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, no. 171, pp. 192-193.

²⁴⁵⁰ Ὅφειλousι δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον ποιεῖν τὴν λειτουργίαν ἣν ὑπεσχέθησαν καθ’ ἑβδομάδα, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ, ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ἁγίας μου κυρίας καὶ δεσποίνης τῆς μητρὸς τῆς βασιλείας μου. (*Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, no. 171, p. 193).

²⁴⁵¹ *Actes de Xeropotamou*, no. 28, pp. 202-208 and *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, no. 159, pp. 144-149.

²⁴⁵² Ἐτι ζῶσα μ(έν) ἡ βασιλεία μου οὐδὲν τ(οὺς) ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις μοναῖς μοναχ(οὺς) ἀπαιτεῖ, ἀλλ’ ἀφήσι τῇ αὐτῶν αὐτοπροαιρέσει ὡσὰν αὐτοὶ βούλονται ἢ καὶ δύναιτο ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς, εἴτε διὰ λειτουργει(ῶν), εἴτε δι’

This case and those which are going to be regarded further prove that by the late 14th century the interest of royal benefactors shifted from the prayers and petitions to the liturgical commemorations. If in 1322, Andronikos II asked the monks of Vatopedi in general to “pray more, petitioning to God” for his soul and the correction of the state affairs,²⁴⁵³ then the emperors of the later time demanded precise ceremonies, performed on certain days, by a certain number of monks, etc. And among these ceremonies, the liturgies attracted the most attention.

During the journey of Manuel II Palaiologos to the West, his wife, Helena Palaiologina and their children were left with Manuel’s brother despot Theodore at Monembasia. Due to the plague epidemy of 1402-1403, three royal children died.²⁴⁵⁴ On their behalf, Theodore issues an *argyrobulla* transferring the town of Helekobounon²⁴⁵⁵ with its pyrgos to the Metropolis of Monembasia. Later, upon his arrival to Constantinople in 1405, Manuel confirmed the document of his brother by issuing his own *chrysobull*. The documents were addressed to the Metropolis in general and to the Metropolitan Akakios²⁴⁵⁶ privately. As this clergyman seems to have good relations with the imperial family he established special liturgies on behalf of the souls of the deceased offspring at the city cathedral:

My majesty welcomes and has desire that the most holy metropolis of Monembasia would hold the village of Helikobounos, completely and entirely, in order that its leaders would make in accordance with its custom two liturgies every week, one on Wednesday and one on Saturday, for the souls of the children of my majesty buried there, as the present holiest and revered metropolitan of Monembasia and exarchos of the entire Peloponnesos, kyr Akakios established.²⁴⁵⁷

In his *horismos* of 1430 *despotes* Demetrios Palaiologos assigned a donation to the monastery of Dionysiou, namely, 8 *modioi* of wheat from the island of Lemnos, as Daniel, the *hegoumenos* of

ἐλεημοσύνης. Ἐπειδὴν δὲ μεταλλάξω τ(ὸν) βίον, μονὴν ἐκάστην ἀπαιτῶ τοῦτο, ἵνα ποιῇ λειτουργίαν ἅπαξ τῆς ἐβδομάδος μίαν, ὅποῖαν ἂν ἡμέραν αὐτὴ διακρίνη, ποιῇ δὲ αὐτὴν ἢ μὲν τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ μου τοῦ Παντοκ(ρά)τ(ο)ρ(ος) ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ ἀοιδίμου καὶ μακαρίτου ἐκείνου τοῦ ἁγίου μου αὐθ(έν)τ(ου) κ(αὶ) βασιλ(έως) τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) τῆς βασιλ(είας) μου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ἅμα, ἢ δὲ τῆς μεγ(ά)λ(ης) Λαύρας καὶ ἢ τοῦ Βατοπεδίου μονὴ ποιῇ λειτουργίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς κ(αὶ) τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ἐρασμιωτ(ά)τ(ης) μοι αὐγοῦστ(ης) κυρᾶς Εἰρήνης, ἢ δὲ μονὴ τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου καὶ ἢ τοῦ Ξηροποτάμου καὶ ἢ τοῦ ὁσίου Παύλου ποιῇ λειτουργίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς μόνης. Εἴ τις οὖν κ(αὶ) τοῦτ(ων) περισσότερον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς βουλευθεὶ ποιεῖν ἢ πρὸς πένητ(ας) ἢ πρὸς ἀδ(ε)λ(φούς) ἢ πρὸς αἰχμαλώτ(ους) ἢ πρὸς ἀσθενεῖς, χάρις εἴη τοῦτῳ παρὰ θε(ο)ῦ, χαρίζομ(έν)ου τοῦτῳ πολλαπλάσιον ἐν καιρῷ. Εἰ δὲ τις πάλιν τ(ὴν) κατὰ ἀνάγκην λειτουργίαν ἀπαιτηθεῖσαν πειραθεῖ καταλῦσαι ποτε, ἔστω κ(αὶ) αὐτὸς κοινῶν τῶν ἄνωθεν ἀναγεγραμμέν(ων) φίλ(ων) τῷ Σ[α]τανᾷ (here *Actes de Xeropotamou*, pp. 206-207 and *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, p. 148).

²⁴⁵³ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. I, no. 57, pp. 313-315 (here quoted p. 315, l. 9-10).

²⁴⁵⁴ Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, p. 475; Kalligas, Haris. *Byzantine Monemvasia*, PhD Dissertation, King’s College, The University of London, 1987, p. 275.

²⁴⁵⁵ The town was identified either with the site of Geroumana or the present day Daphne, in the plain of Sparte – see: Kalligas, Haris. *Byzantine Monemvasia*, PhD Dissertation, King’s College, The University of London, 1987, pp. 275-277.

²⁴⁵⁶ *PLP*, no. 477.

²⁴⁵⁷ Lampros, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, Vol. III, pp. 122-123: Ἡ βασιλεία μου ἀποδεχομένη καὶ ἔχουσα θέλημα, ἵνα ἡ ἁγιωτάτη μητρόπολις Μονεμβασίας κατέχη τὴν χώραν τοῦ Ἐλικοβουνοῦ ὀλοτελῶς καὶ ὀλοκλήρως εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν τοὺς κατὰ καιρὸν ταύτης ἀρχιερατικῶς προστατεύοντας λειτουργίας δύο καθ’ ἐκάστην ἐβδομάδα, ἐν ταῖς τῆς Τετράδος καὶ τοῦ Σαββάτου ἡμέραις, ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν ἐκεῖσε ταφέντων παίδων τῆς βασιλείας μου, ὡς καὶ ὁ νῦν ἱερώτατος μητροπολίτης Μονεμβασίας ὑπέρτιμος καὶ ἑξαρχος πάσης Πελοποννήσου κύριος Ἀκάκιος ἔταξε (here p. 122)

the monastery asked.²⁴⁵⁸ In exchange, the leader of the monastic community and the despot agreed that the monks would perform two commemoration liturgies demanded by the donor:

[My majesty] wished and ordered that the revered monastery would enjoy our benefactions, namely the wheat for sustenance of the monastic elders and for praying on our behalf, so [my majesty] instructed to perform every week two liturgies, one for the soul of the blessed and famous emperor, the father of my majesty, and another one for myself... the monks are obliged to perform every week two liturgies, as the hegoumenos arranged, one for the soul of the blessed and famous emperor, the father of my majesty, on Tuesday and another, for us, as it was said, on Sunday.²⁴⁵⁹

This text demonstrates that the liturgies could be commissioned and performed while the benefactors are still alive. Thus, still having explicit memorial character, they are not mandatory associated with a dead person, but rather with the advocacy for a benefactor, whether dead or alive. This way, the legal features of the liturgy-commissioner wouldn't change with his/her death, but he/she stays a party in an agreement having an eternal legal validity. Moreover, this memorial currency can be exchanged not only with one person, but to be paid on behalf of other persons mentioned in the agreement (in this case, the emperor).

Sometimes the liturgies could be ordered on behalf of a person posthumously. The Empress Helena Dragaš displayed a great attention to commemorative details, associated with her father.²⁴⁶⁰ In 1395, she and her royal husband, Manuel II Palaiologos, made a significant donation of 500 *hyperpyra* to the Monastery of John the Baptist, Hagia Petra to buy some properties desired by the monastery.²⁴⁶¹ This donation and an additional 100 *hyperpyra* covered the expenses associated with the performance of commemorative rituals on behalf of Helena's father, the Serbian lord Constantine Dragaš, who had died in the battle of Rovine.²⁴⁶² The empress herself selected the necessary ceremonies and inserted their description as a condition in the agreement with the monks:

You would offer to God three holy sacrifices every week for the soul of the blessed and glorious ruler of Serbia, kyr Constantine, the father of our mighty and the holy Lady and Empress, and would inscribe his name into the holy *brebion* of the monastery and add his name to the holy commemoration [happening] on Fridays at the cemetery, and those [happening] on the next day, on Saturday, during the matins in the *katholikon* church of the monastery, and every year, on the same day on which he died, you would perform the commemoration of ourselves. So, on the vespers, sixteen priests serve

²⁴⁵⁸ *Actes de Dionysiou*, no. 26, p. 152-154

²⁴⁵⁹ καὶ ἐδεήθη καὶ παρεκάλεσεν ἵνα τύχη ἡ σεβασμία μονὴ καὶ ἡμετέρας εὐεργεσίας, ἥ(γουν) σιταρίου πρὸς τὸ διαζῆν τ(οὺς) ἐκέϊσε γέροντας καὶ εὐχεσθαι ἡμῖν, ἐπαγγελάμενος ποιεῖν καὶ καθ' ἐβδομάδα λειτουργί(ας) δύο, /τ(ὴν)/ μί(αν) μὲν ὑπὲρ τ(ῆς) ψυχῆς τοῦ μακαρίτου καὶ αἰοδίμου βασιλέ(ως), τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) τ(ῆς) βασιλεί(ας) μου, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ὑπὲρ ἡμ(ῶν)... ὀφειλόντ(ων) καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν ποιεῖν καθ' ἐβδομάδα δύο λειτουργί(ας), καθὼς ὑπεσχέθη ὁ καθηγοούμενος, τ(ὴν) μὲν μί(αν) ὑπὲρ τ(ῆς) ψυχῆς τοῦ αἰοδίμου καὶ μακαρίτου βασιλέ(ως) τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) τ[ῆς βασιλεί(ας)] [μου] τ(ὴν) [Τρ]ίτην, τ(ὴν) δὲ ἄλλην ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ὡς εἴρητ(αι), κ(α)τ(ὰ) τ(ὴν) Κυριακ(ήν) (*Actes de Dionysiou*, no. 26, p. 154).

²⁴⁶⁰ *PLP*, no. 21366.

²⁴⁶¹ *MM*, Vol. II, pp. 260–264; Dölger, *Regesten*, Vol. V, p. 83 (nr. 3257). For location and history of the monastery, see: Janin, Raymond. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, Part I: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique, Vol. III: Les églises et les monasteries* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1975): 435–443; Majeska, George. *Russian travelers to Constantinople in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1984): 339–345.

²⁴⁶² *PLP*, no. 5746.

having eight plates of *kolyba* and eight *manoualia* with candles, and, next day, the liturgical reposts take place for the monks and poor who happen to be there, and we give to the poor as much as we can for the commemoration of the soul (*psychikon*) [...] three liturgies will be performed every week, one, on Thursday, in the *katholikon* of the monastery and two others, on Tuesday and Saturday, in another chapel of the monastery.²⁴⁶³

This text is especially interesting as it mentions a wide range of services, performed on behalf of a donor (or, rather, a person chosen by the donor). Thus, it includes (1) an inscription in the *brebion*; (2) an inclusion of the name in communal commemoration service at cemetery chapel on Friday; (3) an inclusion of the name in communal commemoration service of Saturday matins at the *katholikon*; (4) annual solemn private commemoration service with a *kolyba*; (5) annual distributions to the poor; (6) a private liturgy on Thursday in the *katholikon*; (7) two private liturgies, on Tuesday and Saturday, in a chapel. In other words, Helena tried to inscribe the name of her father in all communal services and to provide for him several private ceremonies. Moreover, since the inscription into the *brebion* for *proskomidia* and the *liturgies* are two different rites, one may assume that a private liturgy doesn't coincide with the commemoration at *proskomidia* or anaphora. However, as the Orthodox Church doesn't have a custom of the *missa secreta*, i.e. a liturgy without participants, one may assume that a group of monks (or, at least, one) would join a hieromonk in the performance of a private liturgy in a chapel while the rest of monks celebrate in a *katholikon*. This supposition may also explain why the sponsor specified the locations for liturgies in her demands. Moreover, the presence of multiple chapels in the great monasteries may be explained, at least in part, by a growing number of requests for the private liturgies and commemorations.²⁴⁶⁴

All these private liturgies appeared in Byzantine practice of *psychika* relatively late and, initially, they were mentioned only by a narrow circle of royal family and its relatives. Other sponsors,

²⁴⁶³ προσφέρει τῷ θεῷ θυσίας καθ' ἑβδομάδα τρεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ μακαρίτου καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτου αὐθέντου Σερβίας, κῦρ Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ πατρός τῆς κραταιᾶς καὶ ἁγίας ἡμῶν κυρίας καὶ δεσποίνης, καταγραφὴ δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς μονῆς βρεβείῳ, καὶ ἐν τῷ γινομένῳ μνημοσύνῳ κατα παρασκευὴν τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἐν τῷ κοιμητηρίῳ αναφέρεται καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα, ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον ἡμέραν τοῦ σαββάτου ἐν τῷ ὀρθρῷ ἐν τῷ καθολικῷ ναῷ τοῦ μοναστηρίου, καθ' ἕκαστον δὲ χρόνον κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν, καθ' ἣν ἀπέθανεν, ἐκτελεῖται παρ' ἡμῶν μνημόσυνον, καὶ ἀφ' ἐσπέρας μὲν μέν φορένῃσι ἱερεῖς δεκαεὶ καὶ ἕχῃμεν κόλυβα ἀπαλλαρέας (πλατε) ὀκτὼ καὶ μανουάλια μετὰ κηρίων ὀκτὼ τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον γένηται λειτουργία καὶ τράπεζα τοῖς καλογηροῖς καὶ τοῖς εὐρεθείσι πτωχοῖς, καὶ διδῶμεν εἰς τὰ πτωχὰ ἐκεῖνα καὶ ψυχικόν τὸ δυνατόν [...] ἐκτελῶνται αἱ τρεῖς λειτουργίαι καθ' ἑκάστην ἑβδομάδα, ἡ μὲν μία κατὰ τὴν πέμπτην ἡμέραν τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἐν τῷ καθολικῷ τοῦ μοναστηρίου, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ δύο τὴν τρίτην καὶ τὸ σάββατον ἐν ἐτέρῳ τοῦ μοναστηρίου θυσιαστηρίῳ - MM, Vol. II, pp. 260-261.

²⁴⁶⁴ T. Mathews suggested the used of multiple chapels for the private service, but his discussion is rather short and without much details (Mathews, Thomas F. "«Private» Liturgy in Byzantine Architecture: Toward a Re-Appraisal," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 30 (1982): 125-138); G. Babić was the first to associated the multiple chapels at the monasteries with the prohibition of serving a liturgy twice on the same altar in one day (Babić, Gordana. *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines: Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques* (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1969): 9-10, 50-54; V. Marinis argued that *typika* do not mention the performance of private liturgies in chapels and connected their appearance with the cult of saints and burials (Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual*, pp.77-87); For a complete overview of the chapel functions in the Athonite space, see: Stanković, *At the Threshold of the Heavens*, pp. 26-27, footnote 26 – discussion of Marinis' arguments, pp. 367- 374 for discussion of the chapel in the *katichoumena*, pp. 407-433 - for discussion of chapels in the narthex. In general, N. Stanković points out to multiple functions of the chapels, including the liturgical, burial, commemorative, associated with the cults of saints, etc.

typically, demanded to be inscribed in dyptichs/brebia or to be mentioned “during the liturgy”²⁴⁶⁵ which can be understood as the mentioning during the *proskomidia* or *anaphora*. However, there were some earlier cases of noblemen who could afford the private liturgies, like the *megas domestikos* Alexios Atouemes Metochites (1369) demanding “perform a liturgy every Tuesday of the week for his soul, while he is alive and after his death”²⁴⁶⁶ from Vatopedi. Nevertheless, the donations given for this kind of service should have been quite significant.

As one may consider in the above-regarded cases, the commemoration procedures included some kind of private liturgies performed at the monasteries. As the ‘value’ of this commemoration rite seemed to be high, the clergymen proposed it as a gift-to-be-rewarded or a contra-gift to the royal individuals. The amount and cost of the reciprocal imperial benefaction also depended on the size of a foundation: great monasteries could get a village whereas small foundations – an annual allowance. In the logic of reciprocity, this difference may be explained by the number of brotherhood present in the foundations, than greater is the number of monks than stronger are their prayers as more voices/souls petition to God on behalf of a benefactor.

8.6. Private Liturgies in Medieval Serbia

The most striking cases of the commissioning of the private liturgies appeared in the Serbian milieu during the late 14th and 15th centuries. Starting from the mid of the 14th century Serbian royal and, further, noble sponsors demanded from monasteries to commemorate them in private liturgies whose number was constantly increasing. In the charters issued by the Nemanjići rulers, the demands for the commemoration are usually quite brief, and they were expressed by a simple phrase “for the commemoration of my majesty” (въ помень кралеѡства / царства ми). For instance, the charter by Stefan Dušan, issued due to the transfer of the church of St. Nicholas Mrački to Hilandar monastery in 1339, states that the king presented the Athonite foundation with the restored *metochion* in the imitation of the pious actions of his predecessors and for acquiring a commemoration:

And I granted it to the house of the Virgin of Hilandar (and let it be the metochion and the land of the Holy Mount, for the commemoration of my majesty) as the first holy-deceased ancestors of my [majesty] donated and subjected [the metochia].²⁴⁶⁷

²⁴⁶⁵ See, for example a request from Maria Angelina daughter of Demetrios Spartenos who demanded to commemorate her husband, deceased Doukas Michael Angelos, “in the holy diptychs (διπτύχοις) of the monastery... and in all holy services (ιεροτελεστίαις) taking place there and other hymnodias,” see: *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. II, no. 98, pp. 135-141 (p.139 l. 27).

²⁴⁶⁶ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, no 129, p. 342, l. 4-6. See also the Subchapter 7.2.5. of this dissertation.

²⁴⁶⁷ Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja. “Hrisovulja kralja Dušana o darovanju manastira Sv. Nikole Mračkog u Orehovu manastiru Hilandaru,” *SSA* 2 (2003): 55–68. И приложихъ дому Богородице Хиландарьске, да ѡсть метохъ и областъ светогорски, въ помень кралеѡства ми якоже су прѡви светопочившиѡ прѡродителиѡ прилагали и записавали (here p. 57, l. 34-37)

In a similar way, the Tsar made donations to various clerics and monks for them to perform private commemorations of the ruler and his family.²⁴⁶⁸ In 1353, Stefan Dušan renewed the Church of St. Nicholas in the village of Kožlje²⁴⁶⁹ on Pšinja river and passed it to the Metropolitan of Serres Jakov²⁴⁷⁰ for the life-long holding.²⁴⁷¹ In the charter the ruler explains that this decision was taken by his wife, Jelena, for the Metropolitan to perform commemoration on behalf of the royal family:

And pious and christ-loving *tsaritsa* of my majesty *kyra* Jelena decided and gave this church of St. Nicholas by her own hand to the intercessor of our majesty, the most holy Metropolitan of Serres kyr Jakov, in order for him to have it and direct, not being taken by anyone, till [the end] of his life, for commemoration of our majesties.²⁴⁷²

And though Jelena is well-known for her activities as a supporter of monastic foundations (as it is regarded in the chapters 3.3 and 9.2.1 of this dissertation), one can assume that the decision of passing the church for a temporary collection of the usufruct to a private person couldn't be the initiative of the *tsaritsa* exclusively. Moreover, being Stefan Dušan's confidant and supporter, the Metropolitan Jakov, was transferred to Serres for providing administrative and legislative support to the Tsar's initiatives in 1348.²⁴⁷³ In these circumstances, the commemoration and Jelena's mediation look more like a pretext and pious furnishing of a material reward provided by the tsar to his supporter.

However, except for the simple commemorations, some royals asked for additional pious ceremonies, conducted on their behalf. For example, in 1326, the King Stefan of Dečani gave several beehives to the Ljeviša bishopric at Prizren against a traditional commemoration "my majesty and the son of my majesty, the young king."²⁴⁷⁴ However, he added a demand for a private devotional practice, a continuously burning lamp next to the miracle-working image of the Virgin of Ljeviša as

²⁴⁶⁸ Except for the regarded case of the usufruct rights given to a clergyman against the commemoration of the ruler, there are others, see: Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, p. 408 (the church of St. Nicholas to the elder John); 412 (a church of St. Peter of Koriša to the elder Gregorije)

²⁴⁶⁹ Kravari, *Villes et villages*, pp. 128-129.

²⁴⁷⁰ For the biographic information about Jakov of Serres, his affiliation with Dušan and the dates of his activities, see: Ostrogorski, Georgije. "O serskom mitropolitu Jakovu," *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta* 10/1 (1968): 219-222; Walter, Christopher. "Portrait of Jakov of Serres in London. Additional 39626," *Zograf* 7 (1976): 65-72; Ferjančić, Božidar. *Vizantijski i srpski Ser u XIV stoleću* (Belgrade: SANU, 1994): 95-99.

²⁴⁷¹ Slaveva, Lidija. "Manastir sv. Nikola kaj Kožle i serbskiot mitropolit Jakov," *Glasnik Instituta za nacionalna istorija* 22 (1978 [1979]): 165-185; Slaveva, Lidija. "Gramota na car Dušan za crkvata Sv. Nikola kaj Kožle od 1353," in: *Spomenici za srednovekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija*, eds. K. Ilievska; V. Mošin, Vol. III (Skopje: Arhiv na Makedonija, 1980): 407-423.

²⁴⁷² И ВЪСХОТѢ БЛАГОВѢРНАА И ХРИСТОЛЮБЕНАА ЦАРИЦА ЦАРСТВА МИ КУРА ЈЕЛЕНА И ДАСТЬ СВОЕЮ РОУКОЮ СИ БОЖЬСТВЫНИ ХРАМЪ СВЕТАГО НИКОЛЫ МОЛВНИКОУ ЦАРСТВА НИ ПРѢВЪСВЩЕННОМУ МИТРОПОЛИТОУ СѢРСКОМУ КУРЬ ЯКОВОУ ДА СИ Ю ИМА И НАПРАВЛА СЪ НИКИМЪ НЕУТѢМЛЕМОУ ДО СВОЕГО ЖИВЪТА ВЪ ПОМѢНЬ ЦАРЬСТВА НИ - Slaveva, Lidija. "Gramota na car Dušan za crkvata Sv. Nikola kaj Kožle od 1353," in: *Spomenici za srednovekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija*, eds. K. Ilievska; V. Mošin, Vol. III (Skopje: Arhiv na Makedonija, 1980): 415.

²⁴⁷³ Jakov of Serres participated, among other metropolitans, in the Councils connected with issuing Stefan Dušan's Law Code (1349, 1354), see: Blagojević, Miloš. *Državna uprava u srpskim srednjovekovnim zemljama* (Belgrade: Službeni list, 1997): 82.

²⁴⁷⁴ И ТОГО РАДИ ПОВЕЛѢ КРАЛЕВСТВО МИ ДА СИ ПОСТАВИ ОУЛАНИКЪ СВЕТА ЦРКВИ, ДА ЈЕСТЬ ОУ ПОМЕНЬ КРАЛЕВСТВА МИ И СИНОУ КРАЛЕВСТВА МИ МЛАДОМУ КРАЛЮ Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, p. 639, 641. Mišić, Siniša. "Hrisovulja kralja Stefana Uroša III Prizrenskoj episkopiji," *SSA* 8 (2009): 15, 16.

a “commemoration,” and, for this matter, passed the income from a *panagyr* (fair) taking place on the feast of the Birth of the Virgin to the bishopric.²⁴⁷⁵

One of the first cases of Serbian rulers mentioning the private liturgies is a Greek donation deed given by Constantine Dragaš²⁴⁷⁶ to the monastery of Vatopedi. In 1393, the ruler transferred a little convent of the Theotokos Pantanassa at Melnik under two conditions: 1) “that my holy fathers would perform two liturgies every week for the salvation of souls of my parents, and additionally one liturgy every week for my miserable and poor soul” and 2) “that the income from this monydrion would be directed for the safety of ill people of the hospital.”²⁴⁷⁷ Thus, the demand for private liturgy here coexisted with a more public practice of philanthropia, i.e. giving money for the sake of ill. As it was noted by the editor of the deed, V. Laurent, and the specialist on the history of Melnik, E. Kostova,²⁴⁷⁸ in the charter, Constantine Dragaš also makes a reference to his immediate sovereign,²⁴⁷⁹ sultan Bajazet I (1389-1403), who gave his permission for the transfer of the property. In this context, Constantine Dragaš mentions, the commemorations again, as if they would be commissioned by the sultan:

And also it happened that I reported about it [the transfer] to my and universal ruler of everybody and he ordered me that I would proceed with it, I mean, with the performance of the holy and sacred mystagogia for commemoration of my parents and of our soul.²⁴⁸⁰

One may assume that this phrasing is a consequence of applying a standard cliché expression meaning the agreement of a sovereign with the property transfer initiated by a dependent nobleman.

The earliest demand for private liturgies in the Serbian charters written in Slavic language can be found in the document by Evđenija the nun, and her sons, knez Stefan and Vuk (June 8th of 1395).

²⁴⁷⁵ И поставихъ панагюрь да се събира м(е)с(е)ца сек(тем)бра въ И д(ь)нь на Рожд(ь)ство С(в)е(т)ыѣ Б(о)городице и отъ тога кандало неоуспино прѣдъ чюд(о)творнымъ образомъ Пр(ѣ)ч(и)с(т)ыѣ въ помѣ[нь] ...доу моимъ до вѣка Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, p. 639. Mišić, Siniša. “Hrisovulja kralja Stefana Uroša III Prizrenskoj episkopiji,” *SSA* 8 (2009): 17.

²⁴⁷⁶ PLP, no. 5746; about the role of Melnik in the state of Constantine Dragaš, see: Matanov, Hristo [Матанов, Христо]. *Княжеството на Драгаши: Към историята на Североизточна Македония в предосманската епоха* (Sofia: Gal-Iko, 1997): 11-21.

²⁴⁷⁷ Παραδίδωμι οὖν πρὸς τούτοις τὴν θεῖαν καὶ ἱερὰν μονὴν μετὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων αὐτῆς, ὧν προείπομεν ἄνωθεν, εἰς τὴν σεβασμίαν καὶ ἱερὰν τοῦ Βατοπεδίου μονὴν, ἵνα ποιῶσιν οἱ ἅγιοί μου πατέρες ὑπὲρ ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας τῶν γονέων μου καθ’ ἑβδομάδα λειτουργίας δύο καὶ ἐξόχως ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀθλίας καὶ ταλαιπώριου ψυχῆς καθ’ ἑβδομάδα λειτουργίαν μίαν. ἀπεδόμην δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον κτήμα ὅπως διοικῇ τὸ εἰσόδημα τοῦ τοιοῦτου μονυδρίου εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἀσθενῶν τοῦ νοσοκομείου κυβέρνησιν. – Laurent, Vitalien. “Un acte grec inédit du despote serbe Constantin Dragaš,” *REB* 5 (1947): 184.

²⁴⁷⁸ Laurent, Vitalien. “Un acte grec inédit du despote serbe Constantin Dragaš,” *REB* 5 (1947): 178; Kostova, Elena [Костова, Елена]. “Два светогорски документа – свидетелство за историята на манастира „Света Богородица Пантанаса“ в Мелник,” *Bulgaria Mediaevalis* 6/1 (2015): 166-170 (esp. pp. 168-169).

²⁴⁷⁹ For the subjection of the lands of the Dragaši to the turkish sultan, see: Matanov, Hristo [Матанов, Христо]. *Княжеството на Драгаши: Към историята на Североизточна Македония в предосманската епоха* (Sofia: Gal-Iko, 1997): 133-122.

²⁴⁸⁰ Ἐτι δὲ συνέβη μοι καὶ ἀνέφερα περὶ τούτου τὸν καθολικὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν αὐθέντην καὶ ὥρισέ μοι ἵνα περὶ τούτου ἀποπληρώσω καὶ εἰς τὴν ἔλευσιν τῆς ἐκεῖσε θείας καὶ ἱερᾶς μυσταγωγίας τοῦ μνημονεύεσθαι λέγω δὴ τῶν γονέων μου καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς. Laurent, Vitalien. “Un acte grec inédit du despote serbe Constantin Dragaš,” *REB* 5 (1947): 184..

It provided the monastery of St. Panteleimon with new *metochia* and confirmed the previous donations made by the deceased *knez* Lazar and other Serbian noblemen.²⁴⁸¹ The detailed description of the commemorations, however, one may find not in the rulers' charter, but in a counter-document composed by a head of the monastic community, which would confirm the benefits received by the donors, in this particular case the number of *adelphata*, the way of their reception and the description of commemorations.²⁴⁸² So, according to the charter issued by the hegoumenos Nikodim,²⁴⁸³ in the framework of this agreement, the Lazarevići family have a right to receive 20 *adelphata* (the charter specifies the ways and the amount of the transmission in details). Further, Nikodim provides details for lengthy and complex commemoration procedures performed for all family members, as he prescribes:

- 1) To commemorate sons of *knez* Lazar, Stefan and Vuk, until they are alive, with a liturgy and a *paraklesis* (a private prayer service with the kanon) on every Tuesday. The kanons in these services should alternate, every second week the kanon addressed to the Virgin should be performed, and every other week – addressed to St. Panteleimon, the patron saint of the monastery.
- 2) After the death, Vuk and Stefan as well as their mother Evđenija should be commemorated in the following way. On the 3rd, 9th, 20th, and 40th days after the death, after a half of year and on the anniversary of their death with joint repast of the brotherhood, with an additional portion of wine, *kolyba*, and distributions made to the poor brothers. All the priests of the monastery should participate in performing liturgies in commemoration, and until the 40th day after the death, they should serve 100 liturgies on the behalf of a deceased. Every Saturday during this year, the deceased will be commemorated with the *kolyba* and three liturgies. And on the date of the death anniversary the deceased should be remembered as “all founders,” i.e. all the priests of the monastery should participate in the liturgies on the deceased's behalf, the *kolyba* should be cooked; the joint repast of the brotherhood and the distribution to the poor should take place. Here one can notice that the distribution to the poor was also specifically foreseen in the commemoration agreement, similarly with the directions given by *ktetorika typika*. Probably, monasteries were inviting the poor on certain dates to follow the commands of the donors/founders concerning the almsgiving, as the distribution of alms on somebody's behalf was considered to be the way of improving the posthumous fate of the soul and achieving salvation.²⁴⁸⁴
- 3) In a similar way, with the liturgies, joint repast, *kolyba*, an extra portion of wine, feeding the poor and distribution of alms should be commemorated the deceased *knez* Lazar, on the anniversary of his death. During these ceremonies both, the brotherhood and the poor, should be feed and receive candles. Except this, *knez* Lazar should be remembered during the common commemorations given to “all orthodox Christians,” probably, on the Meatfare week, second, third and fourth Saturdays of the Great Lent, the Saturday before Pentacost and the week before commemoration of St. Demetrios.
- 4) All four members of the family, Lazar, Stefan, Vuk and Evđenija, should be continuously commemorated by the monastery as they are inscribed into the memorials (ПОМЕНИЦА) among other rulers.

²⁴⁸¹ Mladenović, Aleksandar. *Povelje i pisma despota Stefana: tekst, komentari, snimci* (Belgrade: Cigoja, 2007): 294-297.

²⁴⁸² Živojinović, Mirjana. “Adelfati u Vizantiji i Srednjovekovnoj Srbiji,” *ZRVI* 11 (1968): 247-248.

²⁴⁸³ Mladenović, Aleksandar. *Povelje i pisma despota Stefana: tekst, komentari, snimci* (Belgrade: Cigoja, 2007): 314-328.

²⁴⁸⁴ For the distribution to the poor, see: Horden, Peregrine. “Memoria, Salvation, and Other Motives of Byzantine Philanthropists,” in: *Stiftungen in Christentum, Judentum und Islam vor der Moderne*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin: 2005): 137-146.

This way, the counter-deed provided by the Hilandar *hegoumenos* to the donors described not only the material obligations of the recipients toward the benefactors (*adelphata*), but also the spiritual duties, undertaken by the monasteries for the donors. Moreover, the recipient underlined that the duties, both material and spiritual, toward the sponsors should not become void in case of losing the donated property as the consequence of the events, beyond the control of the parties (for example, the loss of the territories due to a war). Namely the appointed family members (all, including daughters of Evđenija) should be still commemorated among the founders and receive their allowance, while Vuk and Stefan can get the entire 20 *adelphata* in kind or silver even after being deposed (ИСПАДУ УТ СВОГА ГОСПОДСТВА).

In the later charters, Serbian rulers themselves demanded the commemorations and private liturgies. In 1411, despot Stefan Lazarević transferred several villages to Hilandar monastery in order to receive six *adelphata* with a right to pass them to a person of his choice. However, he agreed to replace the two *adelphata* with the performance of commemoration after his death.

Let me have from the monastery, instead of these two *adelphata*, the following commemoration according to the typikon of the Holy Fathers: annual commemoration, and for every commemoration let the wheat to be boiled and ten liturgies let be sung, and the entire brotherhood would receive additional portion of wine. And except for the commemorative liturgies, let them to sing one hundred liturgies for me, before the 40th day from my death. And when the year after my death would be accomplished, I should be commemorated as ktetors and the brotherhood of the monastery.²⁴⁸⁵

One may assume that the replacement of the *adelphata* with the commemorations could be suggested by the recipients (the monks) as it was more economically profitable way to repay for the benefactions of the Serbian ruler. In addition, here, one may find a pattern which started to develop in course of the 14th century, namely, that the most generous benefactors received the honorary rights, equal to that of the initial founders.

By the middle of the 15th century, Serbian noblemen with the rulers' claims, the Branković family, commissioned ten and more daily liturgies in great Athonite monasteries during the lifetime or on the anniversaries of their deaths. However, in the conditions of shrinking Serbian state and constant pressure from the Ottomans,²⁴⁸⁶ the despot Đurađ Branković endowed the monastery of Lavra (1452) not with lands, but with an income of 120 *litra* of silver.²⁴⁸⁷ Thus, the pattern of monastic commemorations came to its logical conclusion, i.e. memorial services against payments.

²⁴⁸⁵ Да имамаь одъ монастыра за обазн адрѣфата сицевн помень по уставу светинхъ отьць: годиштынн помень, на всакы помень да се вари пышеница и да се отьпѣва по десеть литургин, и да се дава вьсон брати прилѣвкь. И освень поминныхъ литургин да ми се отьпое до четирьдесеть сто литургин. И съвршывшю се годиштю да се поминамаь какото хьтиторне и братия монастырьска. - Mladenović, Aleksandar. *Povelje i pisma despota Stefana: tekst, komentari, snimci* (Belgrade: Cigoja, 2007): 191-199 (here quoted p. 193).

²⁴⁸⁶ For the political circumstances of the Branković state, see: Spremić, Momčilo. *Despot Đurađ Branković i njegovo doba* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1994).

²⁴⁸⁷ For the circumstances of the donation, see: *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. IV, no. 12, pp. 197-200.

On the other hand, the demands of the Despot Đurađ Branković were quite unusual and extensive. He ordered that the brotherhood would commemorate him and his children “in the way they commemorate the holy-deceased lord tsar Stefan and the holy-deceased lord and my ancestor despot Stefan,”²⁴⁸⁸ i.e. that he would receive the honorary ktetorial rights. He also insisted that his entire family, the wife Eirine²⁴⁸⁹ and their children, Mara,²⁴⁹⁰ Kantakuzina,²⁴⁹¹ Grgur, Stefan,²⁴⁹² Lazar²⁴⁹³ and his wife Helena Palaiologina,²⁴⁹⁴ would receive similar rights. So, he prescribed several types of commemorations²⁴⁹⁵ which would vary depending on whether or the family members were dead or alive:

1. During the lifetime of the family, it should receive a joint commemoration with the liturgies and also three private liturgies for each a month: “One celebration annually should be done in the great church (katholikon) in accordance with every church and royal custom, as for ktetors, with kolyba and twenty liturgies [are performed] with a joint repast and an additional portion of wine. And everybody of us should have three liturgies per month until the monastery exists”.
2. When a member of the sponsor’s family dies: “after the death of this one, his commemoration should be performed on the 3rd, 9th, 20th and 40th days [after the death] and after a half of year and in the end of the year, in the same way. In the middle of the great church (katholikon) the kolyba [is blessed] for every commemoration, and twenty liturgies [are performed] with a joint repast and an additional portion of wine. There also should be twenty liturgies [celebrated] with a joint repast and an additional portion of wine for the first yearly commemoration.”
3. Finally, upon the death of the entire family, “there should be to every of us three liturgies monthly sung and one joint commemoration annually [made]. A joint *kolyba* (one for all) and twenty liturgies

²⁴⁸⁸ Да уни мене споменују како є швнчан монастыра и како почине помень с(вє)топочившему г(осподи)ноу ц(а)роу стефану и с(вє)топочившему г(осподи)ноу и родителю ми деспотоу стефану, шнакон да чине помень и господствоу ми и чедомъ господства ми Anastasijević, “Srpski arhiv Lavre,” p. 15; Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, pp. 503.

²⁴⁸⁹ A daughter of Theodore Palaiologos Kantakouzenos, a diplomat and *theios* of Manuel II- Donald M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos* (Cantacuzenus) (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1968), p. 18; PLP no. 5970; Thierry Ganchou. “Une Kantakouzènè, impératrice de Trébizonde : Théodôra ou Hélène?,” *REB* 58 (2000): 215-229.

²⁴⁹⁰ Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos*, pp. 210-213; PLP, no. 17210; Popović, Mihailo. *Mara Branković. Eine Frau zwischen dem christlichen und dem islamischen Kulturkreis im 15. Jahrhundert* (Ruhpolding: Rutzen, 2010).

²⁴⁹¹ PLP, no. 9371

²⁴⁹² PLP, no. 26804

²⁴⁹³ PLP, no. 14354; Spremić, Momčilo. “Despot Lazar Branković,” *ZRVI* 50 (2013): 899-912.

²⁴⁹⁴ A daughter of Despot Thomas of the Morea and wife of Lazar Branković, see: PLP, no. 21364.

²⁴⁹⁵ Да творє помень господствоу ни, мене г(осподи)ноу деспотоу гюргю и госпожде деспотице кіра ерине и чедом нашим ц(а)ріце кѹра маарѣ и госпожде кѹра катакѹзине и г(осподи)ноу грьгоѹроу и г(осподи)ноу стефану и г(осподи)ноу лазару и госпогє деспотице кѹра елене палеологине, почынши съда при животоу господства ни єдиноу въ лѣтѣ по срѣдѣ великыє ц(ь)ркве по въсакому швнчаю црьковномуу и ц(а)рскому іако хтиторм коливо и двадесети лѹтоѹргин с трапезом съборном и с прилєвкѹм и въсакому шт нас на м(ѣ)с(є)ць по три лѹтоѹргіє дондеже и монастырь стонтъ и кто се прѣставла ѿд господства ни по смьрти того да моу се твори помень, третін, и девети и двадесетін и четиріес(є)тін д(ь)ни, и на пол(а) годишта и на коньць годиша по томоужде шбразоу по срѣдѣ великыє ц(ь)ркве на всакому помену коливо и двадесети лѹтоѹргин с трапезом съборном и с прилєвкѹм и двадесети лѹтоѹргин с трапезѹм съборнѹм и с прилєвкѹм прьво годиште, по прѣшъствін же въсѣхъ нас да ни штпѣваю всакому шт нас по три лѹтоѹргин на м(ѣ)с(є)ць и всѣмъ швштін помень єдиноу въ лѣтѣ. Коливо съборно и двадесети лѹтоѹргин с трапезѹм съборнѹм и с прилєвкѹм. По вса лѣта дондеже и монастырь стонтъ. - Anastasijević, “Srpski arhiv Lavre,” pp. 15-16; Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, pp. 502-504.

with a joint repast and an additional portion of wine. And it should be performed until monastery exists”

8.7. The Memorial Books

Medieval people made particular efforts to preserve their memory through the gifts, in order to be continuously prayed for and remembered. The prayers of the monks were addressed to God in favor of the donors, during their lifetime as well as after their death. However, not many of the Memorials dated with the Byzantine period have survived. Moreover, there is a considerable confusion with what can be called a Memorial book.

The Byzantines themselves were not consequent in usage *termina technica* in relation to the books service for commemoration. The monastic acts of donation call these books in various ways: βρεβεῖον,²⁴⁹⁶ διπτυχα,²⁴⁹⁷ ψυχοχαρτια²⁴⁹⁸ or μνημονεύόμενα χαρτία,²⁴⁹⁹ while the manuscripts themselves can be called συνοδικόν,²⁵⁰⁰ βρεβεῖον,²⁵⁰¹ βιβλίον παρρησίας,²⁵⁰² βιβλίον προθέσεως²⁵⁰³ or ιερά προσκομιδή.²⁵⁰⁴ The Slavic terms for the type of book vary between *pomenik* (поменикъ)²⁵⁰⁵ and *parisija*.²⁵⁰⁶ Very often the commemoration lists even were not composed into a book, but adjusted

²⁴⁹⁶ *Actes de Xenophon*, pp. 162-166 (164), no. 20, l. 8 [1324]; pp. 204-207 (207), no. 28, l. 4, 22 [1348]; pp. 210-214 (213) no. 30, l. 35 [1364]; *Actes de Dionysiou*, pp. 110-114 (113), no. 19, l. 27 [1420]; *Actes de Docheiariou*, pp. 252 - 257 (256), no. 48, l. 36-37 [1381]; pp. 293 - 296 (295), no. 58, l. 5, 14 [a.1419]. etc.

²⁴⁹⁷ *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. I, pp. 311 - 315 (314), no. 61, l. 50-51 [1141]; *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. II, pp. 135 - 141 (139), no. 98, . 27-28 [a. 1304]; *Chilandar*, pp. 208-219 (218), no. 30, l. 77-80 [1314]; *Actes d'Iviron*, Vol. III, pp. 126 - 129 (128), no. 66, l. 17 [1292]

²⁴⁹⁸ *Actes d'Iviron*, Vol. III, pp. 286- 289 (288), no. 81, l. 22 [1324]; *Actes de Xenophon*, pp. 210-214 (212), no. 30, l. 8 [1364]

²⁴⁹⁹ *Actes de Xeropotamou*, pp. 215-218 (216); no. 30, l. 21 [1445].

²⁵⁰⁰ *Actes d'Iviron*, Vol. II, pp. 4-12.

²⁵⁰¹ The 16th century Brebion of Metamorphosis monastery of Meteora no. 421 - Beis, Nikolaos [Βέης Νικόλαος]. *Τα Χειρόγραφα των Μετεώρων: κατάλογος περιγραφικός των χειρογράφων κωδίκων των αποκειμένων εις τας μονάς των Μετεώρων*, Vol. I (Athens: Akademia Athenon, 1984): 667. Brebion of Kosinitza monastery (early 16th century), MS. Gr. 309 of Ivan Dujcev Center in Sofia; Anastasijević, “Srpski arhiv Lavre,” p. 17.

²⁵⁰² Polites, Linos, and Manousakas, Manousos [Πολίτης, Λίνος and Μανούσακας, Μανούσος]. *Συμπληρωματικοί κατάλογοι χειρογράφων Αγίου Όρους* (Thessaloniki: Etaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, 1973 [1932]): p. 211 (Xenophon), pp. 133-135 (Protaton).

²⁵⁰³ Polites, Linos, and Manousakas, Manousos [Πολίτης, Λίνος and Μανούσακας, Μανούσος]. *Συμπληρωματικοί κατάλογοι χειρογράφων Αγίου Όρους* (Thessaloniki: Etaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, 1973 [1932]): 211; Spingou, Photini [Σπίγγου, Φωτεινή]. “Το βιβλίον προθέσεως του ιερού ναού Αγίας Παρασκευής Κλινοβού: χρο ΣΒΝΦ Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών, αρ. 67,” *Trikalina* 26 (2006): 45; Beis, Nikolaos [Βέης Νικόλαος]. *Τα Χειρόγραφα των Μετεώρων: κατάλογος περιγραφικός των χειρογράφων κωδίκων των αποκειμένων εις τας μονάς των Μετεώρων*, Vol. II (Athens: Akademia Athenon, 1984): 399.

²⁵⁰⁴ Pallas, Demetrios [Πάλλας, Δημητρίος]. “Κατάλογος των χειρογράφων του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου Αθηνών,” *DCHAE* 2 (1933): 46.

²⁵⁰⁵ Novaković, *Srpski Pomenici*, pp. 3-5); Todić, Branislav. “Sopoćanski pomenik,” *Saopštenja* 34 (2002): 279-292; Paun, Radu G. “La Valachie et le monastère de Chilandar au Mont Athos. Nouveaux témoignages (XVe-XVIe siècles),” in: *Medieval and Early Modern Studies for Central and Eastern Europe*, Vol. II (Iași: I Cuza University Press, 2010): 137-184 (139); Stancheva, Magdalena, Stanchev, Stancho [Станчева, Магдалина, Станчев, Станчо], eds. *Боянският поменик* (Sofia: BAN, 1963); Ivanov, Jordan [Иванов, Йордан] ed. “Поменици на български царе и царици,” *Izvestija na istoričesko društvo v Sofija* 4 (1915): 219-229; [Bilyarski, Ivan [Билярски, Иван]. “Погановският поменик,” *Godishnik na Sofijskija universitet Sv. Kliment Ohridski* 84-85 (4) (1990-1991): 53-77.

²⁵⁰⁶ The term is a copy of Greek word παρρησία, see: Bogdanović, Dimitrije. *Katalog ćirilskih rukopisa manastira Hilandara*, Vol. II (Belgrade: SANU, 1978): 512, 678, 679, 794, 795.

to the related manuscripts, as it is a case of the memorial list of the year 1225²⁵⁰⁷ which was inscribed in the end of Codex Cromwell 11, a manuscript containing texts of all three liturgies, services to the selected saints and prayers for the ill.²⁵⁰⁸ Most probably, the initial grouping of names for the commemoration was made basing on the composition of an icon brotherhood which collected money and commissioned the manuscript.²⁵⁰⁹ Since, later, the initial list was supplemented with new names,²⁵¹⁰ one may assume that the memorial stayed in the liturgical use for certain period after the commission.

Apparently, among proper memorial books one can distinguish three types of actual commemoration lists: 1) the lists with names of ktetors and donors who endowed the monastery which are usually supplemented with the names of rulers and church hierarchs. This type of memorial books was used for actual rituals of commemorations taking place in the prothesis and in the altar and they were read by priests. The majority of preserved Slavic *pomenici* is related to this type; among the Greek manuscripts, those from the Great Lavra published by D. Anastasijević,²⁵¹¹ from Megale Meteora (no. 421) and Kosinitza monasteries (MS. Gr. 309 of Ivan Dujcev Center in Sofia) and some other belong to this type as well. Its main purpose was to include as many names as possible, so they were often inscribed in two columns. On the basis of the *brebia* of Megale Meteora and Kosinitza monasteries, I have worked with, as well as on the published or photocopied Slavic *brebia*, the books were organized in a hierarchical way, i.e., initially, they included the names of rulers and important patrons, afterwards the bishops, the *hegoumenoi*, the monks and only afterwards, the names of regular people classified by the villages they lived in. 2) Books organized according to the calendar principle, i.e. inscribed with the dates of donors' deaths, in order starting from September and ending with August. Many of Byzantine *brebia* belong to this category and *de facto* the commemoration list added to the Typikon of Bebaia Elpis²⁵¹² represents this group as well as βιβλίον παρρησίας of Protaton²⁵¹³ and some others. Among Slavic *pomenici*, those adjusted to Typika, for example, to that of Roman (addition of 1382 and later) or Danila (1416) and others belonging to the same group.²⁵¹⁴ These memorial lists were to serve as calendars being consulted for the anniversaries of patrons' deaths. Consequently, they were not used during the rites and could contain additional information,

²⁵⁰⁷ Prinzing, Günter. "Spuren einer religiösen Bruderschaft in Epiros um 1225? Zur Deutung der Memorialtexte im Codex Cromwell 11," *BZ* 101/2 (2009): 751-772.

²⁵⁰⁸ Coxe, Henry O. *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars prima recensionem codicum Graecorum continens, Quarto Catalogues*, vol. I (Oxford: Academic Press, 1883): col. 433-434.

²⁵⁰⁹ Prinzing, Günter. "Spuren einer religiösen Bruderschaft in Epiros um 1225? Zur Deutung der Memorialtexte im Codex Cromwell 11," *BZ* 101/2 (2009): 769-771.

²⁵¹⁰ Prinzing, Günter. "Spuren einer religiösen Bruderschaft in Epiros um 1225? Zur Deutung der Memorialtexte im Codex Cromwell 11," *BZ* 101/2 (2009): 754-756.

²⁵¹¹ Anastasijević, "Srpski arhiv Lavre," p. 17.

²⁵¹² *BMFD*, pp. 1561-1562.

²⁵¹³ Polites, Linos, and Manousakas, Manousos [Πολίτης, Λίνος and Μανούσας, Μανούσος]. *Συμπληρωματικοί κατάλογοι χειρογράφων Αγίου Όρους* (Thessaloniki: Etaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, 1973 [1932]): 313.

²⁵¹⁴ For the group of typika with different texts, but similar memorial lists see: Stojanović. *Stari Srpski*, Vol. III, 67-74.

such as the regulations on the performance of the memorial service (Bebaia Elpis) or the reasons why the patrons were inscribed there (the descriptions of their donations). In some cases, similar lists having a different function were also called *brebia*, namely, some short descriptions of a foundation's properties listed by the names of persons who transferred them (for example the *Brebian* of Htetovo²⁵¹⁵ or that one of Eleousa monastery)²⁵¹⁶. 3) Finally, the third group of commemorative lists is much rarer, it comprises commemorative registers, called Synodika, such as Slavic manuscript of Bulgarian Tsar Boril's Synodikon²⁵¹⁷ and Serbian Synodika from Zagreb and monasteries of Plevlja and Dečani²⁵¹⁸ as well as 22 Greek manuscripts²⁵¹⁹ belong to this type. It is specifically composed for reading during the Service of the Triumph of Orthodoxy (the first Sunday of Great Lent) and has the core, dated back to the council of 843. These lists were gradually supplemented with new articles until the 14th century. The text of the Synodikon explains the *dogmata* of the Orthodoxy and anathematizes the Byzantine heretics. In the very end of the dogmatic discussions one can find a register of people who contributed to the establishment of the right faith (their names are supplemented by exclamations of "the eternal memory" – Αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη/вечная память!) and the catalogue of the heretics (their names are supplemented with the exclamation "Anathema!"). Due to various milieus where these Synodika were composed, the lists could be complemented by local heretics or, especially, rulers, as it was the case with the Bulgarian tsars in the Boril's Synodikon or the Serbian kings and tsars in the Serbian versions. Later, I will return to this group of the Memorials in connection with some quite outstanding commemoration requests made by the Serbian sovereigns.

The inscription into the memorials was one of the most common demands of the ktetors and sponsors, but it was always associated with certain donations made on behalf of monasteries. One example demonstrates that inscription into the memorial could be a pious act in itself, made out of gratitude toward the divinity. Serbian archbishop Danilo II during his stay on the Holy Mont fleeing from the Catalans siege²⁵²⁰ of Panteleimon monastery chose to hide in the monastery on Xeropotamou and due to successful but narrow escape, he decided to inscribe himself and his parents into the

²⁵¹⁵ Slaveva, Lidija. "Diplomatičko-pravne spomenici za istorijata na Polog i sosednite kraevi vo XIV vek," in: *Spomenici na srednovekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija*, Vol. III (Skopje: Institut za istraživanje na staroslovenskata kultura, 1980): 283-299.

²⁵¹⁶ Petit, Louis ed., "Le monastère de Notre-Dame de Pitié en Macédoine," *IRAIK* 6 (1900): 126-127.

²⁵¹⁷ Božilov, Ivan, Totomanova, Anna, Bilyarski, Ivan [Божилов Иван, Тотоманова Анна, Билярски Иван] eds. *Борилев синодик — издание и превод* (Sofia: PAM, 2012) with previous bibliography.

²⁵¹⁸ Mošin, Vladimir [Мошин, Владимир]. "Сербская редакция синодика в неделю православия. Анализ текстов," *VV* 16 (1959): 317-394; Mošin, Vladimir [Мошин, Владимир]. "Сербская редакция синодика в неделю православия. Тексты," *VV* 17 (1960): 278-353.

²⁵¹⁹ Gouillard, Jean. "Le synodikon de l'Orthodoxie, edition et commentaire," *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967): 1-316 (for the manuscript tradition see Introduction, 1-44).

²⁵²⁰ Živojinović, Mirjana. "Žitije arhiepiskopa Danila II kao izvor za ratovanja Katalanske Kompanije," *ZRVI* 19 (1980) 251-273.

memorial book of Xeropotamou.²⁵²¹ On the other hand, the inscription into a memorial can be also a political matter. For example, it was the case of a bishop not showing respect to Michael VIII and reciting only the Trisagion in his honour,²⁵²² or in the agreement of Serbian tsar Dušan with the Athonite monks where a special clause was to be commemorated after the byzantine rulers, thus showing the hierarchy of powers.²⁵²³

The Serbian Memorials²⁵²⁴ of the first type are dated with different periods (mainly 15-17th centuries); however, the commemoration entries can be dated earlier than the manuscripts themselves. Many of them could have been copied from previous, older commemoration books. All these Memorials have a chapter mentioning Serbian rulers starting with Simeon Nemanja and finishing with the members of the Branković family,²⁵²⁵ whereas the oldest memorial manuscript from Hilandar monastery (14th century²⁵²⁶ focuses predominantly on the rulers and is called The Memorial of the Serbian lords (*Pomenik gospodam srpskim*). Other Medieval memorials (Prizrenski, Lesnovski, Kruševski, Koriški and Vodički) contain an introductory chapter “About those who want to be written in the holy memorial,” similar in all the manuscripts.²⁵²⁷ Thus, this chapter gives the main grounds for commemoration and explains the benefits of being remembered:

“It behooves to everybody, who wants to be written in this holy Memorial and wants to gain the future goods and join in the Divine Son-incarnation and in that ineffable joy and to be illuminated by the light of the Holy Life-giving Trinity, to be more bright and more pure, because from the present life-books they will be copied into the celestial ones, because in the future they will receive the reward... And it behooves if somebody endows the monastery, willing to buy the eternal empire of Christ with the help of terrestrial, perishable, and subjected-to-death things, let these ones altogether be written equally in the memorial and be commemorated until the end of the world. If somebody, who wants to be written in, gives villages to the monastery, or vineyards, or church vessels, or anything else in the same vein, only in this case he can be written in.”²⁵²⁸

²⁵²¹ Daničić, Đure, ed. *Arhiepiskop Danilo i drugi: Životi kraljeva i Arhiepiskopa srpskih* (Zagreb: Svetozar Galac, 1886): 350-353 (esp. p. 353).

²⁵²² Georges Pachymérès. *Relations historiques*, p. 337.

²⁵²³ Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, p. 32.

²⁵²⁴ Published in: Novaković, *Srpski pomenici*. Some of them are still kept in the Library of Academy of Sciences (SANU, nos. 61, 123), The University Library in Belgrade (Ub Rs 46) and the Museum of Applied arts in Belgrade (MPU-1838), however majority of them, collected in the Serbian National Library were lost in fire of 1941 and known only from publications of S. Novaković and archival photos.

²⁵²⁵ Novaković, *Srpski pomenici*, pp. 28-29.

²⁵²⁶ Bogdanović, Dimitrije. *Katalog ćirilskih rukopisa manastira Hilandara*, Vol. II (Belgrade: SANU, 1978): no. 652, pp. 224-225.

²⁵²⁷ Novaković, *Srpski pomenici*, p. 4.

²⁵²⁸ Подовно ксть всѣмъ хотещимъ въписати се въ светынъ сынъ поменныкъ и въштити быти желеа тамошнынъ благъ и причесникъ вишняго сыноположеніа и многа неизреченнаго веселіа и светикъ и живоначельникъ тронце свѣтомъ просвѣтити се, снѣе и чистѣе, ко да иже отъ здешнынъ прѣписаннынъ бѣдѣхъ и въ тамо сѣштинъ животнынъ книгахъ нѣже тамо бѣдетъ възданіе.... Подовно же иже аште ктѣ таково приложитъ въ монастырь, хотеще земельными и тѣлными и вскорѣ погыбающіими коупити небеснаго онога и не иждивоуштааго царства Христова, да въписоуять се коупно и тынъ равно въ поменныкъ и да се поминають по смърти до вѣка. Аште ли же ктѣ хошеть написати се и дастъ въ монастырь села, винограды, сѣсѣды цркви что любо подовно, за тѣ тѣкмо да се запише - Novaković, *Srpski pomenici*, pp. 4-5.

In other words, only the sponsors can be equally written in with the founders and commemorated as long as the monastery exist. Their donations of the material goods are made in order to “buy out” the place in the eternal Empire of Christ, and, therefore, the material and perishable goods donated are uncomparable with the eternal joy of the Heavens. This chapter further gives clear instructions about who should be commemorated and who shouldn’t. Thus, both, laymen and monks, are not to be commemorated, if they “abandoned” the monastery; if they being “separated” from the monastery “by devil’s wish,” died elsewhere, but are worthy of commemoration, than the decision is left at the discretion of the hegoumenos and the brotherhood. And, finally the chapter condemns with writing in the “perdition books” those who tried to include their names or names of the relatives in the Memorial self-willingly.

The Memorial of Kruševo, specifically, mentions the types of goods which are important for the church and which are written in “the chrysobulls” and “the wills of holy ktetors.” They can be of the following types: service vessels of gold and silver, altar clothes, holy icons, arranged on the walls and the templon, horos, shrines, curtains, holy books “cast and non-cast.” The Memorial further says that those who gave “help and charity, the metochia and the villages” and died in the church are going to be commemorated.²⁵²⁹ So, as one can see, the monastic communities recognized different types of gifts as equally important. Thus, those who endowed monasteries with lands or rent incomes, those who ordered the murals, or those who presented the monastery with vessels, church clothes, books or furniture pieces, are equally worthy of the commemoration. On the other hand, ktetorship can bring a status similar with one of a monk to a layman, and it can guarantee a place in the “eternal empire of Christ,” and a record in the celestial “books of living,” presumably copied in the Heavens from the present commemoration books. Consequently, the endowing of a monastery provides a donor with an opportunity to get the eternal life and future salvation.

