

PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS FROM THE NORWEGIAN INSTITUTE AT ATHENS

VOLUME 8

INSTITUTION OF SPONSORSHIP FROM ANCIENT TO MODERN TIMES

THESSALONIKI, FEBRUARY 7-8 2014



EDITED BY GEORGE KAKAVAS



Athens 2019

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“For it is the duty of the wealthy to render service to the state”
(Demosthenes, Speech: *Against Phaenippus*, 42.22)

Proceedings of International Scientific Conference
Amphitheatre “Stephanos Dragoumis”
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Dr. George Kakavas, Director of the Numismatic Museum
 Prof. Jorunn Økland, Director, Norwegian Institute at Athens
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Preface

For citizens of a modern (social) democratic welfare state like the Norwegian one, it is difficult to imagine a world where support, maintenance and funding of everything from public art and libraries to food aid are not secured via a redistributive tax system under democratic control, but are dependent on benefactions from wealthy individuals or groups. From a social democratic point of view, benefaction and sponsorship do not seek to eliminate hierarchies of wealth and ownership, but rather thrive on economic differences. For this reason, the current volume could be seen as a sobering statement when the publisher is a Norwegian state-sponsored institution: it demonstrates indirectly the extent to which the so-called “Nordic model” is an anomaly in a larger trans-historical perspective.

Historical research of the kind nurtured at the Institute, concentrates on short periods or occasionally tries to sketch the long lines. The current volume falls in the latter category. It is a contribution to a more nuanced study of sponsorship in historical perspective. Although systems may have varied, sponsorship has always been an important way to redistribute wealth and gather funding for the public good, for community projects.

But sponsorship also reflects the spotlight back on the donor. To those who control large enough resources and have the opportunity to be benefactors, sponsorship is also a means of adding glory and fame to one’s own name. As we see in some of the contributions in this volume, sponsorship may even be a political act in that it sometimes intervenes in competition e.g. between Orthodox and Catholic churches, or between various cities and city states.

Finally, through studying sponsorship, one can also catch some glimpses of groups of individuals who had no other claims to formal power. Women could not hold public offices, but in this volume we also hear of female donors, with or without a named husband. It is demonstrated how wealth and class hierarchies trump gender hierarchies when necessary or convenient.

The volume is based on a conference that took place at the Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessaloniki in 2014, co-hosted by the Norwegian Institute at Athens, and with Norwegian participation. The main contact and organiser from the Norwegian side, was my predecessor as Director, Professor Panagiotis Dimas. We want to thank our co-hosts: first, the Director of the Numismatic Museum at Athens and main editor of this volume, Dr. George Kakavas for the collaboration. We also want to thank Dr. Agathoniki Tsilipakou, Director of the Museum of Byzantine Culture, for hosting the conference at a venue so appropriate for the topic. We finally want to thank the 35 participants who presented papers at the conference, and especially those who have submitted their paper for inclusion in this volume.

Athens, 01.02 2019

Professor Jorunn Økland
Director, Norwegian Institute at Athens

Salutation to the Conference

Dr. George Th. Kakavas

Παναγιότατε Μητροπολίτα Θεσσαλονίκης κ. Άνθιμε,
Αξιότιμε Περιφερειάρχα Θεσσαλονίκης κ. Απόστολε Τζιτζικώστα,
Αξιότιμε Δήμαρχε Θεσσαλονίκης κ. Γιάννη Μπουτάρη
Εκλεκτοί προσκεκλημένοι,
Αγαπητοί συνάδελφοι και φίλοι,
Κυρίες και κύριοι,

Σήμερα, για μας ένα όνειρο γίνεται πραγματικότητα. Είναι ξεχωριστή η χαρά μας που στην αγαπημένη μας, τη φιλόξενη, Θεσσαλονίκη παίρνει σάρκα και οστά το όραμα μας για ένα Συνέδριο αφιερωμένο στο θεσμό της χορηγίας. Θέλω να εκφράσω τις πιο εγκάρδιες ευχαριστίες εκ μέρους των διοργανωτών και των επιτροπών του Συνεδρίου για την τόσο θερμή υποδοχή από το Μουσείο Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού, που μας φιλοξενεί και για την περισσή τιμή που μας περιποίησαν οι Αρχές του τόπου θέτοντας υπό τις αιγίδες τους το εγχείρημά μας και στηρίζοντάς το ηθικά και υλικά. Η ιδέα για το Συνέδριο αυτό γεννήθηκε κατά τη διάρκεια της προετοιμασίας και της επιμέλειας της έκθεσης *Σφραγίζοντας την Ιστορία. Θησαυροί από Ελληνικά Μουσεία*, που συνδιοργάνωσαν το Νομισματικό Μουσείο και το Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο. Η έκθεση παρουσιάστηκε αρχικά στο Regional Archaeological Museum Plovdiv, στη Φιλιπούπολη της Βουλγαρίας (30.5.2013-30.10.2013) και στη συνέχεια στο National Archaeological Institute with Museum, στη Σόφια (9.11.2013-9.2.2014) και τελούσε υπό την αιγίδα της Ελληνικής Πρεσβείας στη Βουλγαρία. Η έκθεση σημείωσε μεγάλη επιτυχία με αθρόα προσέλευση κοινού και αύξηση της επισκεψιμότητας στα δύο παραπάνω Μουσεία, ενώ έλαβε μεγάλη δημοσιότητα και διθυραμβικά σχόλια στα ελληνικά και βουλγαρικά μέσα μαζικής ενημέρωσης.

Δώδεκα Ελληνικά Δημόσια Μουσεία και Εφορείες Αρχαιοτήτων συμμετείχαν στην έκθεση με το δανεισμό σπάνιων αριστουργημάτων, 195 στον αριθμό, από τις Συλλογές τους. Η συγκέντρωση τόσων μοναδικών θησαυρών στην πρώτη έκθεση που η Ελλάδα διοργάνωσε και παρουσίασε στη Βουλγαρία, καθώς και οι δύο εμπειριστατωμένοι επιστημονικοί κατάλογοι στην αγγλική, βουλγαρική και ελληνική γλώσσα, τεκμηριώνουν αντίστοιχα τις δύο εκθέσεις και εξηγούν το ενδιαφέρον του βουλγαρικού και διεθνούς κοινού για τις ελληνικές αρχαιότητες.

Η έκθεση *Σφραγίζοντας την Ιστορία: Θησαυροί από Ελληνικά Μουσεία* έρχεται να ρίξει φως σε καίριους σταθμούς της τρισχιλιετούς διαδρομής των Ελλήνων, που άφησαν τα ανεξίτηλα σημάδια τους στην Ιστορία. Παρουσιάζονται σπάνια, όλως ιδιαίτερα και μοναδικά αντικείμενα, που άφησαν το αποτύπωμά τους στην Ιστορία, είτε με τη μορφή πορτραίτων των πρωταγωνιστών της, είτε ως άμεσες πηγές μείζονων ιστορικών και πολιτικών γεγονότων, είτε, τέλος, ως πανανθρώπινες κοινωνικές, θρησκευτικές και πολιτιστικές έννοιες και αξίες.

Η έκθεση χρηματοδοτήθηκε σχεδόν αποκλειστικά από τις ευγενικές και γενναιόδωρες χορηγίες ιδιωτικών φορέων. Μέσα στους σημερινούς δύσκολους καιρούς, της οικονομικής ύφεσης, της ανασφάλειας, της καθημερινής κατήφειας αντεπιτεθήκαμε δυναμικά αντιμετωπίζοντας τα οικονομικά δεδομένα «των ισχνών αγελάδων» της Ελλάδας. Χτυπήσαμε πολλές πόρτες, στείλαμε πολλές δεκάδες επιστολές σε Κοινοφελή Ιδρύματα, Οργανισμούς, Εταιρίες, Σωματεία, Τράπεζες, στην Ελλάδα και τη Βουλγαρία. Και δίπλα στα πολλά «όχι», εξασφαλίσαμε και αρκετά «ναι», υπήρξαν αρκετά ευήκοα ώτα. Με όλους αυτούς μοιραστήκαμε το όραμά μας για μια φυγή προς τα εμπρός, για τη δημιουργία, για την απρόσκοπτη επικοινωνία του πολιτισμού και του πολιτισμικού αγαθού. Δεν θα ήταν υπερβολή να ειπωθεί λοιπόν, πως δίχως τους αρωγούς χορηγούς μας η υλοποίηση της έκθεσης θα ήταν σχεδόν αδύνατη. Αλλά και η διοργάνωση και η πραγματοποίηση του Συνεδρίου *Ο θεσμός της χορηγίας από την αρχαιότητα μέχρι σήμερα*, που πραγματοποιείται προς τιμήν των χορηγών που ενίσχυσαν την έκθεση, δεν θα είχε γίνει εφικτή, αν δεν είχε ενστερνισθεί με ενθουσιασμό την ιδέα μας το Νορβηγικό Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο. Αυτούς τους στυλοβάτες του πολιτισμού που μας κατάστησαν κοινωνούς του ευεργετήματος της δωρεάς και της χορηγίας θέλουμε να τιμήσουμε σήμερα, σ' αυτούς θέλουμε να πούμε «ευχαριστώ».

Αγαπητοί χορηγοί που μας τιμάτε σήμερα με την παρουσία σας, αγαπητοί σύνεδροι και φίλοι, ας σταθεί το Συνέδριο αυτό ένα έναυσμα, ένας οδηγός

για την πρακτικότερη και πιο ευέλικτη λειτουργία του θεσμού της χορηγίας για την πολιτιστική ανάπτυξη της χώρας μας. Γιατί, τι είναι, άραγε, η χορηγία τελικά; Σύμφωνα με τον Θάλη Κουτούπη «είναι μια μορφή κοινωνικής ευποιίας, που έχει ως μοναδικό αντιστάθμισμα την πίστωση του χορηγού με την εικόνα του καλού πολίτη»!

Ας έχουμε καλή επιτυχία στις εργασίες του Συνεδρίου μας!
Σας ευχαριστώ όλους από καρδιάς!

Θεσσαλονίκη, 07.02 2014

Δρ Γεώργιος Κακαβάς
Διευθυντής Νομισματικού Μουσείου
Αναπληρωτής Διευθυντής Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου



Munificence in the democratic and oligarchic systems of the ancient world: A comparative approach

Ingvar B. Maehle

Η αρχαία πόλη βασίζονταν στις εθελοντικές συνεισφορές της ανώτερης τάξης για τη συντήρηση των υποδομών της, καθώς και στη χορηγία για τις πολιτιστικές και θρησκευτικές εκδηλώσεις και, σε μερικές περιπτώσεις, ακόμα και για την κάλυψη στρατιωτικών δαπανών. Οι μέθοδοι εφαρμογής αυτής της γενναιοδωρίας ορίζονταν με αυστηρότητα, έτσι ώστε οι πλουσιότεροι άνδρες να μην μονοπωλήσουν την πολιτική εξουσία. Στις ολιγαρχίες η γενναιοδωρία ήταν στενά συνδεδεμένη με την κατοχή αξιώματος, ενώ οι λειτουργίες φαίνεται να προτιμούνταν ως μοντέλο από τα δημοκρατικά καθεστάτα. Δεδομένου ότι οι λειτουργίες αποτελούσαν μία μορφή τιμητικού φόρου για τους πλούσιους, η εκπλήρωση αυτού του καθήκοντος δεν συνεπαγόταν άμεσα και πολιτική δύναμη, παρόλο που χρησιμοποιούνταν από τους πολιτικούς για την προσωπική τους ανάδειξη. Η σχέση μεταξύ των οικονομικών δαπανών και της πολιτικής δύναμης ήταν ισχυρότερη εκεί όπου η γενναιοδωρία αποτελούσε ένα επισημοποιημένο μέρος του συστήματος κατοχής αξιωμάτων, όπως συνέβαινε για παράδειγμα στην περίπτωση του Ρωμαϊκού *cursus honorum* ή του αξιώματος του αγωνοθέτη στην Αθήνα μετά την πτώση της δημοκρατίας. Το παρόν κείμενο θα διερευνήσει τους κανόνες που αφορούσαν στη γενναιοδωρία στον αρχαίο κόσμο μέσα από μία συγκριτική παρουσίαση και τη μελέτη των επιπτώσεων των διαφορετικών μοντέλων γενναιοδωρίας στα πολιτικά συστήματα.

Keywords

Munificence, community patronage, euergetism, liberality, gratitude, the economy of gratitude, comparative history

During antiquity, the Mediterranean area was a vast political laboratory in which Greek, Etruscan, Latin and Phoenician city-states experimented with different social and political structures in order to achieve strength abroad and harmony at home. In all of these city-states, sponsorship, or munificence towards ones fellow citizens, was an integral part of the

system. The character of the system (monarchic, oligarchic or democratic), however, determined the form of this sponsorship. Aristotle, the world's first comparative political scientist, advised those who wanted to establish and secure an oligarchy to channel munificence through the office-holding system instead of the democratic (especially Athenian) system, through which liturgies were distributed among all the rich (even some of the free resident aliens, the *metoikoi*), regardless of their political ambition or lack thereof:

And furthermore the most supreme offices also, which must be retained by those within the constitution [the oligarchs], must have expensive duties attached to them, in order that the common people may be willing to be excluded from them, and may feel no resentment against the ruling class, because it pays a high price for office. And it fits in with this that they should offer splendid sacrifices and build up some public monument on entering upon office, so that the common people sharing in the festivities and seeing the city decorated both with votive offerings and with buildings may be glad to see the constitution enduring; and an additional result will be that the notables will have memorials of their outlay.¹

Unfortunately, we do not have the same detailed information about sponsorship in the many Greek oligarchies of the 5th and 4th centuries as for democratic Athens, but, since we are dealing with modes of thought and action common across the Graeco-Roman world, we can posit that Republican Rome serves as an example of the kind of oligarchy Aristotle discusses. Even if this premise is not wholeheartedly accepted, the comparison can still throw light on how the liturgy system served Athenian democracy better than the available alternatives in the political laboratory

1. Arist. *Pol.* 6.4.6, Trans. H. Rackham. Cambridge, Mass. 1932: ἔτι δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ταῖς κυριωτάταις, ἃς δεῖ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ κατέχειν, δεῖ προσκεῖσθαι λειτουργίας, ἵν' ἕκων ὁ δῆμος μὴ μετέχη καὶ συγγνώμην ἔχη τοῖς ἀρχουσιν ὡς μισθὸν πολλὸν διδοῦσι τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἀρμόττει δὲ θυσίας τε εἰσιόντας ποιεῖσθαι μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ κατασκευάζειν τι τῶν κοινῶν, ἵνα τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐστιάσεις μετέχων ὁ δῆμος καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀρῶν κοσμουμένην τὰ μὲν ἀναθήμασι τὰ δὲ οἰκοδομήμασιν ἄσμενος ὀρᾷ μένουσαν τὴν πολιτείαν: συμβήσεται δὲ καὶ τοῖς γνωρίμοις εἶναι μνημεῖα τῆς δαπάνης. See also *Pol.* 5.7.11-12. Aristotle also uses the term "liturgy" for expenditure incurred during the performance of an office holder's duties. In the interests of clarity, however, I have reserved this term for the well-known Athenian liturgy system.

of the ancient Mediterranean world.² This article will, therefore, compare the Roman Republic, which was a predominantly oligarchic system, to Classical Athens, which was democratic with regard to sponsorship, munificence and “big-man” generosity, or *euergetism*, to use a term coined by Paul Veyne from the ancient Greek *euergesia* (“benefaction”).³

Personally, I find the term “community patronage”, as used by the eminent M. I. Finley, to be more precise than Veyne’s terminology, provided it is clearly demarcated from personal patronage.⁴ However, terminology is a complex issue and thus I will begin with some definitions. The key to stability and consensus in ancient society was gratitude and liberality: what the Greeks called *kharis* and *euergesia*, and the Romans *gratia* and *liberalitas*. The giving of gifts took different forms, which can be divided into three main categories: (balanced) reciprocity or gift-exchange, personal patronage and community patronage.