Primarily, the monastic commemorations are aimed for the provision of a place in the Paradise for the members of the community. Therefore, the deceased members of the brotherhood are written in the Memorials unconditionally, whereas a ktetor, if (s)he remained a layman and didn’t join the brotherhood, is honored with commemoration only in two cases: if (s)he is buried in the monastery or if (s)he is considered to be “worthy” by the hegoumenos and the brotherhood.

Some liturgical scrolls, dated to the Byzantine time and containing short lists with ktetors’ names, can be included into this category,²⁵³⁰ whereas some other manuscriptis, like the memorial

²⁵²⁹ Novaković, *Srpski pomenici*, pp. 3-4.

²⁵³⁰ Politis, Linos. ‘Eine Schreiberschule im Kloster τῶν Ὁδηγῶν. I. Der Schreiber Joasaph,’ *BZ* 51 (1958): 272-275; Politis, Linos [Πολίτης, Λίνος]. “Κατάλογος λειτουργικῶν εἰληταρίων της Ιερᾶς Μονῆς Βατοπεδίου,” *Makedonika* 4 (1960): 403-408; Chrysostomos mon. Lauriotis [Χρυσόστομος μον. Λαυριώτης]. “Κατάλογος λειτουργικῶν εἰληταρίων της Ιερᾶς Μονῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας,” *Makedonika* 4 (1960): 391-402.

book of the Athonite Protaton²⁵³¹ directly specifies that the list of commemorated should be prepared for the reading during the liturgy. This manuscript is especially interesting as dated as early as the second half of the 14th century and containing names of both, Byzantine and Serbian rulers. It starts on fol. 2r with the recitation of the Emperors as early as Basil I, Leo VI and Alexander, and, with a gap, those from the mid-14th century on, i.e. the Palaiologoi. Together with the Emperors, only one non-Byzantine ruler is listed, Tsar Stefan Dušan who, however, bears the title of “βασιλεύς” as well. Later, these names were supplemented with those of Serbian king Vukašin (Demetrios), despot of Drama Jovan Uglješa and the members of the family of Wallachian *vojvoda* Neagoe Basarab (his wife Despina, son Theodosios, daughters Roxandra and Stana).²⁵³² Obviously, such texts prove that the great monasteries didn't commemorate all their sponsors during the Eucharistic rituals, but rather those whose royal names and generous gifts elevated them above the usual patrons.

Many of the post byzantine memorials of the first type have, in the beginning, the names copied from earlier books, but the bulk of their content is later names inscribed under the rubrics of village and towns. For example, the Brebeion of St. JohnTheologos monastery on Patmos²⁵³³ is a combination of the geographical (islands, villages, and towns) and diocese (metropolitans, bishops and monks) principles. The reason for such organization is that the names of the sponsors contributing to the monastery were inscribed by a monk passing neighbouring settlements and asking for financial support in exchange for the inscribing into a *brebion* and commemorations. This was a typical strategy, adopted by monasteries during the period of the Ottoman domination.²⁵³⁴

The *Brebion* of Lavra²⁵³⁵ monastery (includes persons deceased between 963 and 1433/34) join together the names of founders, including the emperors and the patriarch (St. Athanasios, Nikephoros Phokas, John Tzimiskes, Nicholoas Chrysoberges), that of ordinary monks worthy of commemoration, some monastery officials (hegoumenoi, hieromonks), and important benefactors (Nikephoros and Anna Petraleipha; a Palaiologos and Theodora; Michael Sphrantzes and his children; Demetrios, Nikephoros and Anna Sarantenoi and their children; George and Peter Doukoupouloi and their children; despot Constantine Palaiologos and his wife Maria; Nicholas, John and *megale domestikaina* Eirine, Michael Douka Sphrantzes and his wife Maria). The *brebion* is organized in a

²⁵³¹ Politis, Linos, Manousakas, Manousos [Πολίτης, Λίνος, Μανούσακας Μανούσος]. *Συμπληρωματικοί κατάλογοι χειρογράφων Αγίου Ορους* (Thessaloniki: Etaireia makedonikon Spoudon, 1973): no. 340, 133-135.

²⁵³² For precise identification of the listed persons see: Đurić, Ivan, “Pomenik Svetogorskog Protata s kraja XIV veka,” *ZRVI* 20 (1981): 139-167.

²⁵³³ Phlorentes, Chrysostomos [Φλωρεντής, Χρυσόστομος], ed. *Βραβείον τῆς Ἱεράς Μονῆς Αγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου Πάτμου* (Athens: Etaireia Byzantinon kai Matebyzantinon Meleton, 1980).

²⁵³⁴ The monks usually travelled with relics of some popular saints exhibiting them in villages for veneration: Angelomati-Tsounkaraki, Eleni [Αγγελομάτη-Τσουγκαράκη, Ελένη] “Ἱερά λείψανα και οικονομικά προβλήματα. Ἡ διάδοση τῆς λατρείας τοῦ Αγίου Βησσαρίωνα,” *Trikalina* 17 (1997): 193-212 ; for description of one of memorials belonging to this type see: Spanos, Basilis [Σπανός, Βασίλης]. “Οἱ οικισμοί τῆς επισκοπῆς τῆς Καστορίας και τα ονόματα τῶν αφιερωτῶν τοῦς στην πρόθεση 421 τοῦ Μεγ. Μετεώρου (1592/3-19ος αἰώνας),” *Makedonika* 34 (2004): 309-329 (esp. pp. 309-310).

²⁵³⁵ Beyer, Hans-Veit. “Michael Sphrantzes im Totengedenkbuch des Lavraklosters und als Verfasser eines Gedichtes auf Mariä Verkündigung” *JÖB* 40 (1990): 295-302

chronological principle, i.e. the names were introduced in the manuscript with the passage of time by different writers. Next to the names there are years when the names were introduced, however the present manuscript is the 20th-century combination of two memorial books, found in the chapels of cemetery and hospital.

Brebia were often introduced as parts of manuscripts with varia-content, i.e. they contained texts being very different in their content and nature. An 18th-century codex from Dionysiou monastery²⁵³⁶ represents a collection of documents describing properties (*praktika*), cataloguing relics, attesting the legality of possessions (deed of the Patriarch, Emperor, and *protoi*), and commemorating for those “who performed the renovation or adornment... in the Monastery.” This composition, though being dated late, reflects the understanding of the ktetors’ role as the *praktika* attests the donations and the memorial is a set of obligatory responses to those grants.

One of the Post-Byzantine Memorials belonging to the monastery of Kosinitzi²⁵³⁷ near Drama is nowadays kept at the Research Center for Slavic and Byzantine Studies “Prof. Ivan Dujcev” (Sofia) under no. D gr. 309. It starts, before listing the names of the monks, bishops and laic patrons, with a short note describing actions of the priest performing a short memorial service. So, after the dismissal from the main service priest exits to the narthex with an incenser and *manoualia* (lightening) and starts the *troparion* of the monastery. He proceeds with an *ektenes* (Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός...) on behalf of the brotherhood, ktetors and “those who buried here and somewhere else orthodoxes.” Further, he recites a petitioning prayer (Ὅπως Κύριε ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν, τάξῃ τὰς ψυχὰς...) ²⁵³⁸ and the dismissal (Χριστὸς ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς ἡμῶν ταῖς πρεσβείαις...). ²⁵³⁹ This very short memorial service, reminding an abbreviated modern Trisagion, precedes the listed names which suggests that the monastery’s priest would perform it before reading the names. In principle, it could be one of those *ekteneis* which was demanded by the ktetors on different occasions; however, it shows that the

²⁵³⁶ Euthymios Dionysiatos [Ευθύμιος Διονυσιάτος]. “Συμπληρωματικός κατάλογος Ελληνικῶν χειρογράφων Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Διονυσίου Ἀγίου Ὁρους,” *Epeteris Etaireias Byzantinon Spoudon* 27 (1957): no. 627, pp. 241-242.

²⁵³⁷ Atsalos, Vasilis [Ἀτσαλός, Βασίλης]. *Η ονομασία της Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς της Παναγίας της Αχειροποιήτου του Παγγαίου, της επονομαζομένης της Κοσινίτσης ή Εικοσιφοινίσσης* (Drama: University Studio Press, 1995) with previous bibliography.

²⁵³⁸ This passage completely repeats a part of modern Trisagion, see: <http://glt.goarch.org/texts/Euch/Trisagion.html>

²⁵³⁹ Βρεβείον τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ πατριαρχικῆς τῆς πᾶν ὑπερδόξου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου Κωσινιτζίων.

(Μ)ετά τινά τὴν ἀπόλυσιν ἐξερχόμενος ὁ ἱερεὺς μετὰ τοῦ θυμιατοῦ καὶ μανουαλίου, λέγει τὸ τροπάριον τῆς μονῆς. Εἶτα λέγει. Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἐλέός σου. Δεόμεθά σου ἐπάκουσον καὶ ἐλέησον. Ἐτι δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ ἀνέσεως μακαρίας μνήμης καὶ ἀφέσεως τῶν μακαρίων κτητόρων ἡμῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν προαναπαυσασμένων πατέρων καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν. Τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων καὶ ἀπανταχοῦ ὀρθοδόξων. Καὶ μνημονεύει (καὶ) ὑπὲρ τοῦ συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτοῖς πᾶν πλημμέλημα ἐκούσιόν τε καὶ ἀκούσιον. Ὅπως Κύριε ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν, τάξῃ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν. Ἐνθα οἱ δίκαιοι ἀναπαύονται, τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν, παρὰ Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ αἰτησώμεθα.

Καὶ ποιεῖ ἀπόλυσιν Χριστὸς ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς ἡμῶν ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς παναχράντου αὐτοῦ Μητρός καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων. Τὰς ψυχὰς πάντων τῶν προαναπαυσασμένων πατέρων καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων καὶ ἀπανταχοῦ ὀρθοδόξων, ἐν σκηναῖς δικαίων τάξαι, ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ ἀναπαύσον. Καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐλέησον ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος.
- Research Center for Slavic and Byzantine Studies “Prof. Ivan Dujcev”, Ms. Gr. D. 309, fol. 1r-v (Transcription is mine).

memorials of this type were also used for performing the commemorations outside of the Eucharistic rituals.

The second group of the Memorials, built on the calendar principle, is better represented in the earlier tradition. The Georgian Synodikon of Iviron records the dates of commemorating the donors together with the donations they made to the monastery.²⁵⁴⁰ For example, in one entry Maria of Alania and her son Constantine are commemorated for intervening with Alexios Komnenos in favor of the monastery, and for giving six pounds of gold to the monks, while a shoemaker Chrysostomos, in the twelfth century, is commemorated for giving 600 silver *histamena*²⁵⁴¹ and 1000 *hyperpyra* to the monastery.²⁵⁴² Though it is built according to the calendar principle, the year here starts in December, and I do not know the reasons for it.

As I noted before, the Memorials of this type were often adjusted to the typika. The manuscript Panaghia Kamariotissa 29,²⁵⁴³ dated with the late 12th or the early 13th century, contains a liturgical typikon adapted for the use of the monastery of Christ Philanthropos, founded by Eirene Doukaina, the wife of Alexios I Komnenos, in Constantinople. It also provides certain liturgical instructions concerning the founder and her husband and mentions, on the margins, the anniversaries of deaths of more than thirty members of the Komnenoi family in the yearly chronological order (from September to August).

A similar situation occurs in Serbian typika described by Lj. Stojanović,²⁵⁴⁴ however one of these memorials, except for listing the names and the dates of death of rulers, introduces a discussion concerning the ways of performing the commemorations. The Typikon of Sabbate type was translated into Slavic in 1331 by a Serbian monk Roman in Hilandar.²⁵⁴⁵ In 1382, the former hegoumenos hieromonk Sisoje added to the text a long note (see Appendix X) starting with a list of Serbian rulers exercising patronage over the foundation (placed chronologically from July! to March). Further, he underlined that the typikon prescribes to commemorate the founders with evening service and the morning liturgy, with *kollyba* (wheat), and candles (probably, those ψυχοκέρια distributed to everybody being present): “[befitted] annually to sing on the day of his/her Dormition and [to distribute] 12 [plates? of] wheat with candles to the entire brotherhood, and with an extra portion of wine, and also next day the liturgy being made in Mesa [of Athos].” Moreover, such rituals should be performed on the anniversary of the death of every ktetor. However, some time ago, before Sisoje came to Hilandar, the brotherhood started to perform one service of this type for all ktetors jointly

²⁵⁴⁰ *Actes d'Iviron*, Vol. II, p. 6-10.

²⁵⁴¹ Grierson, Philip. *Byzantine Coins* (Methuen: University of California Press, 1982): 218-219.

²⁵⁴² *Actes d'Iviron*, Vol. II, p. 8 and p. 9 (nos. 133 and 146).

²⁵⁴³ Kouroupou, Matoula, Vannier, Jean-François. “Commémoraisons des Comnènes dans le typikon liturgique du monastère du Christ Philanthrope (ms. Panaghia Kamariotissa 29),” *REB* 63 (2005): 41-69.

²⁵⁴⁴ Stojanović, *Zapisi i natpisi*, Vol. III, pp. 67-74.

²⁵⁴⁵ Mirković, Lazar. “Romanov tipik,” *Zbornik za društvene nauke* 13-14 (1956): 46-60 (esp. pp. 46-49).

(“insisted to sing for everybody jointly”). Raising this issue at the monastery’s council led to some debates, but, in the end, the heads of Hilandar decided to return to the old custom and to conduct the memorial services for every ktetor privately. Obviously, this custom prevailed, since after the text of Sisoje other scribe of the 16th century added a continuation (also arranged according to the Calendar) to the list of ktetors including: Konstantin Dragaš (d. 1395), knez Lazar (d. 1389), Vuk Branković (d. 1389), Milica (Jefrosinija, d. 1405) and archbishop/despot Maksim (d. 1516). This example reveals that to perform the increasing number of private commemorations became a burden for the monastery, and some of the brothers tried to find a way to reduce the number of private services. Another thing is obvious as well: for the monastery’s superiors these commemorations were a matter of displaying respect toward national rulers who invested their efforts on behalf of “those belonging to our language/nation.” And there is also a good reason why Sisoje starts his note with the mentioning of St. Simeon and St. Sava, the first Serbian saints and the founders of the Church and State,²⁵⁴⁶ for him, as for other Serbian monks of Athos, these saints are the founders of their monastery, but also of their monastic tradition and the religious authority of their nation (state). Consequently, the addition of new royal names to this list strengthens importance of Hilandar and displays its ties with the ruling houses of Serbia.

Finally, the third group of Commemoration books is represented by the lists of pious rulers read for the Triumph of the Orthodoxy. This kind of the Memorials was investigated by F. Uspensky who established the date of their initial text (843), associated with the Triumph of Orthodoxy after the Iconoclasm, and distinguished three main additions, dated back to the end of 11th- beginning of 12th centuries, under Alexios Komnenos, the mid of the 12th century under the emperor Manuel and the second half of the 14th century, after the Palamite controversy (1351).²⁵⁴⁷ Altogether 22 manuscripts contain the Greek version of *Synodikon* and the names of rulers, especially from the Palaiologan time, but they still display a row of variations.²⁵⁴⁸ Depending on the region, some names of rulers and church hierarchs could be added, even after the Palamite Council (1351). For example, in the *Synodikon* of Thessaloniki²⁵⁴⁹ several additional entries made by Symeon the Archbishop of the city survived, among them were the praises to Isidor, the archbishop of Thessaloniki (1380-1396), Gabriel

²⁵⁴⁶ For the cult of St. Simeon and St. Sava see: Adashinskaya, Anna. *The Join cult of St. Simeon and St. Sava under Milutin. The monastic aspect*. MA Thesis, Budapest 2009, Central European University (with further bibliography).

²⁵⁴⁷ Uspenskij, Fedor [Успенский, Федор], ed. *Синодик в неделю православия. Сводный текст с приложениями* (Odessa: Tipografija Odesskogo voennogo okruga, 1893): 1—96.

²⁵⁴⁸ Bibliography on the various manuscripts containing the *Synodikon* see: Grumel, Venance. *Les Regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, Vol. I, Fasc. II : Les registes de 715 à 1043 (Paris: Institut Français d’Etudes Byzantines, 1936): no. 425, in the general article on the *Synodikon* (p. 51-54) and in the articles on the additions to the main text — nos. 416, 418; Fasc. III (1947), nos. 1003, 1060-1067, 1075, 1077, 1080, 1109-1111, 1113, 1115-1116; Gouillard, Jean. “Le synodikon de l’Orthodoxie, édition et commentaire,” *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967): 1-316 (for the manuscript tradition see Introduction, 1-44).

²⁵⁴⁹ Balfour, David. *Ἀγίου Συμεὼν Θεσσαλονίκης 1416/1417-1429 ἔργα θεολογικά* (Thessaloniki: 1981): 247-248.

the Archbishop of Thessaloniki (1396-1416/17), John VII Palaiologos despot in Thessaloniki in 1403-1408 and Manuel II Palaiologos.²⁵⁵⁰

The account of Philopheos Kokkinos, than the Patriarch of Constantinople, demonstrates how easy it was to spread new additions to the Synodikon. He writes about his contemporary, the hegoumenos of the Megiste Lavra, Jacob Trikanas,²⁵⁵¹ who asked about sending the additions to the Synodikon, on his own initiative. Those additions concerned the anathemas against Barlaam and Akindynos made by the Council of 1351, and the Lavriotes who promoted the cult of Gregory Palamas.²⁵⁵² The same saint's cult was developed by Philopheos Kokkinos²⁵⁵³ who during the life of Gregory was the hegoumenos of Lavra himself:

As (this hegumen) had asked our humility to send to the Holy Lavra chapters composed during the synod against Barlaam and Acindyne, and to place them in the Holy Synodikon that we read every year on Sunday of Orthodoxy, those chapters in which these heretics, those who follow them and those who support them, are anathematized, and those who have slaughtered by them by force, and all those who, by their word, deeds, and all their power, maintain and reinforce the dogmas of Church, as, I say, they had asked to add them to the Synodikon which they read there and to be able, at the same day as we do, also to read them, the monks...²⁵⁵⁴

As the text of the Lavra's leader might suggest, the names of the Synodikon linked the Institutions of the Church, reinforced the dogmata, and unified people celebrating the Feast of the Orthodoxy by the simultaneous reading of the same texts in different locations. However, the unity between Constantinople and the Megiste Lavra was not complete as the Synodikon of Orthodoxy compiled by the Lavriotes contained some names of the Serbian rulers who, at some point, were even excommunicated in Constantinople.

The manuscript of the Lavra Synodikon includes several entries with the names of Serbian rulers (Stefan Dušan, Jelena-Jelizaveta, knez Lazar, *knezaina* Jelena, despot Stefan and Đurađ and Eirene Branković)²⁵⁵⁵ glorified with the words “Αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη.” The names of the Serbian rulers were added on two instances, once in the original text, dated to c. 1400,²⁵⁵⁶ and the next time in the middle of the fifteenth century.²⁵⁵⁷

The first entry concerns only Stefan Dušan (d. 20 december, 1355) and Jelena-Jelizaveta (d. 1376). In the series of the deceased emperors, between Andronikos III and John V Palaiologos (ff.

²⁵⁵⁰ *PLP*, nos. 4223; 3416; 214480; 21513 accordingly.

²⁵⁵¹ *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. IV, p. 62.

²⁵⁵² Hinterberger, Martin. “The Byzantine Hagiographer and his Text,” in: *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography, Vol. II: Genres and Contexts*, ed. S. Efthymiadis (Farnham-Burlington: Ashgate, 2014): 234-235.

²⁵⁵³ *PLP*, no. 11917.

²⁵⁵⁴ *PG* Vol. CLI, cols. 695-696.

²⁵⁵⁵ Rigo, “Il Synodikon dell’Ortodossia”; Anastasijević, “Srpski arhiv Lavre,” p. 17.

²⁵⁵⁶ Rigo, “Il Synodikon dell’Ortodossia,” pp. 264-266.

²⁵⁵⁷ Rigo, “Il Synodikon dell’Ortodossia,” p. 271.

36r-37r), the following acclamation is inserted, “Stefan, glorious emperor passed to the blessed life, eternal memory, three times” (Στεφάνου τοῦ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ λήξει γενομένου αἰοδίου βασιλέως, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη γ’). Later (f. 38r),²⁵⁵⁸ the Synodikon contains the acclamation for Jelena-Jelizaveta: “Elizabeth, passed to the blessed memory, the most pious augusta, eternal memory, three times” (Ἐλισάβετ τῆς ἐν εὐσεβεῖ τῇ λήξει γενομένης εὐσεβεστάτης αὐγούστης, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη τρίς). The most striking feature in this entry is the fact that, since 1350, the first Serbian Tsar, Stefan Dušan, was mentioned in the first part of the Synodikon while he was excommunicated by the Constantinopolitan patriarch in 1346-1368.²⁵⁵⁹ Later, the territories of Athos returned under the Byzantine control (in 1371)²⁵⁶⁰ and there was no need to keep the name of the disputable ruler in the Synodikon which has been edited for several times. But the disputed name stayed there.

Nevertheless, this entry may also be regarded as a result of an agreement, established between the Lavra and Stefan Dušan’s successor. By the chrysobull given to the Lavra by Stefan Dušan’s son, Stefan Uroš in 1361,²⁵⁶¹ the second Serbian Tsar confirms the transfer of the monastery of All Saints made by Stefan Uroš’ mother, verifies the previous possessions of Lavra and prohibits to the administrative (župani, kephalia, knezi) to bother Lavra with tax collection. The place of the charter’s *prooimion* is occupied by the following disposition made by the Tsar:

I made the grant (ἐπιμέλειαν) for the honour and soul’s salvation of three times revered and glorious emperor (tsar) and ruler and the father of my majesty, and I inscribed his name into the *Synodikon* in order that he would be acclaimed and praised with revered emperors according to the church custom, as well into the holy *brebion* of those churches that he would be remembered daily, together with glorious emperors and ktetors. And I ordered that they would make every year a commemoration about his soul on the day of his death.²⁵⁶²

As one can see from the text, Stefan Uroš confirms that he himself “inscribed” (or rather witnessed or agreed to do so) the name of his father into the Synodikon. This fact was not commented by the editors of the *Actes de Lavra* Vol. III, while it seems to be an important issue. Actually, what Uroš commands is to proceed with the commemorations of his father, namely with the private remembrance (according to the *brebion*) as a ktetor and the remembrance of Stefan Dušan as a ruler, together with the other Byzantine rulers inserted into the Synodikon. So, the reference to the inclusion

²⁵⁵⁸ Rigo, “Il Synodikon dell’Ortodossia,” p. 266.

²⁵⁵⁹ Petrović, Miodrag. “Povelja-pismo despota Jovana Uglješe iz 1368. godine o izmirenju Srpske i Carigradske crkve u svetlosti nomokanonskih propisa,” *Istorjski časopis* 25–26 (1979): 29–51 (esp. pp. 35–48).

²⁵⁶⁰ Korać, “Sveta Gora pod Srpskom,” p. 3.

²⁵⁶¹ *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, no. 140, pp. 82–85; Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, pp. 200–207. There is also an Old Slavic translation made from the Greek document, which is published by Solovjev and Mošin.

²⁵⁶² ἐποίησαν δὲ (καὶ) ἐπιμέλειαν ὑπὲρ τῆς τιμῆς (καὶ) τῆς ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ τρισμακαρίστου (καὶ) αἰοδίου βασιλέως τοῦ αὐθ(έν)του καὶ πατρ(ός) τῆς βασιλείας μου, καὶ ἔγραψαν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ συνοδικῷ ὥστε εὐφημεῖσθαι (καὶ) μακαρίζεσθαι αὐτ(όν) μετὰ τῶν εὐσεβ(ῶν) βασιλέ(ων) κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας συνήθειαν, ὡσαύτ(ως) (καὶ) ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἐκκλησίας βρεβίῳ ὥστε μνημονεύεσθαι καθ’ ἡμέρ(αν) μετὰ τ(ῶν) αἰοδίου(ων) βασιλέ(ων) τῶν κτιτόρ(ων), ἔταξαν δὲ (καὶ) ποιοῦσι κατ’ ἔτος μνημόσυνον ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τῆς κοιμήσεως αὐτοῦ ἡμέρᾳ, *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, no. 140, p. 84, l. 2–6

of Stefan Dušan's name in the Synodikon to "be acclaimed and praised with revered emperors according to the church custom," means that the Serbian tsar would be mentioned among the great orthodox and pious rulers in the text, read during the celebration of the Triumph of Orthodoxy, as it is confirmed by the preserved entry of the Lavra's Synodikon.

Among the rulers included into the Synodikon of Lavra after 1400, one can find several other Serbian names: knez Lazar ("glorious and pious lord of all Serbia, past to a blessed life, eternal memory, three times"),²⁵⁶³ *knezaina* Jelena ("glorious and pious *knezaina*, passed to a blessed life, who in the divine and angelic dress took the name of nun Eugenia, eternal memory, three times"),²⁵⁶⁴ Stefan Lazarevic, and Đurađ and Eirene Brankovići ("glorious despots of all Serbia, passed to a pious life, eternal memory, three times").²⁵⁶⁵

The longest entry here addresses the despot Stefan Lazarević who is venerated as "glorious and blessed memory despot of all Serbia who spent all his life in a good deeds and loving God, who distinguished himself with alms so much to become a supplier for many deprived of resources and a protector for those to whom an injustice was done, occupying the place of founder or, rather, as if he had taken the place of the father of our entire Holy Mount, he strengthened and supported it with all his power and came to our aid with words and property, as a truly Christian ruler and friend of monks, eternal memory, three time."²⁵⁶⁶

Until the recent article by Antonio Rigo,²⁵⁶⁷ the majority of the authors, writing about the relations of the Serbs with the Holy Mount considered that this Stefan should be Tsar Stefan Dušan.²⁵⁶⁸ However, this entry is placed after the entries about knez Lazar (d. 1389) and Jelena (nun Jevgenija, d. 1375) and the text calls the ruler *a despotes*, and not a tsar or basileus. So, among Serbian rulers, there was another Stefan who provided great gifts for the Lavra, namely Stefan Lazarević²⁵⁶⁹

²⁵⁶³ Λαζάρου κνέζη τοῦ ἐν μακαρία τῇ λήξει γενομένου αἰοιδίου καὶ εὐσεβοῦς αὐθέντου πάσης Σερβίας, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη γ' - Anastasijević, "Srpski arhiv Lavre," p. 17; Rigo, "Il Synodikon dell'Ortodossia," p. 271. For donations of knez Lazar of 1381 see: Mladenović, Aleksandar. *Povelje kneza Lazara* (Belgrade: Cigoja Stampa 2003): 171-175.

²⁵⁶⁴ Ἐλένης τῆς ἐν μακαρία τῇ λήξει γενομένης αἰοιδίου καὶ εὐσεβοῦς κνεζαίνης, τῆς διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος μετονομασθείσης Εὐγενίας μοναχῆς, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη γ' - Anastasijević, "Srpski arhiv Lavre," p. 17, Rigo, "Il Synodikon dell'Ortodossia," p. 271.

²⁵⁶⁵ Γεωργίου καὶ Εἰρήνης τῶν ἐν εὐσεβεῖ τῇ λήξει γενομένων αἰοιδίων δεσπότην πάσης Σερβείας, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη γ' - Anastasijević, "Srpski arhiv Lavre," p. 17; Rigo, "Il Synodikon dell'Ortodossia," p. 271. For donations made by the Brankovići to Lavra monastery in c. 1430 and 1452 see: Anastasijević, "Srpski arhiv Lavre Atonske," pp. 16-17; Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici*, pp. 501-504; Ćirković, Sima. "Dve srpske povelje za Lavru," *Hilandarski zbornik* 5 (1983): 94-96.

²⁵⁶⁶ Στεφάνου τοῦ αἰοιδίου καὶ μακαρίτου δεσπότην πάσης Σερβίας, τοῦ πάντα μὲν τὸν βίον καλῶς καὶ θεοφιλῶς διαβίβασαντος, ἐλεημοσύνης δὲ μάλιστα διαπρέψαντος ὡς γενομένου πολλοῖς μὲν ἀπόροις ποριστήν, πολλοῖς δὲ ἀδικουμένοις προστάτην, κτήτορός τε, ἡ μᾶλλον πατρός, ἐκπληροῦντος τόπον εἰς ὅλον τοῦτο τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἅγιον ὄρος, ὅλαις χερσὶν ἐπικρατοῦντος καὶ συνιστῶντος αὐτὸ καὶ λόγοις καὶ πράγμασιν ἐπαρκοῦντος ἡμῖν, τοῦ ὡς ἀληθῶς χριστιανικωτάτου καὶ φιλομονάχου αὐθέντου, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη γ' - Anastasijević, "Srpski arhiv Lavre," p. 17. According to Mirjana Živojinović, ἐκπληροῦντος should be read as ἐκπληροῦντος (Živojinović, Mirjana "Le nouveau sur le séjour de l'empereur Dušan à l'Athos," *ZRVI* 21 (1982): 119-126 (esp. p. 125). Rigo, "Il Synodikon dell'Ortodossia," p. 271.

²⁵⁶⁷ Rigo, "Il Synodikon dell'Ortodossia."

²⁵⁶⁸ Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, p. 125; Živojinović, Mirjana "Le nouveau sur le séjour de l'empereur Dušan à l'Athos," *ZRVI* 21 (1982): 124-125.

²⁵⁶⁹ Kalić, Jovanka. "Despot Stefan i Vizantija," *ZRVI* 43 (2006): 31-40.

who endowed the monastery in 1407, 1414 and 1427.²⁵⁷⁰ Moreover, in a donation charter of 1405 given by Stefan Lazarević to the Great Lavra, the despot insists on the performance of his commemoration in the way, similar to that one of Stefan Dušan. Namely: “in accordance with every church and royal custom as for the ktetor, one [commemoration] annually, until the monastery exists, as [it is made for] the blessed deceased and always-remembered tsar Stefan.”²⁵⁷¹ Therefore, as this demand proves the way of commemoration established for the first Serbian tsar was perceived as exemplary by his successors, and, simultaneously, as the means of great honour distinguishing only the most important benefactors. At the same time, after 1402, when the Ottoman army was defeated by Timur near Ankara,²⁵⁷² certain political revival on the Balkans allowed to Stefan Lazarević to pass significant gifts to the Holy Mount and to establish the relations of the mutual support between the the Serbian ruler and the Holy Mount.²⁵⁷³ This included the recognition of the despotes as a legitimate successor of the Nemanjići dynasty,²⁵⁷⁴ the provision of *adelphata* as the means of security in case of the fall of the Serbian state²⁵⁷⁵ and his special commemoration as a great ktetors with more frequent prayers for his soul.

Finally, I would like to note two conclusions I came with concerning the appearance of the names of Serbian rulers in the Synodikon of Lavra. Though, the patriarch of Constantinople excommunicated Stefan Dušan, the second Serbian tsar Stefan Uroš, with help of an important donation persuaded the Athonite monks to insert the name of his father into the Synodikon. The fact that Stefan Uroš could have his word on the list of the glorified emperors in the Synodikon of Orthodoxy demonstrates how great influence exercised the Serbian ruler over the Holy Mount in the middle of the 14th century, in comparison with the distant Patriarchate of Constantinople. These relations of the mutual support were re-enforced during the rule of Stefan Lazarević whose much-needed donations in silver, lands and kind helped Lavra during the initial years of the Turkish domination over the Balkans and resulted into the long and detailed acclamations associated with the name of the despot.

²⁵⁷⁰ For his donations to Lavra see: Anastasijević, “Srpski arhiv Lavre,” pp. 11-15 and Mladenović, Aleksandar. *Povelje i pisma despota Stefana: tekst, komentari, snimci* (Belgrade: Cigoja, 2007): pp. 237-252 (III/3-4); p. 253-257 (III/5), pp. 259-266 (III/6);

²⁵⁷¹ *да твореть память мою посрѣдѣ Великыѣ цркви, по всякому обычаю црковному и царскому яко хтитору единоу на всяко лѣто, донде и монастирь стоитъ якоже прѣдпочившому блаженному и приснопоинному цару Стефану* – Mladenović, Aleksandar. *Povelje i pisma despota Stefana: tekst, komentari, snimci* (Belgrade: Cigoja, 2007): p. 240. (III/3)

²⁵⁷² Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus*, p. 224 Necipoğlu, Nevra. *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins, Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 33-35, 98-101.

²⁵⁷³ Živojinović, Mirjana. “Podaci povelja despota Stefana Lazarevića o Svetoj Gori: primer Hilandara,” in: *Zbornik radova u čast akademiku Desanki Kovačević Kojić*, ed. R. Kuzmanović (Banja Luka: 2015): 95-102.

²⁵⁷⁴ Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja. “Dinastija i svetost u doba porodice Lazarević: stari uzori i novi modeli,” *ZRVI* 43 (2006): 77-96.

²⁵⁷⁵ Ivanović, Milos. “Sveta Gora kao utočište za vlastelu iz Srpske Despotovine,” *Naš trag* 3–4 (2013): 358–369; Levshina, Ekaterina S. [Левшина, Екатерина С.] “Сведения об институте аделфата в сербских актах конца XIV—начала XV в.,” *Vspomogatel'nye istoricheskie discipliny* 34 (2014): 154-164;

In principle, the relations between the rulers and the Athonite monks always had a political tone, whether on the Serbian or on the Byzantine side. The royal donors could have quite serious attitude toward the pious actions of the monks made on their behalf. Thus, during the civil war in 1322, Andronikos II reproached the protos of the Holy Mount on the grounds of the emperor's military defeats, and he ordered to the monks to pray more ardently for his victory, with "genuflexions," "tears," and "from the deep of their hearts."²⁵⁷⁶ Therefore, one can regard the commemorations and supplications, performed by the Athonite monks, as a political tool, as in the minds of medieval people, the spiritual influence of these holy fathers could affect the divine decisions and change a course of political or military events.

8.8. The memorial inscriptions

In some cases, especially during the Late Medieval period and the Modernity, the memorials could take the form of an inscription on the wall or an icon (for example, the Memorial of Kremikovski monastery dated with 1595, is *de facto* an icon - triptych²⁵⁷⁷ as well as the Memorial from Paganovo, made in the 17th century).²⁵⁷⁸ Some very late cases, such as the 19th century layer of St. Nicholas' church at Manastir (Mariovo, FYROM) provide examples of the Memorials made in the fresco-technique on the wall of a prothesis (fig. 8.1). Probably, these practices ensured longer preservation of the commemoration lists, as well as their constant presence in the space of the *proskomidia*. However, in case of the memorials-triptychs (fig. 8.2), the lists of names also replaced the holy images, and were represented as the objects for veneration. Taking into consideration that these icons-memorials contained only names of rulers of the distant past and church hierarchs, the idea of worshipping these words as images does not seem as improbable.

On the other hand, the concept of the names' placement in the actual sanctuary space appears during the late Byzantine period, and the later practices only develop the general idea, already present in the cultural space. In the *katholikon* of Peć monastery, dedicated to the Virgin, the apse is decorated with a Deesis composition and the Officiating Bishops (fig. 8.4-8.5).²⁵⁷⁹ This church was founded in the time of the first Serbian archbishop St. Sava and rebuilt by his successor, St. Arsenije, in 1260s. Arsenije included his teacher, St. Sava, among the officiating bishops on the political grounds,

²⁵⁷⁶ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. I, no.55, p. 308-311.

²⁵⁷⁷ Paskaleva, Kostadinka [Паскалева, Костадинка]. "Триптих с поменик от Кремиковски манастир," *Старобългарска литература. Изследвания и материали* 1 (Sofia: BAN, 1971): 441—456.

²⁵⁷⁸ Bilyarski, Ivan [Билярски, Иван]. "Погановският поменик," *Godishnik na Sofijskija universitet Sv. Kliment Ohridski* 84-85 (4) (1990-1991): 55-77.

²⁵⁷⁹ Đurić, Vojislav, Ćirković, Sima and Korać, Vojislav. *Pečka patrijaršija* (Belgrade: Jugoslovenska revija, 1990): 33-41.

promoting his sanctity as the founder of the Serbian church, however as a commissioner of the murals, Arsenije included himself into the inscription surrounding the apse as a decorative bend; it reads:

Our Lord and God hear and visit and bless this church and make this holy altar to be a part-taker of a celestial one, that the prayers of those who enter here to pray with faith and fear will be accepted on your holy celestial and spiritual altar. Also, remember me, sinful Arsenije.²⁵⁸⁰

This text is a prayer directed to god by the commissioner, which also includes the phrase addressing the officiating community of priests, in the last line, since the verb “remember” is present in the form of plural imperative. Thus way, the murals allowed Arsenije to eternalize both, the act of piety and the plea for commemoration. Being situated in the apsidal space, this text was visible only to the officiating clerics, and, as a result, it became a kind of signal for the founder’s remembrance during the services.

Such strategies were applied not only by the clergy founders, but also by laymen. One of the most successful examples of such visual reminder of commemoration is an altar table from St. Niketas church. At the cemetery of the village of Kipoula (Mesa Mani), there is an old small church dedicated to St. Niketas. It is rather a chapel of 7,45 x 3,18 m which can be dated to the second half of the 11th century.²⁵⁸¹ The altar table (fig. 8.3) of this church is *de facto* an upper part of a column, established with its capital upwards, so that the capital is turned into a tabletop. It is a rectangular of 0.81 x 0.595 dimension with a carved border-frame and an image of the cross in the center. On the lower field of the frame one can read an inscription carved in two lines: Μνή[σ]θητη Κ(ύρι)ε τοῦ δούλου σου Μάμα· ἄμα σηβήου κ(αι) τέχνης αὐτοῦ τοῦ πόθον κτήσαντος τὸν ἄλλο ναὸ τοῦτο ἀμή. (Remember Lord your servant Mamas, together with his wife and children, whose love built this another (a second?) church. Amen.) Mamas who ordered this altar and rebuilt or repainted the church, is unknown from other sources. Similarly, Dobrotas and his wife and children (Μνιστητη Κ(ύρι)ε τοῦ δούλου σου Δοβρότα (κ)ε τῆς συμβίου κ(αι) τῶν τέκ(ν)ον ἄφτοῦ) used the same mean and the same method for being inscribe on the marble tabletop of the altar (unknown provenance, nowadays reused in a modern church).

The intention of these donors can be well-understood. Placing these inscriptions right in front of the eyes of a priest serving at the altar table, was a gesture similar to that of inscribing into the memorial books. Basically, Mamas and Dobrotas assured their commemoration and placed eternal

²⁵⁸⁰ † Г(оспод)и Б(ож)е нашъ вѣмни и посѣти и бл(аго)слови храмъ снѣ и с(вѣ)ты съ вѣтарь створи [пр]ичестънь и(е)в(е)сноу да иже и(и)а м(о)л(и)твѣ вѣходе[тъ] в нь съ вѣроу и съ страхомъ да вѣдѣтъ мол(и)твѣ их принты на с(вѣ)ти и прѣн(е)в(е)сныи и мыслѣны твои вѣтарь † Поменѣте и мене грѣшнаго арьсѣнѣя – *Natpisi istorijske sadžine*, pp. 52-58 (here pp. 52-53).

²⁵⁸¹ Drandakis, Nikolaos [Δρανδάκης, Νικόλαος]. “Οι τοιχογραφίες του δεύτερου στρώματος στον Άγιο Νικήτα της Κηπούλας,” *DCHAE* 13 (1980-1981): 239-258 (here p. 239); Concerning a workshop producing sculptures with curved inscriptions of the similar content see: Drandakis, Nikolaos [Δρανδάκης, Νικόλαος]. “Άγνωστα γλυπτά της Μάνης αποδιδόμενα στο μαρμαρά Νικήτα ή στο εργαστήρι του,” *DCHAE* 8 (1975-1976): 19-28.

reminders for anybody officiating in their churches in future. Moreover, the wording of these inscriptions repeats exactly that of the *intercessio* commemoration pronounced by a priest as a part of the anaphora.²⁵⁸² This way, the donors used the stone-carved inscriptions as a more long-lasting medium of commemoration than, for example, a manuscript, so they tried to ensure the continuous mentioning of their names during the services.

Another tradition of commemorative reminders can be found in the churches of Zoodochos Pege (Panagia Eleousa) in Geraki, dated with 1431, and Archangelos Michael in Chalasmata, both being commissioned with the participation of the same donor, priest Rontkios Periodeutes.²⁵⁸³ Here, the inscriptions listing the names of the founders, local priests, are situated near the prothesis, and, thus, intended to be seen during the ritual of removing the commemorative particles, included into the Proskomedia (preparatory part) of the Liturgy. In the church of Zoodochos Pege, the inscription reminding the memorial lists, is situated on the northern wall of the altarspace, near the niche bearing the image of the Man of Sorrows. It is carved into a marble plaque, inserted into the wall, and reads: “Remember, Lord, the servants of God, the founders of this monastery, priest Demetrios Boustechas and priest Rontakios Periodeutes and their wives Maria and Maria and their children and their always-remembered offspring.”²⁵⁸⁴

However, the image of the Man of Sorrows itself bears another inscription of similar content and structure: “Remember, Lord, the soul of your servant Constantine and of his wife Ntziakouma and of their children.”²⁵⁸⁵ This image seems to be contemporary with the rest of decoration, and it demonstrates that an additional couple of sponsors invested into the painting of this image, and yet following the same strategy, directed to the achievement of the long-lasting commemoration, Constantine and Ntziakouma choose to finance the painting most closely associated with the Proskomidia rite, namely the decoration of the prothesis niche.

Finally, a small village foundation of Archangelos Michael in Chalasmata (near Geraki) bears even a longer list of the priests-sponsors in the form of the commemorative prayer which was inscribed in the prothesis of the church: “Remember, Lord, the souls of your servants, the founders

²⁵⁸² Taft, Robert. “Prayer to or for the Saints? A Note on the Sanctoral Intercessions/Commemorations in the Anaphora,” in: *Ab Oriente et Occidente (Mt 8, 11): Kirche aus Ost und West: Gedankenschrift für Wilhelm Nyssen*, eds. M. Schneider and W. Berschin (St Ottilien: Eos Verlag, 1996): 439-455; Winkler, Gabriele. “Die Interzessionen der Chrysostomusanaphora in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung,” *OCP* 37 (1971): 333-383 (esp. pp. 363-366); Taft, *Diptychs*. For the manuscripts preserving such expressions inside the liturgical commemoration see: Dmitrievsky, *Описание литургических рукописей*, Vol. II: *Euchologion*, pp. 268, 824, 960 etc.

²⁵⁸³ Parageorgiou, *Τοιχογραφίες στο κάστρο Γερακίου*, pp. 39-44.

²⁵⁸⁴ + Μνήσθητι Κ(ύρι)ε τῶν δοῦ/λων τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ τῶν κτητό/ρων τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς/ Δημητρίου ἱερέως τοῦ / Βούστηχα καὶ Ρωντα/κίου ἱερέως τοῦ Περιώ/δευτῆ. καὶ τῶν συμβί/ων αὐτῶν Μαρ[ία]ς / Μαρίας καὶ τῶν τέκνω[ν] / αὐτ(ῶν) καὶ τῶν ἀει/μνης(τῶν γονέων) / αὐτῶν – Parageorgiou, *Τοιχογραφίες στο κάστρο Γερακίου*, p. 39; Zesiu, Konstantinos [Ζησίου, Κωνσταντίνος]. “Επιγραφαὶ χριστιανικῶν χρόνων τῆς Ελλάδος, Α' Λακεδαίμονος,” *Byzantis* 1 (1909): 142 (no. 92).

²⁵⁸⁵ Μνήσθητι Κ(ύρι)ε τὴν / ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου / Κωνσταντίνου καὶ τῆς συμβίας / τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ντζιάκουμας / καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτ(ῶν) – Parageorgiou, *Τοιχογραφίες στο κάστρο Γερακίου*, p. 43; Zesiu, Konstantinos [Ζησίου, Κωνσταντίνος]. “Επιγραφαὶ χριστιανικῶν χρόνων τῆς Ελλάδος, Α' Λακεδαίμονος,” *Byzantis* 1 (1909): 143 (no. 93).

of this holy monastery, priests Basil, priest Nicholas, priest Michael, ... Leontios and Leontios, Rontakios, Constantine, Constantine, George, Gregory, Euphimosm Michael, John, Theodore, and their unity. Remember, lord, the souls of your servants, priests Michael and George”²⁵⁸⁶

One can notice that in all these three cases the commemorated persons were priests, and this may be the reason for the placement of the inscriptions in the prothesis part of the altar. Being well familiar with the rite, they could chose a place which would not be covered by the fabric (as altar tables in case of Mamas and Dobritas above), and where the sight of the future praying priests would be directed during the *proskomidia*. In all these inscriptions, the names are placed in the exact commemorative formula “Μνήσθητι Κ(ύρι)ε” which is pronounced by the priest performing the removal of particles for the living and the dead.²⁵⁸⁷

The group donors of such small churches could also chose to place “commemorative reminders” in different places of the altar, but still being close enough to the sight of an officiating priest. This fragmentation of signals allowed the donors to express their pious preferences (for example, to chose a saint or the exact place in the composition). In a small, rural church of Panagia at Yiallou on the island of Naxos, dated with 1288/89,²⁵⁸⁸ several inscriptions as well preserved in the apse reminding about the donors and the necessity of their commemoration. The church belongs to so-called mausoleum -type: it is a square space covered with a cupola over the sanctuary and a small altar with an additional prothesis niche. The church was constructed for the expenses of many donors names, whose names are listed in six votive inscriptions situated next to different images; four of them are placed in the apse. In the conch the Virgin is flanked by Archangel Michael and John the Baptist, and on both side of the Archangel there is a text: Δέ(ησις) Μιχ(α)ήλ ἔτους ϚΨϚZ ιν(δικτιῶνος) Β' -6797 (the prayer of Michael, the year 1288/89, indiction. In the conch, on both sides of the Platytera, a family supplication can be read: Δέ(ησις) του δού(λου) του θ(εο)ῦ Γεώργιου του Πεδιάσημου καὶ τῆς συμβίου αὐτου Μαρίας καὶ τῶν τεκνῶν αὐτῶν (the prayer of the servant of God George Pediasemos and his wife Maria and their children). Below the Virgin’s image a red ornamental band reads another prayer, made by Kale Cheonoa (Δέ(ησις) Καλῆς τῆς Χηνοῦ). Finally, on the both side of a half-figure of St. Mamas, placed in the second row of the apse, one can see one more text: Δέ(ησις) Μ(ι)χα(ήλ) του Τ(?)ριακητα (καὶ) τῆς συμβίου Λεοντοῦς (the prayer of Michael

²⁵⁸⁶ + Μνήσθητι Κ(ύρι)ε τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δ[ούλων] / σου τῶν κτητόρων τῆς ἀγίας / μ[ονῆς] Βασιλείου ἱερέως... / ... ἱερέως Νικολάου ἱερέως Μι[χαήλ] / ...Λέοντος καὶ Λέοντος. Ρων/τακίου [Κωνσταντί]νου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου. Γεωργίου... Γρηγόριου.Εὐφимиου.Μι[χαήλ] / Ἰω[άννου] Θεοδώρου καὶ τῆς συνοδίας αὐτῶν / Μνήσθητι Κ(ύρι)ε τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν δούλων σου Μιχαήλ καὶ Γεωργίου ἱερέως - Papageorgiou, *Τοιχογραφίες στο κάστρο Γερακίου*, p. 40; Zesiou, Konstantinos [Ζησιού, Κωνσταντίνος]. “Επιγραφαὶ χριστιανικῶν χρόνων τῆς Ελλάδος, Α' Λακεδαίμονος,” *Byzantis* 1 (1909): 135 (no. 69).

²⁵⁸⁷ For the use of this formula during the commemoration in the prothesis, see: Dmitrievsky, *Описание литургических рукописей*, Vol. II: *Euchologion*, pp. 132, 267, 481, 960 etc.

²⁵⁸⁸ Drandakis, Nikolaos [Δρανδάκης, Νικόλαος]. “Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Νάξου Παναγία στῆς Γιαλλοῦς (1288/9),” *Epeteris Etaireias Byzantinon Spoudon* 33 (1964): 261–263; Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits*, p. 89; Gerstel, Kalopissi-Verti, “The Agency of the Village Widow”, pp. 207-208.

Triaketas and the wife of Leon). Some of these donors could have something in common with the chosen saints, as the Archangel could be Michael as well as the donor, whereas Mamas could be a baptismal or monastic name for another Michael.

However, the liturgical characteristics of the altar space made donors who wished to be commemorated, to start the decoration of the church spaces from covering apses with frescoes, as it was the case of the joint efforts of the Virgin's Church in Mali grad (fig. 8.6). In the middle of the 14th century a pair of noble donors decorated the apsidal space and commemorated their names in the form of inscription. Certain men of Slavic origin Bojko and a Greek widow and her child jointly painted the liturgical space, according to the inscription situated in a red decorative band separating the conch from the wall of the apse: "Prayer of the Servant of God, Bojko and the noblest Eudokia and her child. The sanctuary was decorated by them in 6853 (1344-45)."²⁵⁸⁹ Though the inscription's content is a mix of a dedication and a commemoration, due to its position, right in front of eyes of an officiating priest, one can assume, that its main purpose was to preserve the names of donors for recitment in course of liturgies taking place in the church's sanctuary.

A presence of an additional inscription in the apse along with an extended dedicatory inscription in the naos can, indeed, witness about specific purposes of the apsidal text, i.e. to be read during the anaphora remembrance. Thus, in a church of St. Archangel in Polemitas (Mani), two local priests decided to add their names to the walls of the altar, except being mentioned in the collective dedicatory inscription on the northern wall of the naos.²⁵⁹⁰ For this reason, the priests just mentioned their names in the commemorative formulas, situated situated between figures of the officiating bishops and on the east side of the *templon*: "Remember the soul of your servant priest Notz..." or that of priest Nicholas, the *prosmonarios* of Kakomerotos.²⁵⁹¹ Indeed, having a better knowledge of the sanctuary rites and practices, these two Maniate members of low clergy found a certain way to preserve their memory and to get more often liturgical remembrances.

With a similar purpose, painters being simultaneously church officials, the Metropolitan of Pelagonia and Prilep Jovan and bishop Grigorije,²⁵⁹² left their signatures (fig. 8.8) above the prothesis of St. Andrew's church on the lake Matka (1389): "Remember, Lord God, your very sinful servant

²⁵⁸⁹ Δέησης του δούλου του Θ(ε)οῦ Μπώεϊκου καὶ Εὐδοκείας, τῆς εὐγενεστάτης καὶ τὸν τέκνὸν αὐτῆς. Ἀνήστωριθὲν παρ αὐτ(ῶν). Ἐτ(ου)ς ΣΩΝΓ – Bogevska-Capitano, *Les églises rupestres*, pp.358-365 (here p. 359).

²⁵⁹⁰ Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits*, p. 71-75 (for the collective inscription pp. 71-72, for the altar inscriptions – pp. 74-75).

²⁵⁹¹ Μνήστητητη την ωυχην τοῦ δούλου σου Νοτζ... ιερεὺς οὐ ...Νικολαου ιεροῦ καὶ του προσμοναριου Κακομεροτου (unfortunately, the beginning of Nicholas' inscription is not preserved, but judging on the cases used and the length of the text, it should be also formed in the way similar to the one of priest Notz...) – Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits*, p. 75.

²⁵⁹² Djurić, Vojislav J. "Radionica mitropolita Jovana zografa," *Zograf* 3 (1969) 18–33 (esp. p. 28); Grozdanov Cvetan. "Mitropolit Jovan zograf i episkop Grigorij – arhijereji na eparhijata na Pelagonija i Prilep," in: *Zbornik. Srednovekovna umetnost* 5 (2006): 71–76.

Metropolitan John and Gregory the monk who painted here.”²⁵⁹³ Certain Kalest Kiril, probably, an *epitropos* or *ephoros* of the monastery, who left his note about finishing the building of the monastery below the main dedicatory inscription,²⁵⁹⁴ as well recorded his name in the altar, above the diakonikon: “Remember, Lord God, your very sinful servant Kalest Kiril the monk, who worked here as an administer (?) and with the brotherhood.”²⁵⁹⁵ Both these inscriptions are shaped in the same way as the already mentioned commemorations made in the last part of the anaphora. Moreover, in case of Kalest Kiril, he recorded his name in the church twice, once in the frame of the main dedicatory inscription and once in the altar, which means that the altar record had another purpose than simply to indicate the contribution made by this person to the establishment of the monastery.

Finally, some donors could opt for quite unusual and almost uncanonical means to ensure preservation of their memory. In 1280, a couple of Cypriote middle-class Greeks, John Moutoullas and his wife Eirine built a church in the name of the Virgin, probably as a private family foundation. However their choice of the place for dedicatory inscription²⁵⁹⁶ and the ktetorial portrait (fig. 8.7) was much unexpected, as they are situated on the very east corner of the northern wall, right next to the niche of the prothesis, where usually the preparation of the Holy gifts happens, and which is meant only for clergy. The donors holding in between them a model of the church are accompanied by a typical supplicatory inscription: δε(ησις) του δουλου του Θε(ου) Ιω(αννου) του Μουτ(ου)λλα του κτιτωρος και της (σ)ηνβιου αυτου Ιρινης (the prayer of the servant of God John Moutoullas, the founder, and his wife Eirine). This position of the donors near the prothesis which is normally banned for the access of lay people, and, especially, women, witness about their strong desire to be part of liturgies happening in this space. By agency of text and depictions, the couple reminded to the priest why they should be remembered, and, at the same time, by being placed in the sacral place of the sanctuary, their images somehow controlled the happening holy mysteries and passively participated in them.

8.9. Conclusions

To conclude I would like to make several remarks concerning the modes and the strategies of commemoration practices in Late Byzantium and Medieval Serbia. The theological concept of the

²⁵⁹³ Помени г(оспод)и в(ож)е раба своего многогрѣшнаго І ѡна митрополита и Григоріа монах(а) писавшанх зде - Stojanović, *Zapisi i natpisi*, Vol. IV, no. 6081, p. 18.

²⁵⁹⁴ Stojanović, *Zapisi i natpisi*, Vol. IV, no. 6080, p. 17.

²⁵⁹⁵ Помени г(оспод)и в(ож)е раба своего многогрѣшнаго монаха Калеста Кврїла потрогдивша в начелѣ зде и съ братиєю - Stojanović, *Zapisi i natpisi*, Vol. IV, no. 6082, p. 18.

²⁵⁹⁶ [ανοικο]δο[μηθη ο θειος και παν]σσεπτος ναος [της υπεραγιας] δεσπινης η[μων θεοτοκου δια] σηνδρομης και πολ[λου] π[ω]θου ιω(αννου) του [μουτου]λλα κε της (σ)ηνβιου αυτου ιρινη μινη ιουλιω εις τ(ας) Δ ετους ΣΨΠΗ. – See: Stylianos, Andreas and Judith. “Donors and Dedicatory Inscriptions, Supplicants and Supplications in the Painted Churches of Cyprus,” *JÖB* 9 (1960): 102-103.

Balkan Orthodox societies were ultimately shaped during the polemics with the Latins concerning (the absence of) the Purgatory. In course of these debates, the Orthodox developed a system of based on the concept of the intermediary judgement and regarded commemorations performed by the living as a measure to improve the conditions in the Afterlife. These ideas got a wider spread through such sources as the sermons being widely accepted in both, the Greek and Slavic-speaking societies.

For the donations provided by the sponsors, the monasteries, metropolia, and private churches performed various commemorations in the reciprocal system “endowments for the petitions.” The number of such commemorations, communal (i.e. performed for a group of people simultaneously) and private was growing rapidly in course of the 14th century. Both types started to be extremely diversified ranging from a line of *ektines* to a private liturgy. Apparently, the precise rite or rites, performed on behalf of one sponsor were the matter of negotiation between the clergy and the donor and could vary depending on the value of the gift. Among these services the majority of the private offices was shaped on the model of burial rites and employed some of their texts. This fact should not be surprising since every commemoration was a kind of a small reenactment of the entombment and a reminder about the Life after death and the approaching Judgement. All these offices included the Psalms written in the first person singular and addressed to God. So one can imagine that the commemorative services being pronounced turned to be the alternations of the supplications (*ekteneis*), made by a community on behalf of a deceased. and appeals to God imitating the voice of the deceased him(her)self. This dramatic effect revived the departed person in memory and actions of the participants and paved the way to immortality through the integration into the memory of a community.

Moreover, different ceremonies could be performed, practically, all-year round (with the exception of the great feasts) and started to occupy a considerable time in the liturgical life of the monastic communities. As it seems from the analysis of the Typikon of Roman, at some point the monasteries felt overloaded by the commemorative obligations and tried to reduce their number. However, as the material well-being of a foundation depended on the sponnsors’ gift, the brotherhood continued to perform the necessary rituals.

On the other hand, the raising insecurity of the epoch made many laymen to seek the certainty and comfort in the performance of the rituals and created a strong demand for different modes of remembrance (depending on the properties the donors could offer). Thus, the descriptions of the rites inserted into the transfer agreements started to be much more detailed and diverse. The monks, on their side, could use the commemorations as currency which they propose to rulers and officials to achieve some important donations or tax exemptions; and the more numerous was a monastic community, stronger were its prayers and greater the received benefits.

In addition, the growing number of requests led to the development of private liturgical commemorations, ordered by rulers or members of the royal families against significant endowments. These private liturgies could be performed in the subsidiary spaces of the *katholika* or various chapels scattered around the monasteries. Often, the performance of these liturgies was accompanied by the distributions to poor or additions to the monastic table (extra portions of wine, for instance). Important fact is that the private liturgies could be performed on behalf of both, the alive and dead sponsors, and, often, the still-living royalties prescribed different times or numbers of the liturgies depending on their presence in the present- or the after-life. The number of demanded liturgies was also growing and, by the end of the Byzantine period, some sponsors demanded up to one hundred liturgies on their behalf. Moreover, in course of the diversification and complication of the commemorative services, the tendency of equating the sponsors and the founders in their spiritual and honorary rights got stronger, and many generous donors specifically underlined that their gifts were made in order to receive the same remembrance rituals as the ktetors.