Reciprocity is the exchange of goods and services between friends belonging more or less to the same social level. Over time, the exchange of gifts would balance out, making the relationship an equal one, based on equality. Friends provided credit and security for each other and were bound together in a moral contract. The principle of gift-exchange between friends, or reciprocity, is summed up by the 7th-century Greek poet Hesiod: “Take fair measure from your neighbor and pay him back fairly with the same measure, or better, if you can; so that if you are in need afterward, you may find him sure”).⁵ A potential problem with this concept, however, is that some friends were less equal than others and could not give back with

-
2. Regarding the usefulness of the comparative method for the purpose of clarification, see Bloch 1992; Grew 1980; Kocka 2003; Sewell 1967. Basically, all explanations contain comparative elements, so one might as well do it explicitly.
 3. Veyne 1990, 10: “*Euergetism* means the fact that communities (cities, *collegia*) expected the rich to contribute from their wealth to the public expenses, and that this expectation was not disappointed ... Their expenditure on behalf of the community was directed above all to entertainments ... and more broadly to public pleasures (banquets) and the construction of public buildings, in short, to pleasures and public works.”
 4. Finley (1983, 35) defined community patronage as “large-scale private expenditure, whether compulsory or voluntary, for communal purposes – temples and other public works, theatre and gladiatorial shows, festivals and feasts – in return for popular approval.”
 5. Hes. *Op.* 349-351, Trans. G. W. Most, Cambridge, Mass., 2006: εὖ μὲν μετρεῖσθαι παρὰ γείτονος, εὖ δ’ ἀποδοῦναι, αὐτῷ τῷ μέτρῳ, καὶ λώιον, αἶ κε δύνηαι, ὡς ἂν χρηζέων καὶ ἐς ὕστερον ἄρκιον εὐρης.

the same measure, and hence accumulated a debt of gratitude to their richer or more powerful friends.⁶

If one of the parties fell on hard times and was permanently unable to reciprocate, this did not automatically classify him as an inferior friend. But, when friendships were struck across an already existing social chasm, and the exchange could not be anything but unbalanced, this resulted in a patron–client relationship. This relationship was still based on a moral rather than an economic contract, as the client was never expected to balance the accounts, but it was also clearly a hierarchical relationship. The client’s debt of gratitude to the patron cost him part of his personal freedom and enhanced the social standing of the patron. A politically ambitious patron could use his clients to persuade other citizens to listen to and vote for him.

Personal patronage was practised in democratic Athens⁷, militaristic Sparta⁸, as well as in oligarchic Rome, but its particular function and the rates of exchange between patrons and clients differed, owing to differences in the two states’ political, judicial and social systems.⁹ Likewise, community patronage (the act of being generous to the whole community instead of just to individuals) had a different flavour in democratic and oligarchic systems. The ancient city, no matter its political character, depended on community patronage, contributions from the elite for the maintenance of its infrastructure, the sponsorship of cultural, religious and sports events, and, in some cases, even military expenses. A big-man (to borrow another term, this time from the anthropologist Marshall Sahlins) gives from his surplus to the community at large in the expectation of honour in return.¹⁰ This generosity did not, however, establish a personal relationship with the recipients, and, by the same logic, the big-man or benefactor could not demand honour outright in return. However, he could expect some form of public recognition, and this would be increased if the giving of the gift was voluntary rather than a formal duty.

Community patronage, as clearly distinguished from personal patronage, will be the main subject of this article. The venues for community patronage were strictly regulated in democratic Athens so that the richest men could

6. Reciprocity: van Wees 1998, 13-49. Patronage: Wallace-Hadrill 1989, 3ff.

7. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2000. Her findings disprove Paul Millet’s (1989, 15-44) thesis that patronage was “avoided” in Classical Athens.

8. Cartledge 1987, 19 ff.; Maehle 2018b.

9. Maehle 2018a.

10. Sahlins 1963.

not monopolize political power. The liturgies were a kind of honorary tax on the rich, and the liturgist was supposed to finance a choir for the theatre, oil for the gymnasium, a religious sacrifice, a banquet during a festival, games or processions, or even to equip and maintain a battleship.¹¹ If the liturgist spent just the bare minimum necessary for such tasks, he was not considered to be exercising community patronage. But, if he did a little more, he could claim to be the people's benefactor and draw on that prestige later in life. There was no direct translation of this gratitude into political power, even though it was used for personal aggrandizement by ambitious liturgists. Being a choir leader entailed privilege and prestige both during the festivals and after¹², and the trierarchy gave the liturgist military command of the battleship itself, if he did not hire a substitute.¹³

Liturgies, being a politically safe way to tap into aristocratic generosity, were consequently the preferred model in democratic regimes.¹⁴ It is noteworthy that the *polis*-wide sacrifices, which entailed distribution of meat to the citizens, seem to have been financed by the state and were never a liturgy.¹⁵ Based on a careful analysis of all the available evidence, Rosivach hypothesizes that sacrifices financed by private generosity existed below *polis* level, and points out that, from the last third of the 4th century onwards, inscriptions praising individuals for their *philotimia* in subsidizing public sacrifices were all erected by tribes, demes and even smaller units.¹⁶

In the later Hellenistic quasi-democracies, the liturgical class and the political class became identical, and the people had to judge between competing claims from the *euergetes*.¹⁷ This development was caused by the loss of political independence and the increased importance of the private funding of public life. Although the *agonethes*, who had replaced the *choregoi*, continued to spend lavishly, he was as an office holder and leading politician, monopolizing the honour and gratitude which were formerly dispersed among a number of rich citizens, only some of whom were active politicians.¹⁸

11. Wilson 2003, 4.

12. Whitehead 1983, 60ff.

13. Gabrielsen 1994, 39; Wilson 2003, 2.

14. Gabrielsen 1994, 49.

15. Rosivach 1994, 107-115.

16. Rosivach 1994, 130-131.

17. Veyne 1990, 42-43, 103-105.

18. Makres 2014, 88-89; Wilson 2003, 271.

The early beginnings of this can be seen in the mid-4th century BC, when a shortage of revenue from the loss of their empire forced the Athenian democracy to appoint wealthy curators, such as Demosthenes, to fix the city walls, and to call for voluntary gifts of money for the city treasury.¹⁹ The use of such curators to maintain infrastructure is found in abundance in oligarchic Rome, together with a hierarchy of expensive offices. Rome's roads, aqueducts, temples, festivals and public banquets were partly, and sometimes even fully, financed by elected magistrates or curators, or through occasional gifts in connection to triumphs or funerals. The link between economic spending and political power was much stronger where munificence was a formalized part of the office-holding system, as was the case, for example, with the Roman *cursus honorum* and the Hellenistic regimes of notables.

The main difference seems to be between obligatory and voluntary giving. The more voluntary the giving was, the more prestige and gratitude resulted from it. By forcing all of the rich to contribute, whether or not they had political ambitions, Athenian democracy reduced the oligarchical threat that community patronage could entail. A tax would have achieved this goal even better, but that would have required a larger administrative apparatus and would have removed the incentive to "give" altogether.²⁰ Outright taxes, such as the *eisphora* in Athens and *tributum* in Rome, were meant for wars. The liturgies weighed heavily enough, and the total obligations of a rich gentleman were considerable, if we are to believe Xenophon's description of a Socratic conversation:

"In the first place," explained Socrates, "I notice that you are bound to offer many large sacrifices; otherwise, I suppose, you would get into trouble with gods and men alike. Secondly, it is your duty to entertain many foreign guests, on a generous scale too. Thirdly, you have to give dinners and play the benefactor to the citizens, or you lose your following. Moreover, I observe that already the state is exacting heavy contributions from you: you must keep horses, pay for choruses and gymnastic competitions, and accept presidencies; and if war breaks out, I know they will require you to maintain a ship and pay a level of taxes that you won't easily afford. Whenever you seem to fall short of what is expected of you, the Athenians

19. Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 17-31; Dem. *De cor.* 110-119. cf. Veyne 1990, 91-92.

20. Gabrielsen 1994, 50.

will certainly punish you as though they had caught you robbing them.”²¹

Indeed, the burden of the trierarchy—equipping a war ship—was so heavy that the responsibility for each ship was increasingly, from the 4th century onwards, divided between two or more *syntriarchs*.²² But, fulfilling or, better yet, over-fulfilling one’s obligations could also be a source of pride. We hear that Socrates’ interlocutor was concerned about retaining his following, and, in the corpus of Attic forensic oratory, the performance of both personal and community patronage looms large. For balance, let me first provide an example from Demosthenes’ justification of personal patronage—something too long considered a foreign element in democratic Athens:

In private life, if any of you are not aware that I have been generous and courteous, and helpful to the distressed, I do not mention it. I will never say a word, or tender any evidence about such matters as the captives I have ransomed, or the dowries I have helped to provide, or any such acts of charity. It is a matter of principle with me. My view is that the recipient of a benefit ought to remember it all his life, but that the benefactor ought to put it out of his mind at once, if the one is to behave decently, and the other with magnanimity. To remind a man of the good turns you have done him is very much like a reproach. Nothing shall induce me to do anything of the sort; but whatever be my reputation in that respect, I am content.²³

21. Xen. *Ec.* 2.5-7 Trans. E. C. Marchant, rev. J. Henderson, Cambridge, Mass., 2013: ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ὁρῶ σοι ἀνάγκην οὐσαν θύειν πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα, ἢ οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτε ἀνθρώπους οἰμαί σε ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι: ἔπειτα ξένους προσήκει σοι πολλοὺς δέχεσθαι, καὶ τούτους μεγαλοπρεπῶς: ἔπειτα δὲ πολίτας δειπνίζειν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν, ἢ ἔρημον συμμάχων εἶναι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν αἰσθάνομαι τὰ μὲν ἤδη σοι προστάττουσαν μεγάλα τελεῖν, ἵπποτροφίας τε καὶ χορηγίας καὶ γυμνασιαρχίας καὶ προστατείας, ἂν δὲ δὴ πόλεμος γένηται, οἶδ’ ὅτι καὶ τριηραρχίας [μισθοὺς] καὶ εἰσφορὰς τοσαύτας σοι προστάξουσιν ὅσας σὺ οὐ ῥαδίως ὑποίσεις, ὅπου δ’ ἂν ἐνδεῶς δόξης τι τούτων ποιεῖν, οἶδ’ ὅτι σε τιμωρήσονται Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ εἰ τὰ αὐτῶν λάβοιεν κλέπτοντα.

22. Gabrielsen 1994, 178.

23. Dem. *De cor.* 268-269, Trans. C. A. Vince and J. H. Vince, Cambridge, Mass., 1926: ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτος: ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις εἰ μὴ πάντες ἴσθ’ ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν εἰποῖμι οὐδὲ παρασχοίμην περὶ τούτων οὐδεμίαν μαρτυρίαν, οὔτ’ εἴ τινας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλυσάμην, οὔτ’ εἴ τισιν θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα, οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων οὐδὲν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πῶς ὑπείλιφα. ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνηθῆσθαι πάντα τὸν χρόνον,

He claims that he will never reveal the names of the beneficiaries although they are known to him. Earlier in the same speech, Demosthenes compares his own circumstances with those of his enemy Aeschines, whereby they had unequal opportunities to become community patrons and render useful political services to the state:

In my boyhood, Aeschines, I had the advantage of attending respectable schools: and my means were sufficient for one who was not to be driven by poverty into disreputable occupations. When I had come of age, my circumstances were in accordance with my upbringing. I was in a position to provide a chorus, to pay for a war-galley, and to be assessed to property-tax. I renounced no honourable ambition either in public or in private life: and rendered good service both to the state and to my own friends. When I decided to take part in public affairs, the political services I chose were such that I was repeatedly decorated both by my own country and by many other Grecian cities and even my enemies, such as you, never ventured to say that my choice was other than honourable.²⁴

While Demosthenes' community patronage in the Athenian democracy was never rewarded with any office, like general or treasurer, the situation was quite the opposite for his later roman admirer Cicero, who climbed the *cursus honorum* in the Roman republic. Success without heavy spending was here exceptional:

To be sure, Lucius Philippus, the son of Quintus, a man of great ability and unusual renown, used to make it his boast that without giving any entertainments he had risen to all the positions looked upon as the highest

τὸν δὲ ποιήσαντ' εὐθὺς ἐπιλελῆσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστοῦ, τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. τὸ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομινῆσκειν καὶ λέγειν μικροῦ δεῖν ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τῷ ὀνειδίσειν. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως ποθ' ὑπεύλημμαί περὶ τούτων, ἀρκεῖ μοι.

24. Dem. *De cor.* 257: ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρξεν, Αἰσχίνῃ, παιδὶ μὲν ὄντι φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρή τὸν μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιήσοντα δι' ἔνδειαν, ἐξελεθόντι δ' ἐκ παίδων ἀκόλουθα τούτοις πράττειν, χορηγεῖν, τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας μήτ' ἰδίας μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις χρήσιμον εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύεσθαι ἔλθεσθαι ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν πολλάκις ἐστεφανῶσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐ καλὰ γ' ἦν ἂ προειλόμην, ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν.

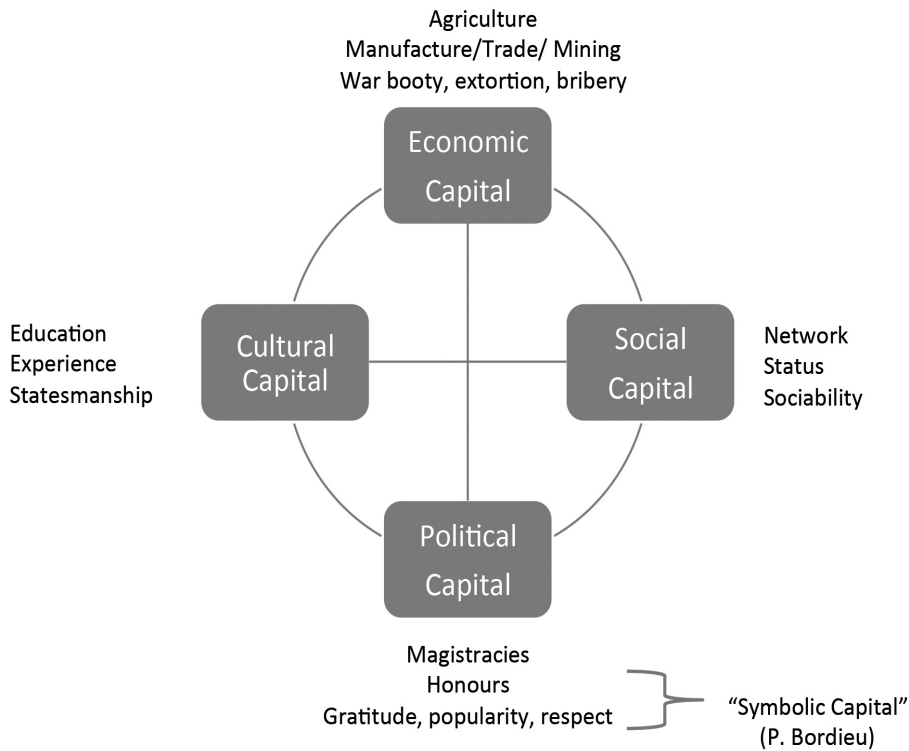


Table 1: Forms of capital used in the political competition in the ancient city-states.

within the gift of the state. Cotta could say the same, and Curio. I, too, may make this boast my own – to a certain extent; for in comparison with the eminence of the offices to which I was unanimously elected at the earliest legal age – and this was not the good fortune of any one of those just mentioned – the outlay in my aedileship was very inconsiderable. Again, the expenditure of money is better justified when it is made for walls, docks, harbours, aqueducts, and all those works which are of service to the community. There is, to be sure, more of present satisfaction in what is handed out, like cash down; nevertheless public improvements win us greater gratitude with posterity. Out of respect for Pompey's memory I am rather diffident about expressing any criticism of theatres, colonnades, and new temples.²⁵

25. Cic. *Off.* 2.59-60, Trans. W. Miller, Cambridge, Mass. 1913: *L. quidem Philippus Q. f., magno vir ingenio in primisque clarus, gloriari solebat se sine ullo munere*

Despite elaborate measures to separate economic and political power during its democratic heyday, Athens was still very much a typical city-state of the ancient world. There was no attempt to equalize economic capital, and, consequently, the rich formed the cultural and social elites, who dominated proceedings in the people's assembly and were elected to high office (see Table 1). What we can call political capital (avoiding Bordieu's "symbolic capital", which on closer inspection can mean anything²⁶) could also be accumulated by spending one's economic capital, as we have already seen. But how, more precisely, did democratic Athens differ from oligarchic Rome in this respect?

Community patronage was played out through the role of "community patron", but with rules and rates of exchange particular to each system. The Athenian system maximized the output from the elite and minimized their input, whereas the Roman Republican system, pursuing the opposite course, finally collapsed under the accumulated political capital of a few magnates. Whereas none of the political offices in democratic Athens entailed expenses for the office holder, this was the rule in Rome; from *aedile* up to *praetor* and *consul*, the incumbent was supposed to use more money than the state set aside for the maintenance of the infrastructure and the organization of festivals. Expenses incurred on one step of the ladder were supposed to bring electoral success at the next step. In democratic Athens, community patronage of this kind was instead channelled through liturgies and borne by all citizens who were rich enough. Expenditure exceeding the minimum for completing a liturgy would fall under the heading of a voluntary gift (community patronage), and would therefore entitle the liturgist to respect and gratitude. The numerous ways the Athenian elite could hide their wealth from this form of taxation, however, meant that just paying one's dues in itself brought goodwill, having, as it did, an element of voluntarism in it.²⁷

adeptum esse omnia, quae haberentur amplissima. Dicebat idem Cotta, Curio. Nobis quoque licet in hoc quodam modo gloriari; nam pro amplitudine honorum, quos cunctis suffragiis adepti sumus nostro quidem anno, quod contigit eorum nemini, quos modo nominavi, sane exiguus sumptus aedilitatis fuit. Atque etiam illae impensae meliores, muri, navalia, portus, aquarum ductus omniaque, quae ad usum rei publicae pertinent. Quamquam, quod praesens tamquam in manum datur, iucundius est; tamen haec in posterum gratiora. Theatra, porticus, nova templa verecundius reprehendo propter Pompeium.

26. Bordieu 1991, 194ff.

27. Gabrielsen 1994, 53-59, contra Veyne (1990, 76), who views liturgists as ordinary tax payers.

In contrast, for magistrates generosity was measured by what one spent in addition to what was provided through the state budget, but, as holding magistracies was completely voluntary, the munificent magistrate gained more from his spending than the munificent liturgist. The curatorship, however, is a type of magistracy that, although limited, drew close to the oligarchic model, thus providing a bridge to the later Hellenistic system.

In addition to this regular munificence, the cities occasionally received gifts from the so-called “public men”, either solicited when the city treasury was low on funds or given unexpectedly, like a windfall. To the best of our knowledge, this mostly happened in oligarchic Rome when a commander returned with booty from a military campaign and consecrated it to the gods and the city, but it could also happen without such external resources, as in the case of Claudius The Blind, who, as censor, paid for both the Appian Way and the Appian aqueduct, to his name’s eternal glory. In Athens, however, commanders did not exert so much influence over the division of spoils, and their gifts were primarily financed from private wealth.

A number of decrees survive from Greek cities, and also from Athens, from periods when imperial revenue could not feed the city, which honour private individuals for providing corn at below market price (though not necessarily with much of a loss) during food shortages.²⁸ In Rome, we know of only one instance, when a rich plebeian knight was put to death for handing out corn free of charge to keep the people from starving during the famine of 440-439 BC on the pretext that he aspired to kingship.²⁹ Even providing corn from the treasury was seen by the most conservative members of the senate as an attempt to establish a tyranny, but the oligarchy gradually expected the state to provide subsidized corn for its citizens, to keep the growing population of Rome from revolting. Likewise, it was only senators or senators’ sons who provided city-wide banquets and entertainment in Rome whereas this was considered normal and civil in Athens and did not incur penalties.

Munificence was strictly regulated and monopolized by the Roman senators in order to control access to political power,³⁰ whereas it was in the interest of stability and social peace in Athens to encourage all the rich,

28. Gallant 1991, 182-196; Garnsey 1988, 154-156, 163; Oliver 2007, 193-266 (the early Hellenistic period).

29. Liv. 4.13-14.

30. For an analysis of how generosity and political power went hand in hand in the Roman Republic, see Yakobson 1992.

regardless of political ambitions, to indulge in such liberality. The reason for this was simply that political office and community patronage in an oligarchy were usually institutionally intertwined, just as Aristotle advised (although he complained that the oligarchs of his day cheated the people out of this munificence).

For a democracy to work, however, political office and community patronage must, as far as possible, be institutionally separated. Although Alcibiades used the splendour of his generosity as an argument for electing him general (*strategos*),³¹ he was not without military accomplishment, and Athens was, as a rule, fortunate in its selection of capable generals. Apart from the increasingly important financial office as chief of the Theoric Fund, general was the only office one could be elected to. Most generals and speakers were also liturgists, since the cultural and social capital necessary to perform their functions required economic capital, but so were many others, and neither influence nor electoral support could be bought in quite the same way as in Rome. Politicians were sometimes generals, but, during the 4th century, were more often just speakers (*rhetores*) relying on no other power than the force of their knowledge and arguments. Expenses in Rome were part of the electoral climbing competition through the hierarchy of offices, whereas being a community patron in Athens gained one standing among one's peers but not necessarily any tangible political power.

Lastly, political capital in democracies could not normally translate into economic capital. The community patron in Athens, therefore, had to finance his munificence from his own resources, and, unless he allowed himself to be bribed by foreign powers, which some politicians obviously did, a political career was not in itself lucrative. In Rome, on the contrary, the winners in the electoral competitions could recuperate their spent fortune through the use and abuse of political office and at the expense of the non-Roman peoples living in the Roman Empire. As provincial governor, it was said, one had to extort three fortunes: one to pay back the debt incurred during the campaigns for office, one to bribe the jurors when hauled before the extortion court upon returning from the provinces, and one to live happily ever after and finance one's son's elevation to the same status. No wonder the system broke down, considering all those desperate competitors who spent a fortune and lost. For people such as Catilina and Caesar, the choice was between winning and revolution. Bankruptcy and exile were unthinkable solutions.

31. Thuc. 6.163.

<h2>Community patronage</h2>	
Roman Republic	Democratic Athens
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Magistracies with expensive duties • Curatorships • Gifts to the city from booty • Subsidised corn from the treasury • Only senators provide banquets and entertainment • Munificence strictly regulated and monopolised by the senators • Political office and community patronage institutionally intertwined • Electoral expenses to climb a hierarchy of offices • Expenses can be recuperated from the empire 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Liturgies (exceeding minimum) • Curatorships • Gifts to the city from private wealth • Subsidised corn from private sources • The rich and ambitious provide banquets and entertainment • Munificence encouraged from all the rich, regardless of ambitions • Political office and community patronage institutionally divorced • Expenses to gain a standing in the community • Expenses must be financed from the givers own resources.

Table 2: Community patronage in the Roman Republic and democratic Athens.

This short investigation has demonstrated that it makes a substantial difference whether community patronage is played out within the liturgy system or the office-holding system. Just as Aristotle claimed, the elite input in the form of respect, gratitude and support (political capital) was more substantial if the output was not forced upon the giver but voluntarily undertaken along with the other burdens of office. It has also demonstrated the dangers inherent in the office-holding system when political office can be used to increase the incumbents' wealth, transforming the political competition into a race towards monopolization of power. The oligarchisation of the Hellenistic period was perhaps less a formal constitutional change and more a social consequence of political necessity, where those who could afford to bear the cost of the city also came to rule it.³² In Athens, however, this process was helped along by the Peripatetic student Demetrius of Phaleron. He was the Macedonian ruler Cassander's puppet-ruler in Athens 317-307 BC, and instigator of oligarchic reforms,

³². van der Vliet 2011, 164.

like a property qualification for political rights and the abolition of the liturgy system in favour of what Aristotle advised in the quote I started with. If you want to preserve an oligarchy, those who seek political office, should have great expenses attached to their careers, so that only the rich may go in for politics.

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The archaeology of the institution of *choregia* in Classical Athens: A selection of inscribed choregic monuments from the City and Rural Dionysia

Andronike Makres

Επιλογή δέκα ενεπίγραφων χορηγικών μνημείων από την Αθήνα της κλασικής περιόδου (5ος και 4ος αιώνας π.Χ.), που αποδίδονται στα Εν Άστει και τα Κατ' Αγρούς Διονύσια, παρουσιάζεται με βάση τα φυσικά τους κατάλοιπα από την αρχαιότητα. Αυτά τα μνημεία αφιερώνονταν από πλούσιους Αθηναίους (τους χορηγούς), οι οποίοι ήταν υπεύθυνοι για την παραγωγή των χορών που παρουσιάστηκαν και νίκησαν σε αγώνες δράματος και διθυράμβου, που διεξάγονταν κατά τη διάρκεια των εορταστικών εκδηλώσεων προς τιμήν του Διονύσου στην πόλη (Μεγάλα ή Εν Άστει Διονύσια) και στους δήμους της Αττικής (Μικρά ή Κατ' Αγρούς Διονύσια). Η παρούσα μελέτη εστιάζεται στο ζήτημα της μορφής και της εξέλιξης των χορηγικών μνημείων, σε ερωτήματα σχετικά με τις θέσεις όπου αυτά αρχικά ανεγείρονταν (τοπογραφία), στη σημασία της θέσης εύρεσης των αρχαιολογικών τους καταλοίπων και στις πληροφορίες που μας παρέχουν οι επιγραφές. Το άρθρο στοχεύει να παρουσιάσει τον τρόπο με τον οποίο η μελέτη αυτών των μνημείων ρίχνει φως στην κοινωνική και πολιτική σημασία του θεσμού της χορηγίας στην κλασική Αθήνα, καθώς και την αρχαιολογική, ιστορική και συμβολική σημασία των μνημείων αυτών στο παρόν.

Keywords

Choregic inscription, monument, *choregia*, dedication, City Dionysia, Rural Dionysia

Attic choregic inscriptions of the Classical period were inscribed on so-called “choregic monuments”—a special category of dedicatory monuments erected by wealthy individuals (the *choregoi*) to commemorate their victories in theatrical contests performed as an important part of specific religious festivals in ancient Athens. The *choregoi* were appointed by the state to be responsible for and to cover all the expenses incurred by the production of

the choruses performed during the festivals. The archaeological remains of the choregic monuments and the text of the inscriptions constitute substantial evidence for the institution of *choregia* in Classical Athens. The origins of the institution of *choregia* in ancient Athens date to the emergence of Athenian democracy, i.e. the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century BC.

This article aims to present a selection (ten in total) of Attic choregic inscriptions dating from the 5th and 4th centuries BC that have been attributed to two festivals held in honour of Dionysus: (i) The City or Great Dionysia, a festival of central religious/social importance within the *polis* that took place in the area of the sanctuary and the Theatre of Dionysus, located on the south slope of the Acropolis. (ii) The Rural or Lesser Dionysia, which was held every year in the local communities of the city-states of ancient Athens, the so-called “demes” of Attica.

The inscriptions presented in this article (six attributed to the City Dionysia, and four to the Rural Dionysia) were selected on the basis of certain criteria, such as chronology, state of preservation, size of the monument, names of persons recorded and importance of find-spot, so as to present representative examples rather than an exhaustive list of this category of inscribed monuments.

The choregic monuments and their inscriptions have been researched by many scholars, archaeologists, epigraphists and historians, especially from the 19th century onwards. Moreover, the notes and drawings of earlier foreign travellers in Greece (15th to 18th century) offer invaluable information on the archaeology and topography of these monuments.

Choregic inscriptions attributed to the City or Great Dionysia

The surviving choregic inscriptions pertaining to the City Dionysia were, in their original form, dedications on monuments for bronze tripods (the victorious tribe received a tripod as its prize) commemorating victories in the dithyrambic contests. The dithyramb can be described as a wild singing and dancing performance of a chorus (in circular formation) accompanied by the playing of the flute (*aulos*) in honour of Dionysus. The ancient literary evidence suggests that the production of dithyrambic choruses, who wore elaborate outfits and underwent extensive training, was significantly costlier than the production of dramatic choruses, i.e. choruses performing in tragic and comic plays (see Lysias 21.1-4). Lysias (21.2) tells us that his victorious *choregia* of a men’s chorus in the City Dionysia cost him 5000 drachmas, including the dedication of the tripod.

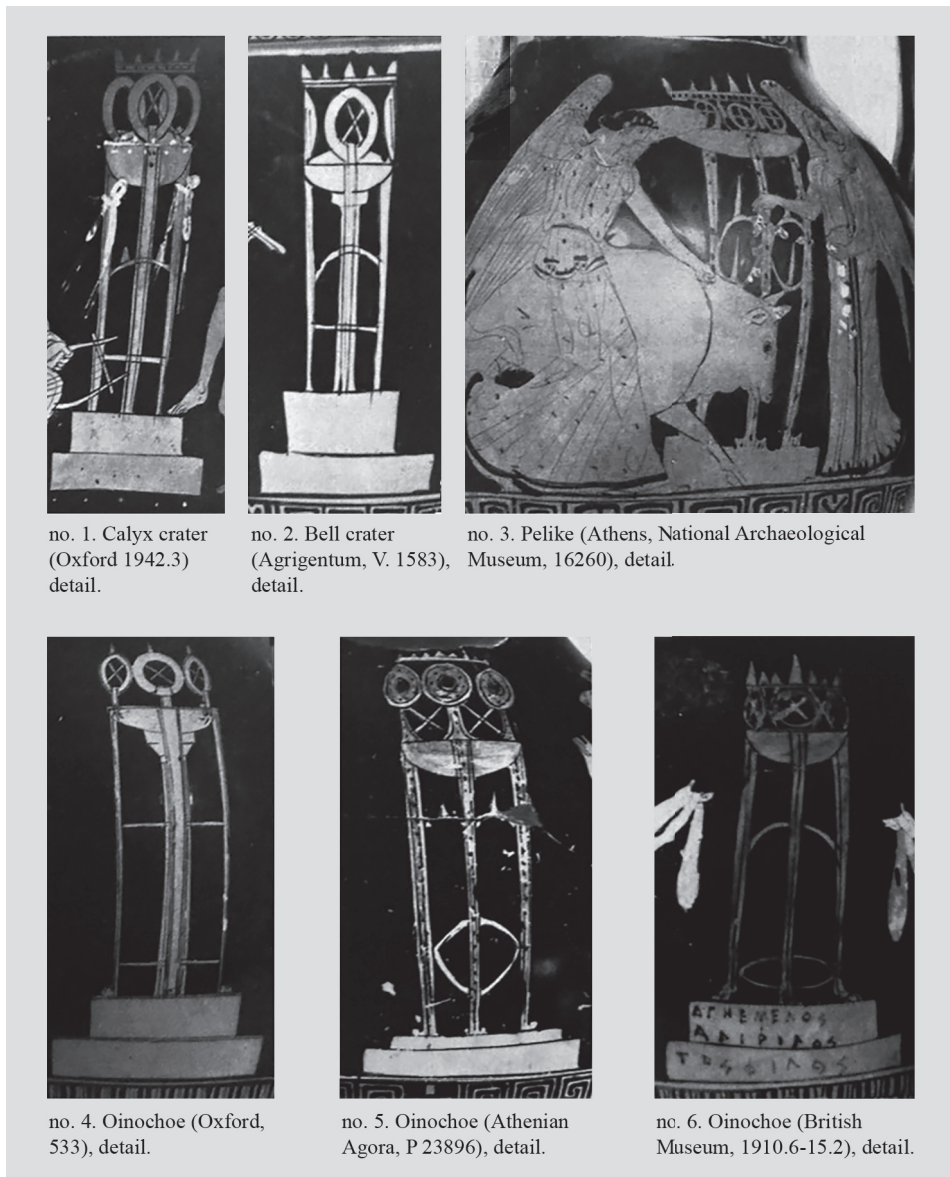


Fig. 1: Tripod dedications represented on vases (photo by Ducat and Amandry 1973, 38, figs. 22-27).