On the other hand, the tools, necessary for successful performance of the commemoration, namely the Memorial books received additional significance as instruments of political influence and personal piety. As the analysis of the preserved Synodika proves, the monasteries started to be quite independent in the choice of the commemorated persons and could even ignore the policies established in Constantinople. This greater local independence affected the composition of memorial books which, depending on the regions, could include or exclude names of bishops, metropolitans, rulers, or aristocrats. The Memorials of different types proved that the members of the spiritual communities could manipulate the commemorations, including or excluding some names at their sole discretion. Therefore, a person, especially a layman, was expected to repay the monastic community for achieving their benevolence and to buy with perishable, but expensive, earthly goods the assistance of monks in the securing of a place in the Heavens. At the same time, royal individuals, on their side, could affect the decisions of the monks and to impose their own decisions by the means of economic wealth and authority.

Finally, some ktetors and members of clergy, mainly in their own foundations, resorted on assistance of painted and carved inscriptions in the altar space which could ensure long-lasting preservation of their memories. Such inscriptions were situated in the places where the communal rituals of remembrance during the Eucharist took place, and, as it seems, the commissioners of these texts expected no more than the group commemoration. These inscriptions played a role of reminders which occurred before the eyes of ministering priests.

Appendix X

The Typikon of Roman (1382)²⁵⁹⁷

Having enjoyed many and great gifts from God Pantokrator and having made exploits on the earth and having received the Heavenly kingdom on account of the earthly one, I mean our holy and revered father Simeon, the new myrrh-flowing, and his son by flesh the great among the saints holy Sava, who headed the ktetors of the holy and revered and sacred foundation Hilandar. From that time and until now, their relatives tied to them by blood, being burnt by the divine love, during their life, took care about this holy and divine foundation, erected by their parents and their forefathers, and endowed it with all necessary things and built for our repose, as it is visible even now. And who they are we display here, according to their names and the days of their death:

On 21st of July the nun Anastasij, spouse of St. Simeon and mother of St. Sava, the ktetor of this church, died.

On 29th of October the great in his benefaction Holy king of Serbian Stefan Uroš died

On 3rd of November the first tsaritsa of Serbia, spouse of the first tsar of Serbia Stefan, the nun Jevgenija <Jelisaveta> died.

On 13th of November Uroš the third, king, died.

On 3rd December, Uroš the second tsar, son of the first tsar Stefan, died

On 20th December the first tsar of the Serbs and Greek kyr Stefan died.

On 12th of March Stefan the king, Theoktist the monk, died in the year 6824 (1316)

²⁵⁹⁷ Mirković, Lazar. "Romanov tipik," *Zbornik za društvene nauke* 13-14 (1956): 53-54; Stojanović, *Zapisi i natpisi*, Vol. III, pp. 67-70. This is a note added in 1382 to the manuscript of 1331 written by monk Roman in Hilandar on behalf of hegumenos Gervasije and contains a service typikon of the Jerusalem version (Mirković, Lazar. "Romanov tipik," *Zbornik za društvene nauke* 13-14 (1956): 47-59). The manuscript is nowadays kept in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin under no. 49 and bears a stamp: Ex Bibliotheca Regia Berolinensi.

After these the above-written holy lords and our ktetors it was established by the fathers being before us and by our brother, and it was written into the typikon, to whom among them it is [befitted] annually to sing on the day of his/her Dormition and [to distribute] 12 [plates ? of] wheat with candles to the entire brotherhood, and with an extra portion of wine, and also next day the liturgy being made in Mesa [of Athos]. Since quite a long time has passed after it was established by the holy fathers who were before us and by our brothers [to perform] commemorations for the above-written holy ktetors, the recent ones didn't perform the established command, either because of oblivion, or because of the Devil's temptation or the human wile. And we, who presently inhabit foundation of the most holy Virgin Hilandar, with the hegoumenos being a head the foundation during that time, we during some time ago had many debates among each other concerning the commemoration of the holy ktetors: because, then, some of us tried and insisted to sing for everybody jointly. But we, having the fear of God and the commands of the typikon of the holy ktetors, seeing their pains and efforts about this holy foundation, which they committed to establish as a consolation for the poor and strangers, and especially for those of our language/nation, we convinced the entire brotherhood, who are named here in writing: me, the former hegoumenos hieromonk Sisoje, the metropolitan Sava, the elder of Karyes Danilo, the elder of the pyrgos of St. Basil Atanasije, the grand oikonomos Gerondije, the ekklesiarchos metropolitan Dionisije, the former hegoumenos Evtimije, the former hegoumenos Neofit, the elder Mihail, the elder Matej, the elder Teodosije, the elder Gerasim, the former oikonomos Josaf, the former oikonomos David, the elder Dorotej, the former oikonomos Damijan, the elder Teodosije, the elder Atanasije, Josaf, Agaton and the priest – spiritual father Grigorije, the preist Lavrendije, the priest Nikodim, the priest Grigorije, the priest Paisij and the rest of the brotherhood, so we agreed together and in this agreement we established that what by our fathers and brothers was established we will not destroy, but rather will enforce. And we all unanimously say, let it be in accordance with the commandments written before:

During the vespers let it be singing, the wheat with candles for the entire brotherhood, and a liturgy should be performed in Mesa [of Athos] for everyone in his day of Dormition, annually, as the day and month are written above in this typikon, until God wants this monastery to stand. And who after us tries to destroy the above-written, even if he will be a leader of this holy foundation, either by the sly advice of some people or by his own neglect, the Lord God and His Most Pure Mother will destroy him, and he will get the condemnation of the above-written holy ktetors of this foundation, and he will not be blessed by the entire council of Hilandar, and he will be cursed and maledicted, here and in the future century. Amen.

И снмъ внише писан'нымъ свет'нымъ господамъ и ктиторомъ
нашимъ ѡставлен'но в'кше пр'жде насъ вив'шимъ штьци и

братиями нашими, и въ типик'ъ записано комоуждо ихъ въ
днь оуспения юго п'квати ·ѡ·і· пшеницъ съ св'цями в'сон
брати, и съ прилив'комъ в'сако л'кто; такожде и на стр'ѣ ли-
тоург'ѣ на мѣси. Посл'ди же и до н'кол'к' многоу в'р'кменоу
изкш'дшоу, и до насъ бывши ѡставлен'на свет'ными штьци
и братиями нашими свет'нымъ ктитворомъ выше писан'нымъ
помень, да или за(в)венн'емъ или д'шеолымъ наважденн'емъ или
члов'ч'ьскимъ оушн'ренн'емъ, не испакн'хъ запов'ди ѡста-
влен'ноу. Мн же нынѣ в'бр'ктающе се въ тѣ в'р'кме въ шь-
т'клн пр'ксветыне богородице Хилан'дар'к съ тѣгда нгоуменомъ
нгбмен'ствоуюцимъ въ шьт'клн тѣмъ многа истезения нм'ще
неждѡ собвою въ поменоу свет'ныхъ к'титворъ: н'кци бо тогда
тъщ'е се и глаголахоу, яко в'с'кмъ въ юдино да поет' се;
ми же боѣще се страха божиа и запов'ди и типика свет'ныхъ
ктитворъ, в'кд'ше побол'кн'не ихъ и троудъ въ св'т'ки шьт'клн
сен, иже потр'дише се, яко быти въ ѡт'кш'ение маломощ'ниимъ
и страннимъ, а наипаче езикоу нашему, зговорив'ше се в'се
брат'ство, иже зд'к по именоу написахом' се: азъ тогда нгоу-
мьнъ іер'омонахъ Сисве, митрополитъ Сава, стар'ць Кар'ки-
скы Даниль, стар'ць пир'га Василиева Яднаніе, икон'мъ го-
л'кии Герон'діе, и ек'ансиархъ, митрополитъ Дионисіе, прои-
гоумьнъ Ев'тиміе, проигоумьнъ Нешфитъ, стар'ць Михаилъ,
стар'ць Маден, стар'ць Θεодосіе, стар'ць Герасимъ, прои-
кономъ Ивасафъ, проикономъ Давидъ, стар'ць Дороден, прои-
кономъ Даміанъ, стар'ць Θεодосіе, стар'ць Яднаніе, Ивасафъ,
Ягдонъ, и доухов'никъ попъ Григоріе, попъ Лаврен'діе, попъ
Никодимъ, попъ Григоріе, попъ Панси — и проче в'се брат'с-
тво, съ ихъ зговоромъ и съ съв'кт'омъ сице и ми оустависмо,
якоже в'к пред(и) оуоставленно штьци и братиями нашими, ми
нынѣ не разорисмо, нъ паче потв'рдисмо, и глаголемо шьц'е
к'си юдин'кии оустн, по ѡставленню пр'жде писан'ногоу да
боудеть: — вечеръ да поет' се, пшеница съ св'цями в'сви
брати, и съ прилив'комъ, и на оутрнѣ литург'ѣ на мѣси в'са-
комоу въ днь оуспения юго на коеждо л'кто, якоже пишеть
въ семъ типик'ъ выше и днь м'сеца, дон'д'же богоу хотецоу
и съи монастырь ст'вити. Ктѣ ли по насъ настоѣи снѣ разо-
ритъ внише писан'ноѣ, в'бр'ктаѣи се начельствоуѣ въ св'т'ки
ош'т'клн сен, или наговоромъ н'кнн'хъ, или своимъ нев'р'жени-
емъ, 'таковаго да разори господъ богъ и пр'кчиста юго мати,
и да іестъ на нѣмъ запов'ди свет'ныхъ ктитворъ выше писан'-
ныхъ шьт'клн сее, и да н'ксть благословенъ шдъ в'сего събора
Хилан'дарскога, нъ да іестъ клетъ и тр'кклетъ, зд'к и въ боу-
доуши в'ккъ, аминь.

This commandment concerning the commemoration of the holy ktetors was written by the order of the entire brotherhood in the year 6891, in the month of November on 13th, indiction 6.

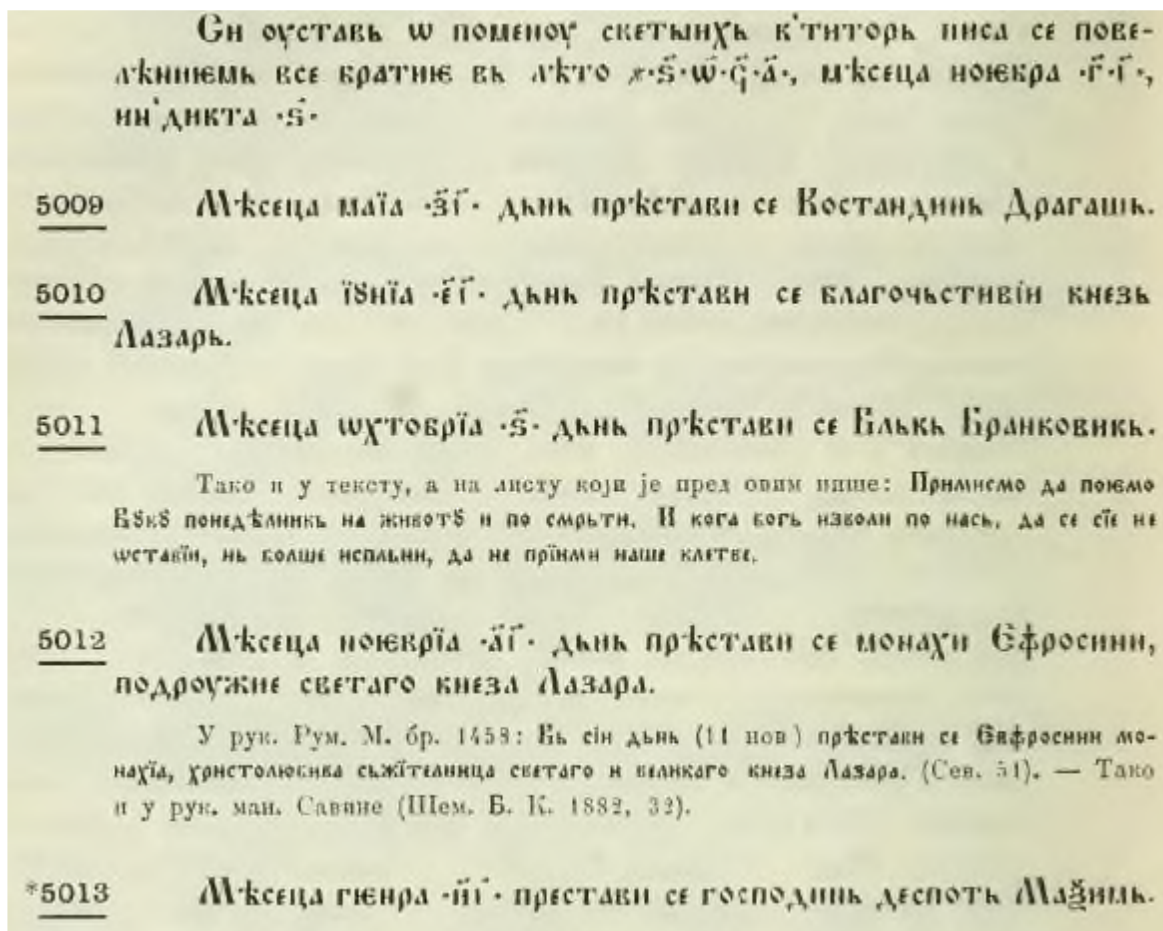
On 17th day of May Konstantin Dragaš died

On 15th day of June the pious knez Lazar died.

On 6th day of October Vlk Branković died.

On 11th day of November the nun Jefrosinija, the spouse of the holy knez Lazar, died.

On 18th day of January lord despot Maksim died.



9. The Patterns of Female Patronage in the Later Byzantium and Serbia

The problem of female patronage in the Orthodox countries drew significant scholarly attention during the last decades.²⁵⁹⁸ The most obvious consequence of this interest became a recent volume on *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond* (eds. Michael Grünbart, Margaret Mullett, and Lioba Theis), published in 2014 by the Austrian Academy of Science, which comprises several extensive studies devoted to the problems of female ecclesiastic sponsorship in countries of the Byzantine Commonwealth. This collection of articles as well as many other individual studies address some aspects of female patronage, conduct case-studies or produce general overviews, but they rarely use a comparative approach, either in chronological or in geographical sense. Therefore the present chapter will address the comparative aspect of female patronage in the Palaiologan Byzantium and late medieval Serbia in order to see the differences in the social practices and patterns of behaviour. It also will juxtapose the female rhetoric of piety and patronage with the artistic commissions undertaken by Byzantine and Serbian medieval ladies.

Throughout the entire Palaiologan period, the activity of Byzantine women was important for the artistic patronage.²⁵⁹⁹ Their presence is attested, due to the portraits and dedicatory inscriptions,

²⁵⁹⁸ To prove this point and avoid extensive bibliographic review, a number of studies dealing with this topic will be referred through the following chapter.

²⁵⁹⁹ For female patronage in the last centuries of Byzantium see: Laiou, Angeliki. "The Role of Women in Byzantine Society," *JÖB* 31/1 (1981): 233-260; Laiou, "Observations on the Life"; Galatariotou, Catia. "Byzantine Women's Monastic Communities: The Evidence of the Typika," *JÖB* 38 (1988): 263-290; Talbot, "Building Activity in Constantinople"; Dimitropoulou, Vassiliki. "Giving Gifts to God: Aspects of Patronage in Byzantine Art," in: *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. L. James (Chicester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010): 161-170; Talbot, "Women and Mount Athos"; Talbot, Alice M. "Searching for Women on Mt. Athos: Insights from the Archives of the Holy Mountain," *Speculum* 87/4 (2012): 995-1014; Gavrilović, Zaga. "Women in Serbian politics, diplomacy and art at the beginning of the Ottoman rule," in: *Byzantine style, Religion and Civilization In Honour of Sir Steven Runciman*, ed. E. Jeffreys (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 72-90; Riehle, Alexander. "Καί σε προστάτιν ἐν αὐτοῖς τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπιγράψομεν σωτηρίας: Theodora Raulaina als Stifterin und Patronin," in: *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. L. Theis, M. Mullett, M. Grünbart (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014): 299-316; Brooks, Sarah. "Women's Authority in Death: The Patronage of Aristocratic Laywomen in Late Byzantium," in: *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. L. Theis, M. Mullett, M. Grünbart (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014): 317-332; Dionisopoulos, Nikos [Διονυσόπουλος, Νίκος]. "Τυναικείες παρουσίες στο Άγιον Όρος: τα οικογενειακά πορτρέτα της Έλενας Ράρες και της Ρωξάνδρας Λαπουσνεάνου, πριγκιπισσών της Μολδαβίας, στις Μονές Διονύσιου και Δοχειαρίου (16ος αι.)" in: *ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΣ: Zbornik u čast Mirjane Živojinović*, eds. B. Miljković and D. Dželebdžić Vol. II (Belgrade: SANU, 2015): 469-484

in wall paintings,²⁶⁰⁰ portable icons,²⁶⁰¹ illustrated manuscripts,²⁶⁰² and copied texts.²⁶⁰³ Undoubtedly, the main contribution was made by women of the high social status, the members of aristocracy having sufficient financial means for acts of foundation and sponsorship.²⁶⁰⁴ The acts of patronage were perceived as means for the salvation, the display of commissioner's personality, and the preservation of social memory, as the inscriptions and portraits accompanying the sponsored objects commemorated origin, status, desires and pious acts of the donors.

Nevertheless, women remained the minority among the patrons and donors.²⁶⁰⁵ In the chartulary of the monastery of Lembos (between 1081 and 1294) 13 donations were made by women (8 of which were widows, and 5 were nuns), 10 by men and women and 62 by men alone. Similarly, 27.5 percent of sale contracts were concluded with women only. The acts of the monastery of St John Vazelon witness about 20 percent of agreements entered by women.²⁶⁰⁶

According to Svetlana Tomin and Svetlana Smolčić-Makuljević,²⁶⁰⁷ in Medieval Serbia women became more active in patronage and sponsorship during the 14th century. Wives and relatives of the Serbian rulers started to be involved in political affairs and diplomatic relations,²⁶⁰⁸ especially, after the Ottoman conquest causing the death of many adult male family members. In the 15th century, the

²⁶⁰⁰ Effenberger, Arne. "Zur Restaurierungstätigkeit des Michael Dukas Glabas Tarchaneioten im Pammakaristoskloster und zur Erbauungszeit des Parekklesions," *Zograf* 31 (2006–2007): 79–94; Gerstel, Kalopissi-Verti, "The Agency of the Village Widow"; Brooks, Sarah. "Women's Authority in Death: The Patronage of Aristocratic Laywomen in Late Byzantium," in: *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. L. Theis, M. Mullett, M. Grünbart (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014): 317–332; Bogevska, Saška. "Notes on Female Piety in Hermitages of the Ohrid and Prespa Region: The Case of Mali Grad," in: *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. L. Theis, M. Mullett and M. Grünbart (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014): 355–368.

²⁶⁰¹ Talbot, Alice Mary. "Female Patronage in the Palaiologan Era: Icons, Minor Arts and Manuscripts," in: *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. L. Theis, M. Mullett, M. Grünbart (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014): 259–274; Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, pp. 1–5, 10–11, 296–314, 371–375; Smolčić-Makuljević, Svetlana. "Žene priložnice svetogorskih manastira u srednjem veku," in: *Deveta kazivanja o Svetoj Gori*, eds. A. Fotić, Z. Rakić (Belgrade: Prosveta, 2016): 171–206.

²⁶⁰² Lampros, Spyridon. *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, Vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895): no. 1040, pp. 92–94; it was considered that some manuscripts (Ms. Pantokrator no. 6) for Christ Savior the Mighty were produced by the nuns locally (Kidonopoulos, Vassilios. *Bauten in Konstantinopel, 1204–1328: Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1994): 36) though A.-M. Talbot considers that the manuscripts were used by Anna Komnene Raoulaina Strategopoulina and not written by herself and neither produced in the local scriptorium (Talbot, Alice-Mary. "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983): 609–611)

²⁶⁰³ Gaul, "Writing «with Joyful and Leaping Soul».

²⁶⁰⁴ Talbot, "Building Activity in Constantinople," p. 342.

²⁶⁰⁵ In her study of the Athonite documents, Alice-Mary Talbot calculated that only 16% of the private agreements with monasteries were concluded by women only and 27% more by men and women jointly, see: Talbot, "Women and Mount Athos", p. 72.

²⁶⁰⁶ Stathakopoulos, Dionysios. "I seek not my own: Is There a Female Mode of Charity and Patronage?," in: *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. L. Theis, M. Mullett, M. Grünbart (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014): 387.

²⁶⁰⁷ Tomin, Svetlana. "Darodavna aktivnost u srpskom srednjem veku: vladarke i supruge vladara," in: *Srednji vek u srpskoj nauci, istoriji, književnosti i umetnosti* 6, ed. G. Jovanović (Valjevo: Topalović, 2015): 129–142; Smolčić-Makuljević, Svetlana. "Žene priložnice svetogorskih manastira u srednjem veku," in: *Deveta kazivanja o Svetoj Gori*, eds. A. Fotić, Z. Rakić (Belgrade: Prosveta, 2016): 171–206.

²⁶⁰⁸ Tomin, Svetlana. "One Aspect of Women Strategy. Four Examples of Serbian Medieval Literature," *Studi sull' Oriente Cristiano* 7/2 (2003): 101–112; Tomin, Svetlana. "Predstave o ženama u srpskoj srednjovekovnoj literature," *Književnost i jezik* 51/1–2 (2004): 67–88.

female members of the Branković family being married with important political figures of the West and the Ottoman Empire received sufficient economic means to support the religious foundations.²⁶⁰⁹

9.1. Eloquence as a Gift: the Rhetoric of Piety in Donation Documents of Three Palaiologan Ladies

Though female patronage became a beloved topic for Byzantinists working on gender problems, some female donors have escaped particular attention.²⁶¹⁰ Three lengthy endowment deeds to the Athonite monasteries of Koutloumous,²⁶¹¹ Philotheou,²⁶¹² and Xeropotamou²⁶¹³ were commissioned by Theodora Kantakouzene (1338),²⁶¹⁴ mother of Ioannes VI Kantakouzenos, Theodora Philanthropene Palaiologina (1376),²⁶¹⁵ *theia* of Andronikos III, and nun Nymphodora (1445),²⁶¹⁶ wife of Markellos, the second *ktetor* of Xeropotamou, respectively. Having high social status, necessary wealth, and sufficient education, these ladies could become not only the patrons of the foundations, but also the authors (or, at least, commissioners) of the texts I am going to discuss.

Though, formally, these acts represent different types of gift-giving practices (a donation, an endowment of behalf of a deceased, and a testament), they have much in common in what their subject and structure are concerned. They do not follow a typical notary protocol of private deeds, but are supplied with lengthy *prooimia* of very personal content: the benefactresses address topics related to families, fortunes, and reasons for donations. In an eloquent manner, they enfolded their views on Byzantine society and the afterlife and illustrated how the Salvation doctrine was understood and interpreted at the personal level. Consequently, the acts are furnished with very detailed demands on commemoration rituals which should be performed on the authors' behalf. As it seems, the three protagonists, besides their common love for rhetoric, also shared similar religious

²⁶⁰⁹ Erdeljan, Jelena. "A note on the ktetorship and contribution of women from the Branković dynasty to cross-cultural connections in late medieval and early modern Balkans," *ZLU* 44 (2016): 61-72; Popović, Mihailo. *Mara Branković: žena između kršćanskog i islamskog kulturnog kruga u 15. stoljeću* (Novi Sad: Akademska Knjiga, 2014): 207-225 and 184-206 (for the economic ground of the patronage).

²⁶¹⁰ For short discussions of the present cases, see: Laiou, Angeliki. "The Role of Women in Byzantine Society," *JÖB* 31/1 (1981):256; Laiou, "Observations on the Life," p. 62; Talbot, "Women and Mount Athos," pp. 67, 76; Talbot, Alice M. "Searching for Women on Mt. Athos: Insights from the Archives of the Holy Mountain," *Speculum* 87/4 (2012): 10044, 1006, 1014.

²⁶¹¹ *Actes de Kutlumas*, no. 18, pp. 82-85.

²⁶¹² *Nouveaux documents*, no. 6, pp. 315-323.

²⁶¹³ *Actes de Xeropotamou*, no. 30, pp. 214-218.

²⁶¹⁴ Nicol, *The Byzantine family of Kantakouzenos*, no. 21, pp. 30-33; *PLP* no. 10942.

²⁶¹⁵ *PLP* no. 21383.

²⁶¹⁶ *PLP* no. 20781.

and pious concerns with the essence of God's grace, nature of human soul, and posthumous remembrance by family and society.

Moreover, all three deeds, except for being expressions of authorial *personae*, give an insight into the historical circumstances affecting life choices and views of these ladies. To this effect, the documents are distinct from each other: the first pictures the society of wealth and power, the second is characterized by hardships experienced due to the foreign conquerors, whereas the third represents the Greek nobility living under Ottoman rule. This way, the close examination of these documents would help understanding how the inclusion of intimate and personal rhetoric into the formal texts enriched and transformed the pious endowment acts.

9.1.1. Philosophy of Repentance: Theodora Kantakouzene, Koutloumous no. 18 (1338)

“...to die, I leave my love alone”

In 1338, Theodora Kantakouzene made a substantial donation to the monastery of Koutloumous. It included a small monastery of the Eleousa near Serres which she previously had bought out from the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople,²⁶¹⁷ as well as several houses, vineyards and land plots in the city and its surroundings and a zeugelateion in which there two pair of oxen and 100 sheep.

Theodora begins, as it is befitting in a biographic oration, with her origin and family.²⁶¹⁸ She “was allotted with the parents, distinguished with nobility in the world, renowned for their wealth, and not less, as it was attested by everybody, for their god-loving way of life,”²⁶¹⁹ But Theodora didn't follow the example of her parents in question of piety, which now deeply regrets:

in the question of virtue being far behind them, how much to me happens to grow in order to appear closer to them, and having this closest to my eyes, I was not able to see clearly as an example, and didn't participate in the undertaking of my mother, freeing myself from her happy yoke.²⁶²⁰

But, Theodora wants to correct her lifestyle and to follow her pious mother on the way to god. She addresses her late mother to petition on her behalf; this way, the text mixes the images of Theodora's physical mother and a traditional figure of the petitioning Virgin into one interceding motherly figure, leaving the readers to guess who is the mother addressed by the ‘author’:

²⁶¹⁷ *Actes de Kutlumas*, no. 18, p. 82-85 and 355

²⁶¹⁸ Toth, Ida. “Rhetorical Theatron in Late Byzantium: The Example of Palaiologan Imperial Orations,” in: *Theatron. Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, ed. M. Grünbart (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2007): 429–448 (esp. pp. 432-434)

²⁶¹⁹ *Actes de Kutlumas*, no. 18, p. 85.l. 1-3.

²⁶²⁰ γῶν δέ μοι τοσοῦτο κατὰ ταύτην ἐκείνων ἀπολιπομένη τε καὶ οὐση πόρρω, ὅσον δὴ ἐγγὺς τυγχάνουσα τῷ γε ἐξ ἐκείνων φῆναι, καὶ ταῦτὸν σχεδὸν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς πασχούση τὰ ἐγγυτάτω μὴ δυναμένη καθορᾶν εἰς μίμησιν, καὶ κοινωνησάση μὲν μ(η)τρι τύχης τῆς αὐτῆς τῷ τῆς εὐδαίμονος ἐκείνης ἀπερρωγένοι συζυγίας, - *Actes de Kutlumas*, no. 18, p. 85, l. 6-10.

... I shake off everything material, to turn by mind only to god, I will be now accustom to cohabit with those conducted by you in worthy way, oh, in everything admirable by me and by others and unrivalled mother, ask the remission of sins for me.²⁶²¹

Further, Theodora describes her lifestyle which she repents about and deeply disapproves. She juxtaposes the soul and the body in the relations of subjection and domination, i.e. regretting that the soul was made “a servant to her body”. However, Theodora compares this situation with a disease; and almost like in the Galen’s description of mental illness,²⁶²² this disease was caused by “bad judgments” and it should be cured with “proportional medicines” of spiritual nature:

Thus, being concerned with the worldly things throughout my life, it would be good and very befitting to use the proportional medicines for curing, concerning which (medicines) I always made bad choices (had wrong judgment), and [to make] the body received from God to be servant of the soul, because earlier she (soul) was made a servant for it (body) in everything by the agency of bad judgments, the soul is now appointed to administration of all possessions and management of befitting, and in this relation the body is flown and ruined, and until it (body) is not yet soil, and ashes and dust, I prefer the soul (over body), [the soul] who is the holy and immortal and eternally penalized, whom we do not manage in a good way.²⁶²³

Theodora decides to repay her sins with the consecration of material things to God, but she feels afraid that her gift is not sufficient, as “the only crumble from an entire luxury table” (ὥσπερ ἐκ πολυτελοῦς τραπέζης ὅλης μοι ψίχα μίαν).²⁶²⁴

Further, the text parallels the decease metaphor with an image of a battle, in which the protagonist fights against the adversaries and maladies of her soul with the help of befitting techniques and doctors. Her only hope is “the infinity of God’s love toward humans,” which is “great and greater than everything,” and spreads even to those “inflicted by awful diseases.”²⁶²⁵ In the battle against “the enemy of all people,” her soul is like an injured soldier who got wounded by committing sins and was cured by performing good deeds. As Theodora knows there are others, fearful, deeds (probably, alluding to the sacred religious rituals), by which she will triumph the

²⁶²¹ φ μὲν, καὶ τὰ τῆς ὕλης ἀποσεισασμένη πάντα, ἐνὶ δὲ καὶ δι’ ἐνὸς προσέχουσα τοῦ νοῦ Θε(ε)ῶ, ὃ καὶ νῦν τῶν σοὶ πεπολιτευμένων ἀξίως συνοῦσα συνήθως, ὃ παντ’ ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θαυμασία καὶ ἀπαράμιλλε μ(η)τερ, αἰτοίης ἐμοὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων συγχώρησιν· *Actes de Kutlumis*, no. 18, p. 85.l. 11-14.

²⁶²² Hächler, Nikolas. “Galen’s Observations on Diseases of the Soul and the Mind of Men,” *Rosetta* 13 (2013): 53-72

²⁶²³ οὕτως οὖν ταῖς κοσμικαῖς μοι διὰ βίου συνεσχημένη φροντίσι, καλῶς ἂν εἶχε καὶ πάνν λυσιτελοῦντως τοῖς γοῦν πρὸς ἰατρειάν ἀναλόγοις χρῆσθαι φαρμάκοις ἐφ’ οἷς αἰειδήποτε πλημμελοῦσα διατελῶ, καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ δουλεῦσον σῶμα λαβοῦσαν παρὰ Θε(ε)οῦ, αὐτὴν δὲ δούλην ὅλως ἐκείνου ταύτην τῇ πονηρᾷ προαιρέσει πεποιημένην, τῇ γοῦν τῶν περιόντων διοικήσει τε καὶ διανομῇ τοῖς προσήκουσι τιμῆσαι ψυχὴν, καὶ μὴ κὰν τοῦτω τῷ μέρει τὸ διαρρέον τοῦτο καὶ ἀπολλύμενον σῶμα καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἦδη γῆν καὶ σποδὸν καὶ κόνιν ἐσόμενον, τῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ θείας καὶ ἀθάνατα κολασθησομένης, ἢν μὴ καλῶς ἐνταῦθα τὰ κατ’ αὐτὴν διοικήσωμεν, προτιμῆσαι ψυχῆς· - *Actes de Kutlumis*, no. 18, pp. 85-86, l.14-20.

²⁶²⁴ *Actes de Kutlumis*, no. 18, p. 86, l. 22.

²⁶²⁵ προσάγω δ’ οὖν ὁμως ἐς τὸ τῆς φιλαν(θρῶπ)ίας ἄπειρον ἀφορῶσα Θε(ε)οῦ, ἐν μεγάλῳ καὶ μεγίστῳ πάντων τιθεμένη δῆπουθεν καὶ τὸ ράνιδος ὅπως οὖν ἐλέου πρὸς Θε(ε)οῦ τυχεῖν καὶ τοὺς δεινοὺς νοσήμασι συνεχομένους – *Actes de Kutlumis*, no. 18, p. 86, l.23-25.

diabolic enemy having God as a commander.²⁶²⁶ Therefore, she entrusts herself to those who “wearing their flesh, get distant from flesh, are full of divine light,” meaning the Athonite monks having experience in fighting the spiritual battles and finding the union with god.²⁶²⁷ This way, she motivates the decision to make donations to the monks of Koutloumous, who would become her spiritual comrades in the battle with the sins.

This assistance is expressed in the performing religious rituals on Theodora’s behalf. Actually, the donatrice herself prescribes a much elaborated list of rite on her behalf which the monks should follow. After enumerating the donated properties, the protagonist returns to the metaphorical language and points out to the rituals, necessary “for the curing of the wounds of my soul, produced by my sins, by which I myself happened to injure [it], being fallen to the soul-killing gangsters, and laying half-dead I continue living only by looking forward to God’s grace”²⁶²⁸ So, for every her sin, three remedies should be offered annually: every day the monks should perform one of the remedies alternating a personal prayer (*paraklesis*) and another remedy – a holy and terrible liturgy “for every my previous sinful hour and day”; weekly, they should add another liturgy and *paraklesis*, for which Theodora provided extra 100 *hyperpyra* and 100 sheep.²⁶²⁹ She also demands to be continuously commemorated in the common liturgies. After her death, the liturgies and prayers should be continued, as the donatrice would need even more assistance, “being already closer to either inhabiting the places of condemnation, alas, because of life I had lived, or to inhabiting a shining and prayed for place, only because of great and unspeakable mercy of God”. So, to avoid “the terrible and dark lands,” an annual commemoration service and lines in the common supplication (*ektenes*) should be added on Theodora’s behalf.²⁶³⁰

Among commemoration instructions, Theodora mentions only one of her relatives, though, usually, patrons demand to perform some rituals on behalf of ancestors or spouses. It seems that all Theodora’s concerns were concentrated on the approaching time of death and her son, the *megas domestikos* Ioannes Kantakouzenos whom she calls very touchingly, “dearest, more than anybody,

²⁶²⁶ ταῦτ’ οὖν εἰδυῖα, καὶ δεινὰς μὲν τὰς πρὸς τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολεμίου φερούση μηχανάς, δεινὰ δὲ τὰ ἐξ ἁμαρτίας ἑμαντῇ περιφερούση συνειδυῖα τραύματα, καὶ ἀρίστοις ἰᾶσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ μεγάλα κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐγείρειν τρόπαια δεινοῖς, Θεοῦ φιλανθρώπου ἡγουμένης - *Actes de Kutlumus*, no. 18, p. 86, 1.28-31.

²⁶²⁷ ἐπιτρέναςά γε ἔχω ἑμαντῇ, ἄλλοις τὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸ θεῖον ὄρος Ἄθω τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀσκήσει καὶ γε πρὸς Θεὸν ἐνώσει πάνυ τοι διαλαμπόντων, καὶ σαρκία μὲν περικειμένων, ὡς σαρκῶν δ’ ἀπηλλαγμένων τῶν θείων ἐλλάμψεων ἐμπορουμένων, καὶ τοῖς ἐν μονῇ μὲν τοῦ Σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς Χ(ριστο)ῦ ὀνόματι τετιμημένη καὶ τοῦ Κουτλουμούση ἐπονομαζομένη τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀσκοῦσι καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ ὑπερφρεῖς ἀγῶνας ἐκείνους ἀγωνιζόμενοις,.... - *Actes de Kutlumus*, no. 18, p. 86, 1.31-35.

²⁶²⁸ ὑπὲρ ἰατρείας τῶν ἐξ ἁμαρτίας τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς πληγῶν, ἃς κἀγὼ λησταῖς ψυχοφθόροις πέπληγμαι περιπεσοῦσα, καὶ πλέον ἡμιθανοῦς κειμένη διατελῶ ἐς μόνον τὸν ἔλεον ἀφορῶσα Θεοῦ - *Actes de Kutlumus*, no. 18, p. 86, 1.52-54.

²⁶²⁹ *Actes de Kutlumus*, no. 18, p. 86, 1. 55-60.

²⁶³⁰ Ἀ ἐγγυτάτῳ οὔσῃ ἤδη τοῦ, ἢ τοὺς τῆς καταδίκης τόπους φεῦ οἰκῆσαι κατὰ τὰ ἐμοὶ βεβιωμένα, ἢ φωτεινοῦ τινος καὶ εὐκταίου τόπου μετασχεῖν κατὰ μέγα μόνον καὶ ἄρρητον ἔλεος Θεοῦ - *ctes de Kutlumus*, no. 18, p. 87, 1.68-72.

my Ioannes, my eyes, my heart, my joy and my adornment.”²⁶³¹ And she regrets that death will make her to abandon the beloved one.

With all the rhetoric devices this text creates an extreme image of a repenting sinner and, simultaneously, a vivid medieval female character. At the time of writing Theodora was in quite advance age from the medieval point of view (58 or 63 years old)²⁶³² and it didn't seem too early to think about the eternal life. As it was suggested, the “sinful life” which Theodora regretted meant “deep involvement in the economic affairs of her household and in the political affairs of the Empire.”²⁶³³ Indeed, both contemporary historians, Nikephoros Gregoras and John Kantakouzenos, evidenced Theodora's activities associated with the politics of her son.

In 1322, she participated in the council of Andronikos III and John Konatakouzenos in Adrianople concerning the continuation of the civil war, and insisted on the temporary cessation of the military actions due to the Empire's bad financial situation.²⁶³⁴ Later, when the *megas domestikos* left Constantinople, he appointed Theodora as an advisor for the dowager Empress Anna and the young Emperor. During the absence of her son Theodora succeeded to disclose and to suppress a conspiracy of some courtiers who wanted to kill the empress and John V and his mother:

Though the rebels kept secret [their] deeds with great efforts, the things going on didn't hide from the Kantakouzene, the mother of the *megas domestikos*, whom the emperor left as an assistant for the empress, when he sailed away, as she was cleaver (βουλευτικήν) and noble woman, adorned with good conduct, rich of the deep insight, and very inventive into difficult situations. It was she, together with the empress, adorned by all virtues, repressed, very wisely, until it was too late and the bad deed would burst forth.²⁶³⁵

Theodora's involvement in the political affairs caused her incarceration during the conflict between John VI Kantakouzenos and the party of Alexios Apokaukos and the Patriarch Kalekas. The *megas dux* immediately expropriated wealthy possessions of John Kantakouzenos' mother and confined her. According to Nikephoros Gregoras, Theodora suffered bad health in prison and died in there in 1342, tormented by loud shouts cursing her son after the coronation of John V.²⁶³⁶

She was as well a fervent benefactor of monasteries, and, except the regarded case of Koutloumous, she made even more generous gift to Vatopedi in 1337/8.²⁶³⁷ Buying 110 individual

²⁶³¹ πρὸ πάντων σὲ τὸν ἐμοὶ φίλτατον πάντων καταλιπούση, τὸν ἐμὸν Ἰωάννην, τοὺς ἐμοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, τὴν ἐμὴν καρδίαν, τὸ ἐμὸν ἐντρύφημα καὶ καλλώπισμα - *Actes de Kutlumus*, no. 18, 87.63-64.

²⁶³² *Actes de Kutlumus*, p. 83.

²⁶³³ Laiou, Angeliki E. “Observations on the Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women,” *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9 (1985): 63.

²⁶³⁴ Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, book I, ch. 28, Vol I, pp. 137-138.

²⁶³⁵ τῶν στασιαστῶν λάθρα τὸ πρᾶγμα διὰ μεγάλης ποιουμένων σπουδῆς, οὐκ ἔλαθε τὰ δρώμενα Καντακουζηνὴν, τὴν τοῦ μεγάλου δομestikou μητέρα· ἦν παρέδρον τῇ δεσποίνῃ μέλλων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποπλεῖν καταλέλοιπεν, ἅτε βουλευτικὴν γυναῖκα καὶ σεμνότητος ἥθεσι κοσμουμένην καὶ βαθεῖαν πλουτοῦσαν τὴν σύνεσιν καὶ πάνυ τοι σφόδρα ἐν τοῖς ἀπόροις εὐμήχανον. ἡ δὲ καὶ ὁμοῦ τῇ πάντα ἀρίστη δεσποίνῃ, πρὶν ἐπὶ μέγα ῥαγῆναι τὸ πρᾶγμα κακίας, συνέστειλε συνετώτατα - Gregoras, *Historia*, book XI ch. 2, Vol. I, p. 530, l.1-17.

²⁶³⁶ Gregoras, *Historia*, book XII ch.11 and 13, Vol. II, pp. 609, 617-618.

²⁶³⁷ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, pp. 99-148.

parcels, she composed a large landed domain of 1400 *modioi* which was transferred to the monastery.

These historical accounts together with the literary *persona* constructed by the regarded text present a bold, politically active woman who doesn't display typical humbleness and meekness, prescribed by Byzantine cultural norms.²⁶³⁸ Some of the motives appearing in the deed, such as the spiritual battles and motherly love, sound very personally and one may assume that they emerged from the direct instructions of the educated commissioner. So, the donation deed itself turns into a skilful rhetoric piece presented by Theodora to the heavenly authority. Finally, the meticulous concerns about the commemoration rituals (certain number of prayers, *parakleseis*, and eucharists) were, very probably, authored by Theodora as she developed a kind of plan that would help her to achieve salvation. So, one can see atypically energetic, politically active, rich, educated and superstitious women of advanced age facing the unavoidable death.

However, one typical feature expected by the contemporaries from a Byzantine woman, she nevertheless possessed. Thinking about the approaching death her sole fear was to abandon her only love, her son, and this deep attachment complies with the Byzantine social norms considering motherhood as “the greatest and most glorious function of a woman.”²⁶³⁹

9.1.2. Philosophy of Almsgiving: Theodora Philanthropene Palaiologina, Suppl. Philotheou no. 6 (1376)

“Die and endow a college or a cat”

In December 1376, Theodora Palaiologina Philanthropene donated the village of St. George Mperzitzikon near Serres, being the property of her late nephew Alexios Palaiologos, to the monastery Philotheou.²⁶⁴⁰ Theodora was appointed to this property as an *epitropos*²⁶⁴¹ of his nephew's children, since their father recently died in a battle. She had raised her nephew as her own son because the father of Alexios, the brother of Theodora, had died young.

²⁶³⁸ For the ideal of meekness and humility see: Leonora Alice Neville. *Anna Komnene: The Life and Work of a Medieval Historian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016): 15-29; Galatariotou, Catia. “Byzantine Women's Monastic Communities: The Evidence of the Typika,” *JÖB* 38 (1988): 263–290. Herrin, Judith. “Women and the Church in Byzantium,” *Bulletin of the British Association of Orientalists* 11 (1979–80): 8–14.

²⁶³⁹ Laiou, Angeliki. “The Role of Women in Byzantine Society,” *JÖB* 31/1 (1981): 236.

²⁶⁴⁰ Kravari, *Nouveaux documents*, no. 6, p. 321 l. 19. (text, 321-323).

²⁶⁴¹ Kravari, *Nouveaux documents*, no. 6, p. 321 l. 19. According to Morris, an *epitropos* was a secular protector of a monastery's interest in the outside world and held a spiritual authority (Morris, *Monks and laymen*, p. 159), as it was later noted by Zachary Chitwood (“At the origins of ephoreia,” *BMGS* 37/1(2013): 53-62), an *epitrope* was a legal category which originated in the Roman law and described a responsible guardian. As the Testament of Eustathios Boilas evidences the testator usually appoints *epitropos/epitropoi* as administrators of his/her last will. In case of Boilas, he initially mentions Christ and the Theotokos and, afterwards, members of local elite: Lemerle, Paul, ed. *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1977): 29.

The property was given to Alexios by his grandfather, who was as well the father of Theodora and the *pappos*²⁶⁴² of the reigning emperor. This person, identified by R. Gomez as Konstantinos Palaiologos, governor of Serres in 1342-1345,²⁶⁴³ also bequeathed to the monastery of Philotheou an annual rent of 10 *hyperpera* which should have been taken from the income from St. George Mperzitzikon.²⁶⁴⁴ However, due to “confusion of affairs” (διὰ τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων συγχήσεις),²⁶⁴⁵ Alexios didn’t enter upon the inheritance before his death. Having recovered the village since, Theodora decided to donate it to the monks, for the salvation of her father, nephew and his children.

This very generous donation appeared to be one of several made by this family on behalf of Philotheou. The monastery got significantly enriched during the 14th century due to donations received from these “new *ktetores*.”²⁶⁴⁶ The parents of Theodora Palaiologina Philanthropene as well as the *protobestiarios* and *protosebastos* Andronikos Angelos Palaiologos,²⁶⁴⁷ whom emperor Andronikos II considered his “nephew” (*anepsios*), performed continuous family patronage over the foundation.²⁶⁴⁸ In the concluding lines of the deed, Theodora lists persons on whose behalf the monks are “obliged to make petitions to God” and mentions her “beloved nephew kyr Alexios Palaiologos” and “holy and ruling ancestors” (*goneis*) who bore the function of patrons (*ktetores*).²⁶⁴⁹ Probably, this collective term referred to Theodora’s late father Constantine, who left the annual rent from the village to the monks, as well as to her paternal uncle, Andronikos Palaiologos, who acted as the protector of the monastery.

By the *chrysobull* of Andronikos II (1326), the monastery received a proof of ownership of several properties in the regions of Serres, Zichni and Kalamaria (Chalkidiki).²⁶⁵⁰ It is unknown which of these possessions were donated by the Palaiologoi family and which were received with assistance and “intervention” of Andronikos Palaiologos,²⁶⁵¹ but the same *chrysobull* notes that the

²⁶⁴² *Nouveaux documents*, no. 6, p. 322 l. 27; On the term and the relations of Theodora’s family with the ruling house, see: Gomez, “Theodora Palaiologina.”

²⁶⁴³ *PLP* no. 21495, Gomez, “Theodora Palaiologina,” pp. 133, 139-145.

²⁶⁴⁴ Kravari, *Nouveaux documents*, no. 6, p. 322, l. 31-33.

²⁶⁴⁵ Kravari, *Nouveaux documents*, no. 6, p. 322, l. 27. V. Kravari (*Nouveaux documents*, p. 317) considered this to be a reference to the Turkish attacks and the usurpation of the throne by Andronikos IV. Dušan Korać (Korać, Dušan. “The Newly Discovered Charters of Stefan Dušan for the Monastery of Philotheou,” *ZRVI* 27-28 (1989): 202-203) connected the problems of the Palaiologoi with the Serbian domination over Serres (1345-1371).

²⁶⁴⁶ Kravari, *Nouveaux documents*, p. 280.

²⁶⁴⁷ *PLP* no. 21435. He was the governor of the fortress of Berat in Epirus, see: Guiland, Rodolphe. “Le protovestiaire,” *REB* 2 (1944): 217-219; and Pavlikianov, *Medieval Aristocracy on Mount Athos*, pp. 122-123. According to Kyritzes (*The Byzantine Aristocracy*, p. 37), the office of protobestiarios often was given to close relatives of the emperor, see also: Verpeaux, Jean. “Hiérarchie et préséances sous les Paléologues,” *Travaux et mémoires* 1 (1965): 421-437.

²⁶⁴⁸ *Actes de Philothée*, no. 6, p. 18, l. 1-2; Kravari, *Nouveaux documents*, no. 1, p. 291, l. 5.

²⁶⁴⁹ ὀφειλόντων τῶν ἐνασκούμενων ἐν τῇ ῥηθείᾳ σεδασμία μονῇ μοναχῶν [ἀπάντων] ποιῆσθαι δεήσεις πρὸς τὸν Θεόν ὑπὲρ τε τῶν σφῶν κτητόρων, τῶν ἀγίων μοι ἐκείνων αὐθέντων τε καὶ γονέων καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ περιποθ(ή)του μοι ἀνεψιοῦ κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου - Kravari, *Nouveaux documents*, no. 6, pp. 322-323, l. 39-41.

²⁶⁵⁰ *Actes de Philothée*, no. 6, pp. 18-20; see also Kravari, *Nouveaux documents*, pp. 280-281.

²⁶⁵¹ Kravari, *Nouveaux documents*, p. 280.

protobestiarios has founder's rights for the *ephoreia* (κτητορικὸν δίκαιον εἰς τὴν ἐφορεία)²⁶⁵² over the monastery.²⁶⁵³ As it was suggested by V. Kravari,²⁶⁵⁴ some of these properties the monastery could receive with assistance and "intervention" of the protobestiarios.

Moreover, Andronikos Palaiologos is attested in the same quality in a forged document concerning the lands on Thassos (1292) which may include texts of original documents.²⁶⁵⁵ Furthermore, a *prostagma* (June 1326)²⁶⁵⁶ by the Emperor Andronikos II addressed to the *kephale* of Serres, *megas tzaousios* Alexios Tzamlakon,²⁶⁵⁷ testifies that the *protobestiarios* performed well the ephoros' functions.²⁶⁵⁸ The document concerns the of the monastery "taken care about by the most beloved nephew of my majesty, the protobestiarios and protosebastos" (ἐφορεύεται παρὰ τοῦ περιποθήτου ἀνεψιοῦ τῆς βασιλεία μου τοῦ πρωτοσέβαστου καὶ πρωτοβεστιαρίου) about the additional tax burden over their *metochion* in Tzainou on straw and other products.²⁶⁵⁹ Probably, the prompt reaction of the emperor can be also attributed to the influence of the Philotheou's patron.

In this regard the document of 1376 attests the hereditary tradition of patronage of the foundation. Theodora and her family belonged to the highest aristocracy of the empire, related to the ruling dynasty, and bore eminent titles and offices. Her father Constantine was the second son of Despot Michael Angelos, and an active participant of the civil war between John VI Kantakouzenos and the party of John V.²⁶⁶⁰ Shifting sides during the conflict he succeeded to preserve the bulk of his properties around Serres until the Serbian conquest. This way, during the entire Byzantine period the

²⁶⁵² Concerning *ephoreia* as an office responsible for administration of independent monasteries see: Herman, Emil. "Ricerche sulle istituzioni monastiche bizantine. Typika ktetorika, caristicari e monasteri «liberi»", *OCP* 6 (1940): 335-339; Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations*, pp. 218-221; Papagianni, "Legal Institutions," p. 1063; However sometimes, it also suggested that an ephoros received usufruct from the monastery. On *ephoreia* as initially an office for clergy, see: Chitwood, Zachary. "At the origins of *ephoreia*" *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 37/1 (2013): 53-62. As it was noted by E. Herman, ephoros could be also appointed by the founder and often from the family members. For example, Theodora Palaiologina, widow of Emperor Michael VIII, appointed her son, Andronikos II, as ephoros, see: Delehay, Hippolyte, ed. *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921): 106-108. While the founder of the Kecharitomeni monastery foreseen this office being occupied only by her children (Gautier, Pau, ed. "Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôménè," *REB* 43 (1985): § 76, pp. 131-133, 143-145).

²⁶⁵³ *Actes de Philothée*, no. 6, p. 19, l.3.

²⁶⁵⁴ Kravari, *Nouveaux documents*, 280

²⁶⁵⁵ Philotheou posses two falsified ? acts concerning properties on Thassos: *Actes de Philothée*, no. 4, pp. 13-16 (dated 1287) *Actes de Philothée*, no. 5, pp. 16-18 (dated 1292). F. Dölger (Dölger, *Regesten*, Vol. IV, nos. 2122 and 2146 accordingly) doubts their authenticity, especially because Philotheou no. 5 contains a text of another document concerning Michael Archangel's monastery written from the first person of certain Metrophanes. But it is possible that preceding real documents about Thassos were used for making the forgeries, see: Dölger, Franz, Karayannopoulos, Johannes. *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre. 1. Die Kaiserurkunden* (Munich: C.H.Beck, 1968): 155-156.

²⁶⁵⁶ Kravari, *Nouveaux documents*, no. 1, pp. 288-291 (text pp. 290-291).

²⁶⁵⁷ *PLP* no. 27748.

²⁶⁵⁸ Kravari, *Nouveaux documents*, no. 1, p. 291, l.5.

²⁶⁵⁹ Mitaton and achyron. *Mitaton* as a burden laid on the district population by a *kephale*, namely it forces to sell good for army and garrisons at a price below the market price, see: Maksimović, *Provincial Administration*, pp. 157-159; Maksimović (1988: 157-9), For *mitaton* as an instrument of financial abuse see: Kyriakidis, *Warfare in Late Byzantium*, pp. 143-144. *Achyron* or more often *Xylachyron* - a tax on the trade of wood and straw - Kravari, *Nouveaux documents*, p. 290; *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. II, pp. 200, 264.

²⁶⁶⁰ In more details about the biography of Constantine Palaiologos, see Gomez. "Théodora Palaiologina," pp. 139-145.

mighty family sponsored Philotheou, with the only interruption for the time of Serbian domination.²⁶⁶¹

Perhaps, these historical circumstances triggered the development of the almsgiving philosophy in Theodora's text. The donatrisse herself indicates the reasons which urged her to make such a magnificent gift. She starts with the motivation concerning the soul salvation of her deceased relative, Alexios, who was very dear, almost like a son, to Theodora.²⁶⁶²

Thus, she sees the almsgiving as the only secure way to God, and insists (l. 1-10) on the instability of human affairs, when neither wealth nor noble birth and glory can't be a guarantee of a favorable outcome. To prove this thesis about fickleness of fate, she uses such strong metaphors as "whirlwind" (στρόβιλος) and turn of scales (ῥοπή).²⁶⁶³ But she also sees the certain way, and it is the giving to the poor. The concept of salvation through almsgiving was very common in Byzantine rhetoric as well as in everyday awareness;²⁶⁶⁴ in the division of the society into the rich and poor, the monks were always considered poor being receivers of the alms as well as its managers.²⁶⁶⁵ And developing this idea Theodora Palaiologina Philanthropene explains how her charitable deed would assist her beloved nephew to save his soul. Being appointed an *epitropos* for Alexios' affairs, Theodora sees that her duty is to help his soul in all the ways:

As it seems to me now, the first good, accordingly, is if a person throughout his [life] makes mercy to poor, especially in this case, with their (poor) help he makes dedications to God, before the unexpected end of the idle life has arrived. The second [way] is to make good things at the moment before death, and, thus, to imitate those eleven ones who went to the vineyards (garden). The third way is to set a testament which demands to make good to many and not to allow [to the heritors] to become the owners of the things without [making] mercy, [this way] is accomplished through the relatives or associates of the deceased and the instructions are performed after death. Except these three ways, there is [a way which is] considered to be lesser, namely, when, after death, somebody of the relatives of the deceased manages the property of the deceased in just and rightful way, giving a part to the children and a part for the soul, and to children by such management a [part] is given rightfully and justly, and the part for the soul is given of the possessions of the deceased to the soul itself through

²⁶⁶¹ Korać, Dušan. "The Newly Discovered Charters of Stefan Dušan for the Monastery of Philotheou," *ZRVI* 27-28 (1989): 202-203.

²⁶⁶² Kravari, *Nouveaux documents*, no. 6, p. 321, l. 19-20.

²⁶⁶³ Kravari, *Nouveaux documents*, no. 6, p. 321, l. 5; For similar use of the image of scales as denoting the capricious fate, see: Fatouros, Georgios, ed. *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973): ep. 148, l. 13 (p. 257); ep. 181, l. 93 (p. 306); ep. 268, l. 28-29 (p. 426); ep. 432, l. 70 (p. 667); ep. 453, l. 28 (p. 695); Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, book I ch.9, Vol. I, p. 43, l.3 and p. 45, l.2; Dennis, George, ed. *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1977): ep. 19, l. 35 p. 59 ep. 68, l. 19, 153 and 190 (pp. 207, 215) and many others.

²⁶⁶⁴ Constantelos, Demetrios. *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Cartazas: 1991): esp. 75-88; 105-111. For almsgiving as a rhetoric image see: Hunger, Herbert. "Φιλανθρωπία. Eine griechische Wortprägung auf ihrem Wege von Aischylos bis Theodoros Metochites," in: Id. *Byzantinische Grundlagenforschung. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (London: Variorum, 1973): Nr. XIII.

²⁶⁶⁵ Constantelos, Demetrios. *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Cartazas: 1991): 13, 19 and Krausmüller, Dirk. "From Individual Almsgiving to Communal Charity: the Impact of the Middle Byzantine Monastic Reform Movement on the Life of Monks," *JÖB* 66 (2016):111-126 with further bibliography.

the poor, or, better to say, on behalf of the soul to Christ through them (poor). This is our case.²⁶⁶⁶

In other words, in Theodora's opinion, the lack of charitable activities during Alexios' lifetime can be compensated by the donation of the inherited properties to the monastery on his behalf.

The extreme generosity of the donatrisse toward Philotheou seems to be caused by several factors. Giving the entire village of St. Georges Mperzitzikon with all its privileges and rights including exploitation of the lake and woods can be a demonstration of extreme wealth and piety simultaneously. Besides, this benefaction allowed Theodora to strengthen the long-lasting ties binding several generations of the Palaiologoi with the monastery. In these mutual relations, the family was a defender of material interests and rights of the foundation, whereas the Athonite community facilitated the spiritual connection between the generations by commemorations and preservation of the family memory in the documents. In addition, the monastery provided an opportunity for charity, and, thus, for ensuring the salvation for the patrons.

9.1.3. Philosophy of Monastic Joy: Nymphodora, Xeropotamou no. 30 (1445)

“Get thee to a nunnery, go”

On the eve of the Byzantine Empire, in 1445, a pious 84-year old widow and nun Nymphodora wrote a testament transferring all her properties to the monastery of Xeropotamou.²⁶⁶⁷ She lived to the west of the present village Stagira,²⁶⁶⁸ in Siderokausia turning from an agricultural location into a mining centre under the Ottoman rule, which came here in 1420s.²⁶⁶⁹

²⁶⁶⁶ Πρῶτον τοίνυν μὲν ἀγαθὸν ἐμοίγε καὶ προσηκόντως νομίζεται τὸ τὸν ἄν(θρῳπ)ον δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς πέν(η)τας ἔλθ(ε)ν δρᾶν, μᾶλλ(ον) δὲ δι' αὐτῶν ἀνατιθέναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τῷ Θ(ε)ῷ, ἕως τὸν τοῦ ματαίου βίου διάυλον διανύων ἐστί. δεῦτερον δὲ τὸ κ(α)τ(ὰ) τὸν καιρὸν δρᾶσ[αι τὸν πρὸ] τοῦ τέλους τὴν εὐπορίαν αὐτοῦ, τοὺς περὶ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην εἰσελθόντας μιμούμενος εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα. τρίτον δ' αὐθις τὸ προαιρεῖσθαι μὲν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τοι[αῦτα] τίθεσθαι περὶ πλείστου, μήπω δὲ τοῦ πράγματος κύριον δι' οὗ τὸν ἔλεον ἔργοις φθάσαντα δείξῃ γενέσθαι, διὰ συγγεν(ῶν) ἢ συνήθων ἐκείνου τὸ προσ[ῆ]κον (καὶ) βουλευτὸν καὶ μετὰ θάνατον πράττεται. ἔξω δὲ τούτων, ὃ καὶ τελευταίον πάντων νομίζεται, τὸ μετὰ θάνατον τινος οἰκοναμῆσαί τινα τῶν ἐκείνου συνήθω[ν] δικαίως τὸ καὶ νομίμ(ως) τὰ ἐκείνου χρήματα, διαμερισάμενον εἰς τε τοὺς παῖδας (καὶ) τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν οἰκονομία προνοήσασθαι χρηστῇ καὶ νομίμῳ, τῇ δὲ [δοῦ]ναι τι τῶν ἐκείνης αὐτῇ διὰ τῶν πενήτων, μᾶλλον δ' ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης τῷ Χ(ριστ)ῷ διὰ τούτων, ὡς καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. – Kravari, *Nouveaux documents*, p. 321, l. 11-17.

²⁶⁶⁷ *Actes de Xeropotamou*, no. 30, pp. 214-218.

²⁶⁶⁸ Theocharidis, Ploutarchos L. “Consolidation Works on the South Tower at Siderokausia, Chalkidiki,” in: *Πύργοι καὶ Κάστρα*, ed. N.K. Moutsopoulos (Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, 1980): 77 and the map on p. 76.

²⁶⁶⁹ For the development of Siderokausia as a mining area under the Ottoman rule see: the Kolvos, Elias [Κολοβός, Ηλίας]. *Χωρικοί καὶ μοναχοί στην οθωμανική Χαλκιδική 15ος-16ος αιώνας: όψεις της οικονομικής καὶ κοινωνικής ζωής στην ύπαιθρο καὶ ἡ Μονὴ Ξηροποτάμου*, PhD Dissertation, The University of Thessaloniki, 2000, esp. pp. 54-72.

During her life, Nymphodora saw the subjection of the Mount Athos to the Ottoman Sultan²⁶⁷⁰ in order to preserve its lands and to prevent the demolition of foundations.²⁶⁷¹ Nymphodora's husband left her to become a monk on the Holy Mount:

“He went to it (the Holy Mount) by the guidance of the angels and ascribing his assets to the present holy monastery for its renovation, he left me, his wife and spouse, in Siderokausia,”

And since the Holy Mount is “inaccessible for the female folk, except for the Most Holy Mother of God,”²⁶⁷² Nymphodora decided to be unified with her late husband through making benefactions to the same foundation. Therefore, she passed to Xeropotamou several real estates and buildings:

- The Church of St. Nicholas with all the movable objects;
- Two cells near the church with a wine cellar and barrels, books and vessels etc.
- A vineyard and a fruit-bearing garden surround the church;
- A building with vineyards, garden and fruit-bearing trees in the village of Eizboron;
- Another building in Siderokausia with its rent income and a ¼ of an “industrial wheel”

workshop (τροχός ἐργαστικός) owned together with a Turkish man Giakssa;²⁶⁷³

- And a half of another wheel workshop owned together with a Greek? man Iannes.

All this fortune was just an addition to the gift made some time ago by Nymphodora's husband, as she hoped to be inscribed into the “commemoration papers” (μνημονευομένοις χάρτοις) together with him, monk Markelos, “the second ktetor” (δευτέρου κτητόρου)²⁶⁷⁴ of Xeropotamou.

But, life was changing around her, during the same year with Nymphodora's Testament the Ottoman powers drafted a legislation (*kanunname*) organizing the operation of developing mines for the rule of Sultan Murad II. The Ottomans encouraged the creation of a new center in Sidirokaussia and found a community of neighboring villages such as Izvoros (Stratoniki) and Piabitzia where previously rural population from the region as well as foreign newcomers were resettled.²⁶⁷⁵

²⁶⁷⁰ The “voluntary” submission of Athos to the Ottoman rule is attested by the Short Chronicles in 1423/4: The “voluntary” submission of Athos to the Ottoman rule is attested by the Short Chronicles in 1423/4, Schreiner, Peter, ed. *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, Vol. I (Vienna: Verlag der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975): 473.

²⁶⁷¹ For the relations of the Mount Athos with the Ottoman authorities during the first centuries of the Turkish rule on the Balkans see: Oikonomides, Nicolas. “Monastères et moines lors de la conquête Ottoman,” *Südost Forschungen* 35 (1976): 1-10; Zachariadou, Elizabeth. “Mount Athos and the Ottomans, c. 1350–1550,” in: *Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. V, Eastern Christianity, ed. M. Angold (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 154–169. Smyrlis, Kostis. “Mount Athos in the Fifteenth Century: Crisis and the Beginning of Recovery,” in: *To Άγιον Όρος στον 15ο και 16ο αιώνα. Πρακτικά ΣΤ' Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου Αγιορειτικής Εστίας*, eds. A. Ntouros, Ph. Hadjiantoniou D. Kaklamanos (Thessaloniki: Agioreitike Estia, 2012): 33-55.

²⁶⁷² Πρὸς ἣν διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀγγέλου χειραγωγίας ἦλθε, κ(αὶ) προσήλωσε τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀγία μονῇ ταύτῃ, εἰς τὸ ἀνακαινίσαι αὐτ(ήν), ἐμὲ δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σύζυγον καὶ σύμβιον ἀπέλυε εἰς τὰ Σιδηροκαύσια... ἀνέπιβατον γὰρ τὸ Ἄθω Ὅρος τῇ γυναικεῖα φύσει πλὴν Παναγί(ας) θεομήτορος – *Actes de Xeropotamou*, no. 30, pp. 216-217, l. 14-17.

²⁶⁷³ About possible Turkish origin of some of the Chalkidiki inhabitants after the Turkish conquest see: Shukurov, Rustam. *The Byzantine Turks, 1204-1461* (Leiden: Brill, 2016): 166-168.

²⁶⁷⁴ For the meaning of the second founder as a person who made significant investment into reconstruction or development of a monastery see: Mullett, “Founders, Refounders, Second Founders,” and the chapter 3.3 of this dissertation.

²⁶⁷⁵ For development of mining and new urban centers in Chalkidiki see: Kolvos, Elias [Κολοβός, Ηλίας]. *Χωρικοί και μοναχοί στην οθωμανική Χαλκιδική 15ος-16ος αιώνες: όψεις της οικονομικής και κοινωνικής ζωής στην ύπαιθρο και η Μονή Ξηροποτάμου*, PhD Dissertation, The University of Thessaloniki, 2000, pp. 57-58.

So, the agricultural village where Nymphodora built her private foundation surrounded by the vineyards was also changing into an industrial international town, and the Testament unconsciously reflected these changes. Though the author still owns gardens, orchards and wine-cellars, she simultaneously financially participates in two mining-related “industrial wheel” workshops and collaborates with men of different ethnic origin. The international climate of Siderokausia is directly reflected in the composition of the trusted circle of the donatrisse, among her witness one can find people of different ethnicities (Greek, Slavic and Turkish) or even religions judging on their names: Sinan (Σύναν) Sarsstza (Σάρσστζα = Saruca?), Papagiannis, Papadimitrios, Stefanos Maletikos, Michalina, Ioannis Meleteskos, Yaksa (Γιάκσσα), Yannis Bogdanovikos (Γιάννης Μπογδανόβικος = Jovan Bogdanović), Iavakovos Knezis (Ηβάνκοβος Κνέζης = Ivanko Knežić), Stanissa Trikalezis (Στάνησσα Τρικάλετζης = Staniša Trikalec).²⁶⁷⁶

However, the changing economic realities or diversifying ethnic landscape do not seemingly affect the spiritual concerns, direction of thinking or even the way of expression of this elderly lady. She meticulously describes the commemorative rituals to be performed for her salvation:

they (monks) would sing for me, in the holy monastery of Xeropotamou a litany (παράκλησιν) to the Virgin on Monday during the evening (vesper), and on the liturgy on Tuesday. And the brothers would [drink] one cup of wine during the meal. And I ask the hegoumenos, whomever God will choose, and the entire brotherhood in Christ, that, after my death, they wouldn't be lazy and [perform] the liturgy on the agreed day until the orthodoxy is present on the Holy Mount.²⁶⁷⁷

Perhaps, only the concern about the maintenance of orthodoxy remotely reflects the new political situation, but the main interest of the testator is the preservation of her memory in the rituals. The precision in the choice of rituals (the private liturgy and *paraklesis*) makes Nymphodora's request similar with the donation by Theodora Kantakouzene, but the frequency of prayers is lower in the present case. Nymphodora seems more relaxed about her sins and rather enjoys the monastic status. She lays hopes on the future life with joy and expectation, this mood is quite notable in the charter, which starts with the cheerful praises of the Afterlife:

By high illumination of the knowledge, we direct our sensations above, to the Lord, from earthly things, and by the seven-day cycle of the Holy Spirit [we direct] the intellectual eye of our heart, by pure thought uniting with god, and in the common joy in the heavenly Jerusalem with the present righteous ones, with whom, today, we say just thing after David in the words of Psalms: “Lord, I have loved the habitation of thy house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth” (Ps. 25 (26): 8) Because he is not jealous, free from

²⁶⁷⁶ *Actes de Xéropotamou*, no. 30, p. 218, l.64-66.

²⁶⁷⁷ ἵνα ψάλλωσί μοι ἐν τῇ ἁγία μονῇ τοῦ Ξηροποτάμου, τῇ Δευτέρᾳ εἰς τὸ ἑσπερινὸν παράκλησιν τῆς Παναγίας Θεοτόκου, καὶ τῇ Τρίτῃ λειτουργίαν• καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ μία κούπα ἐκτοῦ οἴνου• καὶ μετὰ τ(ὸν) θάνατόν μου παρακαλῶ τ(ὸν) καθηγούμενον ὄντινα ἐξελέξη ὁ θεός, καὶ πᾶσ(αν) τὴν ἐν Χ(ριστῷ) ἀδελφότητα, ἵνα μὴ σχολασθῇ ἡ λειτουργία μου ἐν τῇ προειρημένη ἡμέρᾳ ἕως οὗ ἡ ὀρθοδοξία κατέχει τὸ ἅγιον Ὅρος Ἄθω.- *Xeropotamou*, no. 30, p. 217, l. 34-38.

the temptation of power, in accordance with the blessed words of the Gospel, “Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom” (Lc. 12:32).²⁶⁷⁸ Quoting here the Gospels and the Psalms the author supplements them with her own metaphoric language and uses a unique expression²⁶⁷⁹ “ἐπταόρω κύκλω” (the cycle divided in seven) to denote the week and the passage of time. Observing it, the protagonist directs all her senses to think about the unity in God, together with other righteous, and this kind of thought makes her happy. Her attitude to the Athonite monks is also slightly different: though she calls herself “the lowest” (ἐλαχίστη) and “the most humble” (ἐσχάτη), she seeks not the advocacy of monks, but their spiritual companionship (συννοδία) in “hope for the future beatitude.”

Together with those who hope for the future beatitude I also extend my good hope for the future life, me, the lowest among the religious and the most humble among the nuns, very sinful nun Nymphodora, [sending] the words of love to the very beloved one, with faith I extend hope, and from my poor mind I generated a thought, and in the good and blessed companionship of those who stay at the Holy Mount of Athos I avoid the blemish...²⁶⁸⁰

She turns the mind to spiritual thinking and foresees the way of soul in quite Platonic terms. Following the Platonic theory or rather some writings of the Christian Platonists,²⁶⁸¹ Nymphodora represents the soul as tripartite, i.e. having reason (λογιστικόν), emotions (θυμοειδής), and desires (ἐπιθυμητικόν), and parallels it in the text with the three-hypostases divinity: “And now I give the tri-partiality of my soul with my flesh into the hands of the three-hypostasis divinity, to the good guardian of great things, in the day of this terrible judgment.”²⁶⁸²

In another place she returns to this metaphor and skilfully interweaves it with the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Mt 25: 1-13): her soul as “tri-partial lamp” gets fire from the oil of almsgiving and becomes ready for meeting Christ (“the crucified groom”). Proceeding with the reflexions on the meeting with God, she represents herself climbing Ioannes Klimakos’²⁶⁸³ “staircase of monasticism” and seeing Christ in Glory on the top of the ladder:

²⁶⁷⁸ Τῷ ὑψηλῷ φωτισμῷ τῆς γνώσεως, οἱ πρὸς τὰ ἄνω τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἡμῶν ἀθροίσαντες πρὸς Κ(ύριον) ἀπὸ τ(ῶν) βιωτικ(ῶν), κ(αὶ) τῷ ἐπταόρω κύκλω τοῦ ἁγίου πν(εύματος) τ(ὸν) νοερόν ὀφθαλμόν τῆς καρδ(ί(ας)) ἡμῶν, καθαρὰ τῇ διανοίᾳ τῷ θ(ε)ῷ ἐνώσαντες, ἐν τῇ κοινῇ χαρᾷ τῇ ἄνω Ἰ(ερουσα)λὴμ μετὰ τῶν ἐκδεξιῶν παρισταμένων μεθ’ ὧν δίκαιον ἡμᾶς σήμερον μετὰ τοῦ Δα(υὶ)δ ψαλμικ(ῶς) εἶπ(εῖν)• «Κ(ύρι)ε ἡγάπησα τ(ὴν) εὐπρέπει(αν) τοῦ οἴκου σου, καὶ τόπον σκηνόματος δόξης σου». Ὅπου οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπὸ πειρασμοῦ δυναστείας ζῆλος, κ(α)τ(ὰ) τὴν μακαρί(αν) φωνὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐαγγελίου, «μὴ φοβοῦ τὸ μικρόν μου ποίμνιον, ὅτι ἡδύοκησεν) ὁ π(α)τ(ήρ) μου δοῦναι ὑμῖν τὴν βασιλεί(αν)». - *Actes de Xéropotamou*, no. 30, p. 216, 1.1-5.

²⁶⁷⁹ I was not able to find a similar expression neither in the TLG corpus nor in other, known to me, Geek texts.

²⁶⁸⁰ Μεθ’ ὧν τ(ῶν) ἐλπίζομ(ένων) ἔνεκ(εν) τῆς ἄνω μακαριότητος, κάγῳ εὐελπὶς τῆς μελλούσης ζωῆς, ἐλαχίστη ἐν ταῖς μονοειδέσι καὶ ἐσχάτη ἐν ταῖς μοναχαῖς, πολλὰ ἁμαρτωλὴ μοναχὴ Νυμφοδόρα, τ(ὸν) τῆς ἀγάπης λογισμόν ζήλω τῷ ποθοῦμ(ένῳ) τῇ πίστει ἐλπίδα ἐκτείνασα, κ(αὶ) ἀπὸ τῆς ταπεινῆς μου διανοί(ας) τὴν σύνεσιν ὀρμήσασα, κ(αὶ) μετὰ καλῆς κ(αὶ) μακαρί(ας) συννοδίας τῶν ἐν ἁγίῳ Ὁρει Ἄθω τ(ὸν) νόγον παραδραμοῦσα - *Actes de Xéropotamou*, no. 30, p. 216, 1.9-12.

²⁶⁸¹ Plato, Rep. iii 440e- 441a and Phaedrus 246aff. Barnes, Michel Rene. “The Polemical Context and Content of Gregory of Nyssa's Psychology,” *Medieval Philosophy and Theology* (1994): 21-22.

²⁶⁸² Τοῖνυν τὸ τριμερές μου τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ μετὰ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐν χειρὶ τῆς τρισυποστάτου θεότητος παραδίδωμι, τῷ μεγάλῳ κ(αὶ) καλῷ φύλακι, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς φρικτῆς ἐκείνης ἐξετάσεως. - *Actes de Xéropotamou*, no. 30, p. 218, 1.46-48

²⁶⁸³ PG Vol. LXXXVIII, col. 631 – 1164.

Purified with wisdom we would turn on the tri-partial lamp with the oil of almsgiving together with the wise virgins for the meeting with the crucified groom, who is more beautiful than other children of men, whose life-giving death in our mortal body, which was carried in the evangelic way, we love. And in the passing cycles of the celestial circles of life-giving starts, in which after the hard and difficult time we, some in 84 years, go straight on our steps on the staircase of monasticism, [we] continuously trying to ascend with the help of humility the [staircase] leading upwards, and we perceive the god of love who is established on the top, and who is venerated and glorified by all celestial army, in the eternity and the lasting centuries.²⁶⁸⁴

Nymphodora also turns to the images associated with the humility and penitence as the ways of expressing faith. Judging on her writings she almost literary describes the daily physical monastic practices of prayer, namely making genuflexions, prostrating and lightening candles and lamps:

That's why now, with faith, I direct the mind to desire of good things through befitting penitence with my spiritual eyes of heart, binding my knees in prayer and, to the best ability of my weakness, I prostrate my hand toward the mentioned monastery, as much as it is in my strength to light a candle and to spark a lamp of the above-mentioned holy great martyrs.²⁶⁸⁵

Concerning writing of Nymphodora, one can be almost certain that the present text is her own creation: in one of the passages, in the beginning of the Testament, the nun says that she decided to address the *protos* of the Holy Mount in writings, however for expressing this though she uses the verb ἐκτινάσσω (to shake, to move)²⁶⁸⁶ which specifies the actual movement of her hand: “And I reached the *protos* moving my hand to writing”.²⁶⁸⁷ So, it is possible that Nymphodora was not only an author of the mentioned letter, but of the Testament as well.

As another way of personalizing the writings, the author compares her donation to Xeropotamou with the prototypical image of gift to the Lord described in the Gospels, of the poor widow's mite (Mark 12:41-44; Luke 21:1-4). This parallel becomes even more suitable for Nymphodora being the widow herself:

Spiritually, with love [and] with gratitude, I direct my intellectual eyes of the heart to you, o Mistress, and, with the great martyrs, now advocating [for us], take this our small offering to your son, O the Virgin, as our lord Christ [took] two mites of this widow, with

²⁶⁸⁴ κ(αὶ) τ(ὸν) λύχνον τ(ὸν) τριμερῆ ἐλαίῳ τῷ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης τῇ σωφροσύνῃ κεκαθαρμένων μετὰ τ(ῶν) σωφρόν(ων) παρθένων ἄσαι πρὸς ὑπάντησιν τοῦ ἐστ(αυ)ρωμ(έν)ου νυμφίου τοῦ ὡραιότατου ὑπὲρ πάντ(ας) υἱοὺς τ(ῶν) ἀν(θρώπων), οὗτινος θάνατον ζωηφόρον ἐν τῷ θνητῷ σώματι ἡμ(ῶν) εὐαγγελικῶς περιφέρεισθαι ἠγαπήσαμεν, κ(αὶ) τοῦ οὐ(ρα)νίου κύκλου τῶν ζωηφόρ(ων) ἀνθελίων τ(αῖς) περιφερομέναις περιόδοις, αἵτινες ἐν ὀγδοήκοντα τέσσαρσιν, ἐν αἷς διὰ τοῦ σκληροῦ τε κ(αὶ) τεθλημ(έν)ου καιροῦ ἐπὶ τ(ῇ)ν κλίμακα τῆς μοναδικῆς πολιτείας τὰ διαβήματα ἡμῶν ὀρθώσαντες, καὶ τῇ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ εἰς τὴν ἄνω φέρουσ(αν) διηνεκ(ῶς) ἀναβαίνειν σπουδάσαντες, τῆς ἀγάπης τ(ὸν) θε(ὸν) θεάσασθαι ἐπὶ ταύτης τῇ κορυφῇ ἐστηριγμένον, καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς οὐ(ρα)νίου στρατιᾶς προσκυνούμενον κ(αὶ) δοξολογούμενον, εἰς τοὺς ἀπεράντους κ(αὶ) μένοντας αἰῶνας - *Actes de Xéropotamou*, no. 30, p. 218, l.55-62

²⁶⁸⁵ Ὅθεν καὶ ὑπερέννοι(αν) τῷ τῶν ἀγαθῶν πόθῳ διὰ τῆς προσηκούσης διανοίας μετὰ πίστεως δραμον, καὶ τοῖς νοεροῖς μου ὀφθαλμοῖς τῆς καρδίας, πρὸς ἱκεσί(αν) τὰ γόνατά μου κλίνασα, καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν τῆς ἀσθενείας μου πρὸς τὸ ῥηθὲν μοναστήριον τὴν χεῖρα ἐκτείνασα, ὅση μου ἡ δύναμις κανδήλιον φωτίσαι καὶ τὴν λαμπάδα ἀνάψαι τῶν ἄνω λεχθέντων τ(ῶν) ἁγίων μεγαλομαρτύρων. - *Actes de Xéropotamou*, no. 30, p. 218, l.49-52

²⁶⁸⁶ LSJ, p. 522.

²⁶⁸⁷ Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τὸ γράφ(ειν) τ(ῇ)ν χεῖρα ἐξετείνασα ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπανέρχομαι - *Actes de Xéropotamou*, no. 30, p. 217, l.17-18.

whom (the widow), o you, the Most kind and human loving one, list our name, if your omniscient good wisdom finds it (the name) worthy.²⁶⁸⁸

The gift of two copper mites in Byzantine and Slavic medieval texts becomes a prototype of soul-saving donations, whereas the widow turns into a symbol of an ideal patron who even with a small gift assures a place in the Paradise. This comparison not so often found in the liturgical writings, there only two instances of this type, the 13th century Supplication Kanon for our Lord Jesus Chris (in the Slavic version – “Akathistos for sweetest Jesus”) which became an inspiration for a Slavic translation published in 1522,²⁶⁸⁹ and a prayer for accepting the first fruits, contained in Byzantine as well as in Slavic *euchologia*.²⁶⁹⁰ However, the mentioned comparison is a very common in charters and epigrams intended to describe a gift to the divinity and donors’ expectations of the future reward (salvation).

In the *arenga* of the charter for Hilandar monastery (1302), Serbian king Milutin says that his hopes for salvation were not abandoned since he “heard from my Savior about a widow who gained a fortune, greater than many others, with two copper coins.”²⁶⁹¹ In two charters, by *knez* Lazar and by his sons, Stefan and Vuk, sanctions open with the following expressions: “and in this way, I (we) being zealot(s) and brought this small offering as that widow [brought] two copper coins.”²⁶⁹² In 1426 John Kastriot and his sons Staniša, Repoš, Konstantin and Gjurgje gave two villages to Hilandar monastery, hoping that “all-graceful god and the most pure Theotokos would accept all these our small offerings, as [he accepted] two lepta of that widow.”²⁶⁹³ The context of these charters allows one to realize that under the term “a small offering” the rulers understood quite significant land gifts, and, therefore,, calling the donations “small” or insignificant was a pious figure of speech, as well as the comparison with the biblical widow. These rhetorical devices intended to prove the donors’

²⁶⁸⁸ Πν(ευμα)τικῶς δὲ καὶ ἀγαπητικῶς διὰ τῆς χάριτος τ(ὸν) νοερὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς καρδίας πρὸς σὲ ἀναπέμψω, δέσποινα, τὴν μικρὰν ταύτην προσφορὰν ἡμῶν, μετὰ τῶν μεγαλομαρτύρων τῶν νῦν πρὸς τ(ὸν) υἱόν σου μεσιτεύουσα πρόσδεξαι, ὃ παρθένε, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Χ(ριστὸς) τῆς χήρας ἐκείνης δύο λεπτά, μεθ’ ἧς καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἡμέτερον συναριθμήσον, ὃ πανάγαθε φιλάν(θρωπ)ε, εἰ ἀγαθὴ σου εὐδοκίησῃ πρόγνωσις *Actes de Xéropotamou*, no. 30, p. 217, 1.25-27.

²⁶⁸⁹ Kozlov, Maxim, priest [прот. Козлов, Максим]. “Акафист в истории православной гимнографии,” *Журнал Московской Патриархии* 6 (2000): 83-88 (esp. pp. 85-86). The Slavic version is “приими нынѣ малое моление ср наше, якоже прилль еси вдовицы двѣ лѣптѣ,” (*Молитвослов и псалтирь*, Сретенский монастырь, 2003, pp. 102-103) and the Greek is “πρόσδεξαι ταύτην ἡμῶν τὴν ἱκέσιον δέησιν ὡς ἐδέξω τὰ τῆς χήρας δύο λεπτά” (Αντωνίου Μάρκου, Ορθόδοξος Ὑμνογραφία, online edition, http://orthodoxhymnography.blogspot.hu/2013/10/blog-post_28.html last accessed on 13/09/2016).

²⁶⁹⁰ “ὁ τῆς Χήρας τὴν κατὰ δύναμιν προσφορὰν εὐαρέστως δεξάμενος, πρόσδεξαι καὶ τὰ νῦν προσκομισθέντα παρὰ τοῦ δούλου σου” - Goar, *Euchologion*, p. 522. “Вдовыя же еже по силѣ приношение бл(а)гоугоднѣ приемыи, приими и нынѣ принесенное вт раба твоего” - *Service Book by Peter Mohila [Требник Петра Могилы]*, Vol. II (Kiev: 1646): 223

²⁶⁹¹ Слышавъ же отъ Спаса моего нѣкую вдовицу, двѣма мѣдницима приобрѣтшу паче богатства инѣхъ многаа - *Zbornik srednjovekovnih ćirilćkih povelja*, pp. 350-351.

²⁶⁹² Симъ и азъ (мы) рѣвнитель бихъ (ревнитель быхомъ) и принесохъ (принесохомъ) малое сие приношение, яко же она вдоваа двѣ лѣптѣ *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, pp. 542, 549.

²⁶⁹³ а всеблагі Богъ и прѣчиста богомати да всь приметъ сия наша малая приношения, якоже и вдовици внои в/ лѣптѣ, *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, p. 561.

humbleness and to demonstrate their hopes for a successful reception of their gifts: this image was applied by Nymphodora exactly in the same way.

With the same words “small offering” (малор приношение), Jefimija (or a poet on her behalf) describes a *katapetasma* sent by her to Hilandar (1388-1389). In the epigram embroidered on the gift, she asks the Lord not to “turn away this small offering which I bring to the holy church of your most pure mother and my hope, the Virgin of Hilandar, as I have embraced the faith of the widow who brought to you two copper coins.”²⁶⁹⁴ In his recent paper dedicated to the questioning of Jefimija’s authorship of the epigram Ivan Drpić considered that the “choice of the poor widow, one of the scriptural paragons of sacred giving, as a model for Jefimija was surely motivated by the fact that the latter was a widow herself.”²⁶⁹⁵ But, in the light of the present study, the appearance of the biblical widow seems to be rather a prototypal image of the medieval language for gift-giving, and the allusion to Jefimija’s and Nymphodora’s marital status might have just an amplifying effect. This way, the image of the widow was a semantic construction which appeared on the intercession of several domains of ideas: repentance, gift-giving, expectation of future reward, and demonstrative humbleness of the donor.

After comparing the images of these female donors belonging to the Byzantine nobility, one can see three different rhetoric of patronage: for Theodora Kantakouzene, it was an act of repentance, the redemption of her previous social sins; for Theodora Philanthropene it was a family tradition of almsgiving which allowed to unify several generations spiritually; for Nymphodora, it was a logical completion of her monastic lifestyle and a necessary practical arrangement before the passage to the “Crucified groom.” However, in these endowment documents, one can distinguish three very different individual characters, who, simultaneously, represent three successive generation of the Byzantine aristocracy, from the first half of the 14th century to the middle of the 15th century.

The first lady is restless, seized by strong emotions, and afraid of the Afterlife due to improper social behaviour meaning the involvement in politics and court life. The second personage concentrates on her family duties and cares for the relatives and spiritual connections between generations of her family. This lady sees the political and social affairs as unstable, disorderly, and dangerous. The last personage doesn’t disclose her family origin, though her donation suggests that she was quite rich. She seems enjoying her status of the nun and widow, being dedicated to

²⁶⁹⁴ “Ни малор сир приношенир втрини яже приношоу с(ве)тому храмоу прэчистию творр м(а)тере и надежде мор Б(огороди)ци хиландарскои вэроу бо възприхъ вдовичю принесъшоую ти двэ цетэ” Mirković, Lazar. *Monahinja Jefimija* (Sremski Karlovci: Srpska manastirska štamparija, 1922): 25-26.

²⁶⁹⁵ Drpić, Ivan. “Jefimija the Nun: A Reappraisal,” a paper presented at the round table “*Inscriptions in Byzantium, in the West, and in the Slavonic World*,” convened by Andreas Rhoby, at the Twenty-Third International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Belgrade, Serbia (24 August 2016), accessed at https://www.academia.edu/27185780/Jefimija_the_Nun_A_Reappraisal?auto=download on 13/09/2018.

contemplation on spiritual matters and completely isolating herself from the changes occurring in the external world. She is the only one who is not afraid of, but rather looks forward to the Afterlife. These three individual images may be not the exact representations of their generations, but a certain trend in their behaviour becomes obvious, from the involvement to public affairs they, being disappointed by the wars and social conflicts, turn to the family circles, to be, in the end, fully focused on their private selves and spiritual needs.

9.2. Image as a Gift: Female Patronage of Minor Arts and Painting

Though the donation deeds could develop the rhetoric of female piety fully, most often they were kept in archives and rarely read. So, only an image could substitute a commissioner by visualizing the presence of a female donor and by imitating her voice via inscriptions. Being commissioned by laymen and, especially, by laywomen, Byzantine liturgical objects and church paintings could gain access to those sacred locations which the donors themselves were prohibited from accessing. Used in sanctuaries during liturgical rites, textiles, vessels, and crosses bearing the names of Byzantine women became their agents and represented these ladies through the mentioning of their names, social statuses, and pious intentions in places which women could not visit otherwise. Discussing some of the objects associated with female patronage over monasteries, Alice-Mary Talbot noted²⁶⁹⁶ that Byzantine women donated votive objects to both female and male monasteries, but they had certain preferences in the choice of the holy patron receiving their gifts (they favoured the Virgin and female saints over Christ and male saints) which reflected their gender identity.

9.2.1. The Widows as Patrons in Byzantium and Serbia

The most active participants in ecclesiastic church sponsorship were widows, both in Byzantium²⁶⁹⁷ and in Serbia. For example, out of ten monasteries that were founded in Constantinople during the reign of Andronikos II, four were commissioned by noble widows and only one by a

²⁶⁹⁶ Talbot, Alice Mary. "Female Patronage in the Palaiologan Era: Icons, Minor Arts and Manuscripts," in: *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. L. Theis, M. Mullett, M. Grünbart (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014): 273-274. However, the middle-Byzantine objects of private devotion (portable small icons, jewelleries) demonstrate that men were also inclined to venerate the Virgin in the day-to-day religious practices, see: Maguire, Henry. "Byzantine Domestic Art as an Evidence for the Early Cult of the Virgin", in: *Images of the Mother of God. Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. M. Vassilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005): 190.

²⁶⁹⁷ For example, the patronage activities of widows in the Byzantine countryside, see: Gerstel, Kalopissi-Verti, "The Agency of the Village Widow."

married woman.²⁶⁹⁸ Maria Palaiologina,²⁶⁹⁹ the illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII Palaiologos, and the half-sister of Andronikos II, became a wife of the Mongol ruler Abaqa Khan.²⁷⁰⁰ In 1282, after her husband's death, she returned to the capital and re-established a female monastery named Panagiotissa or Panagia Mouchliotissa.²⁷⁰¹ It also might be she as the nun Melania, who richly endowed the monastery of Chora and received her portrait in the mosaic Deesis of the inner narthex.²⁷⁰² The Empress Theodora Palaiologina, the wife of Michael VIII, after the death of the husband, renovated and re-opened two large monastic complexes in Constantinople, the monastery of Lips and Hagioi Anargyroi.²⁷⁰³ The widow of *megas stratopedarches* John Angelos Doukas Synadenos, Theodora Synadene founded the convent of the Theotokos Bebaias Elpidos as a refuge for herself and her daughter.²⁷⁰⁴

Similarly, in the Serbian state, noble widows are attested as commissioners of monastic foundations: the former *basilisa* nun Marija built the monastery of St. George at Pološko (1340s), initiated by her late son Jovan Dragušin.²⁷⁰⁵ A widow Danica constructed and painted a church dedicated to St. Nicholas at Ljuboten (1336/1337).²⁷⁰⁶ In the 15th century, certain Milica renewed the Virgin's church on Matka Lake in Northern Macedonia (fig. 9):

By the will of the Father and assistance of the Son and accomplishment of the Holy Spirit, this most holy church of our holy lady Theotokos and always Virgin Mary. Milica came and found the church opened and covered the church and painted, and built the narthex and bought a vineyard. Remember, Lord, your servant Tošik and his son Nikola. Under the rule of the metropolitan kyr Athanasios, in the year 7005 (= 1496/7).²⁷⁰⁷

²⁶⁹⁸ Talbot, "Building Activity in Constantinople," p. 330.

²⁶⁹⁹ *PLP*, no. 21395; Talbot, Building Activity, p. 334-335.

²⁷⁰⁰ *Georges Pachymeres. Relations historiques*, Vol. I, p. 235, Vol. II, p. 515.

²⁷⁰¹ Kidonopoulos, Vassilios. *Bauten in Konstantinopel, 1204-1328: Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1994): 88-90 (with prior bibliography).

²⁷⁰² Ševčenko, Ihor. "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of his Time," in: *The Kariye Djami*, ed. P. Underwood Vol. IV (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975): p. 37 footnote 141; Teteriatnikov, Natalia. "The Place of the Nun Melania (the Lady of the Mongols) in the Deesis Program of the Inner Narthex of Chora, Constantinople," *Cahiers archéologiques* 43 (1995): 163-180 (esp. p. 165).

²⁷⁰³ *PLP*, no. 21380; Talbot, Alice-Mary. "Empress Theodora Palaiologina, Wife of Michael VIII," *DOP* 46 (1992): 295-303; Kidonopoulos, Vassilios. *Bauten in Konstantinopel, 1204-1328: Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1994): 1-4 and 86-87.

²⁷⁰⁴ *PLP*, no. 21381; *BMFD*, pp. 1512-1178; Delehaye, Hippolyte, ed. *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1921): 18-105; Gaul, "Writing «with Joyful and Leaping Soul» (with prior bibliography)"; Kidonopoulos, Vassilios. *Bauten in Konstantinopel, 1204-1328: Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1994): 69-74.

²⁷⁰⁵ Pavlović, Dragana. "Pitanje ktitorstva crkve Svetog Đorđa u Pološkom," *Zograf* 39 (2015): 107-116.

²⁷⁰⁶ Đorđević, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele*, pp. 145-147; Tomović, *Morfologija ćirilskih natpisa*, p. 56.

²⁷⁰⁷ Изво[ле]ни[мъ] в(тъ)ца и поспешени[мъ] с(и)на и савръшенне[мъ] светаго д(оу)ха сын с(ве)ты б(о)ж(ь)ствени храмъ с(ве)тникъ вл(а)дичици б(о)городице приснодѣви Маріе. Донде Мланица и вѣрѣте цр(ь)кво ѿткривеноу покри цркви и пописа създа припратоу и коупи лозикъ. Помени г(оспод)и раби своиѹ Тошика и сина моу Николоу и вѣладающаго митрополитоу курь Аѳанасіею въ лѣто 36... - Subotić, Gojko. *Ohridska slikarska škola XV veka* (Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet, 1980): 141; Stojanović, *Zapisi i natpisi*, Vol. I, p. 120, no. 387.

The foundress' portrait, accompanied by that one of her son is placed on the northern wall of the church. Her praying pose, a lighted candle in her hand, the absence of a husband-figure, and the commemorative reference to his name in the dedicatory inscription, all these facts point out to the widow-status of Milica when she undertook the renovation works. Moreover, as Milica acted independently in the purchase of a vineyard, one may assume that she became a head of the household after the death of Tošik.

The widows also commissioned the material gifts for various foundations independently. In 1417, a widow Thomais Palaiologine a silver chalice and a copper brazier gave to the Athonite Great Lavra.²⁷⁰⁸ For this purpose the monastery's elder Daniel went to meet the donatrisse.

The patronage activities of the royal widows were especially prominent because of a combination of their great economic means, relative freedom into making the pious choices, advanced age, and certain concerns about the afterlife. Sometimes, royal widows exercised several types of patronage simultaneously, as they could construct their own monasteries and become sponsors for other foundations. So, Maria Komnene Palaiologine being a re-foundaress of the Panagia Mouchliotissa monastery sponsored another monastery, that of Chora. The portrait of nun Melania in the mosaics of the Chora narthex (fig. 3.55) and the dedicatory verses in a Gospel manuscript (nowadays in Sofia, Ivan Dujčev Center for Slavo-Byzantine Studies, Ms. 177, fols. 246r–v) witness about her activities. This dedication bears the following title: Στίχοι ἱκετήριοι πρὸς τὴν Δέσποιναν Παρθένον καὶ Θεομήτορα τὴν Χωρινὴν ἐκ προσώπου τῆς εὐσεβέστατης δεσποίνης κυρᾶς Μαρίας Κομνηνῆς τῆς Παλαιολογίνης (Supplicatory lines to the Royal Virgin and Mother of Christ of Chora from the person of the most pious despoina kyra Maria Komnene Palaiologine). The commissioner of the verses was identified with several ladies belonging to the Palaiologoi family: a daughter of John Kantakouzenos and Eirene Komnene Palaiologine, an illegitimate sister of Michael VIII and a wife of Bulgarian tsars Konstantin Tih and Ivajlo (PLP, no. 16910);²⁷⁰⁹ an illegitimate daughter of Andronikos II who was married to Khan of the Golden Horde, Tuktai in 1292 (PLP, no. 92632);²⁷¹⁰ or a daughter of Michael VIII (PLP, no. 21395),²⁷¹¹ the latter point of view is the most accepted presently.

²⁷⁰⁸ κοῦπ(αν) μίαν ἀργυροῦν καὶ χάλκομαν καὶ κοτζήαν *Actes de Lavra*, Vol. III, no. 173, pp. 196-197

²⁷⁰⁹ About various identifications, see: Papageorgiou, Petros [Παπαγεωργίου, Πέτρος]. *Αἱ Σέρραι καὶ τὰ προάστεια, τὰ περὶ τὰς Σέρρας καὶ ἡ μονὴ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου* (Thessaloniki: Demisia Kentrike Bibliothek Serron, 1988): 101-105; Bozhilov, *Фамилията на Асеновци*, pp. 115-119; Nicol, *The Family of Kantakouzenoi*, no. 15, pp. 19-20.

²⁷¹⁰ Underwood, Paul. "Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul, 1955 - 1956," *DOP* 12 (1958): 287; Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, Vol. I, pp. 45 - 48.

Ševčenko, Ihor. "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of his Time," in: *The Kariye Djami*, ed. P. Underwood Vol. IV (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975): 37, note 141; Krustev, "A Poem by Maria Komnene Palaeologina"; Teteriatnikov, Natalia. "The Dedication of the Chora Monastery in the Time of Andronikos II Palaiologos," *Byzantion* 66 (1996): 193-200.

The poem, supposedly written by Manuel Philes, has quite a personal tone describing the precise contribution of the donor and alluding to her origin and life experience. Though the famous Chora mosaics depict Theodore Metochites offering the church to Christ, whereas the regarded poem as well as Theodore Metochites' own writings point out to the dedication of the monastery to the Virgin, it was suggested that both, Christ and the Theotokos, were patrons of the foundation.²⁷¹² The opening part of Maria's dedicatory poem contrasts a thesis and antithesis concerning the expression of gratitude to the Virgin, as the donor considers that:

"It is justly befitted ... to pay back to the undefiled Virgin acknowledging her favours, in respect of great mercies of benevolence, and for her inexpressible petitioning to Christ, Her son and God and Lord, and for her love for the salvation of the mortals which she provided to the Christians every day, as only she saves them [Christians] and redeems them from all dangers of their enemies."²⁷¹³

And, at the same time the personage of Maria acknowledges that no equal repayment is possible due to limited abilities of humans. Moreover, these lines point to the donors' personal reasons who had received help from the Virgin in perils and hardships:

So, it is befitted to offer, with all possible zeal, the royal gift as to the Empress. For all grace I've enjoyed from and for the great number of dangers I've been redeemed by this ally and great power, the most-powerful Virgin. But, who is able to honour properly this light enlightening the entire world, which surpasses all the minds?²⁷¹⁴

Further in the text, the donor describes the gift she offers to the Virgin: "reverence, tears and pure heart to which I add the plenty of golden veils and offer this holy book."²⁷¹⁵ In this rhetoric of piety, the emotional affection and reverence became the gifts equally with the luxurious fabrics and the restored codex. Besides, the efforts made by Maria who restored the proper beauty of the manuscript and returned it to the capital from "the foreign lands" (ἐπὶ γῆς τῆς ξένης) where the precious text of the Gospels were kept in neglect and disorder, are offered as a gift as well: "I found it in this disorder... but from the inside the holy golden words of the Lord emanated the beams of sweetness (ταύτην τυχοῦσα σὺν ἀκοσμία τόση...ἐνδοθεν... τὰς ἡλιακάς ἀκτῖνας ὑπερβάλον // οἱ Κυριακοὶ χρύσειοι θεῖοι λόγοι).

²⁷¹² Ousterhout, Robert. *The Art of the Kariye Camii* (London: Scala 2002): 104-108.

²⁷¹³ "Εδει μὲν ἴσως τῇ παναχράντῳ Κόρῃ, ... ἄξιαν ἀντίχαριν ἀποτινύνειν // ὑπὲρ τοσαύτης εὐμενοῦς εὐσπλαγχίας, // καὶ τῆς ἀφράστου πρὸς Χριστὸν παρρησίας, // τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτῆς καὶ Θεὸν καὶ Δεσπότην // ὑπὲρ ἀγάπης τῆς βροτῶν σωτηρίας // ἣν καθ' ἐκάστην δεικνύει Χριστωνόμοις, // οἷα μόνη σώζουσα καὶ λυτρομένη // τούτους ἀπάσης τῶν ἐναντίων βλάβης. - Krustev, "A Poem by Maria Comnene Palaeologina," p.72. I am also aware about the translation of this text made by N. Teteryatnikov (Teteriatnikov, Natalia. "The Dedication of the Chora Monastery in the Time of Andronikos II Palaiologos," *Byzantion* 66 (1996): 195-196) which is superior in its literary qualities, but due to its literary elaboration, it is not precise in discussion of the technical terms and reflection of the Greek grammatical structure.

²⁷¹⁴ "Εδει προσάξει πλὴν μετ' εὐνοίας ὁσης // βασιλικὸν τὸ δῶρον ὡς Βασιλίδι // ἀνθ' ὧν παρ' αὐτῆς ἀπέλαυον χαρίτων, // ἀνθ' ὧν μυρίων ἐκλυτροῦμαι κινδύνων // τῇ συμμαχίᾳ καὶ κραταιᾷ δυνάμει // τῆς πανσθενουργοῦ καὶ παννυμνήτου Κόρης- // ἀλλὰ τίς ἰσχύσειεν οὕτως ἀξίως // τὸ κοσμολαμπὲς δεξιώσασθαι φάος - Krustev, "A Poem by Maria Comnene Palaeologina," p. 72.

²⁷¹⁵ μετὰ δέους, // μετὰ δακρύων καὶ καθαρᾶς καρδίας, // μεθ' ὧν περ ἠυπόρησα πέπλων χρυσεῶν // καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν τήνδε βίβλον προσφέρω - Krustev, "A Poem by Maria Comnene Palaeologina," p. 73.

The poem is very precise concerning the actions of the sponsor and her royal origin. It describes the process of the book's restoration as inspired by strong affection, love and piety. And this preciseness is due to the fact that the restoration became the actual contribution of the donor and her reasons to hope for the future salvation, in return:

But having ornamented this book with love and with things I have of gold and silver
and of the gold-embroidered crimson veils, I offer it, from the zeal of my heart, to you,
oh, Queen, Mother of human-and-divine Logos.²⁷¹⁶

Thus, the donor applied a combination of the “gold-embroidered crimson veils” (χρυσουφοῦς κοκκινοχρόου πέπλου) and gilded silver for the ornamentation of the book. Nowadays, the manuscript doesn't have the described ornamental revetment, but according to observation made by G. Kustev, “on the inner side of the wooden slates and under the place of the metal edges there are clear traces of the crimson cloth.”²⁷¹⁷ It means that the epigram, commissioned by Maria was added to the codex to describe its material state after the restoration and production of the new revetment in order to underline the contribution made by the donor.

The text ends with the presentation of Maria's image and her pleas:

It is me, your faithful servant Maria, born from the Palaiologoi family, by her origin, the
Empress of the whole East. But, oh, Empress of everything, benevolently accept my
offering, made with zeal in my heart, which [the offering] is not worthy enough, and for
this dwell me in the heavens, in the eternal habitat of Eden.²⁷¹⁸

This short fragment demonstrates how the donor wanted to present herself: as the offspring of the Palaiologoi, though she was an illegitimate child, as the “Empress of the whole East” and fervent worshipper of the Virgin. The donor doesn't refer to her actual status as a widow and neither to the status or even name or origin of her husband, a Mongol ilkhān who is silenced completely. G. Kustev suggested that Maria's denomination as “δεσποίνης κυράς Μαρίας” (Empress kyra Maria) is a reflection of her title at the court of the Mongol ilkhān. Namely, it is translation of the title of Khatun (lady, mistress) as she was known as “Despina Khatun” in Persia.²⁷¹⁹ It is possible, therefore, that, by shaping information in the above-described way, the sponsor wanted to underline her high royal status but to hide its barbaric or Muslim origin. In the mosaics of Chora the same patroness bear the following label,ου τοῦ Παλαιολόγ[ου] ἡ κυρὰ τῶν μουγουλίων Μελάνη ἡ μοναχή,²⁷²⁰ (“of the

²⁷¹⁶ πλὴν ἀλλὰ κοσμήσασα ταύτην σὺν πόθῳ // καθὼς περ εἶχον ἐκ χρυσοῦ σὺν ἀργύρῳ, // ἐκ χρυσουφοῦς κοκκινοχρόου πέπλου, // ἐκ καρδιακοῦ τοῦ πόθου σοὶ προσφέρω // Δέσποινα Μήτηρ τοῦ Θεανθρώπου Λόγου – Krustev, “A Poem by Maria Comnene Palaeologina,” p. 73.

²⁷¹⁷ Krustev, “A Poem by Maria Comnene Palaeologina,” p. 75.

²⁷¹⁸ Μαρία λάτρις οἰκέτις σοῦ γνήσια // Παλαιολόγων ἐκ γένους κατηγμένη, // ἡ τῆς Ἐώας βασιλῆς τῆς ἀπάσης // Ἀλλ' εὐμενῶς μοι, παμβασιλῆς, προσέχου // ἃ σοὶ προσάγω σὺν ζεύσει καρδία // εἰ καὶ τέως πέφυκεν οὐ κατ' ἀξίαν, // καὶ πρὸς μονὰς σκῆνου με τὰς οὐράνιους, // πρὸς τὴν ἀγήρω τῆς Ἑδέμ κατοικίαν – Krustev, “A Poem by Maria Comnene Palaeologina,” p. 73.

²⁷¹⁹ Krustev, “A Poem by Maria Comnene Palaeologina,” p. 74.

²⁷²⁰ Underwood, Paul. “The Deisis Mosaic in the Kahrie Cami at Istanbul,” in: *Late Classical and Mediaeval studies in honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed., K. Weitzmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955): 254–260;

Palaiologos the Lady of the Mongols Melane the nun”), which displays a quite different way of designation. It underline her affiliation with a male representative of the Palaiologoi family and her high, but not royal, status among the Mongols. This makes me to think that the image of Melane in Chora, if it indeed depicts the same person, was commissioned not by Melane herself, but by another founder, probably Metochites, on her behalf.

The ecclesiastic sponsorship of noble widows often was associated with the commission of the manuscripts. Being regent of young John V (1341-1376), Anna of Savoy²⁷²¹ commissioned a Psalter book for the monastery of Iviron (1346). The manuscript was produced in the Hodegon scriptorium as “a pledge of salvation²⁷²² <made> by Empress Anna Palaiologina and the imperial son”²⁷²³. This richly-decorated codex with golden writings could have been used on celebratory occasions in the monastery, as Psalter readings are necessary parts of every service. The colophon placed on the final folio was there to remind about the actual rulers’ piety and the necessity to commemorate them in daily prayers.

In Serbia, several royal ladies as well started to be more active as sponsors after the death of their husbands. In this sense a story about Simonis, the Byzantine wife of King Stefan Milutin is very exemplary. It reveals how, according to the ideas of the Serbian clergy, a royal widow should behave. After several miracles occurred at the tomb of King Milutin, his body was transferred to a new place inside the same church (St. Stephen cathedral of Banjska monastery). The King’s body turned into the holy relics, and it was placed solemnly, with singing, candle burning and censuring, “in front of the altar doors” near the image of Christ, probably, situated on the altarscreen or an eastern pillar.²⁷²⁴ When the news about the miracles and the incorruptibility of Stefan Milutin’s relics reached his wife:

Having heard this, she rejoiced with a great joy, and this way the pious queen Simonis made a censer of very expensive gold and golden veils, as well very expensive, being herself of very good character, and [ordered] to cover with them the shrine of this Christ-loving one. And she prepared other many honours and sent them to the shrine of this pious one. And she herself rejecting the wordly life, vested into the nun’s garments.²⁵⁵⁶

Thus, in the portrayal by the Archbishop Danilo II, the ideal pious widow should take the vows after the death of her husband. Moreover, in case of some holy occurrences proving the sanctity of the husband, the widow’s role is to support the developing cult by sponsoring the objects associated

Underwood, *The Kahriye Djami*, Vol. I, pp. 45-47 reconstructed the title as: [Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου] ἡ κυρὰ τῶν μουγουλίων Μελάνη ἡ μοναχὴ

²⁷²¹ *PLP*, no. 27347.

²⁷²² For the meaning of the term *sostron* (pledge of salvation) in a similar context: Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, p. 209.

²⁷²³ Pelekanidis, Stylianos et al., eds. *The Treasures of Mount Athos: Illuminated Manuscripts Miniatures, Headpieces, Initial Letters*, Vol. II (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1974–1975): 325–326; Talbot, Alice Mary. “Female Patronage in the Palaiologan Era: Icons, Minor Arts and Manuscripts,” in: *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. L. Theis, M. Mullett, M. Grünbart (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014): 273.

²⁷²⁴ Daničić, Đure, ed. *Arhiepiskop Danilo i drugi: Životi kraljeva i Arhiepiskopa srpskih* (Zagreb: Svetozar Galac, 1886): 160. For discussion of the place of Milutin’s tomb, see: Popović, Danica. *Srpski vladarski grob* (Begrade: Institut za istoriju umetnosti, 1992): 96-98.

with the service, namely the censer and the veils. This way, these objects would represent the widow in the place of the cult and demonstrate her “good character,” i.e. piety. One can’t know exactly which was the sequence of affairs in the case of Simonis, whether she took the vows soon Milutin’s death, and whether it was connected with holiness of her late husband, but in the mind of the medieval male hagiographer, these events must be connected to prove the good character of the queen.

On the other hand, some of the Serbian queens were inclined to the deeds of patronage during the lifetime of their husbands, and in the state of widowhood they just continued to follow this practice. As it was discussed, Jelena the wife of Tsar Stefan Dušan was acknowledged the second ktetor of St. Sabbas’ cell belonging to Hilandar.²⁷²⁵ After her husband’s death she continued to perform the deeds of patronage. Initially, Jelena completed the Dormition Monastery at Matejče (1343 - 1352) and commissioned its mural decoration (fig. 9.1).²⁷²⁶ Having her court at Serres²⁷²⁷ Jelena left the traces of her pious activities in this region. By 1356, Jelena took the veil under the name of Jelisaveta,²⁷²⁸ but continued the involvement into the political affairs and stayed at her court.

A chapel adjusted to the cathedral of Hagioi Teodoroi at Serres can be attributed to her patronage. This small structure (fig. 9.2-9.4), square in its ground plan, with a cupola supported by the walls and an arcosolium inbuilt into the northern wall, is placed on the northwest side of the metropolitan church. Under its ground level, a medieval burial with a marble coffin was recently discovered.²⁷²⁹ The eastern part of the chapel is covered with frescoes, which, on stylistic basis, can be dated with the 14th century. The conch of the apse is occupied by the *Deisis*: Christ holding a closed book stands before the throne flanked by the Virgin and St. John. The church fathers are placed in the lower register, whereas the eastern parts of southern and northern walls bear the portraits of deacons and a niche with depiction of the cross (northern wall). Three medallions with Christ Emmanuel and two angels on sides are placed on the triumphal arch. The burial chapel nowadays is dedicated to St. Patriarch Kallistos (*PLP*, no. 10478).

The cult of St. Kallistos as a saint is attested scarcely,²⁷³⁰ though there are some reasons to suggest that it originated during the time when the chapel was built. As John Kantakouzenos attests,

²⁷²⁵ See the Subchapter 3.3. of this dissertation.

²⁷²⁶ Dimitrova, Elizabeta. *Manastir Matejče* (Skopje: Kalamus, 2002): esp. pp. 262-267 for the dating of the erection and painting of the monastery; Dimitrova, Elizabeta. “Ktitorska kompozicija i novo datovanje živopisa u crkvi Svete Bogorodice u Mateiču,” *Zograf* 29 (2003-2004): 181-190.

²⁷²⁷ Ostrogorski, Georgije. *Serska oblast posle dušanove smrti* (Belgrade: Naučno delo, 1965): 3-19; Ferjančić, Božidar. *Vizantijski i srpski ser u XIV stoleću* (Belgrade: SANU, 1994): 63-113; Purković, Miodrag. “Kad se pokaluderila carica Jelena?,” *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 12/2-3 (1932): 167-169; Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, pp. 90-92.

²⁷²⁸ Milutinović, Branislav, Radić, Radivoj. “O vremenu zamonašenja carice Jelene: Jedna pretpostavka,” *ZRVI* 33 (1994): 195-202.

²⁷²⁹ Samsares, Petros [Σαμσάρης Πέτρος]. *Ο Ιερός Καθεδρικός Ναός των Αγίων Θεοδώρων Σερρών (Παλαιά Μητρόπολη)* (Serres: Ieros Naos hagion Theodoron Serron, 2016): 67-68.

²⁷³⁰ Gedeon, Manouel [Γεδεών, Μανουήλ], ed. *Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον Μνήμαι των ἀπὸ τοῦ Δ' μέχρι τοῦ ΙΕ' αἰῶνος εορταζομένων αγίων εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει* (Constantinople: s.e., 1899): 116.

the Patriarch Kallistos was sent by John V as the head of embassy to widowed Jelena. The embassy negotiated joint actions “to attack (together) the barbarians in Thrace, who made evil to countries of the Romans and the Triballs and plundered for many days... The spouse of the king accepted the embassy with the great honour...”²⁷³¹ However, the embassy didn’t achieve any results, because the Patriarch died in summer of 1363 or 1364²⁷³² in Serres during the epidemic plague: “it happened, that Patriarch himself was fallen down by the heavy decease which, finally, caused the death to him and, after a short while, to his companions...”²⁷³³ The mission of Kallistos in Serres is also mentioned briefly by the Short chronicles. The Short Chronicles from Dionysiou monastery and from Library of St. Marc tell that in the year 6872 [1363-1364] Patriarch Kallistos was sent with embassy to Serbia and died there. The Short Chronicle from Bologna codex dates his death with July 20th of 1363.²⁷³⁴

The sudden death of the Patriarch made the Serbian empress to take care about the funerals of the great hierarchy: “Elizabeth buried the deceased patriarch with the great honour in the metropolia of Feres (Serres) and venerated him in a great measure.” However, not only the mission of the alive Constantinopolitan patriarch, but also the presence of Kallistos’ body in Serres appeared to be an event of great importance. Thus, according to John Kantakouzenos, empress Jelena (Elisabeth as a nun) started to venerate the deceased as her “intercessor”:

“When from the monasteries of the Mount Athos, and especially from the Holy Lavra, the most pious and the most worthy of praise ones arrived to her and asked to send to transfer the body of the patriarch to Athos and to bury him at their place, she didn’t give it, saying that she herself has a need in his intercession (προστασία) and (he) should be left with her.”²⁷³⁵

Thus, taking into consideration the obviously funeral character of the chapel (the presence of *Deisis* in conch,²⁷³⁶ the underground burial and the sarcophagus in the arcosolium) one can assume that the chapel was built in late 14th c. for the commemoration of an important deceased. Moreover, its present dedication (relatively rare) to St. Patriarch Kallistos can be even original, since it is known, that the

²⁷³¹ τοῖς ἐν Θράκῃ βαρβάροις ἐπιθέσθαι, κακῶς καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Τριβαλῶν ποιούσι καὶ ληϊζομένοις ὁσημέρα... ἡ μὲν οὖν Κράλη γαμετὴ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐδέξατο προθύμως... - Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 361.

²⁷³² Novaković, Stojan. *Srbi i Turci XIV i XV veka* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruka, 1960 [1893]): 123-124, 140-150; Dölger, *Regesten*, Vol. V, no. 3095 considers that Kallistos died in 1363; Ostrogorski, Georgije. *Serska oblast posle Dušanove smrti* (Belgrade: Naučno delo, 1965):129, 133; Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, p. 90 – preferred 1364 as the year of Kallistos death. Mošin, Vladimir. “Sveti patrijarh Kalist i Srpska crkva,” *Glasnik Srpske pravoslavne crkve* 27 (1949): 192-200.

²⁷³³ οὕτω δὲ συμβάν, αὐτός τε ὁ πατριάρχης ἐνεπεπτώκει νόσφ χαλεπῇ, ὅφ’ ἧς καὶ ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ συνόντες, πλὴν ὀλίγων... - Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 362

²⁷³⁴ Schreiner, Peter, ed. *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken* Vol. I (Vienna: Verlag der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975): p. 66, No. 16, p. 93 No. 16.

²⁷³⁵ ἀποθανόντα δὲ τὸν πατριάρχην ἔθαψέ τε μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἡ Ἐλισάβετ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει Φερῶν καὶ ἐτίμησε διαφερόντως, ἀφικομένων δὲ παρ’ αὐτὴν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἀθῶν φροντιστηρίων τῶν σπουδαιοτέρων καὶ ἀντιπαιδευμένων ἀρετῆς, μάλιστα δὲ Λαύρας τῆς ἱερᾶς, καὶ δεηθέντων ἐφεῖναι τὸν πατριάρχου νεκρὸν ἐν Ἀθῶν μεταγαγεῖν καὶ θάψαι παρὰ σφίσιν, οὐκ ἐνέδωκεν, αὐτὴ μάλιστα εἰπούσα δεῖσθαι τῆς ἐκείνου προστασίας, καὶ δεῖν εἶναι κατέχειν παρ’ ἐαυτῇ. - Kantakouzenos, *Historia*, Vol. III, p. 362.