In their simplest form, the choregic monuments commemorating dithyrambic victories in the City Dionysia consisted of a rectangular marble stepped base—usually comprising two layers of stone blocks—supporting a bronze tripod, with an inscription on the front of the marble base stating

the names of the victorious tribe represented by the chorus, the *choregos*, the dithyrambic poet, the flute player and the eponymous *archon*, i.e. the principal magistrate of ancient Athens. Since no such monument survives complete, but rather mostly only in fragments or in parts of the tripod bases, it is useful to observe the representations of tripod dedications on vases (Fig. 1). Choregic monuments tended to grow larger with time so that, by the second half of the 4th century BC, many of them had acquired the form of large temple-like rectangular (e.g. monument of Nicias; see below, no. 6) or circular (e.g. monument of Lysicrates; see below, no. 5) constructions, with the tripod fastened on the top.

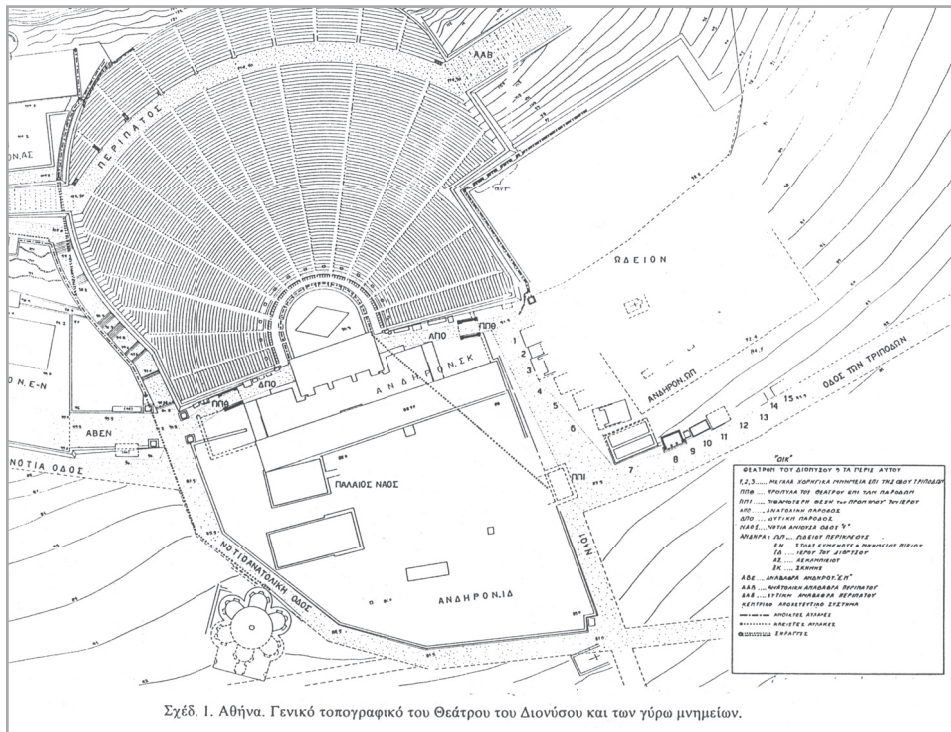


Fig. 2: The Theatre of Dionysus on the south slope of the Acropolis. Near the eastern parodos, the remains of the foundations of large choregic monuments (nos. 1-15) indicate the course of the ancient Street of the Tripods (plan by M. Korres 1980).

The victorious *choregoi* in the dithyrambic contests of the City Dionysia dedicated their monuments in the area of the sanctuary and the Theatre of Dionysus, located on the south slope of the Acropolis, and along the so-called “Street of the Tripods”.

The Street of the Tripods, i.e. a street which had choregic tripod victory monuments erected along its course, terminated near the eastern parodos of the Theatre of Dionysus, as can be deduced from the archaeological remains of the foundations of large, temple-like choregic monuments found there, in the area of the sanctuary of Dionysus and in the south-eastern corner of Pericles' Odeon (Fig. 2, nos. 1-15). From there, the course of the ancient Street of the Tripods has been traced with certainty beyond the fence of the archaeological site and under the streets and houses of the modern city in Plaka: it continued more or less along the modern Vakkhou Street, before turning onto Vyronos Street and continuing along Shelley Street, where there is located the only well-preserved large choregic monument on the Street of the Tripods, namely the monument of Lysicrates, dated to 335/334 BC (see below, inscription no. 5). The ancient Street of the Tripods continued along the modern Tripodon Street to an endpoint that has not yet been securely determined. I theorize, however, that it terminated close to 28 Tripodon Street, where the foundations of a large choregic monument have been found,¹ the northernmost such monument located *in situ* with certainty along the course of the ancient Street of the Tripods (Fig. 3).

According to Pausanias' testimony (I.20.1), the ancient Street of the Tripods began at the Prytaneion, an administrative building of ancient Athens, whose location has not yet been securely identified; however, recent discoveries and research seem to suggest that the Prytaneion was most probably located towards the east—rather than the north—of the Acropolis. As such, a location near 28 Tripodon Street, as mentioned above, is possible for both the starting point of the ancient Street of the Tripods and the location of the Prytaneion.²

1. See Choremi-Spetsieri 1994, 34-35 and figs. 4-8.

2. See Korres 2009, 76-77, fig. 4.2, and the bibliography mentioned in n. 4-6. Korres locates the starting point of the ancient Street of the Tripods 200 m east of the Tower of the Winds, which is somewhat farther to the north of 28 Tripodon Street. However, I think that recent archaeological finds—including a 5th-century inscription related to the Prytaneion—discovered at the plot of 32 Tripodon Street (Kavvadias and Matthaïou 2014, 51-72), combined with the fact that the 1st-century BC dedication of the *epimeletes* of the Prytaneion (*IG II³ 121 = IG II² 2877*) was built into the house located at 20 Tripodon Street (see Kroustalis 2013, 11-16), render the area between numbers 32 and 20 of the modern Tripodon Street (see the map in Fig. 3) a very probable location for the Prytaneion and, consequently, the beginning of the ancient Street of the Tripods. Additionally, in 2004, a choregic inscription was found not *in situ* but built into the steps of the modern house at 20 Tripodon Street, where the dedication of the *epimeletes* of the Prytaneion (*IG II³ 121 = IG II² 2877*) was also found. The choregic



Fig. 3: The ancient Street of the Tripods, marked with a line. The numbers of the modern Tripodon Street (corresponding at this section with the course of the ancient road) indicate the exact find-spot of related important archaeological evidence.

We can estimate that more than 300 choregic monuments commemorating dithyrambic victories in the City Dionysia were erected during the 5th and 4th centuries BC based on the following: (i) the institution of *choregia* in Classical Athens financed the production of choruses performed in the City Dionysia for approximately 180 years (that is, from the beginning of the 5th century BC until soon after 320 BC, when the institution was abolished); (ii) the performances of dithyramb in this festival comprised two categories, namely choruses of men and choruses of boys, which resulted in two dithyrambic victories every year in the City Dionysia; and (iii) most, if not all, victorious *choregoi* in dithyrambic competitions paid for the construction of a monument to dedicate the tripod, i.e. the winner's prize.

Today, the remains of choregic monuments for victorious dithyrambic choruses in the City Dionysia consist of approximately 25 foundations without inscriptions—the only exception being the monument of Lysicrates (see below, no. 5), which is preserved in excellent condition—of large 4th-century BC choregic monuments that have been discovered along the ancient Street of the Tripods, and 42 choregic inscriptions that have been found displaced, mostly built into walls and foundations of modern houses in the areas of Plaka, Monastiraki and the Agora excavations. Of the choregic monuments that have preserved inscriptions (either full or, more often, partial), six have been dated to the 5th century BC, and the remaining 37 to the 4th century BC.³

The 5th-century BC inscriptions are of particular historical and archaeological significance because very few remain, and the texts, although mostly fragmentary, do not demonstrate any particular uniformity; the more standardized form became evident only from the 4th century BC onwards. In its fully developed and complete form, the text of a choregic inscription includes the following information: (i) the name of the victorious tribe, as the dithyrambic contests in the City Dionysia were tribally organized so

inscription is published by E. Sioumpara (2013, 276), who mentions that this is the northernmost choregic inscription (not located *in situ*) on the ancient course of the Street of the Tripods and notes the importance of the find-spot. It is assumed that the choregic monument with this inscription was originally erected close to where it was found.

3. The 5th-century BC choregic inscriptions attributed to the City Dionysia are *IG I³ 957-962* in the corpus of Attic pre-Eucledeian inscriptions (Lewis and Jeffery 1994). The 4th-century BC inscriptions are *IG II³ 4, 1, 436-472*, edited by the present author in the new corpus of post-Eucledeian dedicatory inscriptions (Curbera 2015).

that each chorus was recruited from among the members of a particular tribe and thus the victory belonged to the tribe; (ii) the name, patronymic and demotic of the *choregos*; (iii) the name of the poet (*didaskalos*); (iv) the name of the flute-player (*auletes*); and (v) the name of the eponymous magistrate, i.e. one of the principal magistrates of ancient Athens, who also gave his name to the year and thus, when the name of the *archon* is preserved in the choregic inscriptions, it is possible to date them accurately and determine the exact year of the victorious choral performances.

1. *IG I³ 957 (EM 1836)* [Fig. 4]

The earliest inscription thought to be choregic and attributed to the City Dionysia is the fragmentary *IG I³ 957*, which is kept in the Epigraphical Museum of Athens (EM 1836). It is dated, solely on the basis of the letter forms, to c. 450 BC. The editor of the corpus, David M. Lewis, assumed that this fragmentary inscription was a choregic one based on the letters ΣΚΕ preserved on the second line, which can be restored as the verb [ἐδίδα]σκε (“instructed”), with the poet as the subject of the verb. Lewis considers the letters preserved in the first line to be part of the poet’s name and assumes that the names of the victorious tribe and the *choregos* were written on the lost part of the stone.



Fig. 4: *IG I³ 957 (EM 1836)*. Unknown find-spot. The earliest (c. 450 BC) inscription identified (Lewis) as choregic and attributed to the City Dionysia.

[- - -] ΑΚΛΕΤ[- - -]
 [- - - - ἐδίδα]σκε ?

The fact that this may be the earliest choregic inscription indicates that no choregic inscriptions survive from the first half of the 5th century (or, at least, none have been found yet), which is curious considering that the institution of *choregia* for financing the choruses performed in the City Dionysia stretches back to the beginning of the 5th century BC.

2. *IG I³ 959 (British School at Athens E8) [Fig. 5]*

IG I³ 959 was found in the area surrounding the monument of Lysicrates (see below, inscription no. 5) in the foundations of the house of George Finlay. The inscription is now held at the British School at Athens.⁴ It is dated to between 430 and 420 BC (Lewis) or to the late 5th century BC (Lambert) on the basis of the letter forms. The restoration of the victorious tribe Aigeis in line 1 can be deduced from the preserved demotic of the *choregos* (Ἀλαίε[υς]), since we know that the deme of Halai belonged to the tribe Aigeis. The name Παντακλῆς recorded on the inscription refers to the well-known poet Pantakles, who was an instructor of dithyramb

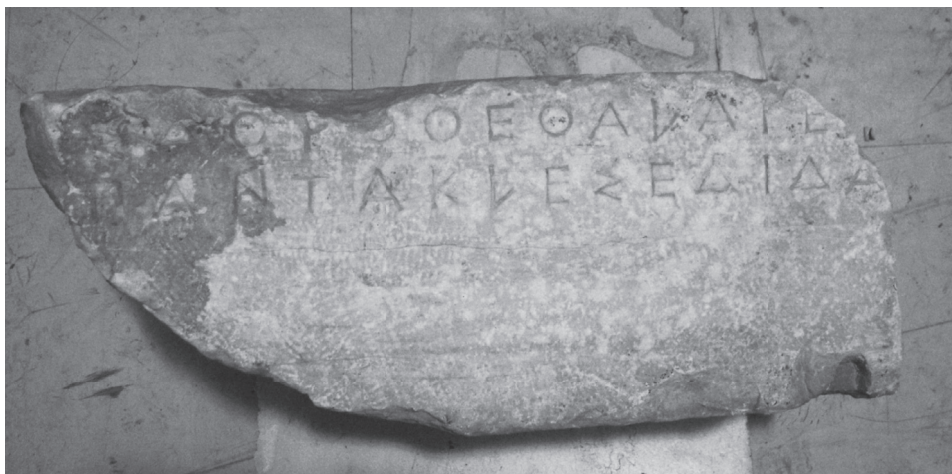


Fig. 5: *IG I³ 959 (British School at Athens). After 430 BC.*

4. See Lambert 2000, 497-498 and pl. 78a.

and was active during the second half of the 5th century BC. Pantakles is known mainly from Antiphon's "On the *Choreutes*", dated to 412 BC. The inscription has been attributed by Lewis to the City Dionysia, but P. Amandry originally attributed it to the Thargelia.

[---]ος Δοροθέο Ἀλαιε[ὺς ἐχορέγε, Αἰγεις ἐνίκα]
[----]Παντακλῆς ἐδίδασκε.

3. *IG I³ 960 (BA 594), 415/414 BC [Fig. 6]*

The earliest choregic inscription from the City Dionysia with a fully preserved text is *IG I³ 960*, which is kept at the archaeological site of Hadrian's Library (BA 594). It is dated with certainty to 415/414 BC on the basis of the name of the eponymous *archon* of Athens, which is recorded in line 3 (ΧΑΡΙΑΣ ΗΡΧΕ). The importance of the appearance of the *archon*'s name on choregic inscriptions has already been pointed out.

The name of the flute player is not recorded. It is well known that, originally, the poet was the central figure in the performance of the dithyramb; however, during the 4th century BC, the importance of the flute player (*auletes*) grew so that not only did his name appear on the choregic



Fig. 6: *IG I³ 960 (BA 594), 415/414 BC. The earliest fully preserved choregic inscription from the City Dionysia.*

inscriptions but it was often recorded before that of the poet. This shift in the relative prominence of the poet and the flute player constitutes an interesting development in the history of the performance of the dithyramb.

Αἰγίης ν ἐνίκα.
Πυθόδωρος : Ἐπιζήλο : ἐχορήγε,
Ἀρίσταρχος : ἐδίδασκε, : Χαρίας : ἤρχ[ε].

Of the remaining three choregic inscriptions of the 5th century BC attributed to the City Dionysia, one (*IG I³ 961*) is unfortunately considered lost and the other two (*IG I³ 958* and *IG I³ 962*), which are preserved in a very fragmentary condition, were found in the Athenian Agora.

From the 4th century BC, a total of 37 inscribed choregic monuments survive. Only three of these will be presented here.

4. *IG II³ 4, 1, 441 (=IG II² 3037)* (EM 10667-9) [Fig. 7]

This choregic inscription is dated with certainty to 375/374 BC because of the *archon*'s name recorded in line 4 (ΠΙΠΙΟΔΑΜΑΣ ΗΡΧΕ). It is held in the Epigraphical Museum of Athens (EM 10667-9). The text is more or less complete, and the phenomenon of the name of the *auletes* being recorded before that of the poet is evident here.

Οἰ[νη]ς ἐνίκ[α].
 [— —] δ[ω]ρος Μελ[η]σιοῦ Ὀῦθ[εν] ἐχορή[γει]
 [—] κληῖς ἠϋ[λε]ι. Διοφ[ῶν] ἐδίδα[σκει].
 Ἴππ[οδ]άμας ἦ[ρχ]ε.

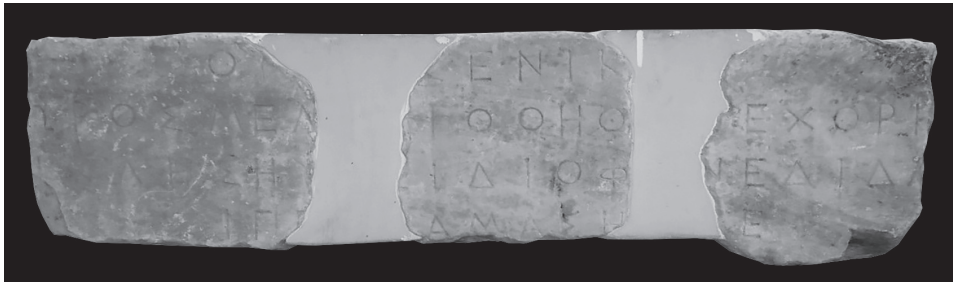


Fig. 7: *IG II³ 4, 1, 441 (=IG II² 3037)* (EM 10667-9), 375/374 BC.

5. *IG II³ 4, 1, 460 (=IG II² 3042)* (monument of Lysicrates, 335/334 BC) [Figs. 8, 9 and 9a]

This monument is one of the best-known examples, as it is the only large choregic monument preserved to its full height along the ancient Street of the Tripods. Travellers and scholars have studied the monument of Lysicrates from the time of Cyriacus of Ancona in the 15th century to the

present. It is interesting that the identity of the monument was lost over the course of time so that, even today, the monument is better known as “Diogenes’ Lantern” than the “Choregic Monument of Lysicrates”. One of the fundamental earlier studies is that by J. Stewart in 1762.⁵ The inscription, which is barely visible to the naked eye, is fully preserved high up on the epistyle of the monument (Figs. 9 and 9a):

Λυσικράτης Λυσιθείδου Κικυννεὺς ἐχορήγει.
 Ἀκαμαντὶς παίδων ἐνίκᾳ. Θέων ἠϋλῆι
 Λυσιάδης Ἀθηναῖος ἐδίδασκε. Εὐαίνετος ἦρχε.

The exact year (335/334 BC) of Lysicrates’ choregic victory with the Akamantis tribe is known because the *archon*’s name is recorded in line 3 (ΕΥΑΙΝΕΤΟΣ ΗΡΧΕ). In terms of situating the monument in its historical context, it is worth mentioning that it was erected only three years after Philip’s victory at the historic Battle of Chaeronea (338 BC), which signified the domination of Macedon over Greek city-state affairs. The Battle of Chaeronea has been viewed by several scholars as the beginning of the end of the glorious institution of the Greek city-state. It is interesting to note J. R. McCredie’s interpretation⁶ of various stylistic architectural characteristics of Lysicrates’ monument (the fact that it is circular, the use of Corinthian capitals, the decorative elements in the architecture, etc.) as being of Macedonian taste, possibly suggesting the political sympathy of the *choregos* toward Philip and the Macedonians, or Macedonian influence being reflected in Athenian architecture.

**6. IG II³ 4, 1, 467 (= IG II² 3055) (monument of Nicias, 320/319 BC)
 [Figs. 10a and b, and 11a, b and c]**

This is another, originally very impressive, choregic monument. The *choregos* is Nicias, the son of Nikodemos from the deme Xypete, and he commemorates a dithyrambic victory with a boys’ chorus for the tribe Kekropis. It is securely dated on the basis of the *archon*’s name mentioned in line 2 (NE[AI]XMOΣ ΗΡΧΕ) to 320/319 BC.

5. See Stuart 1762, 27-36 and tables I-XXVI.

6. See McCredie 1984, 181-183.



Fig. 8: *The choregic monument of Lysicrates, 335/334 BC. IG II³ 4, 1, 460 (=IG II² 3042).*
Photo by K. Kourtidis.



Fig. 9: The choregic inscription carved on the epistyle of the monument of Lysicrates IG II³ 4, 1, 460 (=IG II² 3042). Phot. K. Kourtidis.



Fig. 9a: Detail of the inscription carved on the epistyle of the monument of Lysicrates IG II³ 4, 1, 460 (=IG II² 3042). Phot. K. Kourtidis.

In its original condition, it was a large, rectangular temple-like monument located in a very prominent location, to the west of the Theatre of Dionysus (Fig. 10a). Today, only the foundations and a few architectural remains are still visible on the monument's site (Fig. 10b). The choregic inscription that was inscribed on the epistyle has been incorporated, along with other architectural elements of the monument (such as its Doric frieze), into the Beulé Gate (Figs. 11a, b and c).⁷

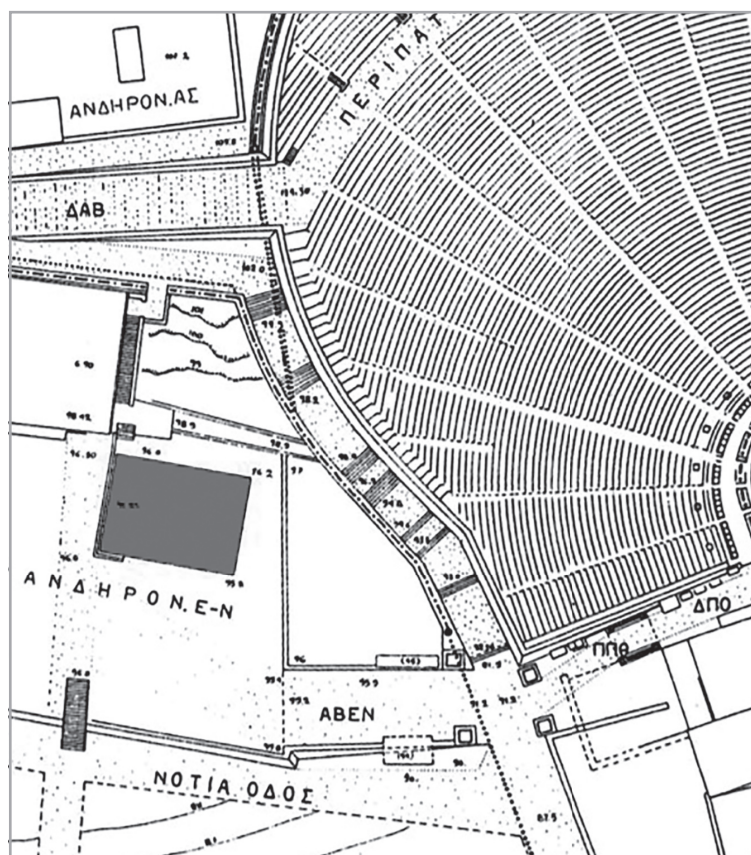


Fig. 10a: The large choregic monument of Nicias (320/319 BC) (IG II³ 4, 1, 467 (=IG II² 3055)), located to the west of the Theatre of Dionysus (plan by M. Korres 1980).

7. The photograph of Nicias' choregic inscription IG II³ 4, 1, 467 (= IG II² 3055) built into the Beulé Gate was taken by the Acropolis Restoration Service (ΥΣΜΑ) during a project titled "Μελέτη ανάπτυξης γεωγραφικών και πληροφοριακών συστημάτων στην Ακρόπολη των Αθηνών". The data from this project are available at www.ysma.gr. Th. Veronikis worked on the photographs and drew the letters of the inscription.



Fig. 10b: *The choregic monument of Nicias (320/319 BC) (IG II³ 4, 1, 467 (=IG II² 3055)), located to the west of the Theatre of Dionysus. Shown in its current state of preservation.*

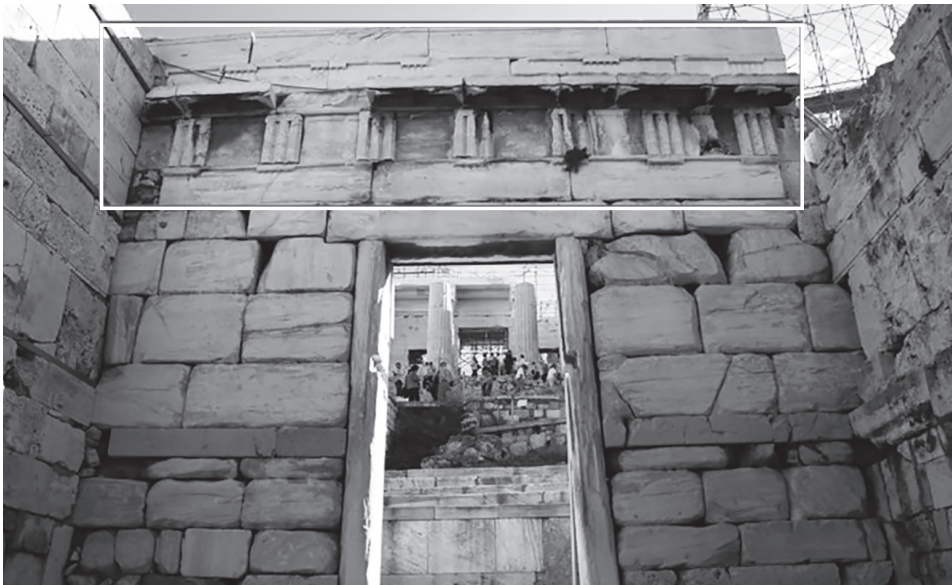


Fig. 11a: *Architectural members from the choregic monument of Nicias (marked space) built into the Beulé Gate on the Acropolis.*



Fig. 11b: The choregic inscription of Nicias (*IG II³ 4, 1, 467 (=IG II² 3055)*), originally on the epistyle of the monument and later built into the Beulé Gate. Photo by YSMA



Fig. 11c: The choregic inscription of Nicias (*IG II³ 4, 1, 467 (=IG II² 3055)*). Superimposed letters drawn by Th. Veronikis.

Νι[κ]ί[α]ς Νι[κ]ιοδήμου Ἐυ[π]εταιῶν ἀνέθηκε νικήσας χορηγῶν Κεκροπίδι
παίδων,
Πανταλέων Σικυόνιο[ς] ἠϋλει, ἄισμα Ἑλπήνωρ Τιμοθέου, Νέ[α]ιχμος
ἦρχε.

The dithyrambic contest during the City Dionysia was held in two divisions: choruses of men and choruses of boys. As mentioned above, Nicias' victory in 320/319 was with a boys' chorus. Fortunately, we also happen to know the victor of the men's division for that year. It was Thrasyllus, son of Thrasyllus from Deceleia (*IG II³ 4, 1, 468 (= IG II² 3056)*). He was one of the wealthiest Athenians of his time and constructed a grand and very elaborate choregic monument by screening the cave in the rock above the Theatre of Dionysus (Fig. 12). Thrasyllus' monument has been studied and drawn by many travellers and scholars, the most recent comprehensive study being that of K. Boletis,⁸ who is currently in charge of its reconstruction.

As mentioned above, the choregic monuments of both Nicias and Thrasyllus date to the year 320/319 (the former recording the victory of the tribe Kekropis with a boys' chorus, and the latter the victory of the tribe Hippothontis with a men's chorus). These two monuments happen to be the last securely dated choregic monuments preserved before the abolition of the institution of the *choregia*. They also happen to be the two largest and most impressive choregic monuments of the Classical period. There is thus good reason to believe that this very fact, i.e. the excessive expenditure

8. For the monument of Thrasyllus, see Boletis 2012.



Fig. 12: *The choregic monument of Thrasyllus, above the Theatre of Dionysus, 320/319 BC. On the left, the choregic inscription of Thrasyllus (IG II³ 4, 1, 468 (=IG II² 3056)) and the agonothetic inscription of his son Thrasycles (IG II³ 4, 1, 531 (=IG II² 3083)) are arranged on the ground before restoration. Photo by K. Boletis.*

involved in constructing such monuments, led Demetrius of Phaleron to abolish the *choregia* by law and to replace it with another institution, that of the *agonothesia*.⁹ Interestingly, almost half a century later, Thrasyllus' son Thrasycles was elected *agonothetes* in 271/270 BC and used the same monument, i.e. his father's, to record the victories in the dithyramb in the Great Dionysia during his term of office (IG II³ 4, 1, 531 (= IG II² 3083)).

Rural or Lesser Dionysia

The Rural or Lesser Dionysia took place during the winter, in the month Poseidon. It is not certain whether the Rural Dionysia was held in every single deme. Taking into account that there were at least 139 demes in Attica, the possibility of a celebration of the Lesser Dionysia in every deme would have constituted a particularly impressive phenomenon of Dionysian cult and festivity.

9. On primary sources related to this subject (especially Aristotle's negative view of excessive expenditure on choregic monuments), as well as a bibliography on the abolition of the *choregia* and its replacement with the *agonothesia*, see the introductory note to the dedications of the *agonothetai* in IG II³ 4, 1, p. 199-200. See also Sarrazanas 2015.

The choregic inscriptions attributed to the Rural Dionysia total 23, two dating to the 5th century BC, and 21 to the 4th century BC.¹⁰ The choregic monuments that commemorate victories at the Rural Dionysia are not characterized by uniformity—a phenomenon that is evident in the selection of the monuments presented below.

It is appropriate to begin with the ancient deme of Ikarion (modern Dionysos), which, according to literary tradition, was the home of Thespis, the founder of ancient tragedy in the 6th century BC. As has been indicated by the 19th-century excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens under the direction of Carl Darling Buck,¹¹ the deme of Ikarion had a special tradition associated with the cult of Dionysus¹² (the archaeological finds include a Late Archaic colossal statue of Dionysus (Fig. 15) in fragmentary condition, which is displayed at the National Archaeological Museum (EAM 3072-4, 3897)) and the theatre. Buck's topographical plan (Fig. 13) from 1889 depicts the theatre area, of which the marble seats are still extant, and the semicircular choregic monument (see below, no. 8 and Fig. 17), which was turned into the apse of the church of St Dionysios, which at Buck's time was in ruins.