²⁷³⁶ On the commemorative character of *Deisis* iconography see bibliography in Walter, Christopher. “Bulletin on the Deësis and the Paraclesis,” *REB* 38 (1980): 261-269.

Patriarch was buried at the metropolitan church of Serres and venerated as intercessor of Jelena. Thus, probably, already under the patronage of Jelena (Elisabeth), the cult of the Patriarch Kallistos started to develop locally.

The mission of the Constantinopolitan patriarch was one of the first attempts to establish relations between the Serbian and the Byzantine Churches after the excommunication²⁷³⁷ of the Serbian church following the election of the archbishop of Serbia Joanikije as the first Serbian Patriarch in Serres in 1346.²⁷³⁸ The excommunication document, made by Kallistos during his first patriarchate didn't survive. However, one can find out about this charter from the reconciliation acts – the charter by *despotes* Jovan Ugleša, addressed to the Patriarch Philotheos (March of 1371)²⁷³⁹ and the Synodal decision on the reconciliation signed by Patriarch Philotheos (May of 1371).²⁷⁴⁰ Thus, at the moment of Kallistos' mission, belligerency existed between the Serbian and Byzantine churches as well as between the two states. However, John V himself chose Kallistos for the embassy and this choice indicates that the mission had two main goals: to make an alliance against Turks and to establish certain agreement between the Serbian and Constantinopolitan Church leaders.

Moreover, after the death of Dušan, his family made several attempts to legitimize the memory of the emperor and the status of the Serbian church in Greek milieu. In the commemoration book of Protaton,²⁷⁴¹ Dušan is called “ktetor,” “tsar” and “holy ruler.” Thus, obviously, the monastic authorities didn't consider him as usurper and recognized his authority. Probably, the generous donations made by Jelena and her son Uroš contributed to establishing good relations. In 1361, the Athonite Lavra received the monastery of All Saints,²⁷⁴² with its possessions in the district of Serres²⁷⁴³ for “the salvation of honour and soul of three-times blessed and commemorated tsar, our ruler and my father” and for inserting his name among “commemorated blessed tsars and ktetors”²⁷⁴⁴ in the Synodikon.

At this background, Jelena's attempt to establish a cult of the recently deceased Constantinopolitan Patriarch on the Serbian ground and with the assistance of the Serbian Church might be justified politically as a step toward the reconciliation of two Churches and the legitimization

²⁷³⁷ Petrović, Miodrag. “Povelja – pismo despota Jovana Uglješe iz 1368. godine o izmirenju srpske i carigradske crkve u svetlosti nomokanonskih propisa,” *Istorijski časopis* 25-26 (1979): 29–51.

²⁷³⁸ Purković, Miodrag. *Srpski patrijarsi srednjega veka* (Düsseldorf: Srpska pravoslavna eparhija zapadnoevropska, 1976): 5-7.

²⁷³⁹ Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje srpskih vladara*, no. XXXV, pp. 258-267.

²⁷⁴⁰ *MM*, Vol. I, pp. 553-555.

²⁷⁴¹ Đurić, Ivan. “Pomenik Svetogorskog protata s kraja XIV veka,” *ZRVI* 20 (1981): 148-149.

²⁷⁴² Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje srpskih vladara*, no. XXVIII, pp. 200-207.

²⁷⁴³ Zeugelateion in Koromista, a village in Zagorion region with its peasants, pastures, two mills and vineyards, paroikoi in Toumpa with their staseis, zeugaletion in Soungari with the prokathemenoi, several families and two mills in Emporion, vineyards in Malest and Treazista, income from Jewish village next to Agios Konstantinos, village Tripista with its paroikoi, a mill in Siderokastron and 30 hyperpyra of annual income from Trilision.

²⁷⁴⁴ Solovjev, Mošin, *Grčke povelje srpskih vladara*, no. XXVIII, p. 202.

of the Serbian Patriarchate. In doing so Jelena acted not as a royal widow, but rather as a ruler who, using the tools of patronage, tried to reach the political goals.

Her acts of private devotion are more evident from the commission of manuscripts. Between 1355-1363, by Jelena's order, an anonymous scribe from Mount Athos prepared three manuscripts which are nowadays kept at the National Library of Athens: Ms. Suppl., 4 (Synaxarion for March – August), Ms. Suppl. 35 (Menaion for April), and Ms. Suppl. 49 (Menaion for February).²⁷⁴⁵ According to the scribe's remarks the codices were ordered through the mediation of certain Dorotej who can be identified with the *hegoumenos* of Hilandar and the *protos* of the Holy Mount acting in 1350-1360s.²⁷⁴⁶ L. Politis had doubts about the destination of the books, proposing that they could be made for Jelena's private library,²⁷⁴⁷ however, taking into consideration their ecclesiastic service content, it is more probable that the order was made by the empress on behalf of the Prodromos monastery near Serres.

Even in this private donation, one can see the image of the Serbian female ruler, and not that of a widow or even a nun, whom she became immediately after husband's death.²⁷⁴⁸ At least, such was the official representation projected to Jelena's / Jelisaveta's subjects. Several times, the scribe's remarks appeal to the empress directly, using a strange combination of her wordly title (*augusta*, *despoina*) and her monastic name: "my holy empress, pious augusta holy Elizabeth"²⁷⁴⁹ or "the eternal memory to you, the most pious augusta kyra Elizabeth, for the fact that my hands are busy with writing."²⁷⁵⁰ These direct appellations suggest that the scribe expected his work to be read by the sponsor and his lauds to be appreciated and received, and therefore, he, most probably, applied an official title befitted to his patroness.

He also praised Jelena for the features, typical for a male ruler,²⁷⁵¹ such as "charity" and "wisdom": "my holy empress ruling augusta, the source and the root of charity, ornamented by all virtues and wisdom, and the fatherland of yours is the Heavenly metropolis."²⁷⁵² And, finally, in the

²⁷⁴⁵ Politis, Linos. "Griechische Handschriften der serbischen Kaiserin Elisabeth," *Byzantinoslavica* 2 (1930): 288-304.

²⁷⁴⁶ Purković, Miodrag. *Hilandarski Igumani Srednjeg veka* (Belgrade: Sveti arhijerejski sinod Srpske pravoslavne crkve, 1999): 87-88.

²⁷⁴⁷ Politis, Linos. "Griechische Handschriften der serbischen Kaiserin Elisabeth," *Byzantinoslavica* 2 (1930): 301-302.

²⁷⁴⁸ Milutinović, Branislav, Radić, Radivoj. "O vremenu zamonašenja carice Jelene: Jedna pretpostavka," *ZRVI* 33 (1994): 195-202.

²⁷⁴⁹ Δέσποινά μου ἁγία εὐσεβέστατη αὐγούστα ἁγία Ἐλισάβετ - Politis, Linos. "Griechische Handschriften der serbischen Kaiserin Elisabeth," *Byzantinoslavica* 2 (1930): 290

²⁷⁵⁰ Αἰωνία σου ἡ μνήμη εὐσεβέστατη αὐγούστα κυρά Ἐλισάβετ ὅτι ἐχώρτασαν αἱ χεῖρες μου γράψιμον - Politis, Linos. "Griechische Handschriften der serbischen Kaiserin Elisabeth," *Byzantinoslavica* 2 (1930): 291.

²⁷⁵¹ Hunger, *Prooimion*, pp. 123-143; 240-243.

²⁷⁵² Δέσποινά μου ἁγία εὐσεβέστατη ἄννασα αὐγούστα· πηγὴ (καὶ) ρίζα τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης· (καὶ) ἀρετὴ πάση (καὶ) σοφία κεκοσμημένη· εἴ γε πατρίς μὲν σὴ ἡ ἄνω μητρόπολις - Politis, Linos. "Griechische Handschriften der serbischen Kaiserin Elisabeth," *Byzantinoslavica* 2 (1930): 291.

petition addressed to the Virgin, the scribe directly calls Jelena/Jelisaveta “the Roman ruler,” along with her son, Emperor Stefan Uroš, and asks to “strengthen them.”²⁷⁵³

This pattern of the ruler-nun acting and being commemorated together with her royal offspring was followed by *kneginja* Milica (1335-1405), the wife of *knez* Lazar (1329-1389), who was left widowed after her husband’s death in the Battle of Kosovo.²⁷⁵⁴ Under the monastic name of Jevgenija, she acted together with her sons Stefan and Vuk as the ruling authority issuing the charters (altogether eight acts) granting lands and privileges to the Athonite and Serbian monasteries.²⁷⁵⁵

Serbia royal widows seem to be the most active patrons of the movable objects as well. A group of various monuments labelled with epigrams and inscriptions, was associated with a noble widow, *basilissa* Jelena, the wife of *despot* Jovan Uglješa Mrnjavčević and daughter of *kesar* Vojihna who became the nun under the name of Jefimija.²⁷⁵⁶ All objects commissioned by her are dated about 1371 and later.²⁷⁵⁷

According to its inscription, an *epitaphios* from Putna monastery (fig. 9.5) was sponsored or created on behalf of two nuns and royal widows, Jefimija, *kaisarise* of Serbia, with her daughter Jevpraksija Eupraxia, *basilisa* of Serbia (“Remember, Lord, the souls of your servants, nun Euphimia, *kaisarise* of Serbia, with [her] daughter Eupraxia nun, *basilisa* of Serbia”).²⁷⁵⁸ The monastic names and laic titles do not help much in the precise identification of the two noble ladies. Jefimija is usually identified with the wife of *despotes* Uglješa Mrnjavčević and the daughter of *kesar* Vojihna, who was mentioned as patron/author of several other textile donations, but the personality of *basilisa*

²⁷⁵³ Ἀλλ’ ὁ παρθένε κράτυνον τοὺς ἀνακτας Ῥωμαίους· Στέφανον Οὐρεσιν, (καὶ) τὴν μ(ητέ)ρα τούτου ἀγί(αν) Ἑλισάβετ - Politis, Linos. “Griechische Handschriften der serbischen Kaiserin Elisabeth,” *Byzantinoslavica* 2 (1930): 291.

²⁷⁵⁴ For ruling status and political activities of Milica after *knez* Lazar’s death see: Grbović, Duško. “Državnička delatnost kneginje Milice – povelja manastiru Sv. Pantelejmona s kraja XIV veka (podaci za istoriju srednjeg Pomoravlja),” in: *Deseti kongres istoričara Jugoslavije (15–17. januar 1998), zbornik radova* (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 1998): 381–392 (with previous bibliography); Ječmenica, Dejan. “Izvori i manifestacije moći i uticaja kneginje Milice,” in: *Kneginja Milica – monahinja Jevgenija i njeno doba, tematski zbornik radova sa naučnog simpozijuma održanog 12. septembra 2014. godine u Manastiru Ljubostinji*, eds. S. Mišić, D. Ječmenica (Trstenik: Filozofski fakultet u Beogradu, 2014): 17-26.

²⁷⁵⁵ Tomin, Svetlana. “Darodavna aktivnost u srpskom srednjem veku: vladarke i supruge vladara,” in: *Srednji vek u srpskoj nauci, istoriji, književnosti i umetnosti* 6, ed. G. Jovanović (Valjevo: Topalović, 2015): 133-134; Petrović, Vladeta, Fostikov, Aleksandra. “Crkve i manastiri u poveljama kneginje Milice,” in: *Kneginja Milica – monahinja Jevgenija i njeno doba, tematski zbornik radova sa naučnog simpozijuma održanog 12. septembra 2014. godine u Manastiru Ljubostinji*, eds. S. Mišić, D. Ječmenica (Trstenik: Filozofski fakultet u Beogradu, 2014): 127-136.

²⁷⁵⁶ Quite extensive bibliography (more than 350 articles and books) is dedicated to or mention this medieval personality since she is considered the first Serbian female poet, see: Tomin, Svetlana. “Bibliografija radova o monahinji Jefimiji (oko 1349–1405),” *Knjiženstvo, časopis za studije književnosti, roda i kulture* 2 (2012): 222-256.

²⁷⁵⁷ Vassilaki, Maria. “Female Piety, Devotion and Patronage: Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina of Ioannina and Helena Uglješa of Serres,” in: *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantine: Actes du colloque international de l’Université de Fribourg (13-15 mars 2008)*, eds. J.-M. Spieser and E. Yota (Paris: Desclée De Brouwer, 2012): 221-234 (esp. pp. 228-231); Tomin, Svetlana. “Darodavna aktivnost u srpskom srednjem veku: vladarke i supruge vladara,” in: *Srednji vek u srpskoj nauci, istoriji, književnosti i umetnosti* 6, ed. G. Jovanović (Valjevo: Topalović, 2015): 136-137.

²⁷⁵⁸ Μνίστητοι κ(ὐ)ριε τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλων σου καισαρίσας Σεργίας Ἐφημίας μοναχῆς σὺν θυγατρὶ βασιλίσας Σεργίας Εὐπραξίας μοναχῆς - see: Năsturel, Petre. “Date noi asupra unor odoare dela Mănăstirea Putna,” *Romanoslavica* 3 (1958): 143. The inscription is somehow problematic since it can be read in two ways, either as “...daughter Eupraxia nun, basilisa...” or as “..Eupraxia nun, daughter of basilisa...”.

Jevpraksija has never been completely ascertained.²⁷⁵⁹ However, Đorđe Sp. Radojičić²⁷⁶⁰ suggested, and his point of view is supported by Svetlana Tomin and Nataša Polovina,²⁷⁶¹ that Jevpraksija was the great-schema name of the Jefimija, *basilissa* of Serbia and wife of Uglješa Mrnjavčević, while the name Jefimija refers to the monastic name of the wife of *kesar* Vojihna and mother of Jefimija, renamed Jevpraksija. Be it as it may, one can state that the textile item was made and donated on behalf of two widowed noble ladies who, even being nuns, found important to mention their secular titles and kinship relations; this way, they underlined their privileged social status and, probably, ensured their future commemoration as empowered individuals. Such approach proves that making donations, especially of mobile objects, was a way to keep memories about their status as married women for widowed ladies and to preserve family ties, at least at the spiritual level.

The same Jefimija presented two other textile pieces to different monastic foundations and these objects, via their use, became agents of the sponsors. The Hilandar *katapetasma*²⁷⁶² (1398/1399) containing a long Slavonic epigram (fig. 9.6) written in the first person was regarded in detail in a recent paper of Ivan Drpić.²⁷⁶³ However, I would like to underline here several important points concerning the commissioner's status and intentions. Being embroidered with a symbolic image of the liturgy and including allusions to the Eucharistic prayers in the text, this textile was placed at the entrance to the altar. This way, the object itself was intended to participate in monastic services, including the rite of commemoration. Simultaneously, by alluding to the offering of the Gospel widow²⁷⁶⁴ (Mark 12:41–44; Luke 21:1–4) Jefimija draws parallels between her rich, but not sufficiently pious gift, and a small donation of the widow, providing a place in the Paradise. However, the commissioner strives to preserve the memory of her family and elite social position by the means of the gift. In the text she underlines her relations with one of the ktetors of Hilandar, her father *kesar*

²⁷⁵⁹ Lazar Mirković (Mirković, Lazar. "Srpska plaštanica monahinje Jefimije u manastiru Putni," *Starinar* 2 (1923 [1925]): 109–120) suggested the identification of Jefimija with the commissioner of other embroideries from Serbia; Johnstone, Pauline. *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery* (London: Alec Tiranti, 1967): 119–120. considered that it was produced by the same Jefimija and translated her title of *kaisarisa* as empress, while *basiliisa* was understood "in honorary sense." For the bibliography and history of the object, see: Schlib, Henry. *Byzantine Identity and Its Patrons: Embroidered Aeres and Epitaphioi of the Palaiologan and Post-Byzantine Periods*. PhD Dissertation, Indiana University, 2009, pp. 321–326.

²⁷⁶⁰ Radojičić, Đorđe Sp. *Stari srpski književnici (XIV–XVII veka). Rasprave i članci* (Belgrade: 1942): 18–19, 86–87.

²⁷⁶¹ Svetlana Tomin, Nataša Polovina, "The Shroud from Putna monastery. Question of authorship," *Medieval and Early Modern Studies for Central and Eastern Europe*, 5 (2013): 29–49.

²⁷⁶² The object has extensive bibliography, see: Svetlana Tomin, "Bibliografija radova o monahinji Jefimiji (oko 1349.–1405.)" *Knjiženstvo, časopis za studije književnosti, roda i kulture* 2/2 (2012), URL: <http://www.knjizenstvo.rs/magazine.php?text=55>. For the liturgical function and use of the object, see: Smolčić-Makuljević, Svetlana. "Hilandarska katapetazma monahinje Jefimije. Ikonografija i bogoslužbena funkcija," in: *Međunarodni naučni skup Osam vekova Hilandara. Istorija, duhovni život, književnost, umetnost i arhitektura*, ed. V. Korać (Belgrade: SANU, 2000): 693–701; for technical evaluations of Jefimija's works, see: Curk, Franc. "O Jefimijinom vezu," *Niš i Vizantija* 3 (2005): 435–465.

²⁷⁶³ Drpić, Ivan. "Jefimija the Nun: A Reappraisal," in: *Proceeding of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies Belgrade, 22 – 27 August 2016. Round Tables*, eds. B. Krsmanović, Lj. Milanović (Belgrade: 2016): 921–925.

²⁷⁶⁴ "I have adopted the faith of the widow who offered you two copper coins" – trans. in: Drpić, Ivan. "Jefimija the Nun: A Reappraisal," in: *Proceeding of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies Belgrade, 22 – 27 August 2016. Round Tables*, eds. B. Krsmanović, Lj. Milanović (Belgrade: 2016): 923.

Vojihna “who is buried here” and calls herself “once a despot’s wife.” Finally, the monastery of Hilandar was a burial place for Jefimija’s father and son,²⁷⁶⁵ facts which once again confirm that this gift was meant to strengthen spiritual family ties and to be present in a place where the sponsor herself couldn’t come to venerate the tombs of the beloved ones.

In the text of the embroidered *encomium* (fig. 9.8) to the recently-canonized St. knez Lazar,²⁷⁶⁶ Jefimija addresses the saint directly. She combines praise, suitable for the genre, and a prayer on behalf of the entire fatherland and Lazar’s sons, Stefan and Vuk (also distant relative of Jefimija herself), as she asks him to gather the heavenly army for fighting against the Muslims and for protecting the Christians:

Pray that Orthodox Christian faith amply endures in your fatherland. Ask God the victorious to grant victory to your beloved children, Knez Stefan and Vuk, against visible and invisible enemies.

Whether or not it was written or embroidered by the donor herself,²⁷⁶⁷ this textile and poetic piece shows another aspect in the behavioural mode of medieval high-noble widows: even after taking monastic vows, these ladies were politically involved and provided spiritual guidance and help to the younger generation of rulers.

Often, the donations given to ecclesiastic institutions by the widowed Serbian ladies were accompanied with embroidered inscriptions referring to the lay royal/noble social status of the commissioner (even if she already became a nun), commemoration of family members, and, even, her political standing. They also displayed connection between the generations inside one royal/noble family by making reference to the donor’s still-living, male relatives. This complexity of the widows’ orders can be explained taking into consideration the social status of widowhood. On the one side, sometimes, elite widows found themselves in a shaky social position, and, not being protected by husbands anymore, they looked for a male representative of their interests. On the other hand, the widows’ more independent economic situation allowed them to manage their own capital and, thus, to become art-patrons.

The only cases when the widows avoided underlining their previous status as wives were the marital association with the non-Christian rulers. Mara, the daughter of despot Đurađ Branković, who

²⁷⁶⁵ Knežević, Branka. “Arkosoliji u Hilandaru i u srpskim srednjevekovnim manastirima,” in: *Međunarodni naučni skup Osam vekova Hilandara. Istorija, duhovni život, književnost, umetnost i arhitektura*, ed. V. Korać (Belgrade: SANU, 2000): 596-599.

²⁷⁶⁶ For the bibliography of Lazar’s cover and translation of the epigram into English see: *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)* (exhibition catalogue New York), ed. Helen Evans et al. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Arts, 2004): 320–321.

²⁷⁶⁷ Serbian scholarship tends to consider Jefimija as the first Serbian female poet; however, she may be simply a commissioner of both the embroideries and epigrams; for a discussion of this aspect, see: Drpić, Ivan. “Jefimija the Nun: A Reappraisal,” in: *Proceeding of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies Belgrade, 22 – 27 August 2016. Round Tables*, eds. B. Krsmanović, Lj. Milanović (Belgrade: 2016): 921-925; Schlib, Henry. *Byzantine Identity and Its Patrons: Embroidered Aeres and Epitaphioi of the Palaiologan and Post-Byzantine Periods*. PhD Dissertation, Indiana University, 2009, pp. 165-167,

in 1435 married sultan Murad II, after the death of her husband in 1451, she returned to Serbia.²⁷⁶⁸ There she started to perform patronage over several monastic foundations,²⁷⁶⁹ including the Athonite ones as her stepson Sultan Mehmed II granted her important land properties.²⁷⁷⁰ In 1450s she assisted to the transfer of St. Luke's relics to Smederevo²⁷⁷¹ and worshipped them sending her private gift, according to a contemporary writer: "The first-begotten daughter of the rulers made a *phelonion* of Syriac gold-embroidered [fabrics] and sent to dress the body of the Apostle."²⁷⁷² In 1469, Mara assisted to monks of Rila monastery wishing to transfer the relic of their founder, John of Rila, back to the monastery from Târnovo.²⁷⁷³ After the transfer of the relics, Mara sent a salutatory letter and another textile gift to the saint: "And she gave a beautiful cover to the messenger in order to lay it down on the ciborium of the saint for glory of God, for honour of the revered one and for her eternal commemoration."²⁷⁷⁴ According to E. Bakalova, Mara also donated the precious Hodegetria icon-reliquary to the St. John's monastery (fig. 9.9).²⁷⁷⁵ Probably, Mara's preference for the minor precious objects can be explained due to the combination of their mobile nature, high price, and the independence of gift-giving, in other words, Mara wouldn't need to receive the Sultan's approval (as with the landed donations) and could send the offerings to chosen monasteries promptly.

In 1466 she bequeathed her properties at Ježeva and Mravince (Modern Daphi) near Serres to the monasteries of Hilandar and St. Paul,²⁷⁷⁶ whereas her possessions in Constantinople (a house with

²⁷⁶⁸ Spremić, Momčilo. *Despot Đurađ Branković i njegovo doba* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1994): 140; Popović, Mihailo. *Mara Branković: žena između kršćanskog i islamskog kulturnog kruga u 15. stoljeću* (Novi Sad: Akademska Knjiga, 2014): 52-116.

²⁷⁶⁹ Erdeljan, Jelena. "A note on the ktetorship and contribution of women from the Branković dynasty to cross-cultural connections in late medieval and early modern Balkans," *ZLU* 44 (2016): 64-65

²⁷⁷⁰ Popović, Mihailo. *Mara Branković: žena između kršćanskog i islamskog kulturnog kruga u 15. stoljeću* (Novi Sad: Akademska Knjiga, 2014): 187-206. Boškov, Vančo. "Mara Branković u turskim dokumentima iz Svete Gore," *Hilandarski zbornik* 5 (1983): 189-214.

²⁷⁷¹ Popović, Danica. "Mošti svetog Luke – srpska epizoda," in: Eadem, *Pod okriljem svetosti: kult svetih vladara i relikvija u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade: SANU, 2006): 295-317 (esp. p. 301); Popović, Mihailo. *Mara Branković: žena između kršćanskog i islamskog kulturnog kruga u 15. stoljeću* (Novi Sad: Akademska Knjiga, 2014): 134-136.

²⁷⁷² **Државних же дщи првородна фелонь апостолау уть сирьскіхъ златотканіи сътворши послалать удѣлати тѣло апостола** - Ruvarac, Ilarion. "O prienosu tiela sv. Luke u Smederovo," *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 5 (1868): 185.

²⁷⁷³ Tomin, Svetlana. "Darodavna aktivnost u srpskom srednjem veku: vladarke i supruge vladara," in: *Srednji vek u srpskoj nauci, istoriji, književnosti i umetnosti* 6, ed. G. Jovanović (Valjevo: Topalović, 2015): 139-140; Popović, Mihailo. *Mara Branković: žena između kršćanskog i islamskog kulturnog kruga u 15. stoljeću* (Novi Sad: Akademska Knjiga, 2014): 231-234.

²⁷⁷⁴ **И тоу вѣдаеть посланникоу поніавнцоу свѣтлоу вѣ еже поставити сію на ківоурь с(віа)т(о)го, вѣ хвалоу Б(о)гоу и вѣ чѣсть же пр(ѣ)по(до)бномоу и тож вѣ вьсєгдашнє вѣспоминаніє** – Ivanov, Jordan [Иванов, Йордан], ed. "Иванов Йордан. Жития на св. Иван Рилски с уводни бележки," *Godishnik na Sofijskija universitet, istoriko-filologicheski fakultet* 32/13 (1936): 84.

²⁷⁷⁵ Bakalova, Elka [Бакалова, Елка]. "Рилската чудотворна икона-реликвиарий, Константинопол и Mara Бранкович," in: *България и Сърбия в контекста на византийската цивилизация / Бугарска и Србија у кругу византијске цивилизације* (Sofia: BAN, 2005): 193-228.

²⁷⁷⁶ Ćuk, Ruža. "Povelja carice Mare manastirima Hilandaru i Sv. Pavlu," *Istorijski časopis* 24 (1977): 103-114; Fotić, Aleksandar. "Despina Mara Branković and Hilandar. Between the Desired and the Possible," in: *Međunarodni naučni skup Osam vekova Hilandara. Istorija, duhovni život, književnost, umetnost i arhitektura*, ed. V. Korać (Belgrade: SANU, 2000): 93-100 – the author, in the difference with the previous scholars, suggested that Mara didn't grant but bequeathed the properties, which, after Mara's death, were not received by the monasteries, but taken by the Sultan's treasury.

a vineyard) and a domain bought from Esphigmenou on Provlakas were assigned, after her death, to the monasteries of Vatopedi and St. Paul, accordingly (two Arabic charters of 1471 and 1487).²⁷⁷⁷ In making so, she demanded from the monks to provide the annual commemorations for her grandmother Marina, parents Đurađ and Eirine, brothers German (Gerasim who became the monk of Hilandar)²⁷⁷⁸ and Lazar, uncle Thomas Kantakouzenos, sister Kantakouzena and Mara herself. However the sponsor did not name all her relatives when requesting the memorial services.²⁷⁷⁹ She omitted her nephew, the ruling despot Vuk, as well as her own brother, the former despot Stefan. This omission can be explained only by deteriorated relations with this branch of her family who supported pro-Hungarian political orientation.²⁷⁸⁰ Except the landed property Mara also donated the relics of the Magi gifts²⁷⁸¹ to St. Paul and two precious icons to Lavra monastery. The icons are known only from the documents of Ottoman court procedures (where they are called “idols”) between the monastery and Mara’s heir, Maria-Helena, daughter of Despot Lazar, which took place at Berroia in 1491:

Conforming to the exalted command, during the investigation Papa-Gavril of the Lavra Monastery by his own free will brought in two idols and he made voluntarily and by his desire a Sound declaration and an explicit confession saying that “Lady Despina, daughter of the Despot, brought these two idols and left them at our monastery as a trust as long as they pray for her life.”²⁷⁸²

In this quotation I would like to turn attention to the way in which the monk identified Mara, namely as “Lady Despina, daughter of the Despot.” This way, the royal status of Mara was associated also with her father, the Orthodox ruler, while her husband, the Muslim sultan is silenced. In other documents issued by Mara herself²⁷⁸³ she is simply called “tsaritsa Mara” without more precise reference, while in the Greek charter given to St. Paul monastery she humbly called herself “Mara a Lady of Ezoba” (Ἐγὼ ἡ Μάρω ἡ κυρὰ ἀπὸ τὴν Ἐζωβὰ).²⁷⁸⁴ The labelling of her royal status is underlined only in the forged documents concerning the income from Ston made by the Athonite

²⁷⁷⁷ Kotzageorgis, Phokion. “Two Vakfiyyes of Mara Branković,” *Hilandarski zbornik* 11 (2004): 307-322.

²⁷⁷⁸ *Actes de Chilandar: Actes slaves*, pp. 566-568; Spremić, Momčilo. *Despot Đurađ Branković i njegovo doba* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruha, 1994): 640.

²⁷⁷⁹ Čuk, Ruža. “Povelja carice Mare manastirima Hilandaru i Sv. Pavlu,” *Istorijski časopis* 24 (1977): 113.

²⁷⁸⁰ Popović, Mihailo. *Mara Branković: žena između kršćanskog i islamskog kulturnog kruga u 15. stoljeću* (Novi Sad: Akademska Knjiga, 2014): 140-143.

²⁷⁸¹ This information about Mara’s role in this gift, as well as about her visit of the Holy Mount, is based only on the local Athonite tradition, though the relics of Magi’s gifts are present on Athos – see: Popović, Mihailo. *Mara Branković: žena između kršćanskog i islamskog kulturnog kruga u 15. stoljeću* (Novi Sad: Akademska Knjiga, 2014): 222-225.

²⁷⁸² Demetriades, Vassilis, Zachariadou, Elizabeth. “Serbian Ladies and Athonite Monks,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 84 (1994): 40, 44-45.

²⁷⁸³ Miklosich, Franz, Ritter von, ed. *Monumenta Serbica spectantia historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Ragusii* (Vienna: Guilelmum Braumüller, 1858): 516, 514, 535-537; Popović, Mihailo. *Mara Branković: žena između kršćanskog i islamskog kulturnog kruga u 15. stoljeću* (Novi Sad: Akademska Knjiga, 2014): 210-211.

²⁷⁸⁴ Chrysochoids, Kriton [Χρυσόχοϊδης, Κρίτων]. “Ἐπεὶ Μονὴ Ἀγίου Παύλου. Κατάλογος τοῦ Ἀρχείου,” *Byzantina Symmekta* 4 (1981): 277-278, no. 29

monks c. 1500²⁷⁸⁵ “царица и самодръжица кура Мара” (the empress and autocratress kyra Mara). This way, Mara started her patronage activities only after the death of her Muslim husband and with the support of the stepson Mehmed II who granted her some properties. However, in Mara’s way of self-identification one cannot find references to the sultan or the Ottoman power, but rather indication of the noble status (kyra, *despina* or *tsaritsa*) and the mentioning of her father the despot.

As it was analyzed by M. Popović,²⁷⁸⁶ during the years of her widowhood, Mara actively participated into the negotiations between the Ottoman Empire and the Venetian Republic. She didn’t remarry though having several proposals,²⁷⁸⁷ but didn’t become a nun either, living at her court at Ježeva independently. This pattern of behaviour in many details is similar with those of Empress Jelena, wife of Stefan Dušan, and Milica, wife of *knez* Lazar, who as well as Mara played important role in political affairs of their time, had their own courts and actively practiced ecclesiastic patronage.

9.2.2. The Patronage Practices of Nuns: The Church of St. Nicholas at Kastoria (1485/6) and Problems of Embroidered Gifts

Nuns were the second most active female patrons’ groups after the widows in Byzantium; they also disposed some economic resources for supporting construction or endowment of a foundation.²⁷⁸⁸ In the late 15th century, during the Ottoman dominance²⁷⁸⁹ in Kastoria an urban nun Eupraxia built an entire church on her own expenses as the inscription attests:

This holy and venerable church of the holiest and miracle-worker among the holy fathers Nicholas was rebuilt and repainted through efforts, toils, and expenses of honorable nun Eupraxia. The year 6994 [1485/6]²⁷⁹⁰

It is a modest single-nave basilica with a lateral narthex on the south and west painted by painters of the local school.²⁷⁹¹ The church is dedicated to St. Nicholas, a truly popular saint in the town, since nine Byzantine or early post-byzantine churches here are dedicated to him.²⁷⁹² There is no sources

²⁷⁸⁵ Miklosich, Franz, Ritter von, ed. *Monumenta Serbica spectantia historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Ragusii* (Vienna: Guilelmum Braumüller, 1858): 520-522 (here 521), see also a related forged document at 545-546; About forging documents related to the income from Ston see: Boškov, Vančo. “Mara Brankovic u turskim dokumentima iz Svete Gore,” *Hilandarski zbornik* 5 (1983): 189-214; Živojinović, Mirjana. “Svetogorci i stonski dohodak,” *ZRVI* 22 (1983): 179-188; Fotić, Aleksandar. “Despina Mara Branković and Hilandar. Between the Desired and the Possible,” in: *Međunarodni naučni skup Osam vekova Hilandara. Istorija, duhovni život, književnost, umetnost i arhitektura*, ed. V. Korać (Belgrade: SANU, 2000): 98-99.

²⁷⁸⁶ Popović, Mihailo. *Mara Branković: žena između kršćanskog i islamskog kulturnog kruga u 15. stoljeću* (Novi Sad: Akademski Knjiga, 2014): 168-183.

²⁷⁸⁷ Spremić, Momčilo. *Despot Đurađ Branković i njegovo doba* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1994): 426-428.

²⁷⁸⁸ Talbot, Alice-Mary. “Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983): 604-618.; Gerstel, Talbot, “Nuns in the Byzantine Countryside.”

²⁷⁸⁹ Drakopoulou, Η πόλη της Καστοριάς, p. 104-112.

²⁷⁹⁰ Ἀνεκαίνισθη καὶ ἀνιστορήθη ὁ θεῖος καὶ πάνσεπτος ναὸς οὗτος τοῦ ἐν ἁγίῳ π(α)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν ἀρχιεράρχου καὶ θαυματουργοῦ Νικολάου. διὰ σ(υ)νδρομῆς κόπου καὶ ἐξόδ(ου) τῆ(ς) τιμί(ας) (μον)αχ(ῆς) Εὐπραξίας. Ἔτους 3994 (Ἰνδικτιῶνος) Δ -Drakopoulou, Η πόλη της Καστοριάς, π. 130

²⁷⁹¹ Tsigaridas, Euthymios [Τσιγαρίδας Ευθύμιος]. “Εικόνες της «Σχολής» Καστοριάς,” *DChAE* 33 (2012): 369-378.

²⁷⁹² Drakopoulou, Η πόλη της Καστοριάς, p. 26.

pointing out to Eupraxia's motives in the choice of the patron saint or the iconographic preferences; however one can make an educated guess on the basis of interaction between the written words and the images.

Thus, the dedicatory inscription, is placed above the initial entrance (now it is a window), on the southern wall; it is framed by a red borders this small text is simultaneously insulated and connected with the surrounding scenes. In the difference with many other inscriptions discussed in this work, here, the commissioner doesn't refer neither to the aim of her pious endowment nor to the hopes on the future salvation of the soul. But the intentions and hopes, unvoiced in the text, are expressed by means of images.



Right above the upper field of the inscription placed the scene of the Rising of Lazarus (John 11: 1-44). On its left side Christ, surrounded by the group of Apostles, extends his hand to perform the miracle. In front of Him, Lazarus' sisters, Martha and Mary, are portrayed in supplication, fallen into the ground. One of the sisters holds the left foot of the Lord and embraces it, while the other raises her hands to the Lord. On the right side of the scene, Lazar is depicted,

wrapped in the burial textiles, and being ready to emerge from the opened sarcophagus.

The depiction of Lazarus' sister embracing the Lord's feet overlaps the border of the inscription and, thus, helps to create a visual unity between the scene and the text. In this unity, the image, which is itself an illustration of the death, burial and resurrection in the sacred narrative, becomes a promise of the future salvation of soul. That is, in fact, the main concern of any Byzantine church founder.

Moreover, the association of the Lazarus' story with the promised life after death was a common place in Byzantium. This event was celebrated in the yearly cycle on the Saturday of the sixth week of the great Lent (the day before Palm Sunday) of the Orthodox Church. The main *troparion* of the Feast points out to the essence of the celebration, the Victory over death:

O Christ God, when you raised Lazarus from the dead, before the time of your passion, you confirmed the future resurrection of all. We too, like the children, carry before you the symbols of your triumph and cry out to you, the Conqueror

of Death: Hosanna in the Highest! Blessed is he who comes in the Name of the Lord.²⁷⁹³

This *troparion*, extremely common in the orthodox service, is attested already in the 12th-century Byzantine monastic office²⁷⁹⁴ and in the framework of the Typikon from Messina.²⁷⁹⁵ Being a metaphor of the future salvation for believers, the resurrection of Lazarus often decorated the space around burial niches in the Byzantine churches.²⁷⁹⁶

However, the association of the inscription and the scene goes beyond the complementarity of the text and iconography. Crossing the physical border of the inscription, the figure of the supplicant Lazarus' sister appears in the physical as well as in the semantic space of the inscription, being an image of an any human soul in prayer for the Lord, but, at the same time, a metaphoric portrait of the female founder Eupraxia.

This idea of supplication by means of image and text was developed further in the iconographic program of the church. Right in front of the entrance, on the opposite wall, there is a so-called Royal Deesis.²⁷⁹⁷

This composition represents Christ the “emperor of emperors” surrounded by the Virgin Queen and John the Baptist and receiving petitions from his subjects, and, simultaneously, he as a “rightful judge” announces sentences to people. This complex image with triumphal and deep eschatological connotations is supplemented with the narrative reflecting the depicted action. The dialogue between the Virgin and Christ concerning salvation of people is written on the Virgin's scroll.²⁷⁹⁸ This way, spatially, two images, the Resurrection of



²⁷⁹³ Τὴν κοινὴν Ἀνάστασιν πρὸ τοῦ σοῦ Πάθους πιστούμενος, ἐκ νεκρῶν ἡγείρας τὸν Λάζαρον, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεός· ὄθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς οἱ Παῖδες, τὰ τῆς νίκης σύμβολα φέροντες, σοὶ τῷ Νικητῇ τοῦ θανάτου βοῶμεν· Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου. - Arranz, Miguel, ed. *Le Typicon Du Monastère Du Saint-Sauveur À Messine: Codex Messinensis Gr 115, A.D. 1131* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1969): 226.

²⁷⁹⁴ Anderson, Jeffrey C., Parenti, Stephano, eds. *A Byzantine Monastic Office, A.D. 1105: Houghton Library, MS gr. 3* (Washington D.C.: CUA Press, 2016): 247.

²⁷⁹⁵ Arranz, Miguel, ed. *Le Typicon Du Monastère Du Saint-Sauveur À Messine: Codex Messinensis Gr 115, A.D. 1131* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1969): 135, 226-227.

²⁷⁹⁶ Brooks, Commemoration of the Dead, p. 32; Popović, Danica. *Srpski vladarski grob* (Begrade: Institut za istoriju umetnosti, 1992): 38, 71.

²⁷⁹⁷ For iconography of the Royal Deesis, see: Smolčić-Makuljević, Svetlana. “Carski deisis i nebeski dvor u slikarstvu XIV veka manastira Treskavac: Ikonografski program severne kupole priprate crkve Bogorodičinog Uspenja,” in: *Treća jugoslovenska konferencija vizantologa Kruševac 10–13. maj 2000*, eds. Lj. Maksimović, N. Radošević, E. Radulović (Belgrade–Kruševac: SANU, 2002): 463–472; Grigoriadou, Hélène. “L'image de la Déesis Royale dans une fresque du XIVe siècle à Castoria,” in: *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, eds. M. Berza, E. Stănescu, Vol. II (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1975): 47–52; Grozdanov, Cvetan. “Iisus car nad carevima u živopisu Ohridske arhiepiskopije od XV do XVII veka,” *Zograf* 27 (1998): 151-160.

²⁷⁹⁸ Marković, Miodrag. “On the Dialogue Relationship Between the Virgin and Christ in East Christian Art,” *Zograf* 28 (2000/2001): 13-48.

Lazarus and the Deesis, create a semantic unit focused around the eschatological expectations of the founder, and the inscriptions placed in this space, supplement and are supplemented by the images.

Moreover, in absence of the foundress' portrait, the text and the personage of the Gospel scene became her agents; the dedicatory inscription recounts her deed, while the image of the Lazarus' sister replaces the image of the donor preserving the main intention behind the act of ktetorship, namely, the supplication and hopes for the future resurrection of the soul. In a way, this agency of the text and image witness about the humbleness of the donor, but at the same time, they also were considered more powerful tools conveying the pious concept of the foundress. The image of Lazarus' sister itself is a part of the Holy narrative; whereas the text, placed right in front of the Deesis scene and related to it by the spatial positioning, give the reasons for the Virgin to petition on the behalf of Eupraxia's salvation in front of the Lord.

In the difference with the Byzantine milieu, one can barely find foundations constructed by women in status of a nun in Medieval Serbia. Undoubtedly, the royal ladies like Empress Jelena/Jelizaveta, Basilissa Jelena/Jefimija, or Kneginja Milica/Jevgenija took the monastic vows and changed their names, but they stayed at courts and participated in the political and diplomatic affairs,²⁷⁹⁹ which hardly can be associated with the recluse life of a proper nun.

One may assume that the Orthodox nuns could at least practice some crafts such as weaving and embroidering either as amateurs or even professionals and this way sponsor the ecclesiastic foundations. Usually, their professional activities are not explicitly mentioned in the *typika* which simply prescribe nuns to practice handiworks.²⁸⁰⁰ In fact, material evidence collected in the Byzantine Commonwealth suggests that either both men and women practiced equally embroidering, or that men were more often engaged in this activity.²⁸⁰¹

Serbian monuments bring some evidences about the nuns participating in the production of the embroidered gifts. There are two relatively early embroidered objects bearing female names which could be regarded as artists' signatures. The inscription Θ(ε)οτ(ι)μ(η) μ(ο)ν(α)χή is inserted in the golden ornamentation of a late-Byzantine *epitrachelion* (fig. 9.10) kept in the Trinity Monastery of Pljevlja (Serbia).²⁸⁰² Even though it indicates a female name, Serbian scholarship considers this work

²⁷⁹⁹ On the embassy of Milica and Euphimia to sultan Bayezid see: Svetlana Tomin, "Perceptions on Women in Serbian Medieval Literature," *Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano* 10 (2006): 93-96.

²⁸⁰⁰ For example, in the Typikon of the Bebaia Elpis Foundation, nuns were obliged to work together listening to pious readings, see: Delehaye, Hippolyte, ed. *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels: Lamartin, 1921): 71-73 (ch. 95-96). For more details on the works performed in the Byzantine nunneries, see: Talbot, "Late Byzantine Nuns."

²⁸⁰¹ Henry Schlib, *Byzantine Identity and Its Patrons: Embroidered Aeres and Epitaphioi of the Palaiologan and Post-Byzantine Periods*, A PhD Dissertation, Indiana University, 2009, pp. 295-300; 331-338; Johnstone, Pauline. *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery* (London: Alec Tiranti, 1967): 80.

²⁸⁰² Woodfin, Warren T. *The Embodied Icon. Liturgical Vestments and Sacramental Power in Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 243-244; Mirković, Lazar. *Crkveni umetnički vez* (Belgrade: Privrednik, 1940): 40.

to have been produced by a man, monk Theotim, belonging to a Northern-Greek workshop.²⁸⁰³ Similarly, a 16th-century *katapetasma* from the Museum of Serbian Orthodox Church could be made by nun Agne²⁸⁰⁴ whose name is placed below the scene of the Dormition. Nevertheless, one should be very cautious in attributing these works to the female artists, since these signatures can indicate the nuns' involvements as either commissioners or artists, whereas the authorship is usually indicated by direct formulas such as "by the hand of..." or "the work of..." This way, the majority of works which can be certainly attributed to female artists are dated to the 17th-18th century.²⁸⁰⁵

Obviously, there were certain differences into the Byzantine and Serbian practices of female patronage. If the Byzantine nuns were active members of rural ²⁸⁰⁶ and urban communities (as Eupraxia from Kastoria), Serbian nuns, if they were not the royal widows, didn't participate so actively in patronage and ecclesiastic sponsorship. Probably, some of them could make their contributions by donating objects which they produced themselves, such as embroideries, however, this activity was not specifically associated with patterns of female sponsorship.

9.2.3. The Church Gifts of Married Noble Ladies

Many married noble ladies were involved into the ecclesiastic sponsorship together with their husbands. So, the couples built foundations together expressing their joint patronage efforts through the means of iconography (the couples of patrons were represented holding the church models jointly).²⁸⁰⁷ The objects donated by couples could as well express the joint devotion by placing the portraits of both spouses as supplicants of a holy figure.

Women belonging to ruling families had, perhaps, most resources and opportunities to participate in donation acts as sponsors together with their husbands. The earliest examples of such joint family donations are the following: the Aer of Theodore Komnenos and his wife Maria (c.

²⁸⁰³ Stojanović, Dobrila. *Umetnički vez u Srbiji od XIV do XIX veka* (Belgrade: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 1959): p. 46, no. 10; Petković, Sreten. *Manastir Sveta Trojica kod Pljevlja* (Novi Sad: Institut za istoriju umetnosti, 1974): 100–103.

²⁸⁰⁴ Mirković, Lazar. *Crkveni umetnički vez* (Belgrade: Privrednik, 1940): 12; Stojanović, Dobrila. *Umetnički vez u Srbiji od XIV do XIX veka* (Belgrade: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 1959): p. 59, no. 38; Johnstone, Pauline. *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery* (London: Alec Tiranti, 1967): 101, 109.

²⁸⁰⁵ Johnstone, Pauline. *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery* (London: Alec Tiranti, 1967): 61–62, 63–64, 111, 125–127

²⁸⁰⁶ Gerstel, Talbot, "Nuns in the Byzantine Countryside".

²⁸⁰⁷ Kambourova, "Le don de l'église."

1224),²⁸⁰⁸ a *podea* (?) of Progonos Sgouros and Eudokia Komnene (c. 1295),²⁸⁰⁹ and an Epitaphios of Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes and his family (fig. 9.11).²⁸¹⁰ However, when participating in joint family donations, the female voices were not heard: in all three inscriptions accompanying the gifts, the male voices address God directly and represent the entire families, whereas the female donors are silent. This female silence is especially indicative when the social status of a wife is higher than that of her husband. The epigram on the *podea* presented by *megas hetaireiarches* Progonos Sgouros (fig. 9.12) is written on behalf of the male donor in first person, though the donor mentions that the “gift” was commissioned by the couple “together”. However, one may assume that the silent female commissioner, “Eudokia, who is a Komnene through her maternal and paternal grandfather,” was named here due to her noble birth elevating the social position of her spouse. Thus, following to the social norms and pious rhetoric,²⁸¹¹ even the noblest woman had to be subordinated to and represented by her not-so-noble husband.

Otherwise, the depiction of a couple may show joint intentions in the matters of patronage. Dated with the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, the Revetment of the Hodegetria icon (fig. 9.13) from the Tretyakov State Gallery (Moscow) bears portraits of Constantine Akropolites (ΔΟΥΛΟΣ ΤΟΥ Κ(ΥΡ)ΙΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ) and his wife Maria (ΜΑΡΙΑ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΗ ΤΟΡΝΙΚΙΝΑ Η ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΣΑ).²⁸¹² This image of the family donation was given to the famous Hodegetria shrine in Constantinople and proved the couple’s special veneration of the medical saints. The margins of the revetment are ornamented by small plates with the images of the Evangelists and three holy doctors, Sts. Kosmas and Damian and St. Panteleimon. In 1280s, Akropolite’s daughter Theodora was cured at the Kosmidion, a sanctuary dedicated to Saints Cosmas

²⁸⁰⁸ Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, pp. 276–279 and Rhoby, Andreas. *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010): 371–372, Te2 (with previous bibliography). The Aer bearing the image of the Virgin orans with the Child in a medallion is labeled with the following epigram: “O Logos of God Father, who in indescribable way receives the flesh from the Virgin not knowing a man, [you], whom we now see being set before people as food, though they are not worthy, accept the gift from Theodore Komnenodoukas and his good wife Maria Doukaina, a sprout of the Komnenoi, and give salvation to [their] souls.”

²⁸⁰⁹ Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, pp. 244–245; Rhoby, Andreas. *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010): 369–370, Te1 (with previous bibliography). The *podea* with the Crucifixion image bears the votive inscription: “I, illustrious *megas hetaireiarchēs*, make the image of your Crucifixion for you with a material that is allegedly precious, O Logos, as a gift together with my wife Eudokia who is a Komnene through her maternal and paternal grandfather, so that our sins may be pardoned.”

²⁸¹⁰ Schlib, Henry. *Byzantine Identity and Its Patrons: Embroidered Aeres and Epitaphioi of the Palaiologan and Post-Byzantine Periods*, PhD Dissertation, Indiana University 2009, pp. 343–349; *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)* (exhibition catalogue New York), ed. Helen Evans et al. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Arts, 2004): 316–317. The epitaphios depicts the dead Christ on tombstone surrounded by serving angels with rhipidia and the donors’ inscription reads: “Prayer of the servant of God Nikolas son of Eudaimonoioannes and his wife and children. Amen. In the year 6915(1406/7)”.

²⁸¹¹ For the rhetoric of female simplicity, weakness and low mental capacity in public roles, though not always reflecting the actual state of affairs, see: Neville, Leonora. “Taxing Sophronia’s Son-in-Law: Representations of Women in Provincial Documents”, in: *Byzantine Women: Varieties of Experience 800–1200*, ed. L. Garland (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006): 77–89.

²⁸¹² Gladysheva, Ekaterina. “Reveted Icon of the Virgin Hodegetria” in *Byzantium: Faith and power (1261–1557)*, *Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. H. Evans (New York: 2004): pp. 28–30, no. 4 (with further bibliography).

and Damian, and as a sign of gratitude the *logothetes tou genikou* presented the foundation with a luxury veil.²⁸¹³ Probably, this miracle could be considered a sign of the saints' benevolence toward the Akropolitoi, and it affected the choice of saints accompanying the spouses in their prayers to the Virgin. Being placed exactly above the images of the donors, Sts. Kosmas and Damian are depicted as protectors of Constantine and Maria and their advocates in the appeals to the Virgin.

Byzantine ladies also commissioned liturgical objects on their own and accompanied them with votive epigrams concerning problems specific or even exclusive for female piety, namely: gratitude for the conception, safe childbirth, the survival of new-borns, or the recovery of family member from illness. As witnessed by the poem written by Theodore Prodromos on behalf of Eudokia Komnene, women – after having passed through a successful delivery – were inclined to thank the Virgin for her support and to offer her some kind of votive gifts. In this case, it is the icon of the Constantinopolitan Hodegetiria which was rewarded with a *podea* commissioned or, maybe, even produced by this noble lady:

Inside of you is all the glory, oh, Virgin, the offspring himself of the Most holy womb, and you do not need external glory. And if one offers you everything of the collected things, even then it would be a very small gift. ... thus, me, Eudokia, the child of the Komnenoi, wife of Theodore Stypeiotos, the faithful servant *kanikleios* of the royalty, offers you this veil interwoven with gold, for this great grace that you had deemed me worthy of, and for saving my sweetest son from the delivery's dangers, you snatched him away from the jars of Hell. So, receive the gift of the noble one, oh, the Virgin.²⁸¹⁴

It seems that the sponsor had a difficult delivery which endangered the life of her baby, and one may assume that – before or during the labours – Eudokia petitioned the Virgin for the fortunate course of events. Later on, in sign of gratitude, she donated the embroidered veil comprising the lines by Prodromos to the famous Constantinopolitan image.

A distinctive feature of many Byzantine verses addressing the topic of childbirth is the use of metaphors associated with the womb and the conception in relation to the Virgin. Female sponsors compared their own imperfection and depravity, typical for all humans and making the childbirth painful and dangerous, with the purity and ease of Theotokos' pregnancy and labours. Simultaneously, motherhood alone drew female sponsors nearer to the Theotokos and they could expect some assistance from the one who experienced herself the joys and grieves of Maternity:

You, who released [me] from the labour effort of Eve and helped during the delivery sympathetically (though God was born from you without physical pain of childbirth),

²⁸¹³ Talbot, Alice-Mary. "Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and Its Art," *DOP* 48(1994): 155-156; Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, pp. 396-399.

²⁸¹⁴ Ἐνδὸν μὲν ἡ σὴ πᾶσα δόξα, παρθένε, // ὁ καρπὸς αὐτὸς τῆς πανάγνου νηδύος, // δόξης τε τῆς ἔξωθεν οὐ χρῆζεις ἔτι· // κἂν πάντα γάρ τις συλλαβὸν σοι προσφέρῃ, // καὶ πάλιν ἂν κρίνοιτο μικροδωρίας. [...] // λοιπὸν κἀγὼ παῖς Κομνηνῶν Εὐδοκία // τοῦ Στυπειώτου σύζυγος Θεοδώρου // ἄναξι πιστοῦ λάτριδος κανικλείου // τὸν χρυσοῦφῃ τόνδε σοι πέπλον φέρω // ἀνθ' ὧν τι πολλῶν ἀξιοῖς με χαρίτων, // καὶ μου τὸν υἱὸν τὸν γλυκύτατον ῥύῃ // μέσων ἀναρπάσασα τῶν Ἄδου γνάθων. // λάβοις τὸ δῶρον εὐγενοῦς ἡ παρθένος. - Hörandner, Wolfram, ed. *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1974): p. 525, no. 73.

receive this reward, oh, holy Virgin, from whose [assistance] I have, being alive, my very small mortal child breathing above all hopes. You are the life and a source of marvels, removing the mud of sins. Maria Rhaoul Kasiane, a child of Komnenoi, says these loyal [words] to you.²⁸¹⁵

Such epigrams underlined the paradoxical nature of the Virgin's pregnancy. Regarded as a miracle in itself, the quality of preserving virginity through labours witnessed about the immense supernatural power of the Theotokos, which She could apply for saving the lives of the entire humankind, as well as of a specific birthing mother:

How is it that you are the only one, oh, Most Holy, who got pregnant being a virgin and you preserved yourself and gave birth being a virgin? And being this way, you can save the entire humankind, releasing it from the dangers to life and from the pains of delivery. And if your salvation acts are great and they are [intended] for the entire human population, why wouldn't you save me alone, whom you brought from the mother's womb as your servant? Since I am yours in both my soul and flesh, I bear everything beneficial in life. May you protect me and my husband, causing good hopes in the soul. This image is an imprint of my love toward you. And I will keep silence about the rest, since it befits to the images. The *protostratorissa* Maria [says] these [things] to Miriam, giving the grace (Kecharitomene).²⁸¹⁶

This particular poem by Manuel Philes indicates the presence of the sponsor's devotional portrait ("the image is an imprint" or "since it befits to the images"). This way, the embroidered poetic text turned into a prayer pronounced by the depicted patroness and gave sound to the image, reviving it. Moreover, only in the case of actual reading²⁸¹⁷ of the inscription by a beholder, the donor's figure would perform the petitioning as an accomplished act of speech followed by the silence befitted to images. This possibility is suggested by the epigram's last phrase which indicates the originator and addressee of the speech ("from *protostratorissa* Maria to Miriam Kechritomene"). The reading aloud

²⁸¹⁵ Τοὺς ἐντόμους λύσσασα τῆς Εὐᾶς πόνους, // Καὶ συμπαθῶς τηροῦσα τοὺς ἐμοὺς τόκους, // (Θεὸς γὰρ ἐκ σοῦ πλὴν φυσικῶν ὠδίνων), // Δέχου τὸ σῶστρον τοῦτο, σεμνὴ παρθένε, // Δι' ἧς ἔχω ζῶν καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα πνέον // Τὸ παραμικρὸν ἀποθανόν μοι βρέφος. // Ζωὴ γὰρ εἶ σὺ καὶ τεραστίων χύσις // Τὴν ἰλὸν ἐκπλύνουσα τῆς ἀμαρτίας. // Κοιμηνοφυῆς ἐκ Ῥαοῦλ σοι Μαρία // Κασιανὴ προσεῖπεν ὡς εὖνους τάδε - Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, Vol. I, p. 79, no. 161.

²⁸¹⁶ Εἰς τί μόνη, πάναγνε, παρθένος κύεις, // Τηρεῖς δὲ σαυτὴν καὶ τεκοῦσα παρθένον; // Ἡ τοῦτο πάντως, ὡς τὸ πᾶν σώσης γένος // Ζωὴ φθορὰν λύσσασα καὶ τόκῳ λύτην. // Εἰ γοῦν τὸ σώσειν ἔργον ἐστὶ σοι μέγα, // Καὶ ταῦτα τὴν σύμπασαν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν, // Πῶς οὐ μόνην σώσεις με τὴν σὴν ἐξόχως, // Ἦν ἀπὸ γαστρὸς μητρικῆς δούλην ἄγεις; // Ἐν σοὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σαρκίον, // Καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι χρῆσιμον ἐν βίῳ φέρω. // Καὶ σὺ μόνη σκέποις με σὺν τῷ συζύγῳ, // Τιθεῖσα καλὰς τῆς ψυχῆς τὰς ἐλπίδας. // Ὁ τύπος εἰκὼν τοῦ περὶ σέ μου πόθου. // Λοιπὸν σιωπῶ, τοῦτο γὰρ πρέπον τύποις. // Ἡ πρωτοστρατόρισα ταῦτα Μαρία // Πρὸς τὴν Μαριάμ τὴν κεχαριτωμένην. Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, Vol. I, pp. 74–75, no. 164. See also: Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, pp. 379–380.

²⁸¹⁷ See the discussion on silent and loud reading by Bernard M. W. Knox ("Silent Reading in Antiquity", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 9 (1968): 421–435), who suggested that reading aloud was rather a norm throughout the Middle Ages. Charles Radding (*A World Made by Men: Cognition and Society, 400–1200* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985) and Brian Stock (*The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the 11th and 12th Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) argued that the origins of the nowadays silent reading are to be found in the European monastic tradition of the 12th–13th centuries. Paul Saenger (*Space Between Words. The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1997)) pointed out to the fact that texts written without spaces between words were necessarily read aloud; the reading of Byzantine inscriptions implying the pronunciation aloud and movement was suggested by Papalexandrou, Amy. "Text in Context: Eloquent Monuments and the Byzantine Beholder", *Word and Image* 17 (2001): 259–283.

would animate the donor's image and re-enact the prayer, performing it from the person of the commissioner.

More often than men, Byzantine women made endowments and votive offerings on behalf of other people, primarily of their husbands.²⁸¹⁸ Another poem by Philes written from the person of a *porphyrogenes* woman concerns the dedication of a lamp to the Theotokos:

Oh, Virgin, you, having the zeal of compassion, graciously accept the offer of the lamp,
and give in exchange the stream of your light to my sweet husband, born in purple, driving
away the darkness of the sufferings of his soul. Theodora, the child of the Komnenoi,
[says] you these [things]²⁸¹⁹

As one can realize, the patroness commissioned the lamp as a gift to an image or a foundation of the Virgin with the purpose to petition for her husband's mental well-being. In his description, Manuel Philes presented the physical light produced by the lamp and the worshipping of the Virgin as an echo of the immaterial light illuminating the sufferings of the soul with peace and hope. Similarly, the voice of the gift-giver animated the visible object while it could be asounded in the moments of the lamp-lighting.

This interaction between the donated object which represented a donatrisse and the sacral space where the object was used was a very typical feature of female donations, in Byzantium as well as in Serbia. Discussing earlier the *katapetasma* produced by the nun Jefimija, I noted that it was sent for the altar-screen of Hilandar monastery which could never be visited by the female sponsor. Similarly other objects such as *epitaphioi* or veils participated in the rituals performed behind the altar-screen, in the most holy spaces banned for the women. Consequently, one may assume that by agency of these objects the female commissioners made attempts of approaching the sacred.

Similarly, in another work by Jelena/Jefimija, commissioned in 1368-1371, i.e. during the years of her marriage, the agency of the object replaces the visitation of the son's grave.²⁸²⁰ A small

²⁸¹⁸ It was a very common practice for the elite Byzantine women to establish monasteries for commemoration of the entire family (Talbot, "The Byzantine Family and the Monastery", pp. 124-127; Talbot, Alice Mary. "Epigrams in Context: Metrical Inscriptions on Art and Architecture of the Palaiologan Era," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999): 77-79) and to commission the images and monuments associated with the burial of other family members (Brooks, Sarah. "Women's Authority in Death: The Patronage of Aristocratic Laywomen in Late Byzantium," in: *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds.L. Theis, M. Mullett, M.Grünbart (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014): 317-332). Female agency in death and commemoration of relatives is attested by the presence of female saints in the iconography of burial spaces (Gerstel, Sharon E. "Painted Sources for Female Piety in Medieval Byzantium", *DOP* 52 (1998): 89-111). Though women more often preferred to exercise direct non-institutional charity, numerous donations in land or cash were provided for monasteries by nuns and widows, often for commemoration of the deceased relatives, see: Stathakopoulos, Dionysios. "I seek not my own: Is There a Female Mode of Charity and Patronage?," in: *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds.L. Theis, M. Mullett, M.Grünbart (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014): 383-397 (esp. pp. 387-389).

²⁸¹⁹ Εὐσπλαγχνίας ἔχουσα, παρθένε, ζέσιν // Τὸ φωταγωγὸν εὐμενῶς δῶρον δέχου· // Τοῦ σοῦ δὲ φωτὸς ἀντιδίδου τὴν χύσιν // Τῷ πορφυρανθεῖ τῷ γλυκεῖ μου συζύγῳ, // Παθῶν ψυχικῶν ἐκδιώκουσα σκότος. // Κομνηνοφύης ταῦτά σοι Θεοδώρα. - Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, Vol. Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, Vol. II, p. 154, no. 110; See also: Talbot, Alice Mary. "Female Patronage in the Palaiologan Era: Icons, Minor Arts and Manuscripts," in: *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds.L. Theis, M. Mullett, M.Grünbart (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2014): 268.

²⁸²⁰ Bogdanović, Dimitrije. *Istorija stare srpske književnosti* (Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1980): 196-197; Trifunović, Đorđe. "Život i rad monahinje Jefimije," in: *Monahinja Jefimija*, ed. Đorđe Trifunović (Kruševac: 1983): 5-32; Juhas-Georgievska, Ljiljana. "Književno delo monahinje Jefimije," *Jefimija* (Trstenik) 11 (2001): 43-75.

encolpion (fig. 9.14)²⁸²¹ containing an epigram written from the person of Jefimija was sent to Hilandar monastery; possibly at the occasion of Jelena's husband visiting the foundation in 1371. It was a commemorative gift to her son, Uglješa buried there.²⁸²² Nowadays it is a diptych which displays the 17th-century replacement of the original carving on the outer side: two wooden plates with images of the Virgin and the Trinity, surrounded by a vines forming medallions occupied by portraits of prophets.²⁸²³ At Jefimija's request, the images were framed with silver and decorated with pearls and blue and red gems. The words of her grieving texts were carved on the back of each plate on the inserted silver plaques:

A small icon, but it is a great gift, having the most-holy image of the Lord and that of the most pure Theotokos. They were presented by a great and holy man to the young child Uglješa Despotović, who as an intemperate youth was transferred to the eternal dwellings, and whose body was handed over to the grave, which was created by the ancestors because of sins.

Let me a humble one, oh, Christ Lord, and You, the most pure Theotokos, be always sadly concerned with the departure of my soul, what I saw in [case] of those who gave birth to me and the one who was born from me, a baby, about whom sadness is constantly burning in my heart, winning by the nature²⁸²⁴ of motherhood.²⁸²⁵

The objects like this, having apotropaic and protective meaning, were often containers for relics, prayers, pieces of hosts and other holy things.²⁸²⁶ However, in this case, the role of a sacred content is played by a text which is placed inside of the diptych. But the text itself describes the outer images, inside of which the text is inserted (those of the Trinity and the Virgin). Moreover, being framed by the described images from the outside, the text appears as something more valuable than the images it is dedicated to. Thus, the written word and images appear in the endless chain of the *mise en abyme* referring to each other's value and materiality. However this refine in its execution and intellectual content object was sent to the place of burial of the commissioner's child, which she, because of her

²⁸²¹ For the meaning and function of *encolpia* see; Vinson, Martha. "The Terms *ἐγκόλπιον* and *τενάντιον* and the Conversion of Theophilus in the Life of Theodora (BHG 1731)," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 36 (1995): 89–99.

²⁸²² Knežević, Branka. "Arkosoliji u Hilandaru i u srpskim srednjovekovnim manastirima," in: *Međunarodni naučni skup Osam vekova Hilandara. Istorija, duhovni život, književnost, umetnost i arhitektura*, ed. V. Korać (Belgrade: SANU, 2000): 596-600.

²⁸²³ Loverdou-Tsigarida, Katia. "Byzantine minor art," in: *Treasures of Mount Athos*, the Exhibition catalogue, ed. A. Karakatsanis (Thessaloniki: Mouseio Byzantinou Politismou, 1997): 183-185.

²⁸²⁴ The translation of the word "вѣнчан" usually meaning "a habit, a custom" is given with the regard of Trifunović, Đorđe. "Običaj u zapisu monahinje Jefimije," *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 32/1-2 (1966): 88-90.

²⁸²⁵ Малик икони нь великь дарь нмоуши прѣ(чи)стын вѣразь вл(а)д(ь)чнн и преч(ис)тик в(о)гом(а)тере нхже великь и с(ве)тъ моужь дарова младомоу младенцоу Оуглешн Деспотовткю кгоже и нешсквьрьнша се маадхѣта прѣставише вь вѣчник вѣнтелн тѣло же гровоу преда се егоже изделаша прѣвѣтци престоупакннн ради
Сподоби же вл(ади)ко хр(и)сте и ти ѡ преч(ис)таа в(о)гом(а)ти и мене вѣчнннѡю всегда ѡ нсходѣ д(оу)ше моке скрьвѣти егоже оузрѣхъ на рож(ь)дшихъ ме и на рожденомъ ѡт мене младенцоу кгоже жалость непрѣстанно горитъ вь ср(ь)дци моємъ вѣнчакъмъ м(а)т(е)рнимъ повѣждакъма - Trifunović, Đorđe, ed. *Monahinja Jefimija* (Kruševac: 1983): 36-37.

²⁸²⁶ Drpić, Ivan. "The Enkolpion: Object, Agency, Self," *Gesta* 57/2 (2018): 197-224 (esp. 207-209 about the present object).

gender, was not able to visit. Therefore, the grieving character of the text is *de facto* a lamentation, addressed from the heartbroken mother to the deceased child by the means of writings.

Although women were more prone to private than public forms of the religious devotion,²⁸²⁷ the Gifts, not associated with family matters, were the dominion of high-powered ladies and became vehicles for their self-representation and indication of their status. The Athonite monastery of Dionysiou keeps a cross (fig. 9.15) given by Helena Dragaš Palaiologine²⁸²⁸, the wife of Manuel II Palaiologos and the Byzantine empress (1372-1450). A rectangular silver plate situated on its lower edge reveals the donor's identity (*donation by Helena Palaiologine, empress of the Romans, wife of Emperor Manuel Palaiologos, daughter of Dragaš, the ruler of Serbia*)²⁸²⁹. This way, the patroness underlines both her Byzantine and Serbian connections, as a Byzantine empress and daughter of a Serbian lord. The order of her nominations (namely, empress-wife-daughter) may suggest the hierarchy of statuses in Helena's self-representation.

The eight-side cross (height 36,2 cm, length 18,8 cm)²⁸³⁰ is made of wood and covered on both sides with silver golden plates with low and elaborate relief bearing figurative and plant themes and several semi-precious stones. It depicts the crucified Christ inscribed "Η ΣΤΑΥΡΩΣΙΣ" (Crucifixion) above the outstretched arms. The reverse side is ornamented by the scene of Baptism. These two scenes witness about the liturgical application of the cross and symbolically refer to the rituals it was used for. According to Byzantine service books, hand-crosses like this were submerged to water for the celebration of Epiphany;²⁸³¹ they were also used for blessing the believers by officiating deacons during the liturgy²⁸³² and for taking oaths and sanctifying court procedures.²⁸³³ So, the gift made by the empress was actively involved in various rites taking place at the monastery of the Holy Mount, in which she – as a lay woman – could not participate. However, the inscription became the donor's agent attesting to her generosity, as well as her symbolic presence.

²⁸²⁷ Judith Herrin sees female inclination to private devotion as a result of their exclusion from the official ecclesiastic structures, see: Herrin, Judith. *Unrivalled Influence Women and Empire in Byzantium* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013): 133-160.

²⁸²⁸ Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja. "Helene Dragaš, princesse serbe et impératrice de Byzance," in: *Imperatrices, princesses, aristocrates et saintes souveraines*, ed. E. Malamut A. Nicolaïdès (Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 2012): 119–132.

²⁸²⁹ + Ἀνάθημα Ἑλένης δεσποίνης Ῥωμαίων τῆς Παλαιολογίνης, συζύγου τοῦ Βασιλέως Μανουὴλ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου, θυγατρὸς τοῦ Δράγαση, αὐθέντου τῆς Σερβίας: Mošin, Vladimir. "Krst carice Jelene, kćeri kneza Dragaša," *Umetnički pregled* 5 (1938): 137

²⁸³⁰ Loverdou-Tsigarida, Katia. "Byzantine minor art," in: *Treasures of Mount Athos*, the Exhibition catalogue, ed. A. Karakatsanis et al. (Thessaloniki: Mouseio Byzantinou Politismou, 1997): no. 9.23, pp. 314–315.

²⁸³¹ Denysenko, Nicholas E. *The Blessing of Waters and Epiphany: The Eastern Liturgical Tradition* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012): 33, 37, 40-42.

²⁸³² Kucharek, Casimir A. *The Byzantine-Slav Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom: Its Origin and Evolution* (Allendale, N.J.: Alleluia Press, 1971): 221, 233, 729.

²⁸³³ A cross was carried by a monk, accompanied by another monk with an icon; both following the hegoumenos who went to a dispute concerning the designation of a terrain's limits: *Actes de Pantaleimon*, no. 5, p. 58, l. 25-26.

Despite the obvious expression of piety and ritual agency, this gift can be also a conscious display of the grantor's imperial status. As already noted, Helena underlined her royal origin and imperial status in the inscription. Apart from this, the coincidence of the donor's name and the gift's symbolism cannot be accidental either. The impress Helen, mother of Constantine the great became in Byzantium a figure of the ideal empress distinguished by her piety and ecclesiastic patronage,²⁸³⁴ and at the same time she was venerated for her discovery of the True Cross.²⁸³⁵ This could be exactly the image which Helena Dragaš wanted to imitate making such a gift for the Athonite foundation. Moreover, the coincidence of names was noticed by her contemporaries: in his oration for the coronation of Manuel II and Helena Dragaš, the patriarch compared the couple as equal to the Apostles Constantine and Helena.²⁸³⁶

For orthodox women married to catholic milieu, gifts to the Orthodox church institutions could be a matter of preserving thier religious identity. Another daughter of Đurađ Branković, Kantakuzina Branković²⁸³⁷ became the wife of Ulrich II of Celje in 1434.²⁸³⁸ Even being married to a catholic, Kantakuzina stayed in "Greek faith" and held her own chapel and Orthodox clergy.²⁸³⁹ During the time of her marriage, she sent a *mitre* to the Metropolitan of Belgrade (mid-15th century),²⁸⁴⁰ expressing thus the support for the Serbian Orthodox Church within the Hungarian kingdom. In the text embroidered in medallions over the object, Kantakuzina does not mention her husband (maybe because he was a Catholic) and uses her maiden Serbian name Kantakuzina (instead of Katarina, which she got after her marriage)²⁸⁴¹: "Gospoža Kantakuzina made this mitre for the metropolitan church of Belgrade" (сїє митро сѣтвори г(ос)п(о)га ка(н)т(а)кѹзинна митроп(о)ли бє(л)гра(д)скон). She states that she made (most likely ordered) herself the object which she dedicates to the Virgin: "Oh, the Virgin Theotokos, accept this gift" (прїми моє сїє дарн б(огороди)цє д(є)во). The lower border of the mitre is ornamented by the embroidered words of the Psalm 26.8: "I have loved the habitation of thy house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth" alluding to the spiritual beauties of the Metropololitan seat at Belgrade.

²⁸³⁴ Brubaker, Leslie. "Memories of Helena: Patterns in Female Imperial Matronage in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries," *Women, Men, and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (London: Routledge, 1997): 52-75; Drijvers, Jan Willem. "Helena Augusta: Exemplary Christian Empress," *Studio Patristica* 24 (1993): 85-90.

²⁸³⁵ Drijvers, Jan Willem, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

²⁸³⁶ Verpeaux, Jean, ed. *Pseudo-Kodinos. Traité des offices* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1966): 354.

²⁸³⁷ Spremić, Momčilo. "Kantakuzina (Katarina) Branković," *Mons Aureus* 30 (2012): 81–108.

²⁸³⁸ Redep, Jelka. *Katarina Kantakuzin – grofica Celjska* (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2011): 19-28.

²⁸³⁹ Redep, Jelka. *Katarina Kantakuzin – grofica Celjska* (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2011): 22.

²⁸⁴⁰ Mirković, Lazar. *Crkveni umetnički vez* (Belgrade: Privrednik, 1940): 36, tabl.XVII; Erdeljan, Jelena. "A note on the ktetorship and contribution of women from the Branković dynasty to cross-cultural connections in late medieval and early modern Balkans," *ZLU* 44 (2016): 64-66; Gavrilović, Zaga. "Women in Serbian politics, diplomacy and art at the beginning of the Ottoman rule," in: *Byzantine style, Religion and Civilization In Honour of Sir Steven Runciman*, ed. E. Jeffreys (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006): 86.

²⁸⁴¹ Spremić, Momčilo. "Kantakuzina (Katarina) Branković," *Mons Aureus* 30 (2012): 85.

9.3. Preliminary Conclusions

To conclude the present overview of female contributions to the ecclesiastic patronage and sponsorship, I would like to make several general observations. Female rhetoric of piety had several distinctive features. Primarily, it always contained references to relatives or the male kinsmen of the commissioners (sons, brothers, father, husband, etc.) and/or marital status; even such independent ladies as Theodora Kantakouzene felt a need to indicate their affiliation with a male relative and his social status and court office (in the present case, *megas domestikos* John Kantakouzenos). Moreover, choosing the way to offer a gift for salvation, the female patrons tended to follow the directions indicated by the male family members, i.e. they transferred properties to the same foundations which their ancestors, sons, or husbands had endowed previously. On the other hand, the writings of female authors/commissioners reflect their ambiguous position in the Byzantine society, they feel as sinners being actively involved into political or economic affairs, but find a peace in family affairs and monastic life. Simultaneously, the numerous references to the social roles and titles in the inscriptions accompanying the female material gifts prove how important the status was for these ladies (even after taking the veil). Consequently, women's dispositions to the monasteries are focused on the rituals allowing to overcome the sinful human nature on the way to salvation. Usually, they are more meticulous than their male counterparts in the prescription of necessary rites and their frequency. At least formally, their writings display the narrative of submission and humbleness, but, nevertheless, tend to depict women's social images vividly. It seems that female donors quite actively participated into the composition of the text of deeds, giving some ideas and data to notaries, or even wrote these texts themselves.

Usually, among the female patrons in Byzantine Empire, Serbian state, and the Orthodox territories under the Ottoman rule, widows were the most active participants of the pious enterprises. This can be true concerning women belonging to various social strata, the members of ruling families, aristocracy and even the lower provincial nobility such as Milica from Matka monastery in Macedonia. The royal widows preferred to underline the social statuses and titles they acquired as married women, so they kept the designations of *augusta*, *empress*, *tsaritsa*, *basilissa* etc. in the labelling of images and texts, even after becoming nuns. Their gifts display a complex of ideas connected with the preservation of familial memory, pointing out to their social status and keeping the spiritual ties between family generations. A specific feature of the Serbian noble widows can be noted: they actively participated in political and diplomatic affairs, including the politics of ecclesiastic patronage and diplomatic church gifts. Often, the royal ladies married to the non-Orthodox rulers, as Maria

Palaiologine, Mara Branković or her sister Kantakuzina silenced the names of their spouses, but kept the titles indicating their high social status.

In the matters of patronage, non-royal nuns were more active on the Byzantine territories but rarely appeared as sponsors of ecclesiastic art in Serbia. Perhaps, this difference can be explained by faster development of urban and rural ‘middle class’ on the Byzantine territories, as it was the ladies belonging to upper rural or urban stratas who commissioned paintings or objects for the churches in their native towns and villages.

Many liturgical objects donated to monasteries by women included commemorative inscriptions on behalf of family members or were made as pledges for their salvation, recovery, and political success. At the same time, the aristocratic ladies identified themselves through their affiliations with the male family members (i.e., as daughters, wives, sisters, or mothers)²⁸⁴². In this sense, a patroness acted as a representative of her family or, if the family was the ruling one, of the entire dynasty or state.

Simultaneously, the donations of liturgical objects can be compared with the commemoration orders given by the female donor to the monks of great monasteries. If the orders are detailed instructions on how and which rituals should be performed, then the objects are actual participants in those rituals, media of female intentions, physical reminders of their requests, and agents of their absent bodies. Being read aloud by male beholders, the inscriptions accompanying these gifts voiced the female prayers and concerns, and turned the objects into performative agents. These objects were active, functional components of rituals, attesting the commissioners’ symbolic presence through texts and images, and, thus, mediating the female access to prohibited sacred places.

²⁸⁴² Kalopissi-Verti, Sophia [Καλοπίση-Βέρτη, Σοφία]. “Δωρεές γυναικών στην υστεροβυζαντινή περίοδο,” in: *Η Γυναίκα στο Βυζάντιο. Λατρεία και Τέχνη*, ed. M. Panagiotidi-Kesisoglou (Athens: Politistiko Idryma Omilou Peiraios, 2012): 256.

10. Conclusions

This dissertation has offered a study of the *ktetoria* as a *total social phenomenon* in the Late Medieval Orthodox Balkan societies, and of the role this of phenomenon in political, religious, economic, artistic, and private aspects of life of individuals and collectives. I have approached this phenomenon through the examination of various practices covered by the term and associated with it, and this method enabled me to realize that the *ktetor* and *ktetoria* were umbrella terms covering a wide range of pious activities, such as the establishment of a foundation, the donation of properties or expensive gifts to ecclesiastic institutions, the restoration of a church or a monastery, and the performance of the patron, who played the role of representative and protector of the foundation. Similarly, the title of *ktetor* was applied to various categories of benefactors, sponsors, and patrons, who exercised material support (with lands, funds, precious gifts, tax exemptions, etc.) and administrative assistance to an ecclesiastic institution (monastery, church, kellion, etc.). As a matter of fact, it was precisely this development and expansion of meaning associated with the word *ktetor* that led to the appearance of the concept associating imperial political power, inheritance of the Byzantine ideology, and symbolic leadership in the Orthodox world with the involvement into the patronage over monasteries of Mount Athos during the post-Byzantine period in Wallachia, Moldavia, and Russia.²⁸⁴³

Thus, regarding various strategies of patronage and endowment within the framework of the reciprocal gift-giving and gift-responding relations, I came to the conclusion that the monasteries and churches received the benefaction in exchange for various commemorative rites, advocating services, and petitioning prayers, and that these pious rites turned into “commodities” having their own market value. However, the donation/patronage motives were not limited to church rituals; the established foundations as donations to God, the texts of charters accompanying the transfer of assets, and the material gifts themselves became the means for expressing the complex system of medieval social being which included personal image, as well as a status in community and political position. In my opinion, these three components joint together, i.e., political motives, community organization, and individual representation, became the moving force behind the practices of *ktetoria*.

²⁸⁴³ Păun, Radu G. “Mount Athos and the Byzantine-Slavic Tradition in Wallachia and Moldavia after the Fall of Constantinople,” in: *The Balkans and the Byzantine World before and after the Captures of Constantinople, 1204 and 1453*, ed. V. Stanković (Lanham : Lexington Books, 2015): 117-163; Chentsova, Vera [Ченцова, Вера]. “Ктиторовство и царский титул: Россия и Хиландарский монастырь в XVI в.,” *Славяноведение* 2014/2 (2014): 15-24; Mureșan, Dan Ioan. “De la nouelle Rome à la Troisième: la part des Principautés roumaines dans la transmission de l’idée impériale,” in: *L’eredità di Traiano. La tradizione istituzionale romano-imperiale nella storia dello spazio romeno*, ed. A. Castaldini (Bucharest: Istituto Italiano di Cultura, 2008): 123-166

10.1. Political Motives of Ktetoria

Starting from the 14th century, the institution of ktetoria was actively involved in the political actions and endeavours of Balkan rulers. Care about subjects, piety, and benefactions were considered mandatory qualities ascribed to the Emperor by the Byzantines,²⁸⁴⁴ and the sovereigns used monastic patronage to display the expected features and, at the same time, to shape local or international policies.

The introduction of the joint governance system in Byzantium, as well as in Slavic Balkan states was made to avoid the election of a throne successor and to assure the power passage to the royal sons. The appearance of the hierarchical relations within the ruling families (when one son was destined for the imperial position and others receive high court titles) affected the visual representations of the royal families, usually placed at monasteries under imperial patronage or on mobile objects associated with royal gift-giving. Thus, the common representation of a ruling parent and a child was used as a vehicle of propaganda of ideas associated with just co-rulership and regency. The children of the Emperor and the tsars were represented among the ktetors or commissioners of the art works to be publically promoted as legitimate future rulers and successors. Such royal foundations as the refectory of the Peribleptos Monastery in Constantinople and the Holy Trinity church at the Serbian Sopoćani visualized the direction of succession within the royal Byzantine and Serbian families, accordingly, by placing the elder son in the proximity of the ruling father and dressing them both in a similar manner. On the other hand, the lavishly decorated manuscript commissioned by Manuel II Palaiologos (Louvre MR 416) and Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander (British Library MS ADD 39627) were intended as imperial gifts and presented the educated readers not only with the line of the throne succession, but with the idea of hierarchy within the imperial families and the roles of younger children as future governors of the imperial provinces.

By means of endowment of and patronage over great monasteries, Byzantine emperors involved in civil wars strove to achieve ideological dominance in certain region, as well as spiritual support of prominent monastic leaders. Thus, the patronage “competition” between Andronikos II and Andronikos III over St. John Menoikeion Monastery can be seen as an attempt to promote their policies in Serres, whereas Andronikos II’s plea to the monks of Vatopedi²⁸⁴⁵ to pray on his behalf was perceived as spiritual advocacy during the time of crisis. It seems that Byzantine rulers endowed the monasteries in accordance with their demands that led to the acquisition of urban possessions, transportation means, and tax exemptions by the great foundations. Therefore, it was the monasteries that benefited from the period of civil wars (1321-1328 and 1341-1347) and gained economic

²⁸⁴⁴ Hunger, *Prooimia*, 123-157.

²⁸⁴⁵ *Actes de Vatopedi*, Vol. I, no. 57, pp. 313-315.

independence, better access to storage facilities and urban markets, as well as *metochia* in towns facilitating more efficient administration of the production-and-sale circuit.

On the other hand, the great monastic and bishopric regional players could, indeed, influence the local state of affairs by including or excluding the names of certain emperors in the commemorative lists, administering daily lauds and prayers on behalf of one or another throne claimant, and even editing the commemorations and praises to the Orthodoxy defenders read for the Triumph of Orthodoxy (Synodika). Moreover, on the territories excluded from the actual political control of the Byzantine Empire (conquered or administered by a foreign governor), only the structures and institutions belonging to the Orthodox Church (parochial churches subjected to bishoprics and *metochia* owned by the great monasteries) were responsible for the symbolic presence of the imperial power through daily commemorations and prayers, references in the inscriptions, and festive lauds. Therefore, the choices of imperial names made by these ecclesiastic institutions could affect the perspectives of the future return of the territories to one or another royal competitor.

Moreover, the inclusion of imperial names in the Synodika of Orthodoxy was regarded as a highest spiritual approval of the emperor's person and his policies. The content of the memorial lists and synodika could become an issue of negotiations between emperors or tsars and their monastic counterparts; more precisely, the commemoration of Serbian rulers by important Greek ecclesiastic institutions was seen as a strategy for the legitimization of the new power on the conquered lands. As a consequence, monastic centres of Macedonia and Thessaly enjoyed numerous privileges and royal donations in exchange for personal prayers for the Serbian lords, their daily remembrance, and inclusion of their names in the dedicatory inscriptions. These actions of the monks were perceived as political promulgation of the new rule, but also as advocacy of the spiritually strong and pious people in front of God on behalf of the Serbian sovereigns which could induce the divine benevolence and strengthen their positions in face of external and internal enemies.

Moreover, by favouring some monasteries over others, such royal figures like Stefan Dušan organized the development of rural landscape through the transfer of some lands to the monastic administration and amelioration. This land distribution went hand-in-hand with other anti-crisis measures (re-population of territories, mining development, transportation system, etc.) aimed on the improvement of local production and market after the years of wars and raids. A similar function in the local defense system could be played by provincial monasteries left on Byzantine territories. The fortification of such places as the monastery of the Taxiarches at Aigialeia (Achaia) or Kutlumus may be seen as an attempt to establish a network of safe places, where treasures could be hidden during time of wars and disorders.

These relations of mutual benefit between rulers and provincial monasteries also found their way in interpersonal connections. Many of the monasteries on the periphery of the Commonwealth

or the Empire were founded by charismatic “wondering” monks, who – either due to their authority or noble origin – had access to the elites of Balkan societies. These monks usually spent a significant part of their monastic years on the Holy Mount, shared a set of hesychast ideas, and, in search of solitude, relocated to distant “deserts.” The spiritual authority of these ascetics attracted the patronage of Byzantine, Serbian, and Bulgarian royal figures, who relied on the *parrhesia* and political advices of these hermitic leaders. Such prominent monastic founders as Theodosios of Tărnovo, Romylos of Vidin, or Leontios of Monembasia created, thanks to royal patronage, new religious and cultural centres in poorly developed areas.

One of the most obvious consequences of association of political propaganda with monastic institutions was the personal ties established between rulers and the prominent leaders of communities. Thus, for approval and promotion of Serbian government of the conquered Greek lands, the Serbian rulers of the mid-14th century tried to win the support of such prominent monastic figures as Gregory Palamas or St. Athanasios of Meteora, and addressed them for political consultations, diplomatic advices, and assistance in matters of personal devotion and piety.

One of the side-effects of the royal ktetoria was the direction of the donation-flows granted by the elites of the Balkan states. The Serbian, Bulgarian, and Byzantine noblemen followed their political leaders and endowed the same monasteries that promoted the interests of their party. Thus, Vatopedi enjoyed the donations of Kantakouzenos’ supporters, Serbian nobility traditionally endowed Hilandar, whereas the Bulgarians inclined toward Zographou.²⁸⁴⁶ In addition, the members of the regional elites expressed their support or disapproval to local and/or central government by means of shaping the content of the dedicatory inscription placed in the churches founded in various places of the Byzantine Commonwealth. The mentioning of the emperors in inscriptions on distant peripheries of the state and in donation charters of noblemen expressed the interdependency between central authorities and local communities: as much as the imperial government facilitated the income of a ktetor and the construction/restoration of a church or the pious donations, the prayers made by the endowed local communities petitioned to God on behalf of the emperor, his family, and the central power.

Thus, the approval of imperial policies was expressed as references to the ruler’s name in the concluding part of the dedicatory inscription, in the dating section. In this sense, the most wide-spread was the support provided by provincial nobility to the policies of Andronikos II as 22 out of 42 inscriptions mentioning the byzantine rulers refer to this emperor. In addition, the representatives of Laconian military elites tended to include double-references to central and local authorities (despots of Morea or even local military leaders *tzaousioi*) in their church dedications (for example, St.

²⁸⁴⁶ Pavlikanov, Cyril [Παυλικιάνωφ, Κύριλλος]. “Οι Σλάβοι στην Αθωνική μονή του Ζωγράφου,” *Byzantina Symmeikta* 12 (1998): 113-117; *Documents of Zographou*, pp. 330-340 nos. 36-37.

George's Church, Oitylos, St. George's Church at Longanikos, etc.) which witness about claims of local autonomy, in some degree. This way, minor regional foundations and regional bishops (such as the bishops of Lacedemonia) also played a role in the establishment of the balance of powers and promulgation of preferred political figures. The shift in political thinking occurred on the Balkans in the second half of the 14th century, when some local noblemen, as an expression of political conformism, started to replace the names of the Byzantine emperors with those of Serbian, Bulgarian, or Albanian sovereigns and lords who had conquered these territories and established their personal dominions there. Using the same formula and, often, Greek language, such inscriptions witnessed the political reality of state fragmentation and the appearance of local loyalties based on personal ties between regional noblemen or clergymen and their immediate lords. However, the greatest difference in the perception of political authority occurred in the 15th century: even though they were self-established, Orthodox rulers, the Serbian, Bulgarian, and Albanian lords were sometimes forced by the new realities of the Ottoman conquest to commemorate the authority of the Muslim Sultan in their church dedicatory inscriptions.

Additionally, as the relations between, on the one hand, Chariton and Wallachian *voievod* Vladislav-Vlaicu, and, on the other hand, Dionysios and the Emperor of Trebizond Alexios III Grand Komnenos prove ktetoria over Athonite monasteries started to be perceived as a matter of state legitimacy and the newly-constructed 'national' entities associated patronage over great monasteries with the assumption of the role of the Byzantine Emperor. Thus, as heirs of Serbian, Bulgarian, or even Byzantine Empire, the new rulers featured their ideology on the legitimated 'succession' to the corresponding historical state and divine approval of this 'succession' achieved through the prayers of the monks representing the monasteries which received benefaction from the ruler-successor.

Thus, returning to the problem of the expression of authority by means of foundation and patronage posed in the Introduction of this work, one may realize that the hierarchical formulae of subjection-domination and primacy-dependence discussed by Franz Dölger and George Ostrogorsky in connection with Byzantine external, religious, and cultural policies, do not find confirmation in the sources at a closer examination. Rather the opposite is true, namely, that Slavic and regional Byzantine rulers competed with the central authority for recognition and imitated its external features associated with the endowment with power and divine approval (such as church commemoration of rulers, royal insignia, the issuing of chrysobulls, court rhetoric, etc.); subsequently, ktetorial policies played in this competition an important role as strategies for promotion of a new rule.

10.2. Ktectoria and Organization of Communities

Since the Church is primarily perceived as the community of believers,²⁸⁴⁷ all matters pertaining to foundation of, benefaction to, and patronage over an ecclesiastic institution are related to the social life and development of local communities. From a family, i.e., the smallest social entity, to villages, town parts, or distant ‘deserted’ locations, the appearance of a foundation meant the development of an ecclesiastic community which, however, needed a continuous economic support for its maintenance and operation. Therefore, by the 14th century, the Church praised equally the initial establishment of an institution and the restoration and renovation of already existing foundations. This trend was directly expressed in the rhetoric of the *prooimion* (1396) written on behalf of Anthony, the Constantinopolitan Patriarch, which bestowed the same honour of ktetor upon those who built and those who endowed and maintained a foundation.

This communal church spirit found its full expression in the concept of the associated ktectoria involving more than one founder or even more than one founding family, simultaneously or over a longer period. Thus, as the mural decoration of rural or parochial urban churches attests to, many of them were painted with the participation of many minor sponsors investing funds, sufficient only for a couple of images or compositions. Usually, such patrons placed their names and/or commemoration reminders (in the form “Remember, Lord, the soul of...”) next to the sponsored images. These church sponsors could either form a community constructing a foundation by collective expenses or join the main founder or founding family when a church was under construction. Another successful strategy employed by the minor donors was the addition of images to the already existing foundation, which allowed them to place their inscribed petitions in the highly-venerated and popular parochial, bishopric, and monastic churches.

Besides artistic patronage, many minor donors performed group donations to great monastic foundations. Here, too, two main strategies can be noted: either a group of neighbours joined to a main benefactor or the inhabitants of one urban or rural location collectively agreed to endow the same monastery. The former approach is exemplified by the case of Peter Tzernes, the initiator of the benefaction to Zographou (1321), whose fellow villagers either sold or donated their properties to the same foundation. The latter patronage model was analyzed on the material of the Brebion of the Virgin Htetovo Monastery, which included many micro-donations from peasants from the same areas, given for the sake of commemorations, burials, or taking the vows.

All these minor donors, as well as the generous elite benefactors received their commemorations in the course of church services; however, one may assume that the measure of

²⁸⁴⁷ Meyendorff, John. *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*. (Fordham, NY: Fordham University Press, 1974): 14.

endowment conditioned the frequency and form of commemorative services. As the detailed requests for memorial services contained in donation deeds prove, private and communal commemorations had different values from the point of view of medieval believers. Moreover, those who afforded great investments into the Afterlife, preferred to be remembered and prayed for in various forms and with high frequency; namely, they demanded the inclusion into communal *proskomidia* or *anaphora* memorial lists, the performance of the *ekteneis* and exclamations on their behalf during common daily church services, as well as private prayers (*parakleseis*), private liturgies, and annual festive commemorations.

Nevertheless, even those whose donation was small could expect to be named during communal remembrance acts. The eternal functioning of an ecclesiastic institution, supported by such great and minor donations, provided for the community and union not only between the living, but also between the living and the dead in course of the Eucharistic offering. This ability of the Christian community to preserve memories about the deceased and to continue the performance of prayers on their behalf motivated some childless donors to transfer their possessions to the ecclesiastic communities under the condition of remembrance. The middle-class Constantinopolitan Sanianoï couple, as well as the minor donors of the Htetovo Monastery entrusted the memory-keeping to spiritual monastic communities.

Another way of association of individuals into community in the act of ktetoria was the creation of confraternities united around a church or a worshipped icon. The cases of icon-related confraternities were especially common in connection with the replicas of the Constantinopolitan Hodegetria icon, which had its own brotherhood serving its miracles already in the capital. This way, the establishment of confraternities, such as at the community serving the church of the Hodegetria at Agraphoi (Kerkyra) or appearing in connection with the replica owned by the Laconian nun Euphrosyne–Marina, imitated the complex of pious practices, rituals, beliefs, and customs associated with the Hodegetria cult of Constantinople. However, lay confraternities could also emerge on the principle of location or professional occupation, and therefore get united around a church or small local monastery as, for instance, the 45 salt-workers (*alykarioi*) from Thessaloniki, who took care of the local monastery of St. Paul.

Monastic communities were the most typical form of association of individuals and, in Byzantium and Balkan countries, the monasteries emerged in a variety of forms and modes of operation.²⁸⁴⁸ This diversity, being conditioned by the founder's Typikon as a constituent act, brought to life the entire scale of foundations, from family micro-communities to grand super-foundations of the Lavra-type. Usually, family institutions served the immediate needs of the founders, such as daily

²⁸⁴⁸ Chitwood, Zachary. "Griechisch-orthodoxe Christen," in: *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften*, Vol. 1. *Grundlagen*, ed. M. Borgolte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014): 397-412.

services, celebrations, burials, commemorations, and retirement of members of one family (maybe, also some relatives or friends), and their maintenance depended on the life-span and fortune of the founding family and their closest relatives. Hermitic institutions were formed on the basis of spiritual ties between community members, and tried to avoid too often contacts with the external world. The focus of hermit-communities on spiritual matters increased their social capital and enabled such monasteries to attract donations and financial support from laymen, not blood-related to the community members. In their hope for salvation received due to the intercession of pious monks, the laymen endowed important monastic centres, even when they had their own family foundations for daily religious needs.

Moreover, the spiritual fame of a hermitic institution guaranteed endowments from members of the elites and Balkan royal families. Consequently, the hermitic communities strove to develop the local cults which attracted the finances of pilgrims and patrons. Most often, these cults were organized around the figure of a recently-deceased and famous community founder, such as St. Leontios of Monembasia, and the students of this spiritual leader were the first promoters and organizers of the cult, celebrations, and pilgrims' visits. Appearing on the peripheries of the Balkan states, these late-medieval cults could exhibit the sense of regional pride which united the monks, church officials, and local rulers, such as the despots of Morea, in case of St. Leontios' cult.

On the other hand, family foundations were more prone to reflect the changes appearing in the Balkan societies of this period. The interdependence of ktetorial rights over a foundation and inheritance sharing became the moving force behind the appearance of extended family portraits on the walls of private churches/monasteries. The iconographic programs of such churches as those at Donja Kamenica, Staničenje, Kalotina, etc. visually demonstrated the order of the family patrimony transmission, presenting the generation passing the patrimony (the deceased), the dominating generation (parents), and the future generation (children), all participating in the foundation with a part of their inheritance. In addition, the murals commissioned in churches of Serbian noblemen (at Dobrun, Karan, Lesnovo, Psača, etc.) presented the source of power and wealth of the founding family, i.e., the ruler, and juxtaposed the noble and royal lineages in order to prove the permanence of family and state order over generations. This way, family churches turned into places of visual display of the founders' family structure and their relations with the central power.

Private monastic foundations or churches converted into monasteries were seen as places meant for a family's spiritual and physical reunion, whereas common toils were aimed at the joint salvation through the pursuit of spiritual life. Similarly to Theodore Sarantenos, who united almost all living male relatives under the roof of St. John Monastery at Berroia, many other families planned to retire

together at a private monastic institutions.²⁸⁴⁹ Usually, a private foundation could dedicate the majority of its service time to the ministering of the commemorations of the deceased founders and their relatives, and could assure the passage of the family's memory over many generations. The creation of monasteries as retirement places was also perceived as insurance means in times of political and military calamities; the members of the court elite falling in disgrace could expect to be allowed to end their days at a private monastery, as it was the case of Theodore Metochites retiring at Chora.

Great monastic communities could also facilitate family reunions and serve as 'insurance brokers' in difficult times. The inclusion of relatives in the same memorial list and the provision of joint family commemoration services could create the sense of associating the family members in spirit and, therefore, became a popular 'commodity' on the market of religious services. Whether it was Greek nun Nymphodora or the Branković dynasty of the late-Serbian lords, they all expected their joint salvation together with their husbands, parents, and children, as inscribed in the *brebia* of prominent Athonite communities. At the same time, monasteries could facilitate life-long or even hereditary pensions (*adelphata*)²⁸⁵⁰ in exchange for donations of extensive landed properties, and many inhabitants of the Balkans on the eve of the Ottoman conquest relied on this mutually-beneficial institution as a means of assurance for old age.

This way, the different strata of Byzantine and Balkan Slavic societies solved the issues pertaining to the disposal of economic assets, family patrimony, inheritance, retirement, burial, commemoration, and old-age insurance due to the institution of *ktetoria*, i.e., the establishment of private foundations, the endowment of great hermitic communities, and the renovation of old monasteries and their *metochia*. In this sense, ecclesiastic foundations were involved not only in the religious sphere of social interactions, but also facilitated a much wider range of social activities and assumed a variety of economic and public functions.

10.3. Ktetoria and Self-representation

At the personal level, a medieval ktetor could be moved to his/her pious activities by a variety of reasons ranging from religious devotion to vanity, fame, and pride, but whatever the motives were, the acts of *ktetoria* provided the Byzantine, Serbian, and Bulgarian individuals with the tools of self-representation and agency which, potentially, could last far beyond the term of a single life. The

²⁸⁴⁹ For other examples, see: Talbot, "The Byzantine Family and the Monastery," pp. 122-123.

²⁸⁵⁰ For similar conclusions, see: Živojinović, Mirjana. "Adelfati u Vizantiji i Srednjovekovnoj Srbiji," *ZRVI* 11 (1968): 241-270; Talbot, "Women and Mt Athos," pp. 75-76; Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monasteries*, pp.135-138, 144-145; Malatras, *Social Structure*, esp. pp. 222-223 and 412-414 (table 17).

personal acts of ktetoria included not only landed donations, church establishments, or provision of financial support to monasteries; individuals, especially those belonging to the elites of their societies, could offer a personalized gift to be used in course of liturgical services on behalf of the ktetor, namely, a vessel, a textile, a book, etc. These objects, often accompanied by epigrams or commemorative inscriptions, became the agents of donors in those places which they could not visit, but desired to be associated with; most commonly, this was the case of female patrons of male monasteries practicing the *abaton*. Often, the inscriptions accompanying the objects increased the effect of the donors' presence, giving voices to their prayers, concerns, and petitions.²⁸⁵¹

Similarly, the noblemen's prooimia accompanying the charters with the landed donations imitated the donors' speeches expressing their personal fears and hopes. Most often, these fears were related to the sins accumulated by their souls in course of the earthly life, and the hopes for salvation were associated with the prayers and rituals performed by monks of the endowed foundation on behalf of the ktetors; however, some of the prooimia displayed more detailed images of the benefactors and their views on the role of family and politics in contemporary societies. In the selected cases studies examined in this dissertation, I have compared the views of three Palaiologan ladies (Theodora Kantakouzene, Theodora Philanthropene, and Nymphodora) representing three successive generations of the Byzantine nobility and displaying three different rhetoric of patronage. Thus, the first heroine was burdened by the sense of sinfulness due to her involvement in political affairs, the second was completely devoted to her family and the preservation of its heritage, whereas the last one focused on her spiritual needs, piety, and the Afterlife, completely ignoring the changes taking place in the daily life after the Ottoman conquest.

Not only the noble ladies, but practically all donors belonging to the elites and the ruling class demonstrated increasing concerns with matters of personal salvation, which they believed could be achieved through frequent and complex commemoration rituals. The complexity of the demanded rituals escalates progressively and reaches its peak in the middle of the 15th century, when the members of the Branković family offered payment in silver to Lavra for the performance of hundreds of private liturgies on their behalf. Together with the complication of commemoration rites, their function shifted gradually from remembrance of the dead to petitioning for still-living donors, which was supposed to be continued also after their death. This way, the private piety stressed the function of personal protection and advocating to the divinity in the rituals performed by the esteemed monastic communities.

At the same time, by granting properties to great foundations, many donors organized private places for burial and more intimate commemoration rites. Usually, such foundations were

²⁸⁵¹ For similar conclusions, see: Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*.

distinguished with individual portraits, inscriptions, and spatial organization reflecting the personality of the ktetor. However, since sole ktetors were exceptionally rare in the regarded period, several sponsors' personalities could be reflected in mural painting. Nevertheless, there were some privileges reserved only for the main founder, such as the choice of the church patron saint or feast and the inclusion of political implications in the dedicatory inscriptions, and they became the signs distinguishing the personality of the leading ktetor. The church dedication could be equally a matter of piety and pride, as many churches were consecrated in the name of the founder's patron saint or were associated with venerable icons, whose epithets these churches bore (Hodegetria, Blachenitissa, etc.). This way, the ktetor could pay tribute to his/her heavenly protector or could strive to imitate the glory and fame of the capital city through mimicking its topography and cults.

The founders perceived the patronized institutions not only as places associated with their worldly fame, but also as refuges from the grieves and turmoil of the world. The example of Theodore Sarantenos' Monastery of St. John at Berroia demonstrates that a nobleman having sufficient financial means and surviving a personal tragedy (the death of all his children) could chose to retire from the world. The careful arrangement of Theodore's image through the words of his Testament, his portrait painted in the church, and the accompanying epigram by Manuel Philes witness the importance of the tragic family experience for Theodore's self-representation and its profound effect on the founder's pious decision to establish the foundation.

The portraits of elite founders preserved in other Byzantine, Bulgarian, and Serbian foundations, such as Kokkine Ekklesia, Boyana lower church, Archangel's Church at Lesnovo, St. George Church at Pološko, St. Nicholas' Church at Psača, and others, show that the depicted ktetors were preoccupied with their social status and relations with the highest royal authorities. Though standing in front of the divinity in the act of prayer or gift-giving and belonging to the reality of the Afterlife,²⁸⁵² these donors are represented wearing fancy and rich garments, they are accompanied by inscriptions mentioning their origin, family, offices, and titles, and interact with their royal sovereigns. Thus, it seems that the founders desired to project their idealized social personae for the gathered, endowed community of monks or believers and the posterity who may remember and give thanks to the founders.

At the same time, the desire to be commemorated in eternity as an assurance of a better position in the afterlife led some founders, usually but not always being clerics or church hierarchs, to the decision to inscribe their names and prayers in the altar space, where the proskomidia or anaphora

²⁸⁵² For the discussion of the double, social and otherworldly, reality of the donor portrait, see: Velmans, Tania. "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues," in: *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues, Venise 1968*, s.ed. (Venice: Institut hellénique d'études byzantines et post-byzantines, 1971): 91-148; Kambourova, Tania. "Ktitor: Le sens du Don des panneaux votifs dans le monde byzantin," *Byzantion* 78 (2008): 261-287; Frances, Rico. *Donor Portraits in Byzantine Art: The Vicissitudes of Contact between Human and Divine* (Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

take place. This strategy disclosed personalities who valued ritual commemoration more than public remembrance, and strove to communicate with a priest ministering the liturgy at their foundations centuries later.

The mural arrangements of churches, the texts of donation deeds, or the epigrams accompanying the material gifts had the ability to display not only personal beliefs and patronage motives, but also views and concepts related to the ktetors' gender or class identity. The case-study of female patronage practices developed in this dissertation has elicited differences between the Serbian and the Byzantine societies in matters of women's social strategies and modes of representation. Even though in both countries the female donors marked their pious deeds with references to male relatives and marital status, Byzantine women tended to follow the patronage directions established by other family members. On the contrary, in Serbia, noble and, especially, royal women seem to be more independent in matters of *ktetoria*. They actively participated in ecclesiastic decision-making (such as the case of the establishment of the Patriarch Kallistos' cult by *Tsaritsa* Jelena) and played important roles in contemporary political and diplomatic affairs, leading independent relics-transfer policies like Mara Branković or giving advices to young rulers like *kneginja* Milica (nun Evgenija) or *basilissa* Jelena (nun Jefimija). All these energetic Serbian ladies were royal and noble widows heading their families and enjoying unusual social status as they took the veil (or led secluded single life), but continued to stay at court and to manage international affairs. Thus, the gendered behavior standards varied within the shared Balkan Orthodox culture depending on political and social circumstances.

Therefore, as the conducted research proved, the personal motives of *ktetoria* were not limited to matters of salvation, penance, and relations with the Divinity, as it is usually discussed by contemporary scholarship (see chapter 1.3.4 of this dissertation), and they were not limited to matters of the ruling hierarchy and the holy origin of power, as it was assumed by the previous generations of scholars (A. Grabar and S. Radojčić, see chapter 1.3.4 of this dissertation). More precisely, through patronage, medieval people expressed complex images of selves consisting of social status, gender and class identities, religious beliefs, attitude toward authority, place within the hierarchy of power, personal feelings and fears, and the relations with the sacred.

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διαφόρους Νεομάρτυρας Φιλοπονηθείσαι παρά του Πανοσιολογιωτάτου Κυρίου Νικηφόρου του Χίου. Νυν πρώτον τύποις λαμπροῖς εκδοθέν Δια φιλοτίμου δαπάνης των τιμιωτάτων φιλοχρίστων Συνδρομητῶν των εν τῷ τέλει της Βίβλου ονομαστί καταγραφέντων, εις κοινήν απάντων των ορθοδόξων ωφέλειαν (Venice: Panos Theodosios, 1819).

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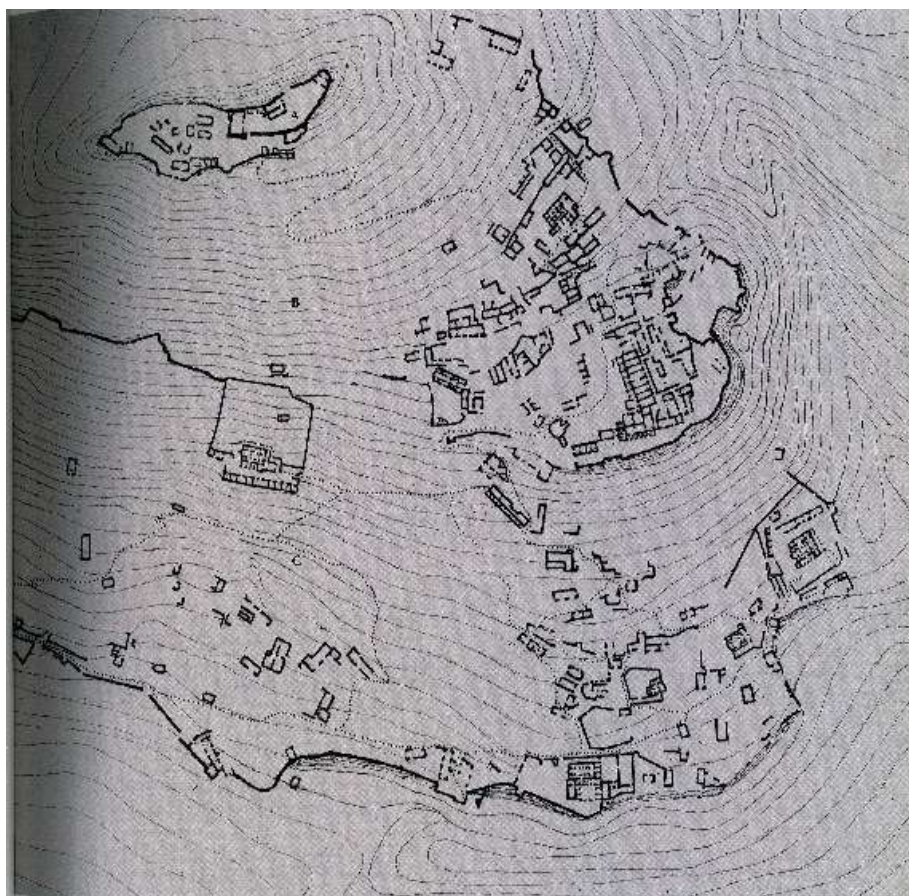
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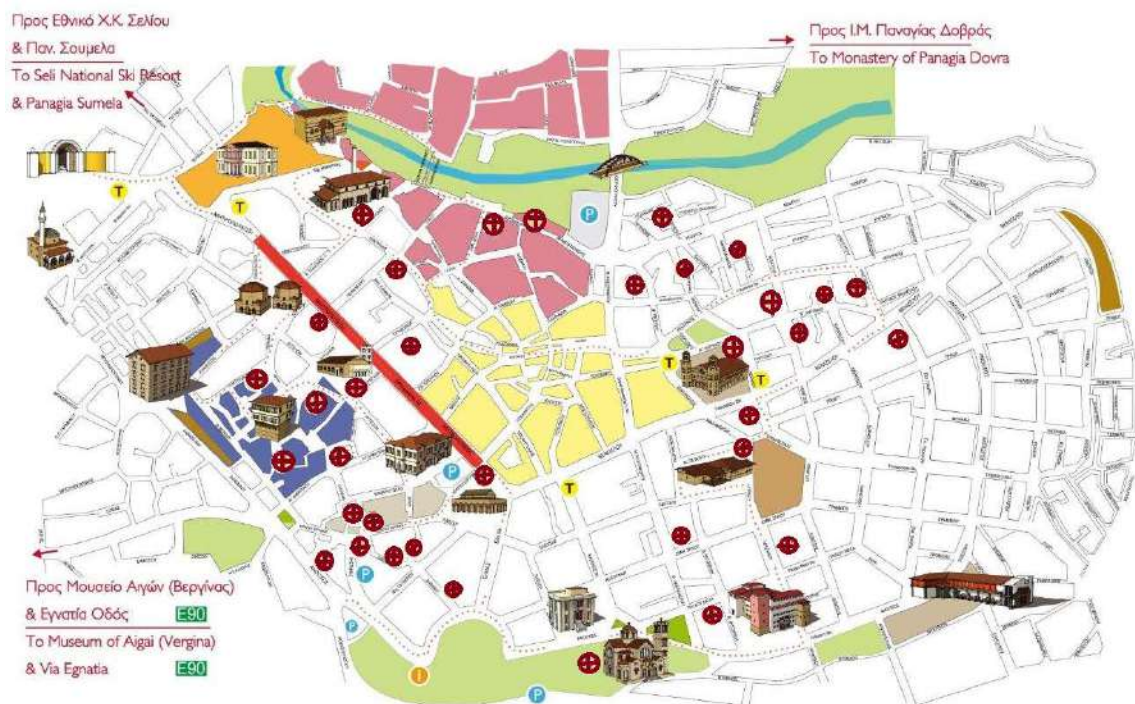
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2.1. The Map of Mystras (Greece) with the indication of medieval buildings. After: Chatzidakis, Manolis. *Mystras: The Medieval City and the Castle* (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon S.A., 1994), St. George Chapel in Mystras, and the views of the site



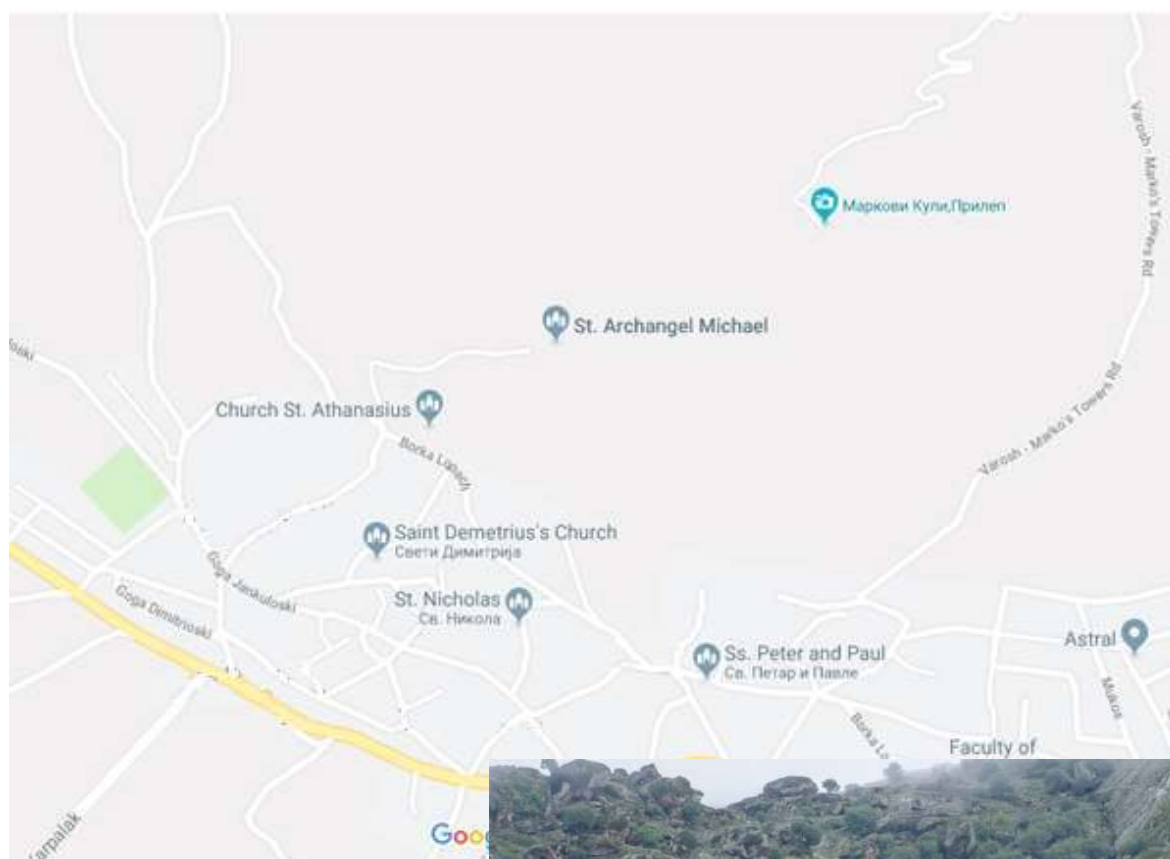
2.2. The Touristic Map of Veria (Greece) with the indications of some medieval churches, the Chapel of St. Sabbas Kyriotissas, and the views of the town



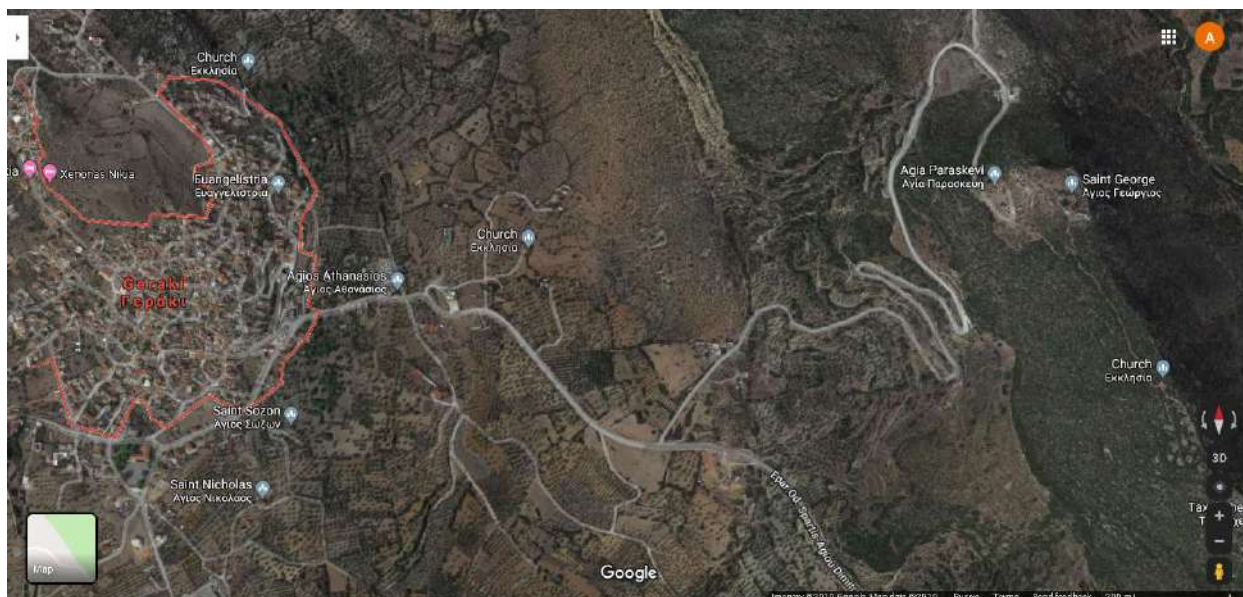


2.3. The Map of Kastoria (Greece) with the indication of medieval churches. After: Pelekanidis, Stylianos, Chatzidakis, Manolis. *Kastoria* (Athens: Melissa, 1985) and the city's views