A very important inscription found in Buck's excavations and related to *choregia* in the deme of Ikarion is *IG I³ 254*, which dates to the second half of the 5th century BC. It is held in the National Archaeological Museum.¹³ Its surface is worn, and large parts of the text are missing; however, it is important to note that it is a decree of the people of the deme of Ikarion concerning regulations about the duties of the *demarch* for the appointment of *choregoi* and the organization of the local dramatic performances, probably in the context of the Rural Dionysia. On the left-hand side are the

10. The 5th-century BC choregic inscriptions attributed to the Rural Dionysia are *IG I³ 969* and *970* in the corpus of Attic pre-Eucledeian inscriptions (Lewis and Jeffery 1994). The 4th-century BC ones are *IG II³ 4, 1, 497-517*, edited by the present author in the new corpus of post-Eucledeian dedicatory inscriptions (Curbera 2015).

11. Buck 1888, 421-426; 1889a, 9-17; 1889b, 18-33; 1889c, 154-181; 1889d, 304-319; 1889e, 461-477.

12. For a recent discussion demonstrating the significance of the cult of Dionysus in the deme of Ikarion, see Aliferi 2010-2013, 145-153, and especially the Appendix of her article entitled: "Ο δήμος του Ικαρίου και η Διονυσιακή λατρεία", which provides an informative overview of the sources pertaining to the cult of Dionysus in Ikarion (Aliferi 2010-2013, 151-152). For bibliographical references on the late archaic statue of Dionysus of Ikarion, see Aliferi 2010-2013, 151, n. 18.

13. See Makres 2004, 123-140.

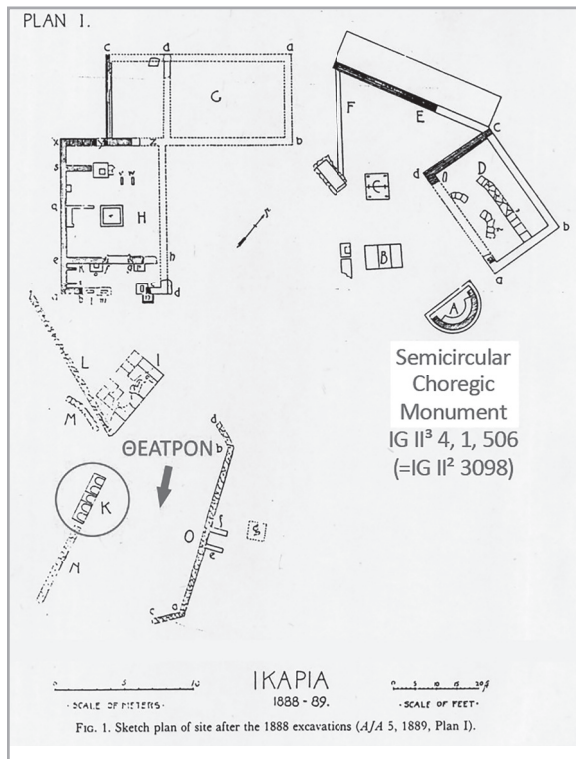


Fig. 13: Ancient deme of Ikarion (modern Dionysos). C. D. Buck's plan of the site, 1888-1889.

words TO XOPHFO (in dual form and in Attic script; Fig. 14) and, below these, the word ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΟΣ , which probably refers to the impressive archaic statue of Dionysus mentioned above (Fig. 15). Of the six choregic inscriptions attributed to the Rural Dionysia selected to be presented in this article, the first two come from Ikarion.

7. *IG II³ 4, 1, 497 (= IG II² 3094) (EM 13316) [Fig. 16]*

This is the dedication of Archippos from the deme of Ikarion. It has been dated on the basis of the letter forms to the early 4th century BC. The name of the god Dionysus appears in the dative in line 3 (ΤΩΙ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩΙ) as the recipient of the dedication. References to the god are very rare in choregic monuments.

Unfortunately, it is not easy to infer the nature of the dedicatory object from the traces on the upper surface of the base (Fig. 16a). It is interesting that the participle χορηγῶν is omitted before the participle νικήσας in line 2. The name of the poet Nikostratos suggests that the victory was won in either a comic or dithyrambic contest.

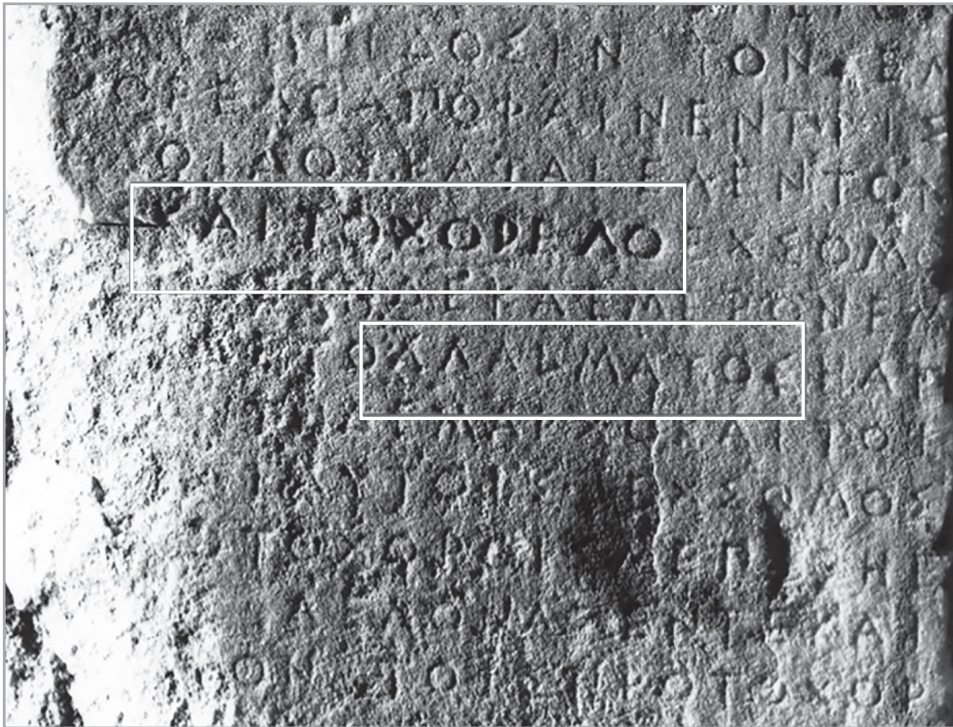


Fig. 14: Ancient deme of Ikarion. The decree of the people of Ikarion IG I³ 254 kept in the National Archaeological Museum (450-425 BC). The words *TO XOPEFO* and *TO AΓAAMATOS* are marked.



Fig. 15: Ancient deme of Ikarion. The colossal Late Archaic statue of Dionysus (EAM 30724, 3897).

[Ἄ]ρχιππος Ἀρχεδε[--]
 [ν]ικήσας ἀνέθηκε [τῶι]
 Διονύσῳ,
 Νικόστρατος ἐδίδασ[κε].

8. IG II³ 4, 1, 506 (= IG II² 3098) [Fig. 17]

This inscription is dated to the middle of the 4th century BC. It is inscribed on the architrave of the semicircular choregic monument that was later incorporated into the apse of the church of St Dionysios, which was demolished during Buck's above-mentioned excavations (Fig. 13).

[Δε]νίας, Ξάνθιππος, Ξανθίδης νικήσαντες ἀνέθεσαν.

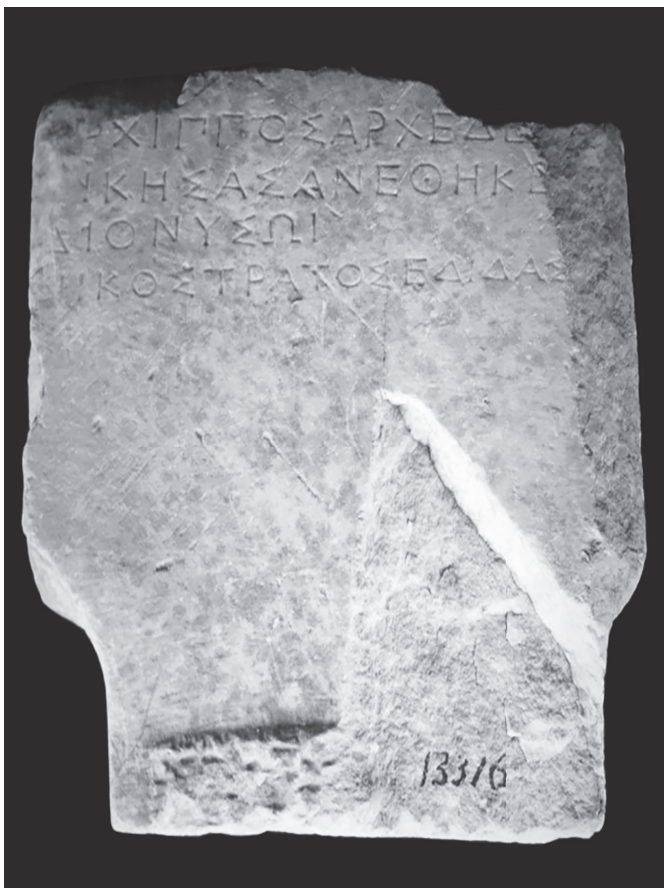


Fig. 16: Ancient deme of Ikarion. The choregic dedication of Archippos (IG II³ 4, 1, 497 (=IG II² 3094)) (EM 13316).



Fig. 16a: Ancient deme of Ikarion. The choregic dedication of Archippos (IG II³ 4, 1, 497 (=IG II² 3094)) (EM 13316). Upper surface, where the dedicatory object of unknown nature was installed.

The names of three victorious men are recorded; these are probably *choregoi* who assumed the expense of and responsibility for the *choregia* as a team, the so-called *synchoregia*, which was not an uncommon practice in the demes. It is interesting, as is the case with the dedication of Archippos above, that the participle *χορηγοῦντες* (see, e.g., below, inscription no. 10, l. 4) is omitted before the participle *νικήσαντες* in the dedicatory text.

It is difficult to speculate on the original state of the monument, as it is not possible to conclude from the traces on its top whether it supported a dedicatory object or whether statues were placed inside the semicircular space (or both).

9. IG I³ 969 (EM 13180) [Figs. 18 and 18a]

This choregic monument is a statue base, as indicated by the foot traces on the upper surface of the stone block (Fig. 18a). The statue may have represented Dionysus. The monument was discovered and published in 1965 by M. Mistsos in modern Varkiza, which has been identified with the ancient deme of Anagyrous. It is dated to the second half of the 5th century BC, more specifically to between 440 and 431 BC (Lewis). From line 3 onwards are listed the names of 14—instead of the normal 15—*tragodoi* (i.e. members of a tragic chorus), all probably demes men of Anagyrous.



Fig. 17: Ancient deme of Ikarion. The semicircular monument of Denias, Xanthippos and Xanthides (IG II³ 4, 1, 506 (=IG II³ 3098)) from the middle of the 4th century BC which was incorporated into the apse of the Byzantine church of St Dionysios.

Σωκράτης ἀνέθηκεν·
 Εὐριπίδης ἐδίδασκε·
 τραγωιδί· νν Ἀμφίδημος
 Πύθων νννν Εὐθύδικος
 5 Ἐχεκλῆς νν Λυσίας
 Μενάλκης νν Σῶν
 Φιλοκράτης Κριτόδημος
 Ἐχυλλος νν Χαρίας
 Μέλητος νν Φαίδων
 10 Ἐμπορίων *vacat*

What makes this monument exceptional is the name Euripides recorded in line 2, which should most probably be identified as the great Athenian tragedian. If this attribution is correct, then one must accept that first-rate dramatic poets also participated in the Rural Dionysia. The same can be said of the 5th-century BC choregic dedication from Eleusis (*IG I³ 970*) which mentions the names Aristophanes and Sophocles (maybe Sophocles the Younger). It is thus possible to suggest that great poets were willing to participate in the Rural Dionysia and were not only interested in taking part in the more glamorous festivals held at a central –as opposed to the local– level of the city of Athens.

10. *IG II³ 4, 1, 502 (= IG II² 3096)* [Fig. 19]

This monument from the deme Aigilia or Prospalta (modern Kalyvia in Kouvaras) is worth presenting because the name of the god Dionysus, in the dative (ΤΩΙ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩΙ), appears in the final line as the recipient of the dedication. Surprisingly, the dedicatory objects are mentioned in the inscription (line 5): a statue and an altar.

[Τιμο]σθένης Μειξωνίδο,
Μειξωνίδης Τιμοσθέος,

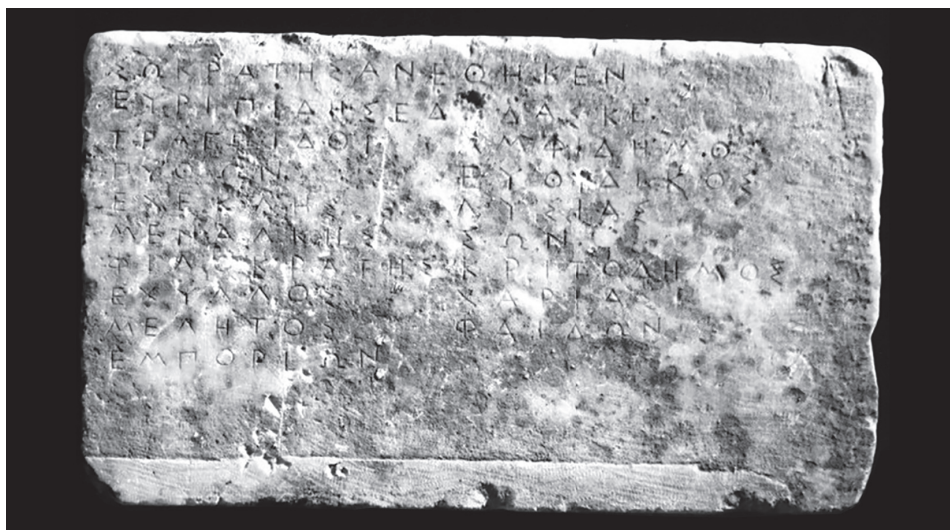


Fig. 18: Ancient deme of Anagyrous (modern Varkiza). *IG I³ 969 (EM 13180)*. Second half of 5th century BC. Choregic monument commemorating a performance of a tragic chorus. In line 2, *ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΗΣ ΕΛΙΔΑΣΚΕ* is visible.



Fig. 18a: Ancient deme of Anagyrous (modern Varkiza). IG I³ 969 (EM 13180). The upper surface of the base with the foot traces of a small statue (possibly of Dionysus).

Κλεόστρατος Τιμοσθένης,
 χορηγοῦντες νικήσαντες ἀνέθεσα[ν]
 5 τῷ Διονύσῳ τᾶγαλμα καὶ τὸμ βω[μόν].

It is important that the participle *χορηγοῦντες* is not omitted because this proves that statues (probably of Dionysus) and altars were among the objects dedicated to commemorate choregic victories in the Rural Dionysia. Unfortunately, the inscription does not mention whether the victory was for a tragic or a comic play, or for something else. Here, again, is attested the phenomenon of *synchoregia* in the demes; in this case, a father (Timosthenes) with his two sons (Meixonides and Kleostratos).

Conclusion

The surviving choregic monuments from the City (or Great) Dionysia during the Classical period are tripod bases commemorating victories in dithyrambic competitions in both the men's and boys' divisions. It is evident that there was a special connection between dithyrambic victory and tripod dedication. This does not mean that *choregoi* who were victorious in the

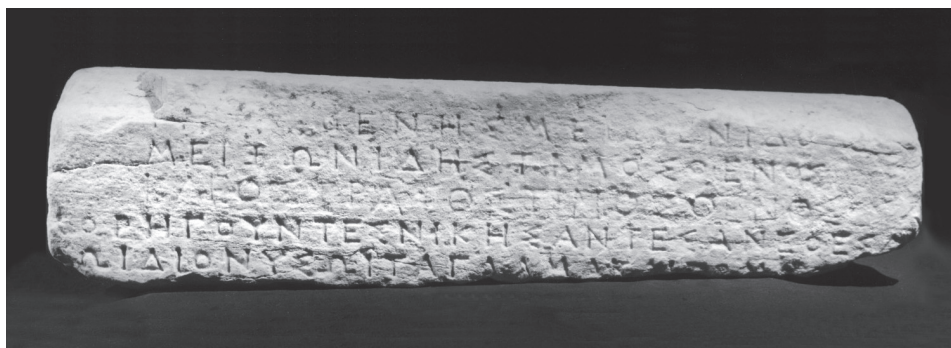


Fig. 19: Ancient deme of Aigilia or Prospalta (modern Kalyvia). The choregic dedication of Timosthenes and his two sons (IG II³ 4, 1, 502 (=IG II² 3096)) (EM 10670). After 350 BC.

dramatic contests (tragedies, comedies and satyric drama) held at the same festival did not make commemorative dedications. We know, primarily from literary sources, that they did. The reason these dedications have not survived seems to be that they were made of perishable material and would likely have been of less solid construction than the tripod dedications. The prize received for a dithyrambic victory was a large bronze tripod, approximately 3 m tall, for the City Dionysia (and even larger for the victory with a men's chorus),¹⁴ which had to be dedicated by the *choregos* either in the area of the sanctuary and the Theatre of Dionysus or along the Street of the Tripods, which had at one end the eastern parodos of the theatre and, at the other, the Prytaneion, located somewhere on the east side of the Acropolis. The reason the victor in the dithyrambic competitions received such a substantial prize may be that, unlike dramatic contests, dithyrambic contests were tribally organized, whereby the chorus represented the tribe and not a single individual, and, accordingly, the victor was the tribe as a whole and not one individual. If this observation is correct, it can contribute to our understanding of Athenian socio-political concerns at the time.

The surviving choregic monuments from the Rural Dionysia during the Classical period—unlike with the City Dionysia—primarily commemorate dramatic victories (tragedies and comedies), although choral performances

14. On the technical characteristics of tripod dedications related to the City Dionysia, see the definitive study by Pierre Amandry (1976, 70) on the size of the dedicatory tripods for boys' and men's dithyrambic victories.

of dithyramb are also represented.¹⁵ The dedications vary in form and size. Small commemorative statues of Dionysus may have been more common, but there was certainly an interesting variety of dedicatory objects related to choregic dedications in the demes. The choregic monuments from deme *choregoi* were, overall, much less impressive and costly than those of the City Dionysia; however, large choregic monuments are also found in the demes.

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15. See, for example, the interesting case of *IG* II³ 4, 1, 499 (= *IG* II² 3093) from Salamis—a triangular base that once supported a tripod commemorating a dithyrambic victory with a boys’ chorus. The inscription is dated to the early 4th century BC, but the monument is unfortunately lost. This monument indicates that there was a special connection between a dithyrambic victory and a tripod dedication (not between tribal victory and tripod dedication). See also the fragmentary *IG* II³ 4, 1, 511 (= *IG* II² 3057) from Athmonon, which refers to a performance involving a flute player, probably a dithyrambic one.

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The institution of the *choregia* in democratic Athens during the 5th and 4th centuries BC

Soi Agelidis

Ο θεσμός των λειτουργιών στην αρχαία Αθήνα αποτέλεσε ένα βασικό μέσο διαχείρισης των σημαντικών υποχρεώσεων της πόλης, ενώ συγχρόνως ενσωμάτωνε τους πολίτες στο σύστημα αξιών και ιδανικών της. Οι πιο εύποροι Αθηναίοι κάλυπταν τις κοινωνικές δαπάνες, κυρίως αυτές που αφορούσαν τον πόλεμο και τον πολιτισμό. Μία από τις πιο δαπανηρές, αλλά ταυτοχρόνως και η πιο αναγνωρίσιμη λειτουργία ήταν η χορηγία, αντικατοπτρίζοντας έτσι και τη σύγχρονη ερμηνεία του όρου χορηγός στη Νέα Ελληνική που προσδιορίζει τον ιδιώτη που χρηματοδοτεί δημόσια εγχειρήματα. Στην αρχαιότητα ο χορηγός παρείχε τα μέσα για την προετοιμασία και τον εξοπλισμό των χορών, οι οποίοι παρουσίαζαν χορικά άσματα σε δραματικές και διθυραμβικές παραστάσεις. Αυτές, με τη σειρά τους, αποτελούσαν μέρος θρησκευτικών εορτών και πραγματοποιούνταν με τη μορφή διαγωνισμών μεταξύ ομάδων πολιτών. Οι χορηγοί είχαν με αυτόν τον τρόπο την ευκαιρία να προωθηθούν και να αναδειχθούν μπροστά στην Αθηναϊκή κοινωνία. Ο Δημοσθένης, για παράδειγμα, σκόπευε να παρακολουθήσει την πομπή των έν ἄστει Διονυσίων φορώντας χρυσοκέντητα ενδύματα και χρυσό στεφάνι. Επιπλέον, οι χορηγοί, κατά τη διάρκεια των παραστάσεων κάθονταν στην μπροστινή σειρά καθισμάτων του θεάτρου, την προεδρία, που προοριζόταν για υψηλά τιμώμενα πρόσωπα. Την ύψιστη τιμή βεβαίως λάμβανε ο χορηγός του χορού που κέρδιζε στο διαγωνισμό. Ως εκπρόσωπος της ομάδας του λάμβανε το βραβείο, έναν χάλκινο τρίποδα, και τον έστηνε επάνω σε ένα μνημείο αφιερωμένο στον κύριο της εορτής, ο οποίος στην περίπτωση των Διονυσίων ήταν ο Διόνυσος. Η σημασία της χορηγίας και των χορηγικών μνημείων στην Αθηναϊκή κοινωνία αντικατοπτρίζεται ιδιαίτερα στις πολυάριθμες απεικονίσεις των αναθημάτων αυτών στα αγγεία, πλαισιωμένα από μυθολογικές μορφές, όπως η προσωποποίηση της νίκης, η Νίκη, ή ακόμα και του θεού στον οποίο ήταν αφιερωμένος ο εορτασμός, ο Διόνυσος. Αυτές οι παραστάσεις εξυμνούν τον θρησκευτικά φορτισμένο διαγωνισμό μεταξύ των πολιτών σαν ένα μέσο ενδυνάμωσης της κοινωνικής συνοχής.

Keywords

Athens, *choregia*, *phylai*, City Dionysia, theatre

Classical Athens, both as we perceive it today and as it was perceived in antiquity, was significantly moulded by the democratic system, which was inspired and created by the politician Cleisthenes in the final years of the 6th century BC.

After the end of the Peisistratid tyranny and the troubled years that followed, Cleisthenes was entrusted with renewing Athenian society and its political institutions. The bonds of the people with the aristocratic families, which had been essential for the political life of the *polis* during the time of Solon in the 6th century BC, had lost their immense importance during the tyranny; therefore, Cleisthenes had the opportunity to change substantially the structure of Athenian society. Thus, he divided the population of Athens into ten parts, the *phylai*, which consisted of demes located in the city (*asty*), the rural surroundings (*mesogeia*) and the coastal regions (*paralia*).¹ One result of Cleisthenes' reforms was to mix the population of Attica (regarding financial activities and origins). The ten *phylai* were named after heroes from Attic mythology, such as Cecrops, Erechtheus and Pandion, who were thought to be the ancestors of the tribes. The *phylai* formed the basis for organizing the political institutions and organs of Athens, such as the military, the courts and the city council.

This renewal strengthened the institutions connected with the welfare of the whole population, such as the *leitourgiai*.² The *leitourgiai* were a kind of taxation on the wealthy men in the *polis*. These civilians assumed the costs of specific tasks, mainly military and cultural endeavours. For example, the *trierarchia* maintained and equipped a trireme (a military ship) whereas the *gymnasiarchia* covered the costs of a *gymnasion*, the place where the young men trained and were educated.

One of the most expensive and prestigious *leitourgiai*, however, was the *choregia*. The etymology of the word implies the mission of the *choregos*: it is a compound of *choros* (χορός), the group of men which presented choral songs, and *hege-* (ἡγέ-), which means "to lead". The *choregos* was thus the leader of the chorus.³

The choral songs were presented by the choruses in two ways: the *dithyramboi*, which were autonomous works, and the *stasima*, which were

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1. Lewis 1963 is still the seminal work on this topic. See also Humphreys 2008; Kienast 2005, with further bibliography.
 2. Christ 1990; Davies 1967.
 3. Wilson 2000, 113-116.

performed as part of dramatic plays.⁴ The performance of lyrical songs and theatrical plays belonged to the programme of religious festivals: for example, the Great, or City, Dionysia in honour of Dionysus.⁵ Their main role was not to entertain the public but rather to worship the gods, as the performances were a kind of a ritual. Nevertheless, the dramatic and lyrical poetry was performed in the form of a competition between groups of citizens or the sons of citizens. The scope of this article is limited to the City Dionysia, as the majority of archaeological monuments are connected with this celebration.

In the dithyrambic competitions of the City Dionysia, every *phyle* entered two choruses, one of ten men, and one of ten boys.⁶ Each of these groups consisted of 50 persons with one *choregos*, who was a citizen of the *phyle*, in charge. The eponymous *archon*, the Athenian official whose duty it was to organize the festival, chose the *choregoi* from among the rich men of each *phyle*. After his election, the *choregos* had the right to name another citizen who was wealthier and thus better able to perform the duty of the *choregos*. In this case, however, it was possible for an *antidosis* to arise, whereby the two citizens would exchange their belongings and the citizen who was chosen in the first place would have to perform the *choregia*. Of course, very few took this kind of risk.

Let us now examine the costs covered by the private property of the *choregoi*. The members of the choruses were not professionals, but rather simple citizens or –in the case of the boys– the sons of citizens. Hence, they needed especially intensive training in singing and dancing, from their election to the day of the performance, in order to present their song in an appropriate manner for the ritual, but also to fare well in the competition against the choruses of the other *phylai*. For this reason, the members of the choruses absented themselves from their normal professional activities, and the *choregos* had to compensate them for their missed earnings. The *choregos* was also obliged to find and cover the rental costs of an appropriate venue where the chorus could practise, as well as to pay the salary of the *chorodidaskalos* (the teacher who trained the members of the

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4. Drama evolved as a variation of the dithyramb performances in the 6th century BC; see, most recently, Kowalzig 2007.
 5. Dithyrambs were also performed at, e.g., the Thargelia, a festival for Apollo, which was also financed by the *choregoi*: Agelidis 2009, 11-19; Wilson 2000, 27-44; Wilson 2007b.
 6. Agelidis 2009, 12-15; Wilson 2000, 50-103.

chorus in choreography and song). Moreover, costumes were essential for making a favourable impression on the audience. The *choregos*, thus, also took care of the clothing for his men: rich garments made from expensive fabrics and embroidered with elaborate motifs. All of these expenses relate to the preparation of the chorus and the performance itself. Beyond that, the *choregos* also encountered additional expenditures.

From the oration of Demosthenes *versus* Meidias (21) we know that, when the orator had the duty of the *choregia* for the men's chorus of his *phyle* Pandionis, he commissioned a goldsmith to make gold-embroidered garments and a golden wreath, which he intended to wear during the great procession of the City Dionysia. He also ordered golden wreaths for the members of his chorus. Demosthenes wrote and delivered an oration against Meidias (21) as he instructed a man to break into the goldsmith's workshop and destroy the clothes and wreaths Demosthenes commissioned. This indicates that the *choregoi* invested both in the chorus' costumes and in their own appearance during the festival. Furthermore, we learn that the competition was so important, not only among the choruses but also among their *choregoi*, that some people acted illegally in order to disable competitors and thereby gain an advantage during the festival.

The *choregia* gave to the citizens the opportunity to present themselves to the public, something which was rarely possible in Athenian democracy. The cost of undertaking the *choregia* was certainly very high, as we saw above, but the *choregoi* were, in return, distinguished by receiving extraordinary honours. In the great procession of the City Dionysia on the first day of the festival –which followed the route from the Dipylon Gate through the Agora to the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus on the south slope of the Acropolis– the *choregoi* walked in a prominent position. In this context, they attempted to point out their importance by wearing ostentatious and expensive robes. On the following days, during the performances of the lyric and dramatic plays, they sat on the *prohedria*, the front row of seats in the theatre, which were reserved for the very important political and religious elite of Athens. The importance of the *prohedria* was emphasized by the material and, subsequently, the form of the seats: in the wooden theatre of the 5th century BC, the *prohedria* was made of marble, while in the marble theatre of the 4th century BC it consisted of marble thrones bearing decoration in relief.⁷

7. Csapo 2007 (with an appendix by H. R. Goette); Froning 2002, especially 38-48;

The described honours paid to the *choregoi* explain why this office was so prestigious. The esteem of the sponsor increased even more when his chorus won the competition, for he received additional honours. The winner of the contest was announced on the final day of the competition in the theatre, and its *choregos* received, as the representative of his chorus and thus also of his tribe, the winning prize: a bronze tripod. One can imagine the cheers of the chorus and its supporters in the theatre and also how the *choregos* was praised for making the performance and, more importantly, this success possible by investing his money in it. Later, perhaps on the same evening, the *choregos* would have hosted a meal for the members of his chorus to thank them for their efforts.

The actions of the *choregos* as well as the honours he received were ephemeral. Yet, at the same time, the duties of the *choregia* gave him the opportunity to set up a monument for the victory of his *phyle*. The costs for this votive were covered by the sponsor, but the sponsor also determined the form of the monument. A necessary element of the monument was an extensive inscription containing information about the winning *phyle*: namely whether it won with a men's or a boys' chorus, and the name of the *choregos* and that of the *chorodidaskalos* or the *auletes* (the flute player who accompanied the choral song). These inscriptions followed a fixed formula, with very little variation in wording.⁸

The choregic monuments took various forms, but their common element was the tripod.⁹ As mentioned above, the prize for the victorious chorus of the dithyramb was a tripod, and this was the very object of the dedication. The base on which it was erected, and which bore the inscription, differed in form and size (Fig. 1). The simplest monuments consisted of a rectangular, stepped base. Somehow more elegant were the triangular bases with cut-up angles, concave sides and simple mouldings at their upper and lower ends. The most expensive bases had relief decoration with various motifs, even figural scenes. A prominent example of these elaborate tripod bases is the triangular base in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (inv. no. 1463; Fig. 2).¹⁰ The relief depicts on each side of the base a figure—Dionysus and two Nikes—holding vessels in their hands and performing

Papastamati-von Mock 2014.

8. cf. Makres, in this volume. See also Agelidis 2009, 98-101.

9. On the choregic monuments, see Agelidis 2009, 26-97; Goette 2007, 151-190; Wilson 2000, 198-262.

10. Agelidis 2009, 40-46, 177, cat. no. 29, with bibliography.

libations. The depiction refers to the festival of the god, as the frame of reference for the monument, as well as to the victory –most likely two victories– of the *choregos* with his *phyle* in dithyrambic competitions.