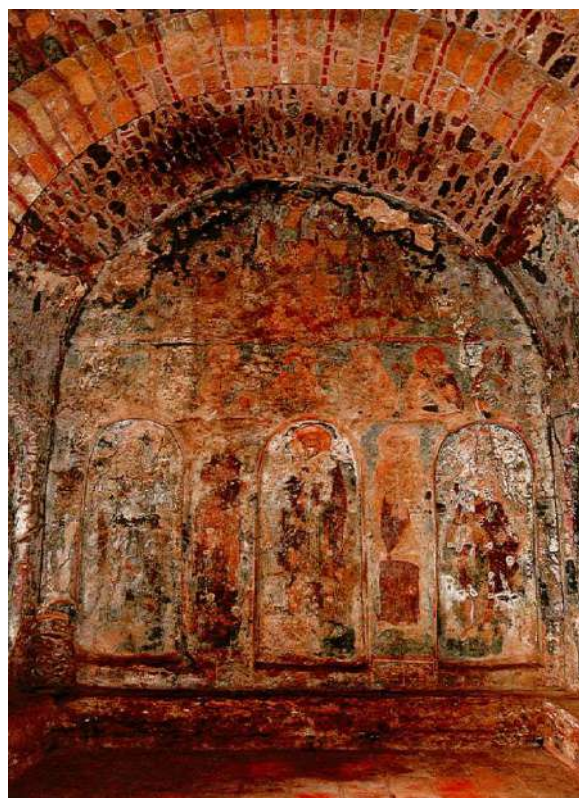


2.5. The map of Geraki (Greece) with the indication of medieval churches and town views





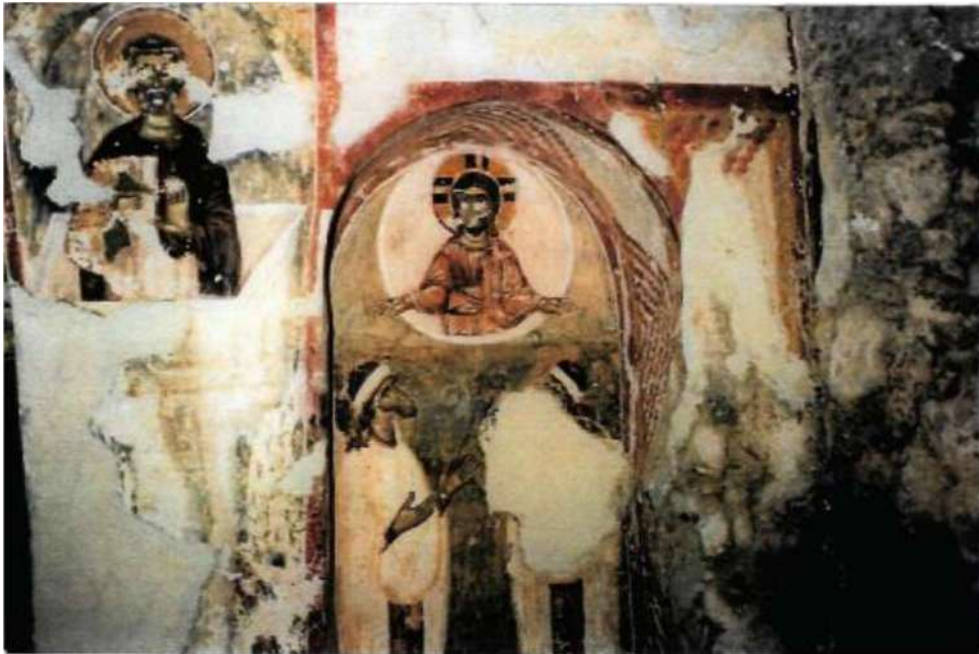
2.6. Parekklesion Ai-Yannaki at the Marmara Gate of Mystra (Greece), exterior views from the north and south-west, west wall of the interior, portrait of Kale Kabalasea (nun Kalinike) with her children Anna Laskarina and Theodore Hodegetrianos and the Virgin, end of the 14th century



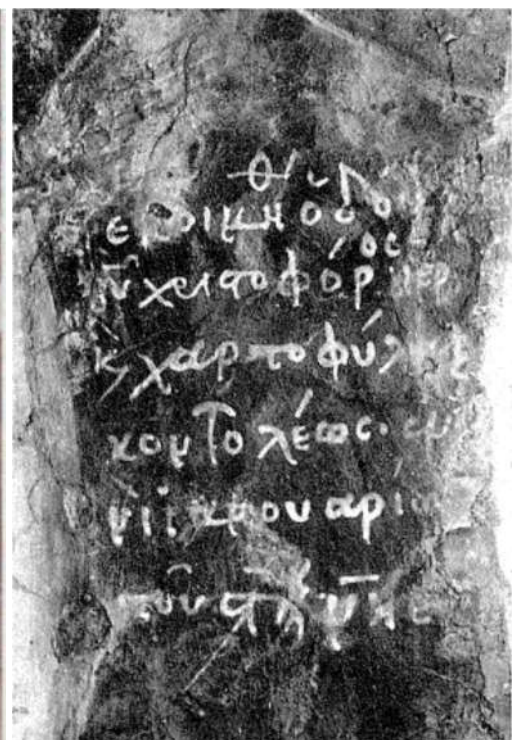
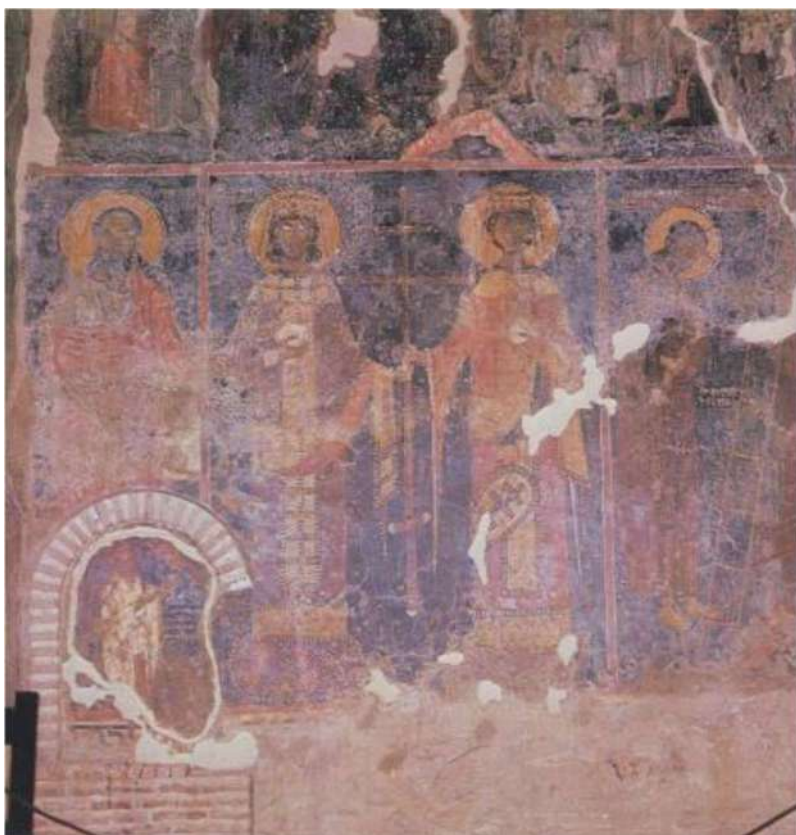
2.7. Geraki Castle (Greece), interiors of churches Zoodochos Pege (above) and Hagia Paraskeve (below) with arcosolia



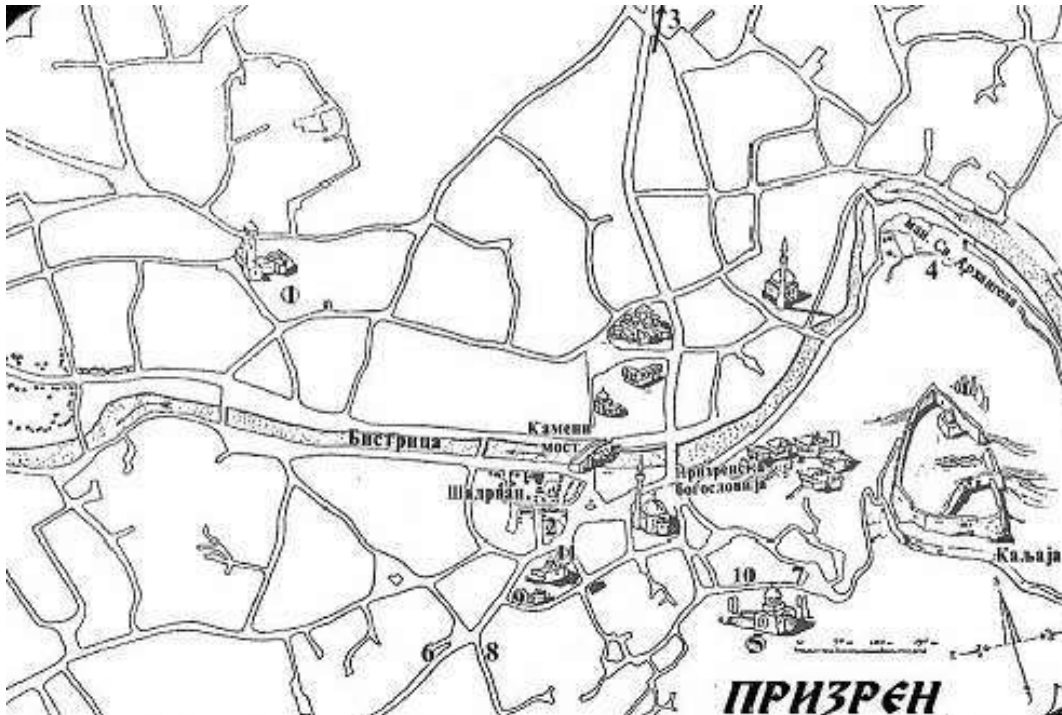
2.8. Geraki Castle (Greece), Zoodochoas Pege church, donors' portrait of the priests Demetrios Boustechas and Rontakios Periodeutes, western wall, 1431.



2.9. Geraki Village (Greece), St. John Chrysostomos' church , donor's portrait of the priest and *chartophylax* Christophoros Kontoleos in St. John Chrysostomos, western wall, 1450.



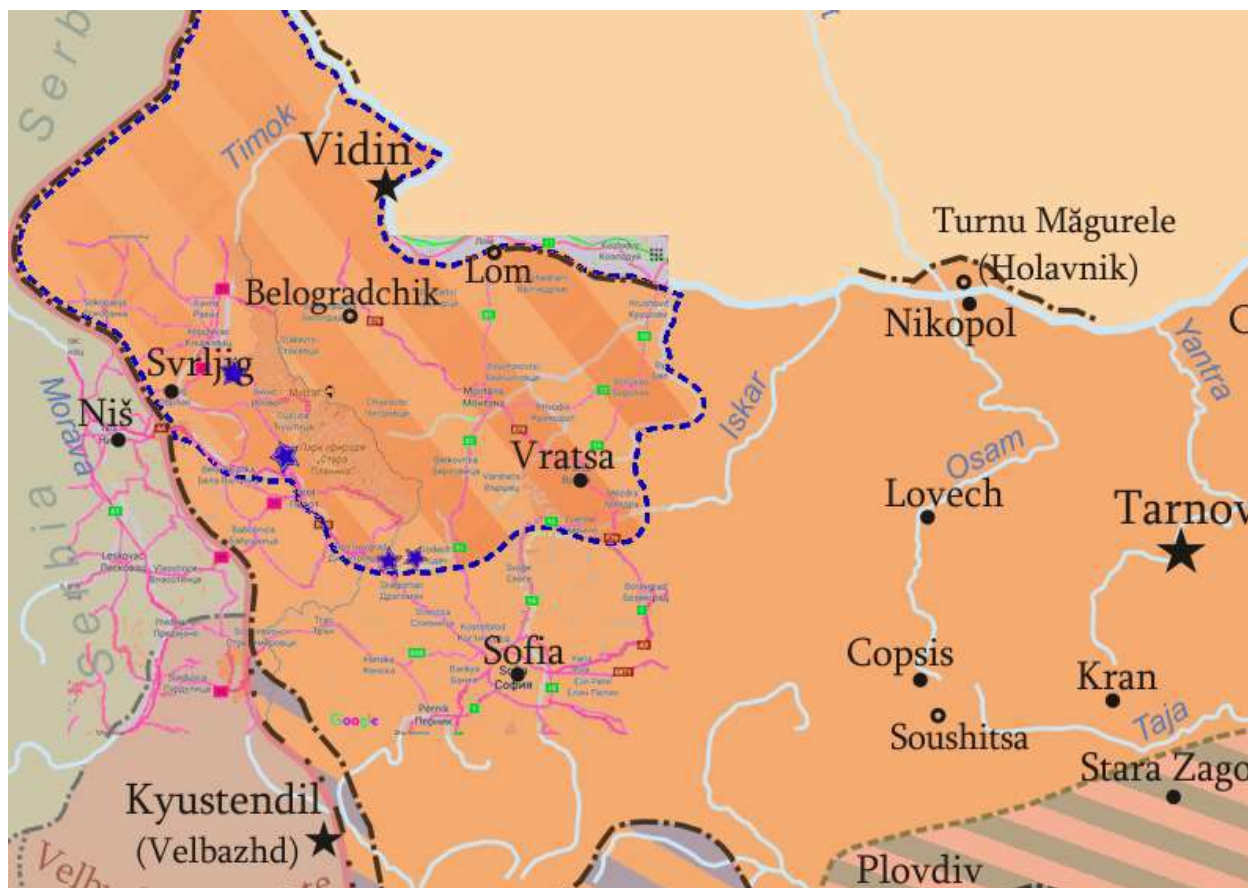
2.10. The Map of Prizren (Serbia) with the indication of medieval buildings, St. Nicholas Tutić Church and the Holy Saviour Church







1. Church of the Virgin Ljeviška, 1307
2. Church of Saint Nicholas (Tutić) 1332
3. Church of St. Peter Koriški 13 c.
4. Holy Archangels Monastery, 1343
5. The Holy Saviour, 1348.
6. St. Nicholas (Rajkova), 1348
7. St. Kyriake, 1371
8. St. Panteleimon, 14 c.
9. St. George (Runovića), 15 c.
10. the Holy Healers, 19 c.
11. St. George, 1887.

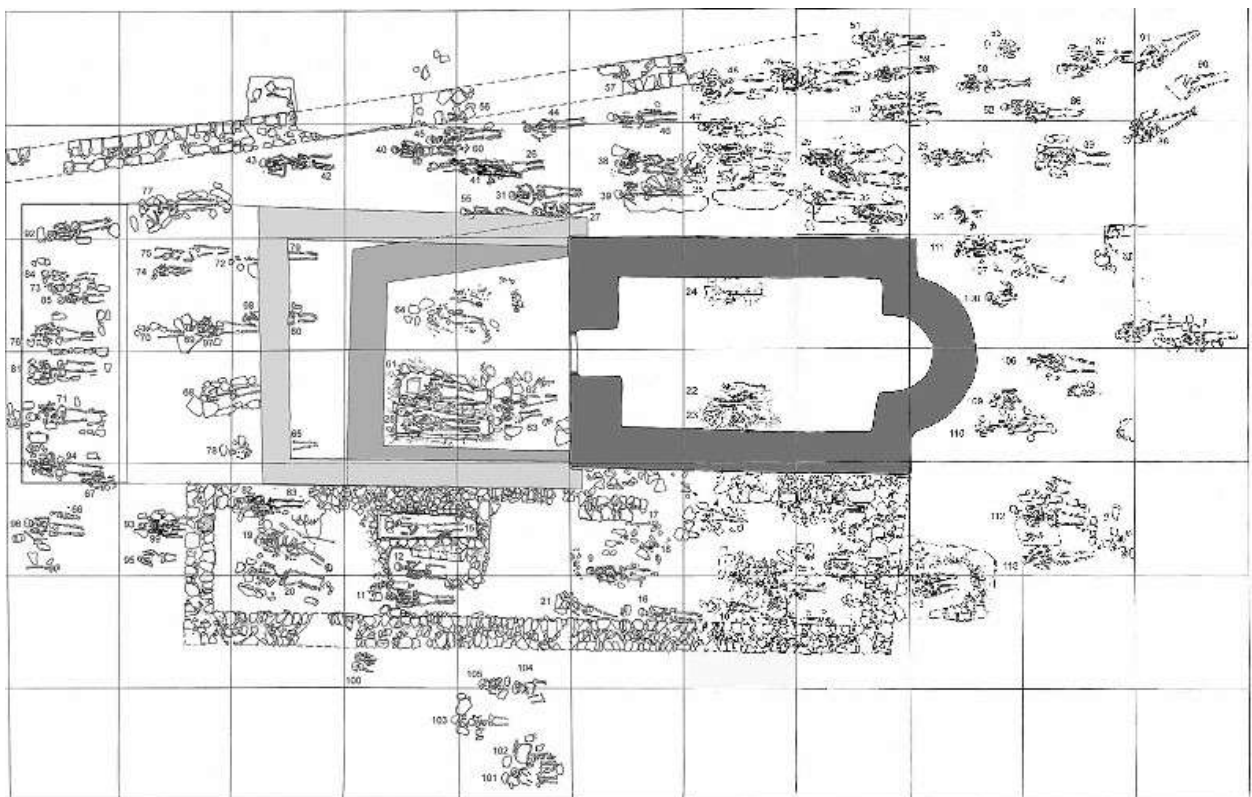


2.11. The Map of Vidin Despotate with four monuments (Donja Kamenica, Staničenje, Kalotina, Berende) in 1330s-1350s



-  Territory of Bulgarian Empire
-  Territory of Vidin Despotate
-  Four monuments (Donja Kamenica, Staničenje, Kalotina, Berende)
-  Border of Vidin Despotate

2.12. St. Nicholas' Church (1331–1332) in Staničenje (Serbia): exterior, plan of the church and surrounding cemetery (after Popović, Gabelić, Cvetković, Popović. *Crkva svetog Nikole u Staničenju*)



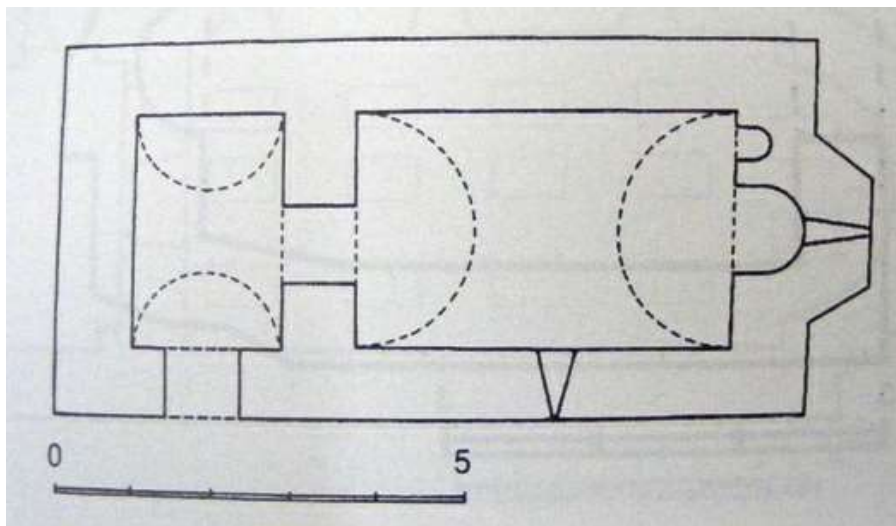
2.13. St. Nicholas' Church in Staničenje (1331–1332): southern wall with portraits of St. Nicholas? Despotes Konstantin and his wife, noble women Areta and deceased monk (above); northern wall with portraits of Arsenije, Evfimija and Kruban, unknown noble women and two “deceased” noblemen (below)

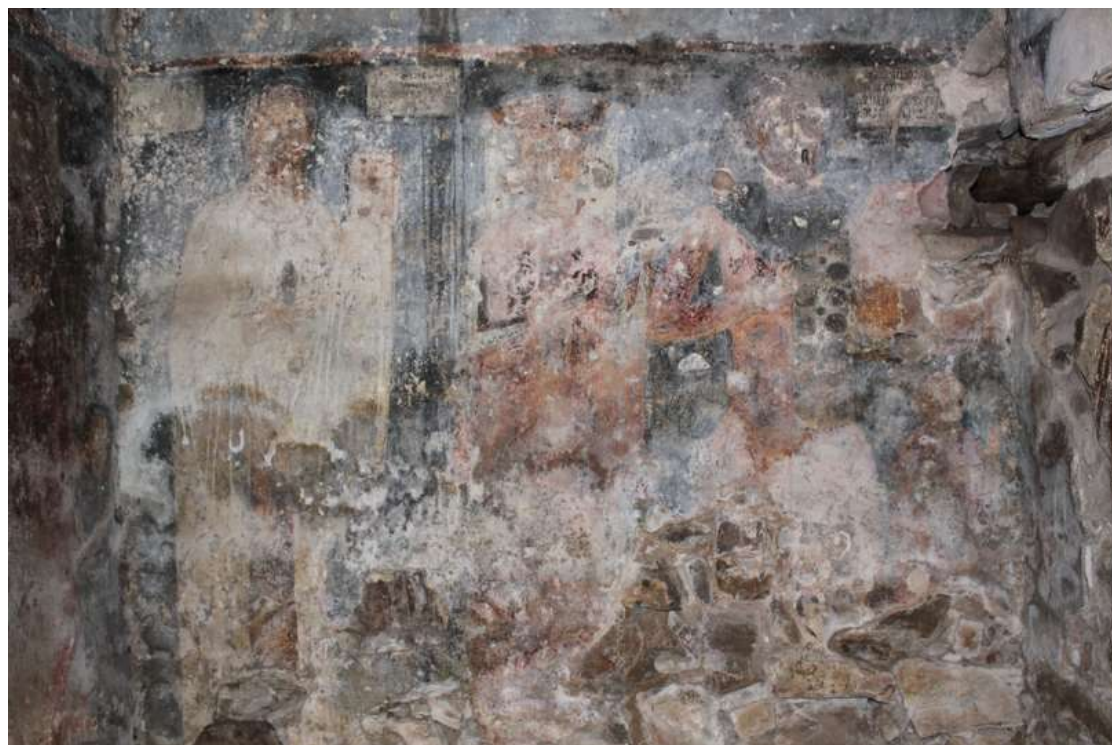


After: Popović, Gabelić, Cvetković, Popović. *Crkva svetog Nikole u Staničenju*



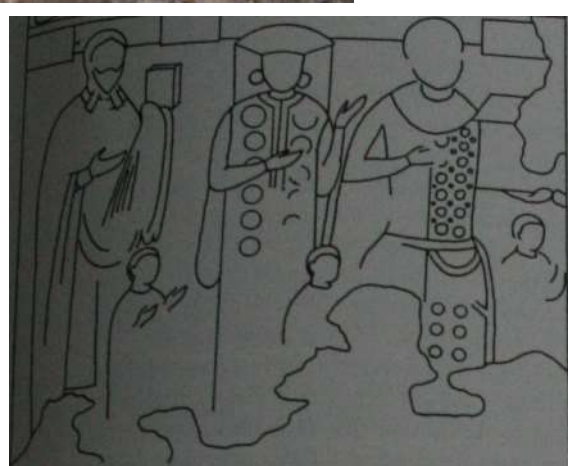
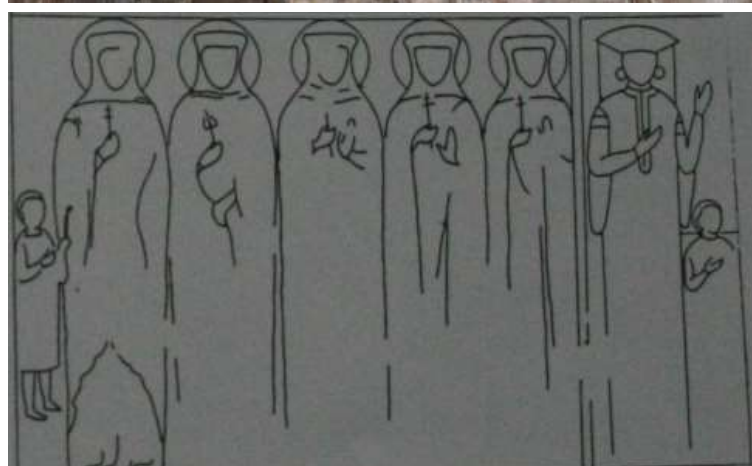
2.14. St. Nicholas' Church (1331-1334?) in Kalotina (Bulgaria): exterior and plan (after: Gero, Kirin, "New Data on... the Church of St. Nikola in Kalotina")





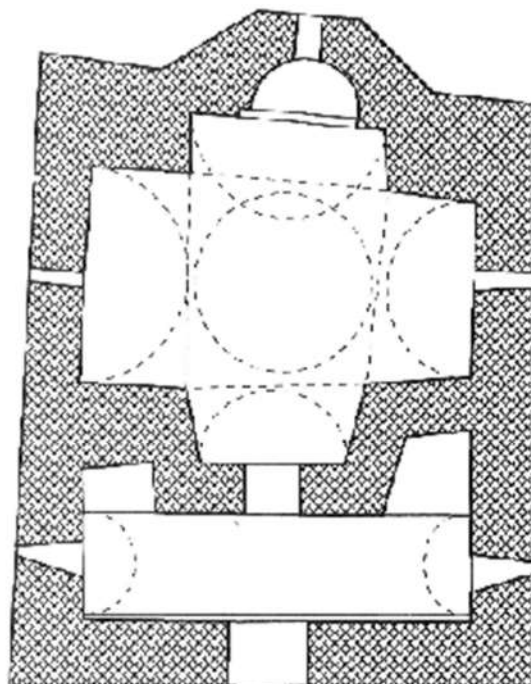
2.15. St. Nicholas' Church in Kalotina (1331-1334?):

The iconographic scheme (after: Gerov, Kirin, "New Data on... the Church of St. Nikola in Kalotina") and donor portraits on the western and northern walls





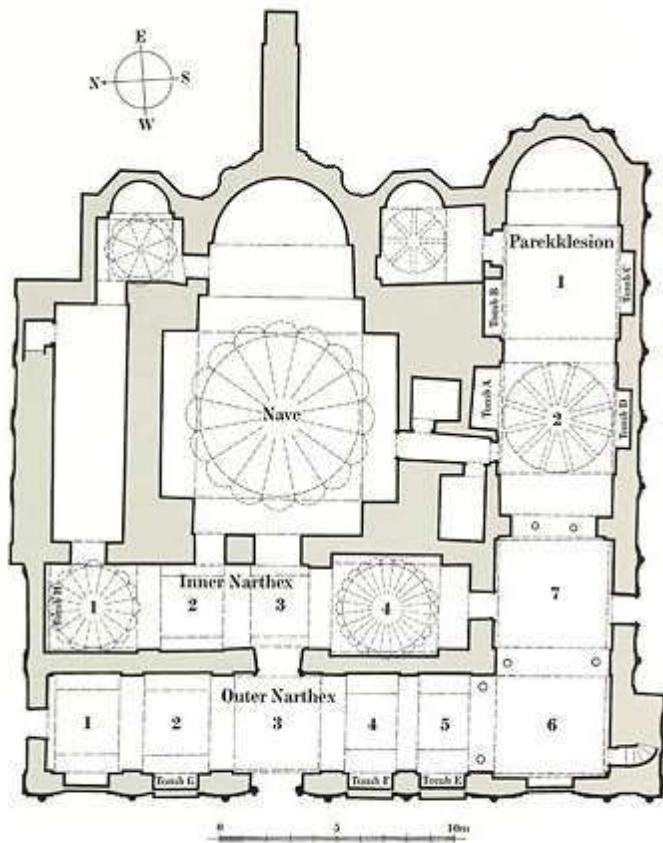
2.16. Church of the Holy Virgin (1320s?) in Donja Kamenica (Serbia), exterior, ground plan (after: Mavrodinova, Liljana. [Мавродинова, Лиљана]. *Църквата в Долна Каменица*), and portraits of Despot Michail and Despotica Ana (?) on the western wall of the narthex





2.17. Church of the Holy Virgin in Donja Kamenica (1320s?), donors' portraits: two monks with Christ(above), male founders with the child and the Virgin Eleusa (middle), the family portrait from the chapel above the narthex



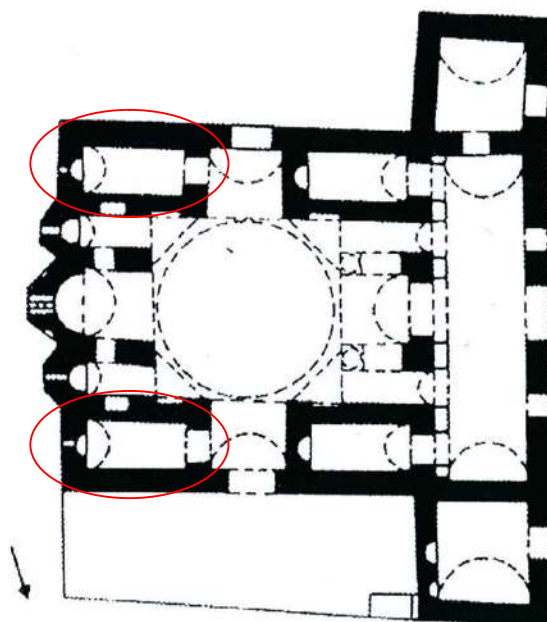


2.19. Constantinople, Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii) (1316-1321), Ground plan (After Underwood, Paul. *The Kariye Djami*) and the view on the southern parekklesion with the arcosolia for tombs of Theodore Metochites and his family members





2.20. St. Theodore Church of Brontocheion Monastery (Mystras, Greece), 1290-1295, ground plan (after Sinos, "Οι εκκλησίες του Μυστρά"); north-eastern chapel view from the interior; the interior of the north-eastern chapel with the burial; Manuel Palaiologos' portrait with the Virgin from the chapel





2.21. St. Theodore Church of Brontocheion Monastery (Mystras, Greece), 1290-1295, south-eastern chapel, southern wall: Sts. Theodores address the Virgin on behalf of a donor (above)

Northern wall: Archangel and St. John the Baptist with a donor(below)

Drawings after: Etzeoglou, "Quelques remarques sur les portraits")



2.22. St. Demetrios Cathedral, Thessaloniki (Greece), Chapel of St. Euthymios (1303) commissioned by Maria and Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes, exterior (eastern facade of St. Demetrios cathedral), interior



2.23. St. John Prodromos Menoikeion monastery, katholikon, section, view from the south (after Bakirtzis, Nikolas. *Hagios Ioannis Prodromos monastery*) and exterior with a view of St. Nicholas chapel above the narthex

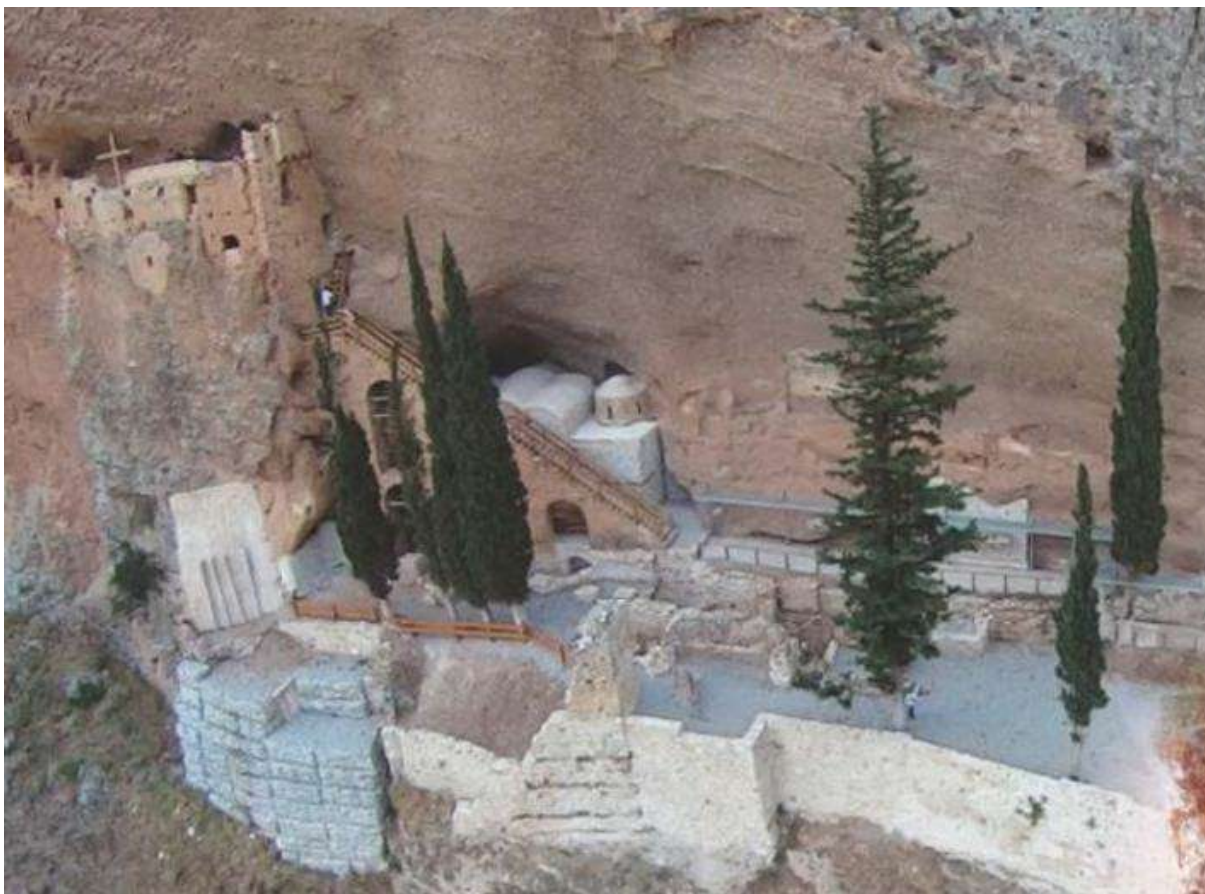
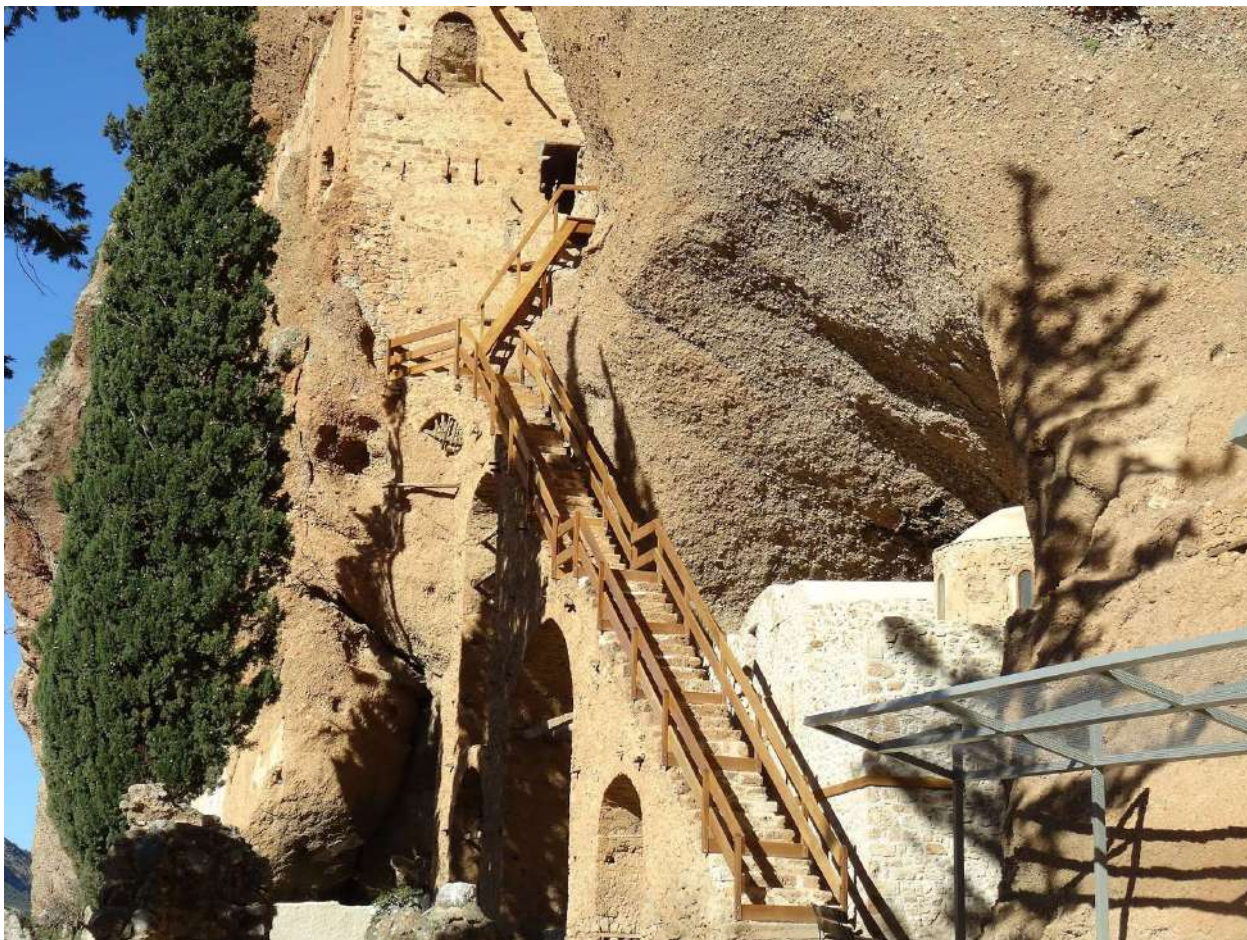




2.24. St. John Prodromos Menoikeion monastery, St. Nicholas chapel above the narthex, 1358-1364, view on the niche and dedicatory inscription (after Bakirtzis, Nikolas. *Hagios Ioannis Prodromos monastery*), close-up of the niche with the indication of metal hook (in red) (after Đorđević, Kyriakoudis, 'The Frescoes in the Chapel of St. Nicholas')



2.25. Taxiarches monastery (Palaiomonastero) in Aigialeio (Greece)



2.26. Taxiarches monastery (Palaionastero) in Aigialeio (Greece)



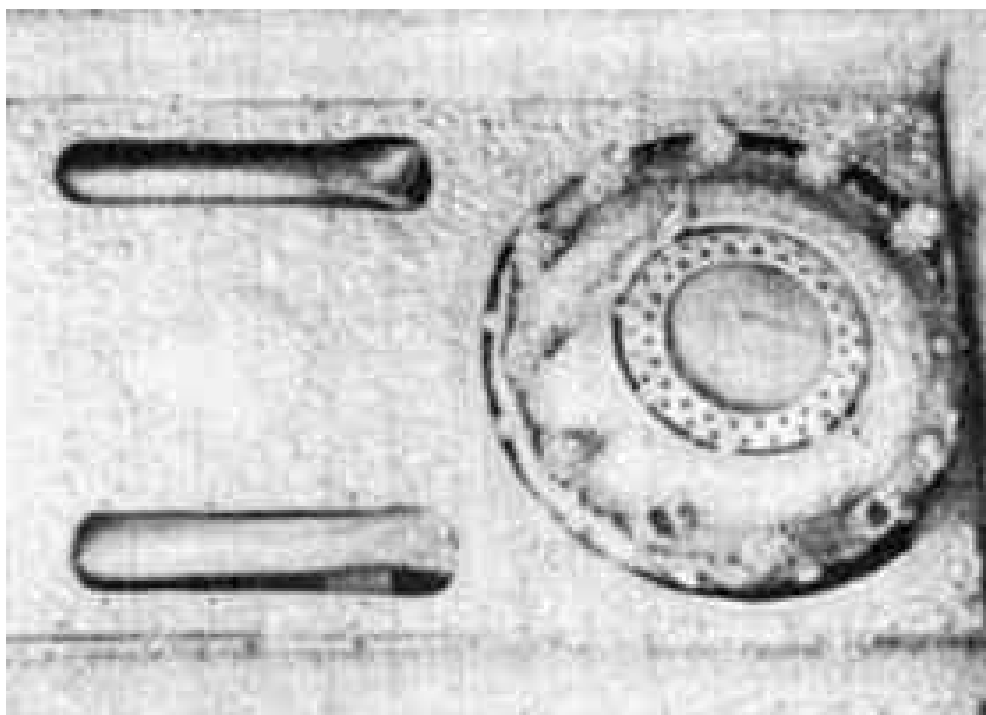


2.27. St. Leontios' cave and tomb place on two upper levels of the complex in Aigialeio (Greece)

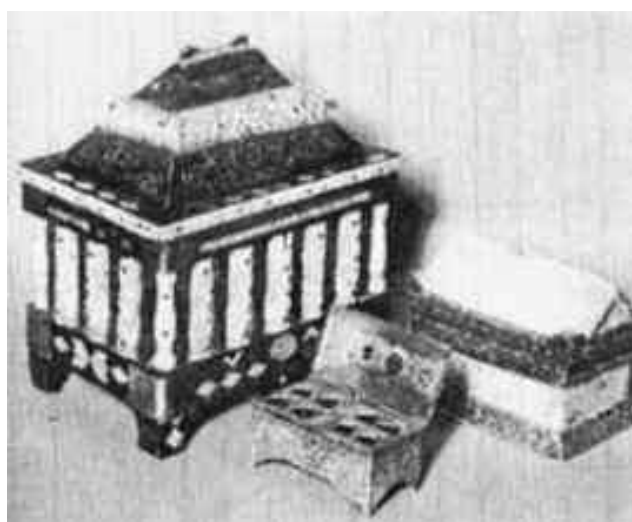




2.28. St. Leontios' tomb, the most upper level of the complex in Aigialeio (Greece)



2.29. The Relics of Passion kept in the Taxiarches monastery in the beginning of the 20st century and the casket from the metropolis of Nauplio (Greece)





2.30. The Relics of Passion kept in the metropolis of Nauplio monastery nowadays

The inscription on the marble box is: ἐσθῆτα Χ(ριστο)ῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου φέρων





3.1. Protostrator Theodore Komnenos Doukas Palaiologos Synadenos and his wife Eudokia Doukaina Komnene Palaiologina Synadene, Oxford, Lincoln College, MS Gr. 35, fol. 8r , c. 1330 (<https://commons.wikimedia.org/>)

3.2. Theodule, Joachim and Euphrosyne, Oxford, Lincoln College, MS Gr. 35, fol. 7r, c. 1330 (apud. Ball, Jennifer. "The Group Portrait in the Lincoln Typikon: Identity and Social Structure in a Fourteenth-Century Convent," *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies* 5 (2016): 142).

3.3. The Foundresses, Theodora/Theodule and Euphrosyne, dedicating the church and the Typikon to the Virgin, Oxford, Lincoln College, MS Gr. 35, fol. 1r (<https://commons.wikimedia.org/>)

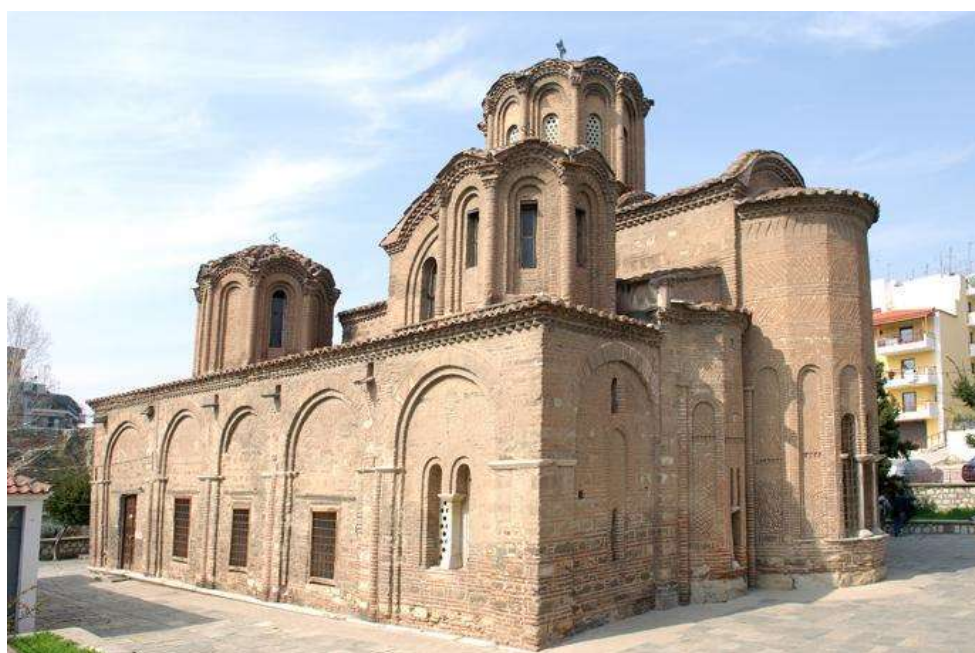




3.4 - 3.5. The monograms of the Patriarch Niphon (Νίφων πατρ(ι)άρχ(ης) κτήτωρ), Thessaloniki, the Church of Holy Apostles, the northern and southern tympani of the Western façade, 1310-1314



3.6. Thessaloniki, the Church of Holy Apostles, 1310-1314





3.7. The monograms of the Patriarch Niphon (Νίφων πατρ(ι)άρχ(ης) κτήτωρ), Thessaloniki, the Church of Holy Apostles, the colonnettes of the Western façade, 1310-1314

3.8. The monograms of the Patriarch Niphon (ΝΙ πατριάρχης και κτήτωρ ΦΩΝ), Thessaloniki, the Church of Holy Apostles, the lintel of the main entrance of the Western façade, 1310-1314



3.9. Capitals with monograms of Alexios Apokaukos from the Church of St. John the Baptist, Selymbria, c. 1321-1341 (Archeological Museum of Constantinople, 1980, inv. no. 1235) apud. Asdracha, *Thrace orientale*, Vol. I, fig. 102



3.10. Capital with a monogram of the *protostrator* John Phrangopoulos (ο κτητωρ ιωαν(νη)ς) φρ(α)γγ(ο)π(ου)λος **πρ(ω)τοστρατωρ**), the Pantanassa Church, Mystra, 1428



3.11. Inscription by Metropolitan Mathew, 1400s, St. Demetrios Church (Metropolis), Mystra, cornice of the gallery, western wall (Ο ΚΤΗΤΩΡ Μ(ΗΤ)ΡΟ[ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ] ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟ[Σ])



3.12. Portrait of Metropolitan Eugenios (1262–1272), St. Demetrios Church (Metropolis), Mystra, the northern wall of the diakonikon

3.13. Portrait of Metropolitan Eugenios (1262–1272), St. Demetrios Church (Metropolis), Mystra, the northern wall of the diakonikon, apud. Marinou, Georgia [Μαρίνου, Γεωργία]. *Ο Άγιος Δημήτριος, η Μητρόπολη του Μυστρά* (Athens: Ekdose tou Tameiou Archaialogikon Poron kai Apallotrioseon, 2002): fig. 42B





3.14.-3.15. *magistros* Nikephoros Kasnitzes and his wife Anna, late 12th century, Church of Hagios Nikolaos tou Kasnitze, the eastern wall of the narthex.

3.16. Virgin and Child with the donors (Theodoros Lemniotes, his wife Anna Radene, and their son John Lemniotes), late 12th century. Kastoria, church of Hagioi Anargyroi, north aisle. From the Web Page of Byzantine Museum at Kastoria (<https://www.bmk.gr/en/collection/byzantine-period/>)

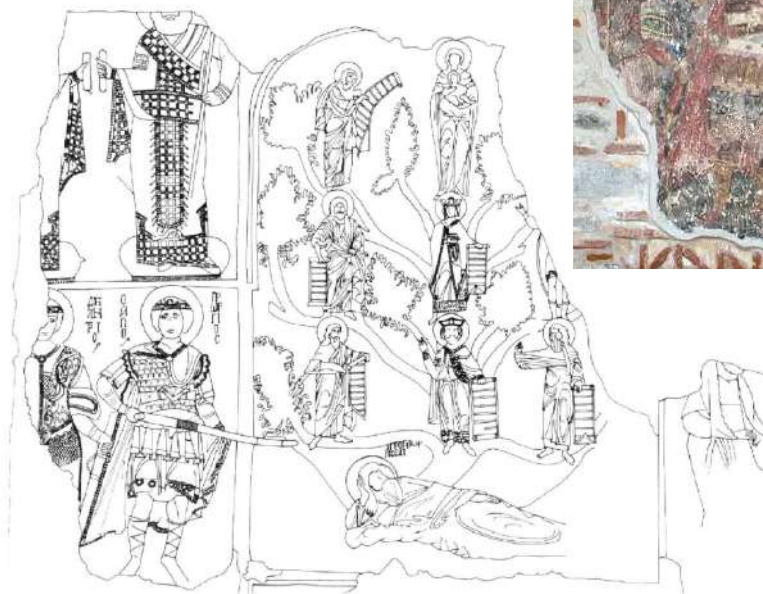




3.17. Donor portrait of kings Marko and Vukašin Mrnjavčevići with St. Demetrios, the Church of St. Demetrios, Markov monastery, Macedonia (1365-1377)

3.18. The general view of the external wall of the Church of Panagia Mavriotissa at Kastoria (1259-1264), Alexios I Komnenos and Michael VIII Palaiologos, st. George and St. Demetrios, the Tree of Jesse, Apostle Peter

3.19. The scheme of the iconographic program on the external wall of the Church of Panagia Mavriotissa at Kastoria (1259-1264), apud. Papamastorakis, Titos "Ένα εικαστικό εγκώμιο του Μιχαήλ Η' Παλαιολόγου," *DChAE* 15 (1989-1990): 223.





3.20 - 3.21 *protostrator and ktetor* Theodore Tzimiskes with his wife Maria (above) and *the brother of the ktetkor* John Tzimiskes with his wife Anna (below), Eastern wall of the narthex, Kokkine Ekklesia (1295-1296), Voulgareli near Arta





3.22. Donors' Portraits (Stefan and Lazar Musići) and St. Paul, western wall of the naos, the Virgin's Entrance church (1383-1386) at Nova Pavlica, Serbia

3.23. Stefan and Lazar Musići, western wall of the naos, the Virgin's Entrance church (1383-1386) at Nova Pavlica, Serbia

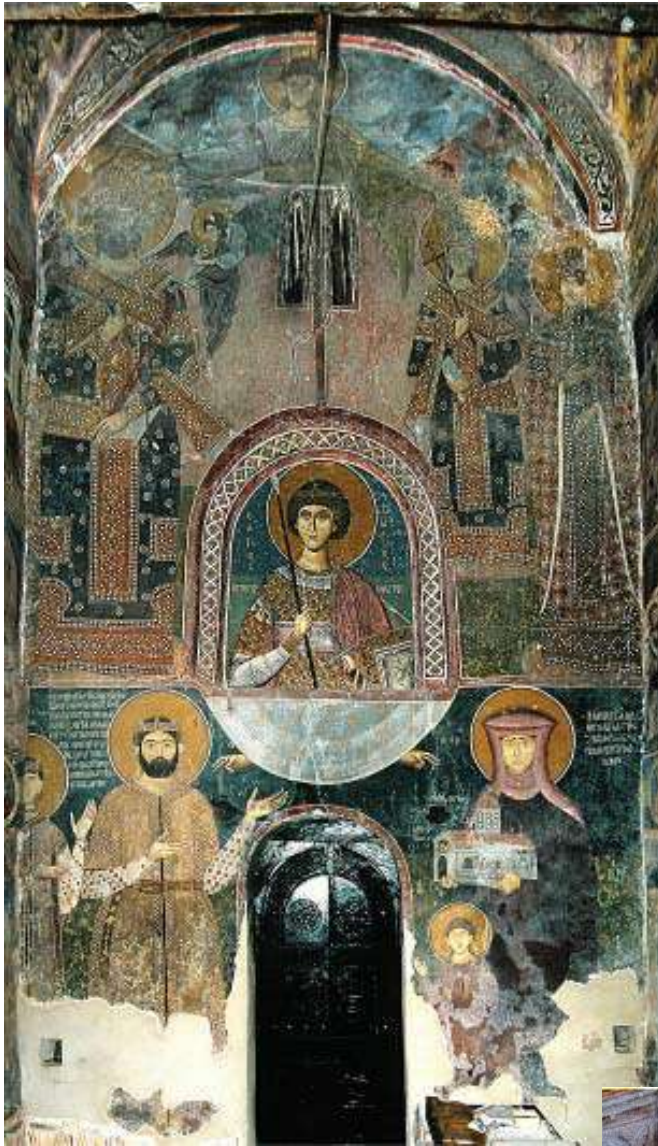




3.24. Donor composition of *sebastokrator* Kolojan and *sebastokratorissa* Desislava, northern wall of the narthex, Boyana Church (1259), Bulgaria

3.25. General view of the narthex toward east, Boyana Church (1259), Bulgaria





3.26. St. George monastery, Polog, East wall of narthex, families of king Dušan and Dragušin (1343-1345)

3.27. St. George monastery, Polog, East wall of narthex, Dragušin's Mother Marina (1343-1345) with inscription: ΔΕΙΣΙΣ Τ(ΗΣ) ΔΟΥΛ<ΗΣ ΤΟΥ> Θ(ΕΟ)Υ ΜΑΡΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΥΓΕΝΕΣΤΑΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΕΙΛΙΔΑΣ <ΤΗΣ ΟΝΟΜΑΣΘΕΙΣΗΣ ΜΑ>ΡΙΝΑΣ Κ(ΑΙ) ΚΤΙΤΟΡΙ<ΣΑΣ ΤΟΥ> ΝΑΟΥ and Dragušin's son: ΔΕΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ ΔΡΑΓ<.....ΤΟ>Υ ΥΙΟΥ <ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ Ο ΘΕΟΣ Σ>ΟΣ<Ι ΑΥΤΟΝ> ΗΣ ΕΤ<Η> ΠΩΛΛΑ





3.28. Paul, the monk, second ktetor of the church of Holy Apostles (Thessaloniki), the eastern wall of the narthex (1310-1314 or 1328-1334?), Inscription: Παῦλο(ς) μοναχός [καὶ] προϊστάμενος τῆς σεβασμίας μονῆς ταύτης κ(αὶ) μαθητῆς τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου οἰκουμενικοῦ π(ατ)ριάρχου κ(αὶ) κτίτορος κῦρ Νίφωνος κ(αὶ) δεύτερος κτίτωρ

3.29. Danilo, the second hegoumenos of Dečani, the diakonikon (before 1350), from the Archive of the Blago Fund
<https://www.blagofund.org/Archives/Decani/>

3.30. Akakios, hegoumenos and second ktetor, St. Nicholas and Christ St. Nicholas Church, Manastir (Mariovo, Macedonia), after 1271



3.31. Bačkovó monastery, Ossuary, Lower church, northern wall of the narthex, niches with portrait of ktetors (1344-1363) and a row of righteous of the Last Judgment (11th century)





3.32. Ktetor Gregory Pakourianos (Γρηγόριος σεβαστοκράτωρ καὶ δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Πακουριανὸς ὁ μέγας δομέστος καὶ κτήτωρ) and his brother Arasis (Ἀπάσις μαγίστρος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κτήτορος), Bačkovo monastery, Ossuary, Lower church, northern wall of the narthex (1344-1363)

3.33. George and Gabriel, the second ktetors (Γεώργιος καὶ Γαβριὴλ οἱ δεῦτεροι κτήτορες), Bačkovo monastery, Ossuary, Lower church, northern wall of the narthex (1344-1363)





3.34.-3.35 King Stefan Milutin and queen Simonis, arch between the inner narthex and the naos, church of the Presentation of the Virgin, Gračanica monastery, 1318-1321 (Serbia/Kosovo)



3.36. Dečani monastery, (1330, 1345), Stefan Uroš ("the Young King"), queen Jelena, and Simeon Siniša with erased earlier images, west wall of naos (Serbia/Kosovo)



3.37. Kings Stefan of Dečani and Stefan Dušan founders with erased earlier images on the background, south wall of the naos, Dečani monastery (1330, 1345), (Serbia/Kosovo)

3.38. Dobrun monastery, family of župan Pribil with his sons Stefan and Petar, and *protovestiar* Stan, southern wall, c. 1343, Višegrad, BiH



3.39. Dobrun monastery, family of Tsar Stefan Dušan with Stefan Uroš and Jelena, northern wall, c. 1343, Višegrad, BiH



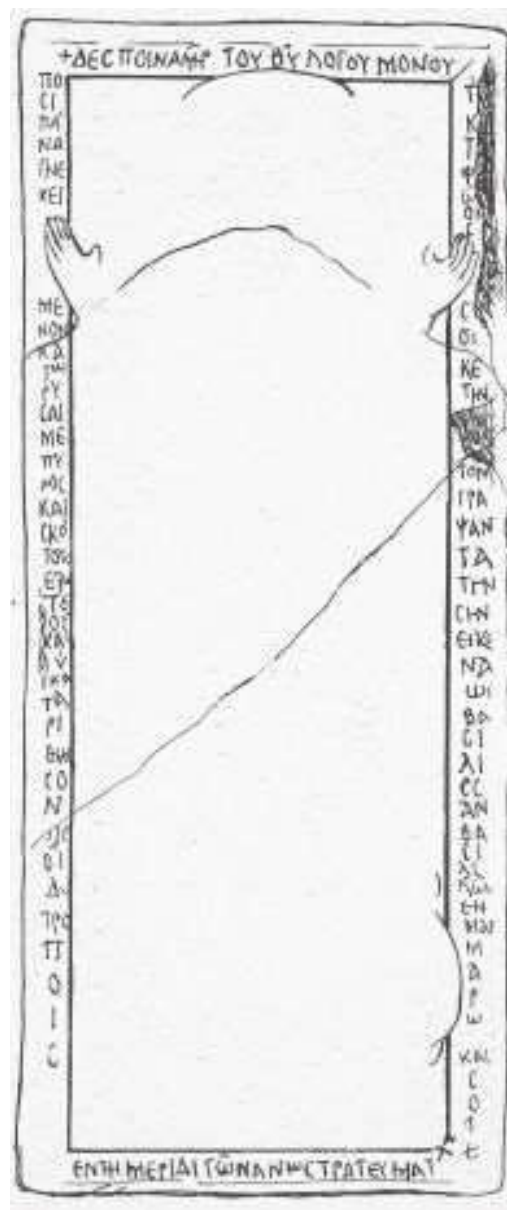


3.40. Nicholas and Anna Maliasenoi as founders of Nea Petra monastery and John the Baptist, photo by G. Millet, Cod. Taurin. gr. 237, Cartulary of Makrinitissa and Nea Petra monasteries (1281-1282, nowadays destroyed) f. 258v apud. Spatharakis, *The Portrait*, p. 189, fig. 141

3.41. Nicholas and Anna Maliasenoi as founders of Nea Petra monastery and John the Baptist, reconstruction, Cod. Taurin. gr. 237, Cartulary of Makrinitissa and Nea Petra monasteries (1281-1282, nowadays destroyed) f. 258v apud. De Gregorio, "Epigrammi e documenti," p. 132



CEN eTD Collection



3.44. The donor Nicephor Magistros Ischyros and Gephyra present the church model to Christ, naos, southern wall, late 13th century (initially, it was founded in 1105-1106), Asinou, Panagia Phorbiotissa



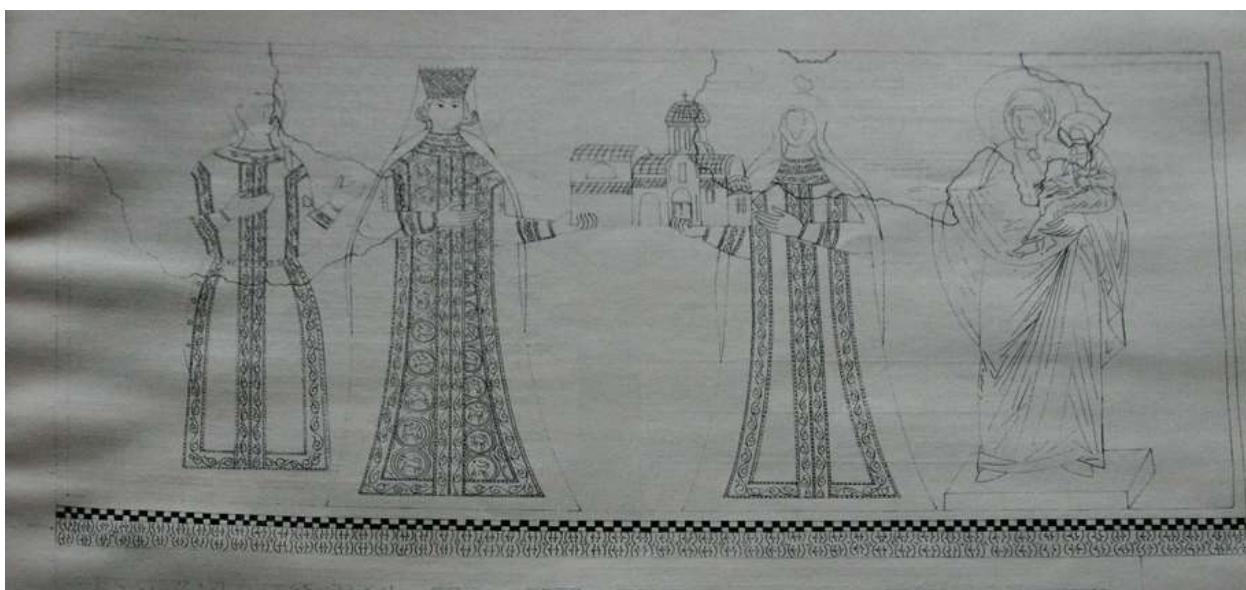
3.45. The Panagia Phorbiotissa with three minor donors of 1350-1375 and remnants of the 12th century dedicatory inscription, narthex, eastern wall, Asinou, Panagia Phorbiotissa Church



3.46. king Dušan, queen Jelena, voivoda Dejan, voivodica Vladislava, Kučevište, the Theotokos church, the southern wall of the narthex (1332-1337), after: Rasolkoska-Nikolovska, Zagorka. "O ktitorskim portretima u crkvi Svete Bogorodice u Kučevištu," *Zograf* 16 (1985): 49.



3.47. Radoslav, Vladislava and Marena with the Virgin, Kučevište, the Theotokos church, the northern wall of the narthex (1332-1337), after: Rasolkoska-Nikolovska, Zagorka. "O ktitorskim portretima u crkvi Svete Bogorodice u Kučevištu," *Zograf* 16 (1985): 50





3.48. Voivoda Dejan, voivodica Vladislava, Kučevišće, the Theotokos church, the southern wall of the narthex (1332-1337)

3.49. Voivodica Vladislava, Kučevišće, the Theotokos church, the southern wall of the narthex (1332-1337)



3.50. Heiromonks ktetors Jakobos and kyr Sabbas and the Theotokos, the Theotokos Eleousa Church of Megali Prespa, southern wall, 1410 (Greece)



3.51. Tomb D of *megas kontostaulos* Michael Tornikes and his wife Eugenia at the *parekklesion* of Chora monastery, after 1328, Constantinople





3.52. Portraits of the Nemanjići family (St. Simeon, St. Sava, Stefan the First-crowned, prince Stefan, prince Stefan Uroš III future king Stefan of Dečani), western wall of the narthex, church of the Bogorodica Ljeviška (Prizren, Serbia/Kosovo), 1306-1308



3.53. King Stefan Milutin eastern wall of narthex, church of Bogorodica Ljeviška (Prizren, Serbia/Kosovo), 1306-1308

3.54. Enthroned Christ and the donor Theodore Metochites in the Inner Narthex of Chora monastery, 1315-1321 (after: The Byzantine Legacy Web Page, <https://www.thebyzantinelegacy.com/chora>)



3.55. the Deeses with two donors, Isaak Komnenos and nun Melane, Inner Narthex of Chora monastery, 1315-1321



3.56. The portrait of the sponsor family of Jovan Oliver (lower row) and the ruling family of tsar Stefan Dušan (upper row), northern wall of narthex, Lesnovo monastery (Macedonia), 1342-1349



4.1. The family of *župan* Brajan, the Virgin's church, Karan (Serbia), northern wall, 1337-42 or 1332-37



4.2. The prayer of presbyter George Medoš, the Virgin's church, Karan (Serbia), apse, 1337-1342 or 1332-1337

4.3. The Virgin's church, Karan (Serbia), Inscription on the northern wall next to the image of St. Paul: мо[леніє р]аба бож(и)а іувана єромонаха мана...



4.4. Kneeling monk Manuel (?), Church of the Panagia Mauriotissa, Kastoria, 1259-1264 (?), apse, Inscription: ιτος ιερο[μόναχος] [ά]γίας μον[ής] ...γίδας, ό άνοικοδομήσ[ας] // Μανου[ήλ?]



4.5. The Latin Abbot Innocent next to the throne of Christ, the Savior church at Rubik (Albania), 1272





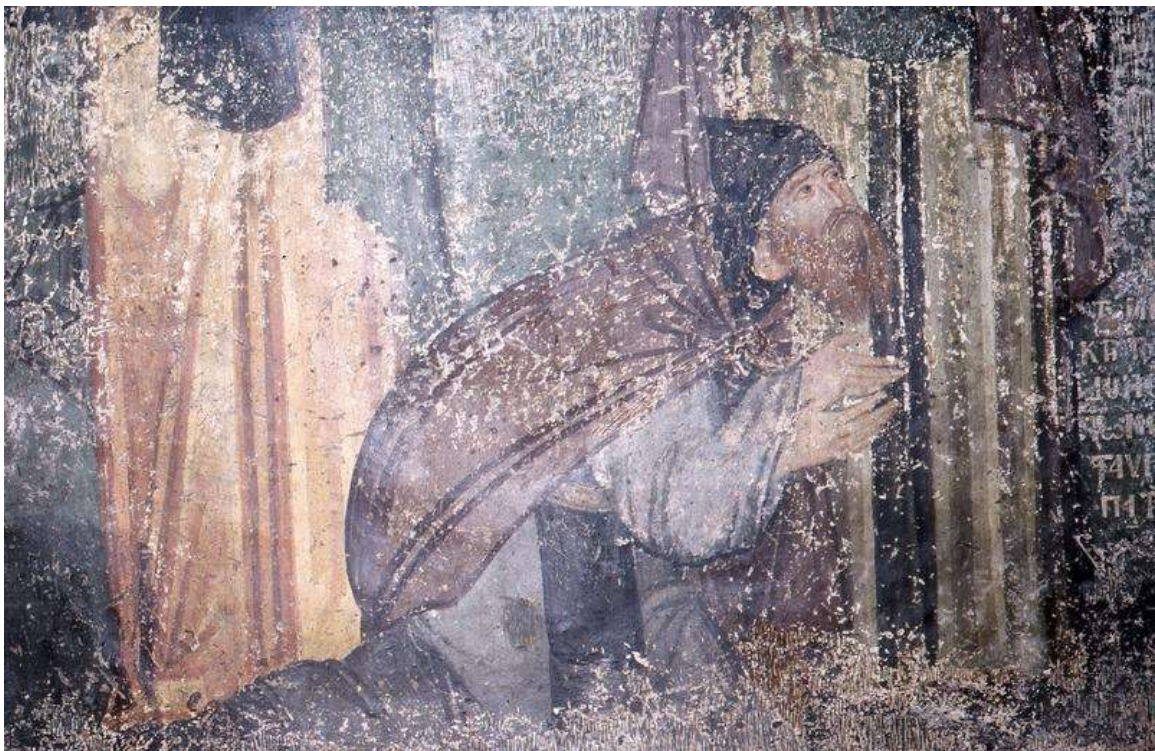
4.6. The portrait of the main donors, Michael As... and his wife, the Dormition church at Alikambos (Crete), western wall, 1315-1316

4.7.-4.8 The nun Martha and equestrian saints, the Dormition church at Alikambos (Crete), northern wall, 1315-1316



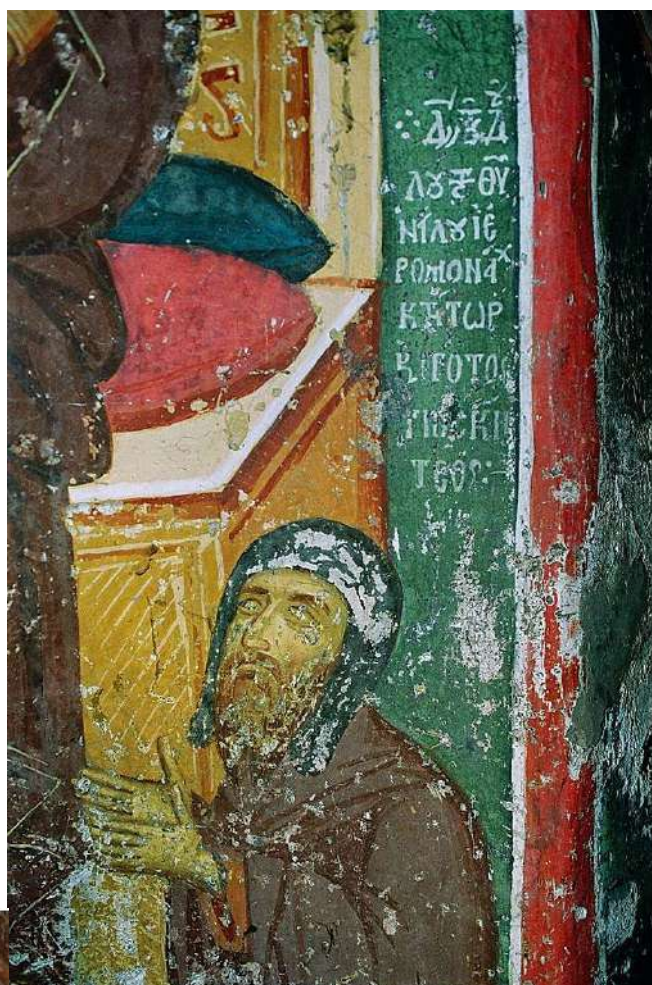


4.9.-4.10 Anastasis church at Berroia, southern wall, depiction of St. Arsenios with praying Ignatios Kalothetos at his feet, 1315. The inscription: Τοῦ προσπε[σόντος] | κτήτορος [Ι]γ[νατίου] | δέησιν δ[έ]ξαι, ος ὑπέρ | των σων [λό]γων | σταυροπίγην τέθηκεν | πατριαρχικόν



4.11. Meteora, Ypapanti monastery, Portrait of the hieromonk Neilos, the southern wall, 1366/7

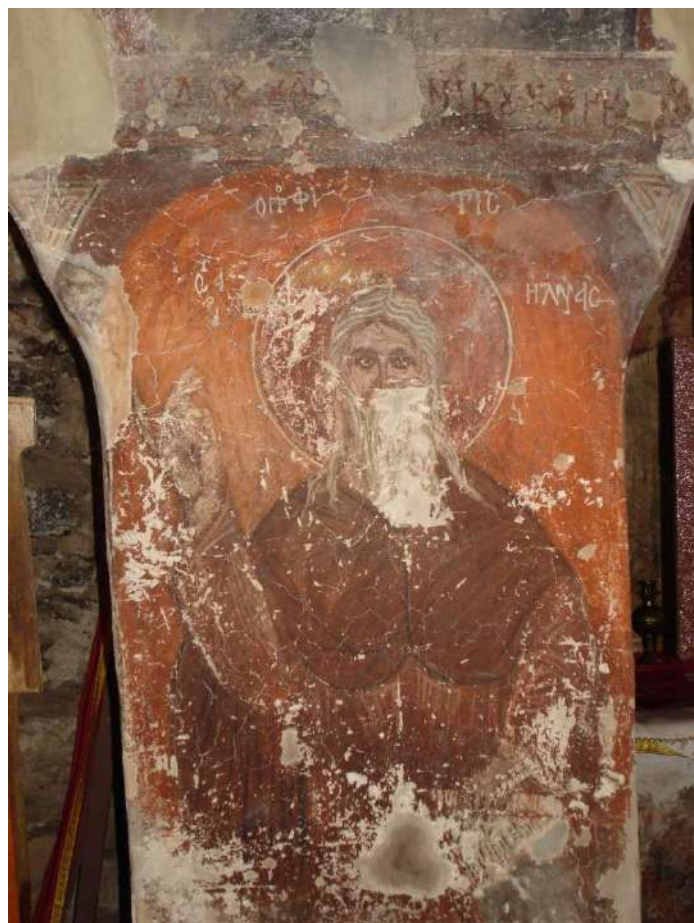
4.12. Pećka Patrijaršaja, St. Demetrios' Church, Image of St. Ioannikios with the Virgin and the Inscription of Archbishop Joanikije, the western wall, c. 1345



4.13. Portrait of Demetrios Mesenopolites with St. Demetrios, Prilep (Macedonia), St. Demetrios' Church, the northern wall of the southern aisle, before 1284

4.14. St. Elijah and votive inscription of Andronikos and Eirine, north-eastern pillar, Prilep (Macedonia), St. Demetrios' Church, the northern wall of the southern aisle, before 1284

4.15. Unknown Monk with St. Onouphrios, the southern pillar of the dome, Prilep (Macedonia), St. Demetrios' Church, before 1284



4.16. Eirine ktetorissa with her husband George and a child, western wall, St. John Prodromos Church at Archangelo, Rhodes, before 1428.

4.17. Nikolaos Kamanos at the feet of Michael Archangel, southern wall, St. John Prodromos Church at Archangelo, Rhodes, 1428.

Inscription: + Δ(έησις) τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ
Νικόλαο Καμάνου καὶ [τῆς] συμ[βίου] αὐ[τοῦ]
ἔτους [Σ]λς (=6936)



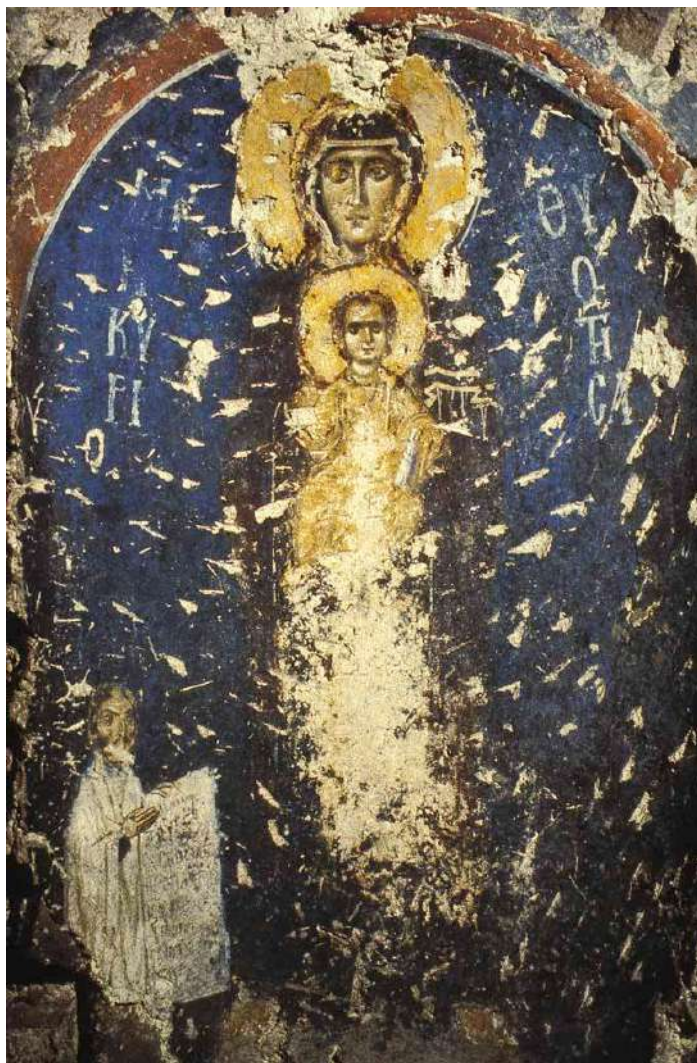
4.18. Meletios, and Ypomone, the church of St. Kyriake at Lampiriana, before 1405





4.19-4.20 Noble donor with the figure of St. Nicholas, The Presentation of the Virgin church in Lipljan, the northern wall, 1331-1355



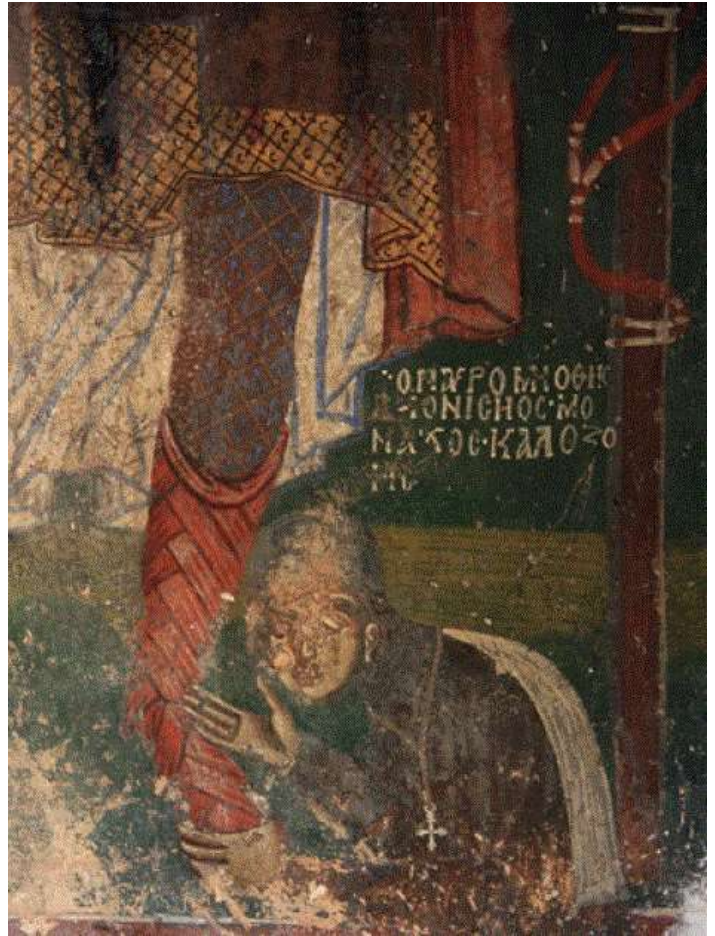


4.21. Unknown cleric (John Geometres Kyriotes?) and the Virgin Kyriotissa, fresco from the diakonikon of Kalenderhane Camii, 12th century

4.22. St. Nicholas monastery in Malagari near Perachora, northern arcosolium , Deesis with Christ «Photodotes» and Sophronios Kalozois, the second half of the 13th century. Inscription: παρομηοθη(ς) Σοφρονιος μοναχος ο καλοζοης [παρμωιωθης Σωφρονιος μοναχος ο Καλοζώης].



4.23-4.24. St. Nicholas monastery in Malagari near Perachora, the vault of the southern arcosolium, Theodore Teron and Dionysios Kalozois, the second half of the 13th century. Inscription: ο παρομιωθης Διονυσιος μοναχος καλοζοης [ο παρμιοιωθης Διονύσιος μοναχος Καλοζώης]. After: Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, p. 31.





4.25. Sts. Theodore church, Ano Poula (Mani), the blind arch in the the south wall, Sts. Demetrios and Theodore Tiron and Theodore and the nun Kyriake (left), 1265-1270 (the photo by courtesy of Svetlana O.). Inscription: Η παρομησ. Κυριακου μο(να)χη. Η θηΓάτιρ λεοντος το του ροπούγγΗ. ει(στ)ή συνβη[ο]σην τ[ου] ποτε. Κ(ύρι)ε ρ(ι)σ(αι) Ευθυμίου Μο(να)χ(ου). τουλεκου εία. ο κε πολώ κοιποιάσας αχο[νι] (αν)[ε]θεντο τιού(τον) τον πάνσευτον άγηον ναόν μεγάλον μαρτίρον θεοδωρον - reconstructed by P. Katsafados

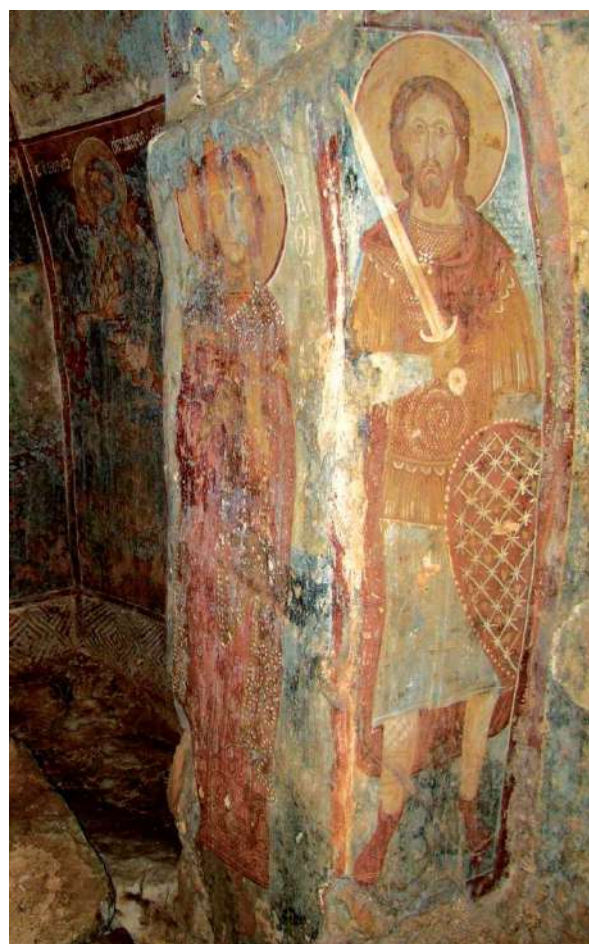


4.26. Sts. Theodore church, Ano Poula (Mani), the blind arch in the the south wall, St. Eulalia and St. Theodore riding, 1265-1270. Inscriptions above the figure of a monk: 1) ΔΕΗCIC ΕΥΘΙΜΗΟΥ Μ(ονα)ΧΟ(ῦ) [τοῦ] ΛΕΚΟΥCΑ 2) Σας το δοτήριον τ(ο) / καλόν φέρνε μοι 13/14 Δέξαι το δώρον αν / τίδος Πρωτεργάτα 15/16 Τη ση ρώμη τάχι / στα τουτονί και ποιή.... ΠαΝΣΕΠΤΟC ΝαοC Μ / ΑΡΤΙΡΟΝ ΘΕΟΔΩΡ(ωΝ) - edition by P. Katsafados. After: Gerstel, *Rural Lives*, p. 140.



4.27. The family of sponsors next to the figure of Archangel Gabriel, northern wall of narthex.
Inscription: ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ [---] / ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ .Ο[---] / [---] / CYNΒΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΚΝΟΥ αὐτοῦ ἀμην/ ἔτ ΣΤΨ ̲ Γ , St. Nicholas church in Exo Nyphi (Mani), 1284/5

4.28. St. Niketas with the donor's inscription: Δε(ησις) θε / οΔω / ρου του νιφ / ατη κ(αι) του / ηοῦ αυτου / νικητα / αμα ση / μβιου / κ(αι) τέκν(ων) / αυτου / αμῆν,
St. Nicholas church in Exo Nyphi (Mani), 1284/5

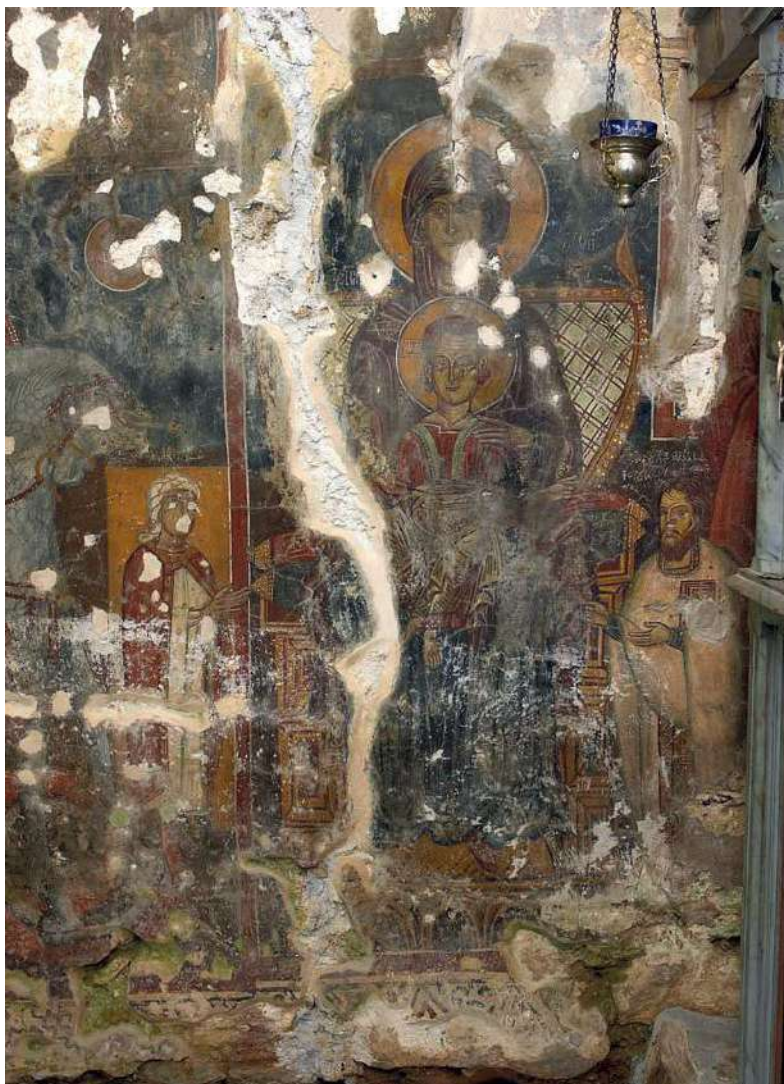


4.29. Asinou (Cyprus), the Panagia Phorbiotissa Church, narthex, the southern wall, second half of the 14th century



4.30. The Annunciation church in Kakodiki (Crete), the dedicatory inscription, 1331-1332, Photo after Vasiliki Tsamakda, *Die Panagia-Kirche und die Erzengelkirche in Kakodiki*, p. 307





4.31. The Annunciation church in Kakodiki (Crete), northern wall, the enthroned Virgin Eleousa with the founders, protopapas Nikephoros and certain Stamatini, 1331-1332. Inscriptions: 1) Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ Νικηφόρου ἡερέως τοῦ προτοπαπᾶ; 2) Μνήσθητι Κύριε τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς δούλης Σταματινῆς; Photo after Vasiliki Tsamakda, *Die Panagia-Kirche und die Erzengelkirche in Kakodiki*, p. 313.

4.32. The Annunciation church in Kakodiki (Crete), southern wall, enthroned Christ with St. John the Baptist and the founder, priest and nomikos John, 1331-1332. Inscription: Δέησις τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰωάννου εἰερέως τοῦ νουμι(κοῦ). After: Vasiliki Tsamakda, *Die Panagia-Kirche und die Erzengelkirche in Kakodiki*, p. 315





4.33. The Annunciation church in Kakodiki (Crete), western wall, St. Marina with an unknown founderess, St. Paraskevi, 1331-1332. Inscription: Μνήστητη Κύριε τῇ ψυχῇ τῆς δούλης . After: Vasiliki Tsamakda, *Die Panagia-Kirche und die Erzengelkirche in Kakodiki*, p. 317

4.34. The Annunciation church in Kakodiki (Crete), southern wall, St. Archangel Michael with an unknown founderess, 1331-1332. After: Vasiliki Tsamakda, *Die Panagia-Kirche und die Erzengelkirche in Kakodiki*, p. 316.





4.35-4.36. Arcosolia with family donor portraits, nave, the Church of Archangel Michael in Kavalariana, Crete (1328).



4.37. St. Paraskeue and inscription of Bogdan Magol, Church of the Virgin's Entry to the Temple at Dolac, late-14th century, after: Subotić, Gojko. *Dolac i Čabići* (Belgrade: Mnemosyne - Muzej u Prištini, 2012): 25.

4.38. John, the priest, and his wife and Basil Petro, arcosolium of the northern wall, Anissaraki, St. Anna Church, 1352





4.39. Michael Petro and his wife, arcosolium of the southern wall, Anissaraki, St. Anna Church, 1352. After: Xanthaki, Thetis [Ξανθάκη, Θέτις]. “Ο ναός της Αγίας Άννας στο Ανισαράκι Κανδάνου: Ο κύκλος της αγίας, οι αφιερωτές, η χρονολόγηση,” *DChAE* 31 (2011): 81.

4.40. Manuel Skordiles and monk Gerasimos Phorogiorges kneeling, southern wall, St. George at Komitades (Sfakia, Crete), wall painting by Ioannis Pagomenos, 1314

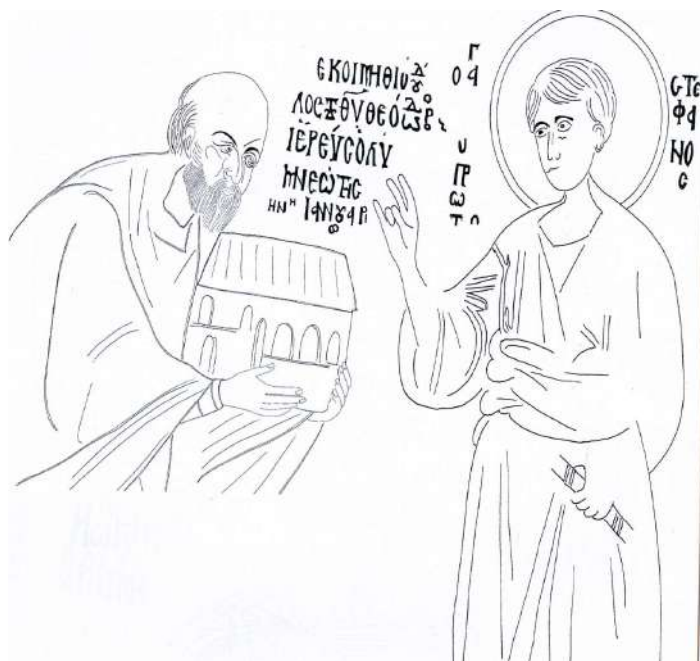
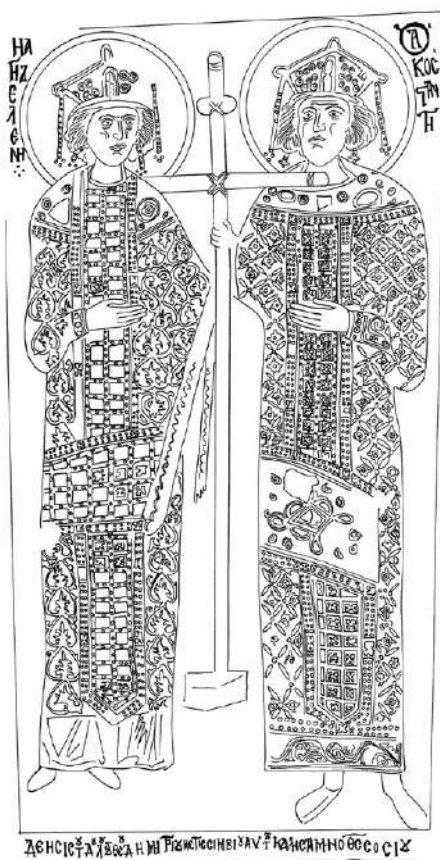




4.41. St. Stefan church in Kastoria, northern arch of the western arched opening, Sts. Constantine and Helena, the middle of the 11th century. The inscription below: Δέσις του δού // λου του Θ(εο)ϋ Κω // σταντίνου και της συμβίου αϋ // του "Αννας. After: Sisiou, Ioannis [Σίσσιου, Ιωάννης]. "Η μερική ανανέωση της ζωγραφικής του Αγίου Στεφάνου στην Καστοριά," *Niš i Vizantija* 7 (2009): 274.

4.42. St. Stefan's church in Kastoria, the northwest side of the narthex, Theodore Lemniotes and St. Stephen, the middle of the 11th century. The inscription: Έκοιμήθη ο δού // λος τοϋ θ(εο)ϋ Θεόδωρος // ιερέϋς ο Λυ // μενάτης // μη(νί) "Ιανουαρίω. After: Sisiou, Ioannis [Σίσσιου, Ιωάννης]. "Η μερική ανανέωση της ζωγραφικής του Αγίου Στεφάνου στην Καστοριά," *Niš i Vizantija* 7 (2009): 276.

4.43. St. Stefan's church in Kastoria, east wall of the narthex, the enthroned Virgin with the commissioner, nun Marina, 1230s. Inscription: Δέσις της δούλης // του Θ(εο)ϋ Μαρί//νας (μον)αχ(ή)ς. After: Sisiou, Ioannis [Σίσσιου, Ιωάννης]. "Η μερική ανανέωση της ζωγραφικής του Αγίου Στεφάνου στην Καστοριά," *Niš i Vizantija* 7 (2009): 277.





4.44. St. Stefan's church in Kastoria, The Virgin Gorgoeipikoos with the commissioner George, the niche in the northern aisle, 1337/38. Inscription: Δέησιν προσάγω σοι αγνή Παρθένε // έξ όλης μου της ψυχής προς σέ το // γόνυ κλίνας Γεώργ(ιος) ο ελάχιστος κ(αί) σος // ικέτης πόν(οις) ιδί(οις) παιδός τοῦ Βαριβίλυ // έργ(ον) 'Αθανασίου Ιερέως έτος ΣΩΜΣ.



4.45. St. Stefan's church in Kastoria, Christ, the niche in the northern aisle, the mid of the 14th century. Inscription: Δέσις του δούλου του Θεοῦ Κωσταντίνου και της συμβίου αὐτοῦ Ἀννας.

4.46.-4.47. St. Stefan's church in Kastoria, Baptism scene and Breastfeeding St. Anna, commissioned by nun Marina, 1230s, 1250s. Inscriptions: 1) Δέσις της δούλης του Θεοῦ Μαρηνας 2) Δέσις της δούλης του Θεοῦ Μαρηνας





4.48. St. Paraskeue and a kneeling monk, southern wall, the Virgin's Church, Mali Grad (Albania), 1368-1369

4.49. The family portrait of *kesar* Novak with the Virgin and Christ, Western façade, the Virgin's Church, Mali Grad (Albania), 1368-1369



4.50. Kastoria, the Taxiarchis Church, Portraits of Michael Asanes with his wife (?) and the Archangel, the western external wall (1246-1256 or 1304-1320s)





4.51. Veria (Berroia), St. John the Theologos' Church, pseudarcosolium with the Deesis and Nikephoros Sgouros' Inscription, the Northern external wall, beginning of the 14th century. Inscription: + Δεί[σις] τοῦ | δούλου τοῦ | Θ(εο)ῦ Νικηφόρου τοῦ Σγούρου

4.52. Gračanica monastery, the Virgin's Church, Portrait of Todor Branković, the Arch of the Diakonikon, before 1429.



4.53-4.54. Portrait of *primicerius* Theodotus with his family, Santa Maria Antiqua, Chapel of Sts. Kirikos and Julita (741-752), Rome





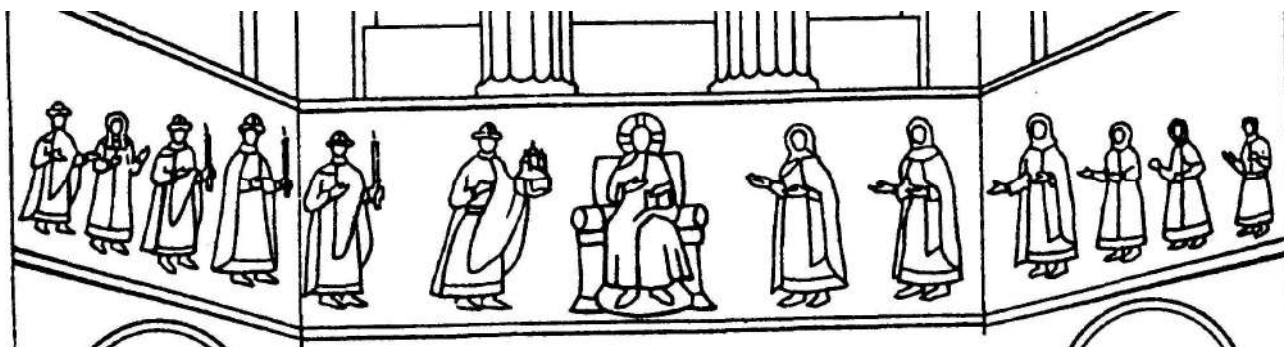
4.55-4.56 Sophia of Kiev, western arm of cross, portraits of kniaz Yaroslav and his family, 1040s



4.57. Sophia of Kiev, western arm of cross, portraits of kniaz Yaroslav and his family, 1040s. After: iconart.info



4.58. Sophia of Kiev, western arm of cross, portraits of kniaz Yaroslav and his family, 1040s, Reconstruction by A. Porre. After: Preobrazhensky, Alexandr [Преображенский, Александр]. *Ктиторские портреты средневековой Руси. XI - начало XVI века* (Moscow, 2012): 844



4.59. Barberini Psalter, Codex Vaticanus Barberinianus Graecus 372, fol. 1r, 1092 (?). Portraits either Constantine X Doukas, Eudokia Makrembolitissa and their son Michael VII or Alexios I Komnenos, Eirene and their son John II Komnenos. After: Wikimedia.com.



4.60-4.61. The marble slab from Hagia Theodora in Arta, Anna Cantacuzene Palaiologina and despotes Thomas, 1296



4.62. The scene of Isaac's blessing to Jacob (Genesis 27:29-40), Hagia Theodora Church in Arta, narthex vault 1290s



4.63. Portrait of Theodora, Andronikos II Michael VIII and the Virgin, the church of Virgin in Apollonia, exonarthex, 1275.





4.64. The corpus of St. Dionysios' works, Portrait of Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos and his family, Louvre, Department of Decorative Arts, MR 416, 2r, 1404-1405. After: [Wikimedia.com](https://www.wikimedia.org/)

4.65. Gospels of Ivan Alexander, Bulgaria, 1355-1356, British Library, Add MS 39627, ff. 2v-3r. After: The British Library Web Page: <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/tsar-ivan-alexanders-gospels>





4.66. Portrait of Michael VIII Palaiologos with wife Eirine and Constantine, the refectory of the Peribleptos Monastery in Constantinople (1272-1273), Du Cange, Charles du Fresne, *De Imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum, seu inferioris aevi vel imperii, uti vocant, numismatibus* dissertation (Rome/Vatican, 1755): pl. VI

4.67. Queen Jelena and king Uroš as monks with erased images of king Milutin and his son Konstantine, Gračanica monastery, east wall of the inner narthex (1314, 1321)



4.68-4.69. king Uroš , queen Jelena, princes Dragutin and Milutin, east and south walls of the narthex, the Holy Trinity monastery, Sopoćani, 1260s.



4.70-4.71. Đurševi Stupovi, chapel of Stefan Dragutin, Nemanjići family procession (1282)





4.72. Portrait of Vladislav and Urošić, St. Achileos in Arilje (Serbia), eastern wall of narthex (1282-1298)

4.73. Portrait of Milutin, Dragutin and Catherine, St. Achileos in Arilje (Serbia), northern wall of narthex (1282-1298)



4.74. Archbishop Nikodim, Stefan of Dečani, the young king Stefan Dušan and St. Sava, Demetrios' church of the Peć patriarchate, southern wall, 1322-1324



4.75 Emperor Stefan Dušan with family, Prodromos monastery Menoikeion (Serres), after 1345, southern wall of the inner narthex





4.76. portrait of Stefan Dušan's family, Holy Trinity monastery at Sopoćani, eastern wall of exonarthex, 1340-1342.

4.77-4.78. Tsar Stefan Dušan and Queen Jelena, the young King Stefan Uroš, St. Sava, St. Simeon, Ohrid, St. Nicholas Bolnički Church, eastern wall of the narthex, after 1346



4.79. St. Archangel church in Lesnovo, portrait of the family of despotes Jovan Oliver (Damjan, Ana-Marija, Oliver, Krajko – not preserved), south wall of narthex, 1349



4.80. The portrait of Damjan, Ana-Marija, despotes Jovan Oliver, Archbishop of Ohrid Niholas, and Jovan's son Krajko, St. John the Baptist's chapel on the western gallery of St. Sophia church at Ohrid, 1340s



4.81. St. Nicholas chapel, second-floor gallery, Virgin's church in Donja Kamenica, 1320s (?)



4.82. A family of founders in front of the Virgin Elousa, southern wall of the naos, Virgin's church in Donja Kamenica, 1320s (?)

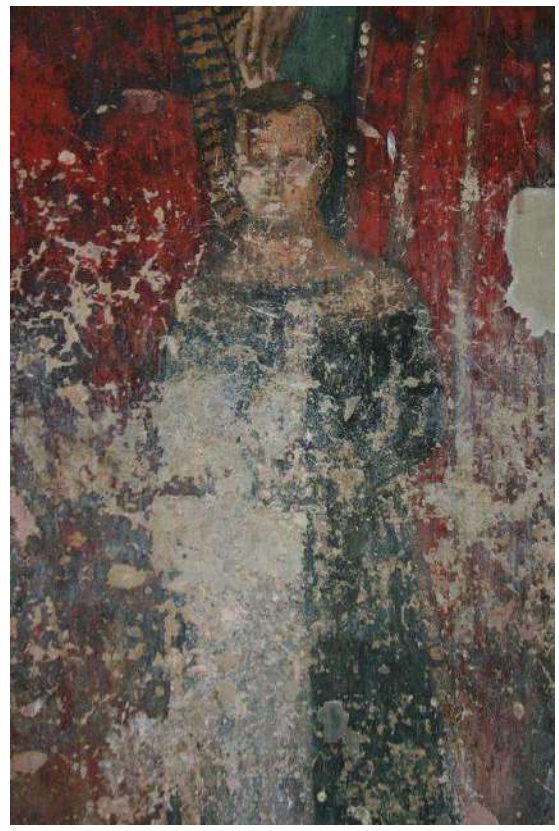




4.83. Votive portrait of two monks, southern wall of the naos, Virgin's church in Donja Kamenica, 1320s
 4.84. The despotes Michael and Ana (?), western wall of the narthex, Virgin's church in Donja Kamenica, 1320s (?)



4.85. St. Nicholas church in Psača, portraits of sebastokrator Vlatko with family and parents (south wall)
1358, 1365, after: <http://www.panacomp.net/>





4.86. St. Nicholas church in Psača, portraits of sebastokrator Vlatko with wife (south wall) 1358, 1365

4.87. St. Marina's church in Karlukovo, 14th c. Ktitors' son Konstantin (Presently, at the Lovech museum)



4.88. The church of Agios Nicholas in Phountoukli (Rhodes), 1497. Western exedra, portraits of *pansebastos* Nicholas Bardoanes with his wife and three deceased children



4.89. The monk and the boy in front of Virgin (arcosolium, south wall), the Dormition church at Longanikos (the second half of the 14th century). After: Chassoura, *Les peintures murales*, p. 336.





8.1. St. Nicholas Monastery at Manastir (Mariovo, FYROM), a 19th-century Memorial inserted in the painting (13th century) of the prothesis



8.2.Memorial Triptych from Poganovo monastery (Sofia Historical museum)



8.3.St. Niketas' Church, Kipoula (Mesa Mani, Laconia, Greece) the second half of the 11th century, carved commemorative inscription of Mamas. After: Drandakis, Nikolaos [Δρανδάκης, Νικόλαος]. "Άγνωστα γλυπτά της Μάνης αποδιδόμενα στο μαρμαρά Νικήτα ή στο εργαστήρι του," *DChAE* 8 (1975-1976): 22

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8.4. Pećka Patrijaršija monastery, Holy Apostles Church (Kosovo, Serbia), Decoration of Altar, Officiating Holy Fathers and inscription of Archbishop Arsenije, 1260s.





8.5. Pećka Patrijaršija monastery, Holy Apostles Church (Kosovo, Serbia), Decoration of Altar, Officiating Holy Fathers (St. Sava of Serbia, St. Cyril and St. Gregory) and inscription of Archbishop Arsenije, 1260s.

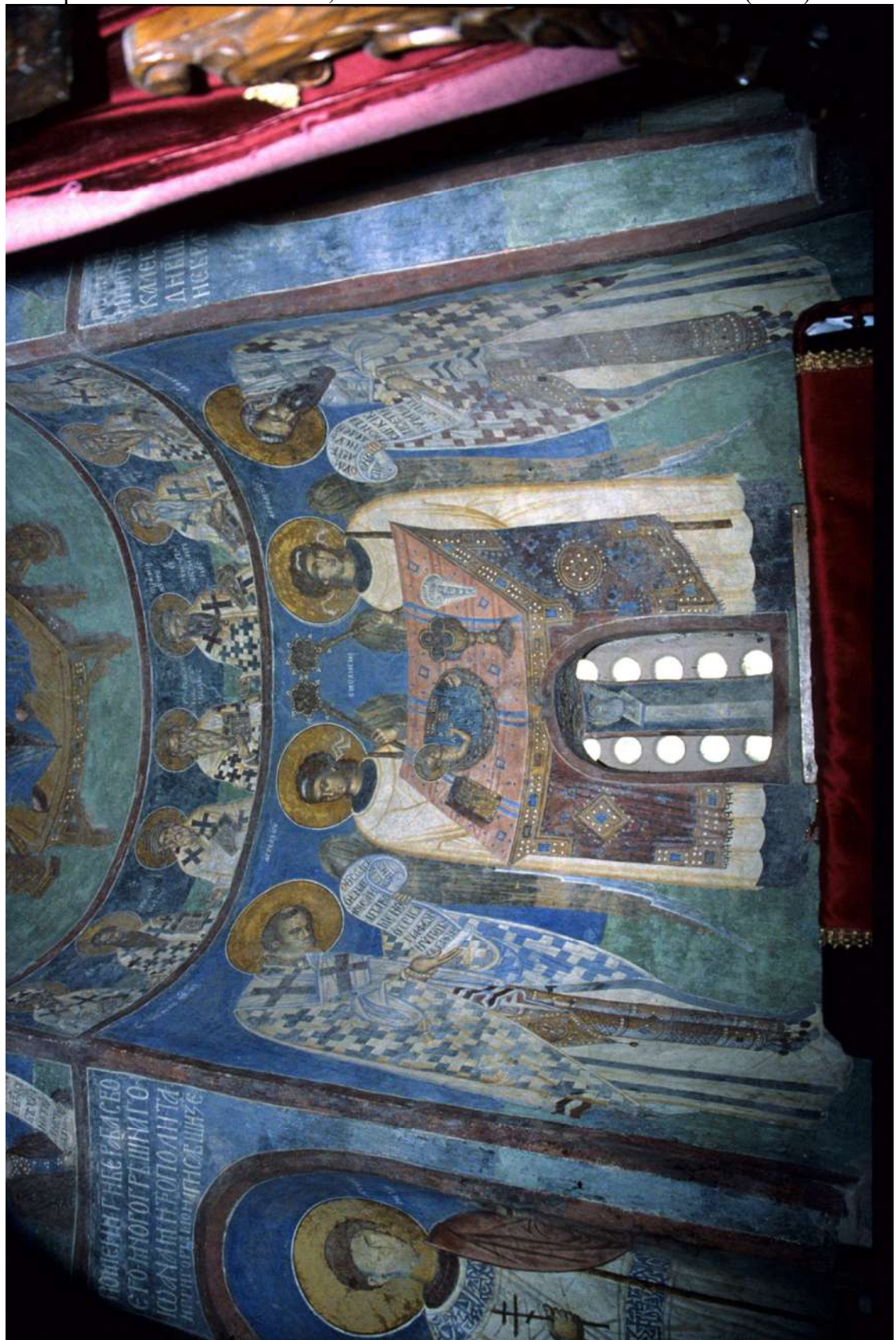


8.6. Mali Grad. The Virgin's Church, Prespa Lake (Albania/Macedonia/Greece), Decoration of Altar, the Virgin Panagia and inscription of Bojko and Eudokia, 1344/1345



8.7. Panagia Moutoullas Church (Cyprus), the Decoration of Prothesis, and Ktitorial Portrait of John Moutoullas and his wife Eirine and dedicatory inscription, 1280

8.8. The Signatures of the Metropolitan of Pelagonia and Prilep Jovan and bishop Grigorije above the prothesis and diakonikon, St. Andrew's church on the lake Matka (1389)



9.1. Queen Jelena and King Stefan Uroš, and Stefan Dušan the Dormition Monastery at Matejče, southern wall, 1343 - 1352



9.2. Metropolitan church of Sts. Theodors (Serres), the chapel of St. Kallistos, 1364 (?)



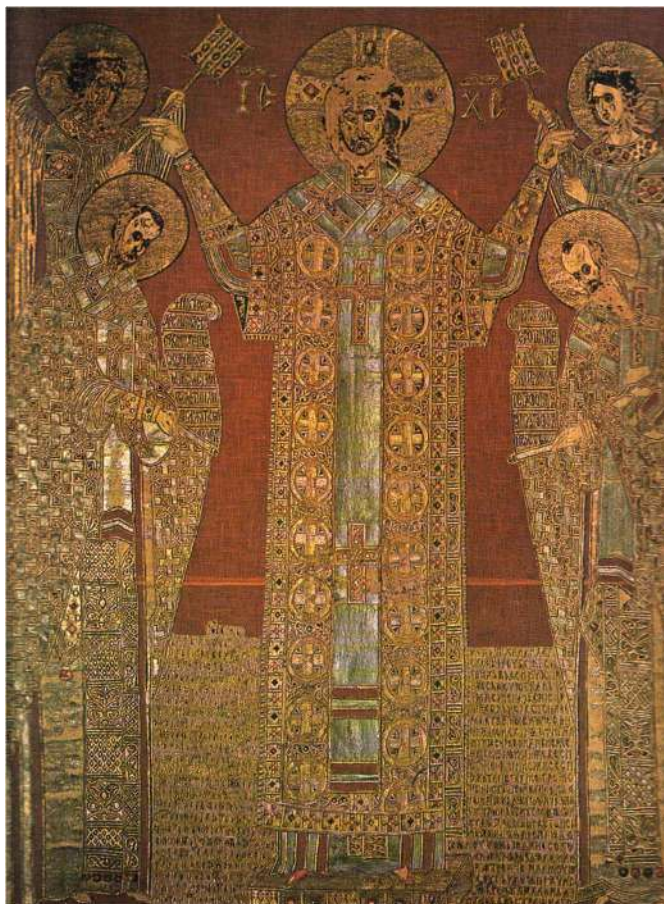


9.3. Metropolitan church of Sts. Theodors (Serres), the chapel of St. Kallistos, arcosolium, 1364 (?)

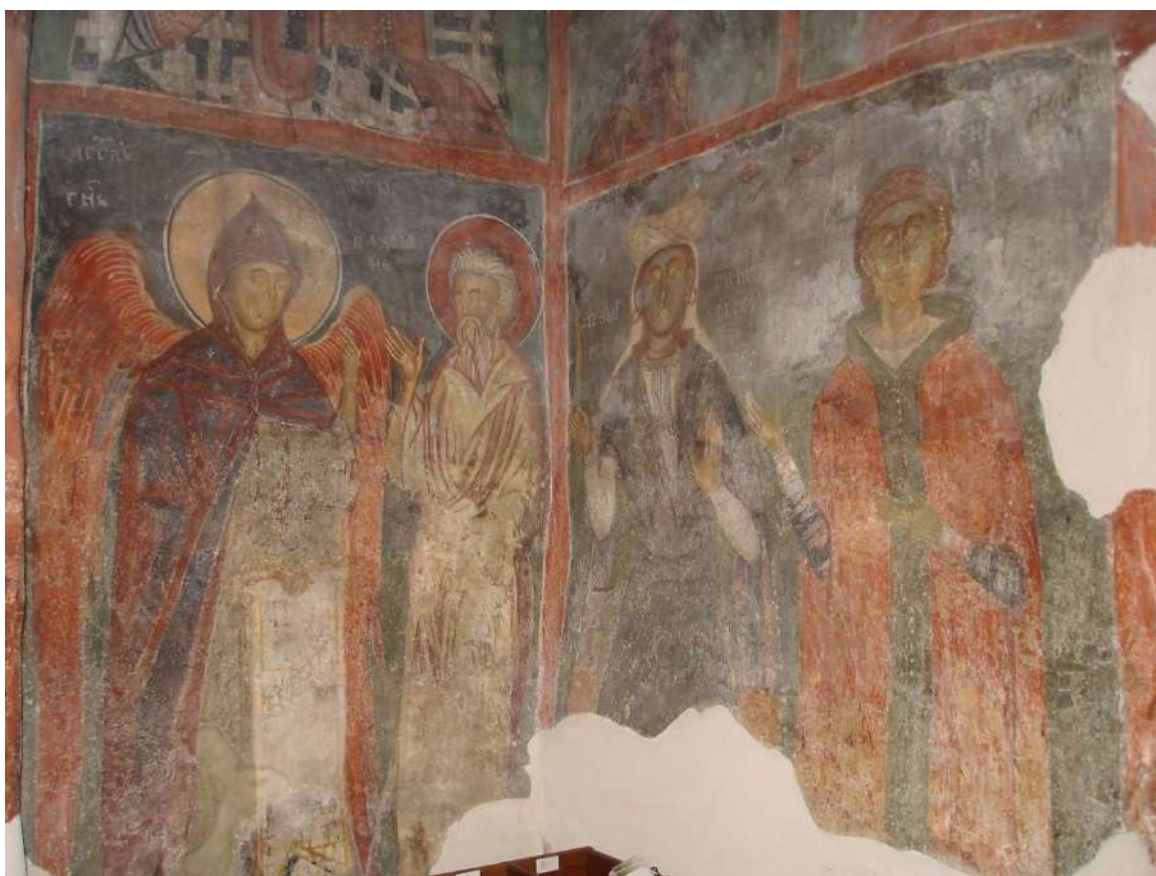
9.4. Metropolitan church of Sts. Theodors (Serres), the chapel of St. Kallistos, Deeses and Christ Emmanuel, 1364 (?)



9.5. Epitaphios of Jefimija and Jevpraksija, Putna monastery, end of the 14th c. Inscription: Μνίστητοι κ(ύρι)ε τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλων σου καισαρίσιν Σερβίας Ἐφημίας μοναχῆς σὺν θυγατρὶ βασιλίσιν Σερβίας Εὐπραξίας μοναχῆς



9.6. Jefimija's katapetasma, Hilandar monastery, 1398-1399 . After: Bogdanović, Dimitrije; Đurić, Vojislav; Medaković, Dejan and Đorđević Miodrag. *Hilandar* (Belgrade: Jugoslovenska revija, 1978): 151



9.7. Portrait of Milica and Nikola, the Virgin's church on Matka Lake in Northern Macedonia, 1496



9.8. Jefimija's cover for the tomb of knez Lazar with an Encomium, c. 1402, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church

9.9. Rila monastery, The icon-reliquary, Gift of Mara Branković (?)



9.10. Byzantine epitacheilion, Pljevlja Trinity monastery, late 15th century. Inscription: Θ(ε)στ(ι)μι μοναχη

9.11. Epitaphios of Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes and his Family, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1407.
After: Schilb, *Byzantine identity and its patrons*, p. 347



9.12. The Crucifixion podea (?) of Progonos Sgouros and Eudokia Komnene, National Historical Museum in Sofia, c. 1295. After: Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, p. 244



9.13. Revetment of the Hodegetria icon from the Tretyakov State Gallery (Moscow) with Constantine Akropolites and Maria Komnene Tornikina, 14th century. After: <https://www.icon-art.info>



9.14. Enkolpion of basilissa Jelena (nun Jefimija), Hilandar, 1368-1371. After: Bogdanović, Dimitrije; Đurić, Vojislav; Medaković, Dejan and Đorđević Miodrag. *Hilandar* (Belgrade: Jugoslovenska revija, 1978): 55



9.15. Cross of Helena Palaiologina Dragaš (15th century), silver and wood, the monastery of Dionysiou, Mount Athos (photo by Velissarios Voutsas)



9.16. Mitra for Belgrade metropolitan by Kantakuzina Branković, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, mid-15th century