The vase paintings of the Classical period reflect the importance of these monuments as a long-lasting symbol of the *phyle*'s victory.¹¹ The erection of tripods, mostly on rectangular stepped bases, is the central motif of these depictions, called *epinikia*. These depictions, of course, were not realistic representations of the *epinikia*, which were the feasts on the occasion of the victory of a *phyle* in a dithyrambic competition, but rather combined motifs and actions from these real events with mythological figures. In the examples from the first half of the 5th century BC, Nike undertook the duties usually performed by men during an *epinikia* feast: she performs a

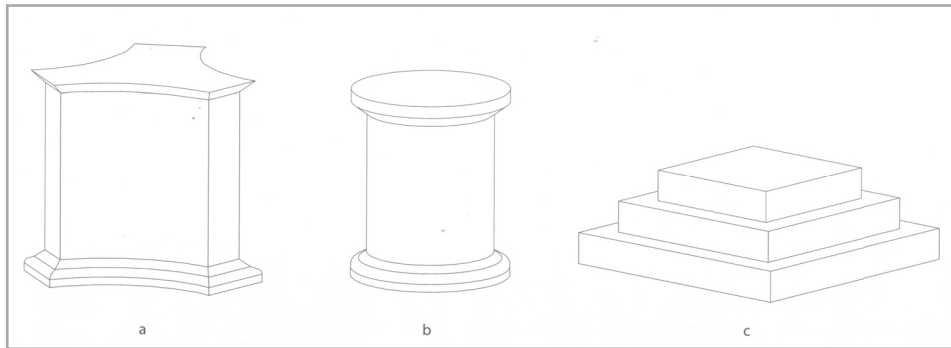


Fig. 1: Isometric drawing of the three simpler bases for choregic tripods: (a) triangular base, (b) round base, (c) rectangular stepped base. Drawing by Martin Baur, Munich.

libation with a *phiale* (a shallow bowl) or a *lekythos* (a kind of flask), and either sets up the tripod or decorates it with fillets, as depicted on a black-figure oinochoe in Munich (Antikensammlung, inv. no. 1810; Fig. 3):¹² here, Nike flies towards a tripod, which stands on a stepped base, holding in her outstretched hands a fillet (this part of the depiction is now lost).

11. Froning 1971 is still the seminal work on this.

12. Black-figure oinochoe: Munich, Antikensammlung, inv. no. 1810. Red-figure lekythos: formerly in trade in Basel. Red-figure amphora: London, British Museum, inv. no. E 298. Red-figure skyphos: Athens Acropolis Museum, inv. no. unknown. Red-figure calyx crater: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. 291 (= 1892.35). Red-figure lekythos: Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 1626. Agelidis 2009, 130-132, with further bibliography.



Fig. 2: *Triangular base* (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 1463); (2a) *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen*, Neg. D-DAI-ATH-Athen-Varia-0015; (2b) *Elmar Gehnen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen*, Neg. D-DAI-ATH-1996-0009; (2c) *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen*, Neg. D-DAI-ATH-Athen-Varia-0014.

In the second half of the 5th century BC, two Nikes are often depicted performing these actions, for example on a red-figure chous in London (British Museum, inv. no. 1910.6-15.2), while in some representations Nike is replaced by Eros.¹³ Some other variations are even more important, and we will examine these now. The symbolic representation of the victory of the tribe was already strongly evident in the victory monument, the personified victory (Nike), the fillets and the libations. But, in this case, the bull, one of the main animals sacrificed to the gods

13. Red-figure chous: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. 533. Red-figure chous: London, British Museum, inv. no. 1910.6-15.2. Red-figure calyx crater: Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 13900. Red-figure chous: London, British Museum, inv. no. E 528. Red-figure chous: London, British Museum, inv. no. E 526. Red-figure chous: Athens, Agora Museum, inv. no. P 23896. Agelidis 2009, 132-133, with bibliography.

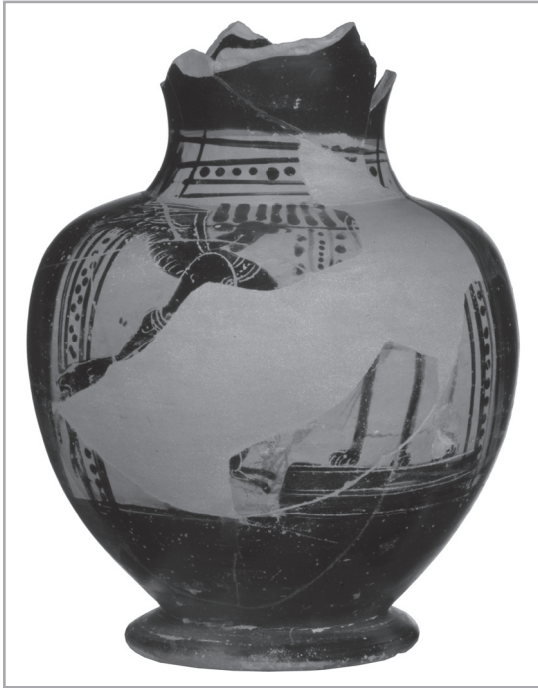


Fig. 3: Black-figure oinochoe (Munich, Antikensammlung, inv. no. 1810). Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München. Photo by Renate Kühling.

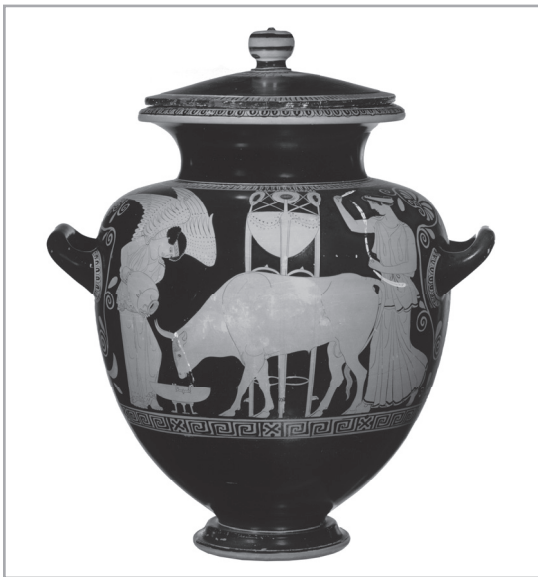


Fig. 4: Red-figure stamnos (Munich, Antikensammlung, inv. no. 2412). Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München. Photo by Renate Kühling.

as a sign of gratitude, was also added, among others, to the feast of the *epinikia*. Moreover, the circle of the depicted persons is extended, as personifications of the *phylai* are now present and perform some of the actions that were previously performed by Nike, such as decorating the tripod with fillets. A red-figure stamnos in Munich (Antikensammlung, inv. no. 2412; Fig. 4) depicts Nike pouring water into a bowl for the bull in front of her, while another female figure, most likely the personification of the *phyle*, walks towards the tripod with a fillet in her hands. In addition, the strong connection between the competition, the victory and the Dionysia is underlined by the presence of Dionysus himself and his followers in some depictions. The god, along with the satyrs and maenads, watches the engagement of Nike and the *phylai* with the tripod and the bull.¹⁴ In only one known representation of the *epinikia* are the gods completely missing, namely a red-figure amphora in London (British Museum, inv. no. E 284; Fig. 5):¹⁵ two women with different headdresses and clothing stand in front of two tripods set upon simple bases and prepare two bulls for the sacrifice. Most likely, the occasion for this depiction is a double victory of a *phyle* in the Dionysia, with both the boys' and the men's choruses; the two women constitute the personification of the *phyle* at both a younger and a more mature age, indicating the age of the two chorus groups.

The tripod on a base evolved throughout the 5th century BC to become the symbol *par excellence* for victory in poetry competitions, and, so, it was also depicted around the turn of the 5th to the 4th century BC in images that had no connection with the dithyramb. For example, on vase paintings that were produced on the occasion of a victory in a dramatic poetry competition, the tripod was used as a sign for victory, although it was not the prize for this kind of contest. An example of this is the renowned Pronomos crater in Naples, which depicts the performers in a satyric play, along with gods.¹⁶

Despite the importance of the tripod as a victory prize from as early as the 5th, but mostly during the 4th, century BC, many *choregoi* preferred to

14. Red-figure stamnos: Munich, Antikensammlung, inv. no. 2412. Red-figure calyx crater: Bologna, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. PU 286. Red-figure bell crater from Piraeus: current location unknown. Red-figure pelike: Athens, National Archaeological Museum. Red-figure pelike: Barcelona, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 33. Agelidis 2009, 133-136, with bibliography.

15. London, British Museum, inv. no. E 284. Agelidis 2009, 134, with bibliography.

16. Agelidis 2009, 136-140. On the Pronomos crater, see Taplin and Wyles 2010.

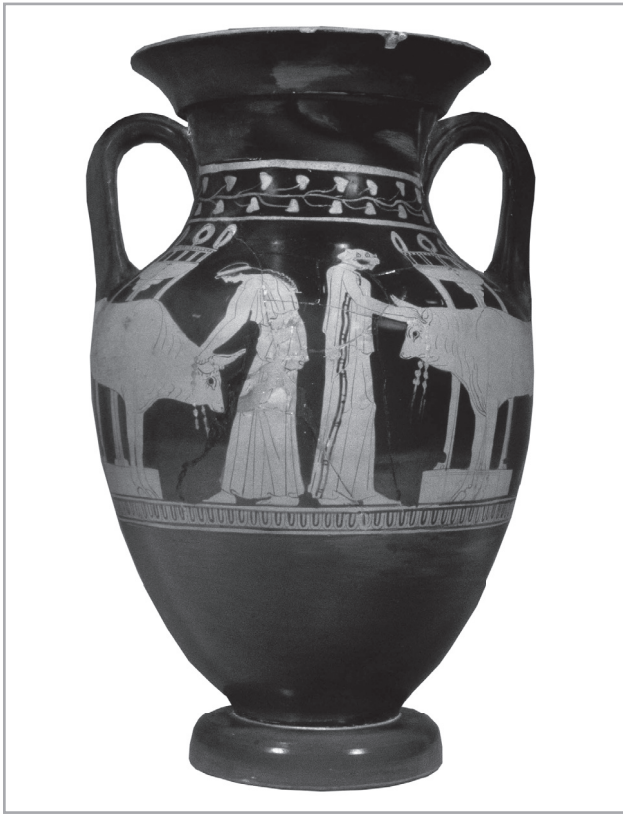


Fig. 5: *Red-figure amphora* (London, British Museum, inv. no. E 284). © Trustees of the British Museum.

erect larger monuments, usually in the form of small temples or other edifices.

Most of the monuments of this type are preserved in fragments; in most cases, only their epistyles with inscriptions or their foundations have been found *in situ*. The majority of them can be reconstructed as rectangular *naiskoi*. The foundation and the core of the *krepis*, which were not visible, were made of conglomerate, while the superstructure was constructed in marble.¹⁷

The best-known rectangular choregic *naiskos* was erected by Nicias (320/319 BC).¹⁸ The foundation of the edifice has been identified in the rests found at the northeast of the Eumenes Stoa, west of the Dionysion. The elements of its superstructure have been located built into the so-called

17. Agelidis 2009, 30-31; Korres 1980; Korres 1983.

18. Agelidis 2009, 171-174, cat. no. 27, pl. 4b-d; Makres, in this volume; Wilson 2000, 226-229.



Fig. 6: Remains of the choregic monument of Thrasyllus on the south slope of the Acropolis. Walter Hege, *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen, Neg. D-DAI-ATH-Hege-1958*.

“Beulé Gate”, which was erected in the second half of the 3rd century AD, after the destruction of the city by the Herulians, on the route to the Acropolis. The *naiskos* of Nicias was built in the Doric style and had six columns at its front. The choregic tripod was most probably set up as the intermediary *acroterion* of the edifice.

The choregic monument of Thrasyllus over the *cavea* of the theatre (320/319 BC; Fig. 6) is also very prominent.¹⁹ A façade with two openings and an Ionic epistyle was erected in front of a natural grotto, thus creating a form of stoa. Reliefs depicting wreaths decorated the epistyle and documented earlier *leitourgiai* and victories of Thrasyllus, while a large depiction in the interior of the building illustrated the killing of the Niobides by Apollo and Artemis. This was created in relief or by painting, and was

19. Agelidis 2009, 174, 177, cat. no. 28, pl. 4e, 5a-b; Korres 2000, 36, 38-39, fig. 36; Makres, in this volume; Wilson 2000, 229-234.

probably inspired by the subject of the dithyramb with which the chorus Thrasyllus financed gained victory. The tripod was set up on a rectangular stepped base above the edifice. When the son of Thrasyllus, Thrasycles, was successful with a chorus as *agonothetes*, he enlarged his father's monument and replaced the tripod with a statue of Dionysus, which is currently in the British Museum.²⁰

The most famous choregic monument is undoubtedly the tholos of Lysicrates (335/334 BC), which still stands in Plaka.²¹ Surely the excellent condition of preservation of the building and its reliefs, along with its unique form, are the main reasons for its reputation. The tholos stands over a high rectangular pedestal, and has Corinthian columns and a frieze with figure decoration. The depiction reflects the subject of the dithyramb for which Lysicrates dedicated this monument. It depicts the victory of Dionysus over the Tyrrhenian pirates, who tried to capture the god; they were, however, punished by the god, who threw them into the sea and transformed them into dolphins. The myth is well known through the first *Homeric Hymn*, but the story is told here in a different way: Dionysus relaxes on a recliner, while his followers, the satyrs, deal with the pirates.

The small choregic monuments were generally erected in the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus and its surroundings. Currently, we know of only one such monument erected on the so-called "Street of the Tripods",²² where most of the bigger *anathemata*, the choregic *naiskoi*, were erected.²³ The Street of the Tripods led from the Eleusinion at the northeast of the Agora, around the east slope of the Acropolis to the propylon of the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus. Its ancient name was simply *Tripodes*, as Pausanias informs us (1.20.1), and it was named after the tripods that stood on the choregic *naiskoi* along its sides. The Street of the Tripods was part of the route the procession followed during the City Dionysia, one of the most important festivals of the Athenian *polis*. The erection of choregic monuments at this site gave it not only a religious but also a political character.

The dedications were, of course, connected with the festival and the rituals since they derived from religious activities, and, additionally, they

20. Agelidis 2009, 288-289, cat. no. 181.

21. Agelidis 2009, 165-168, cat. no. 22, pl. 3d, 4a; Korres 2000, 36-37, 40, fig. 37; Makres, in this volume; Wilson 2000, 219-226.

22. Sioumpara 2013, 276; cf. also Makres, in this volume.

23. On the Street of Tripods, see Agelidis 2009, 112-121, with further bibliography.

framed the way to the sanctuary and thus formed part of the procession route. Their political importance for democratic Athens, however, was based on the *phylai* system and the contribution of the citizens to the community. The dithyrambic contests among the *phylai* promoted in the Athenians a spirit of competition, which was also related to their military duties, while the training of the chorus members strengthened cohesion among them, as well as their ability to act as a group, which was also essential for their behaviour in the city council and the army. The *choregoi*, on the other hand, played the role of the model Athenian citizen who provided their own money to serve causes related to the community and thereby made possible various things in the interests of society as a whole. This is why the *choregoi* had the right to erect their *anathemata* and show off as individuals, which was otherwise impossible in Classical Athens, as it was thought inappropriate. From this point of view, the choregic *anathemata* monumentalized the values and ideals of the *polis*, so that the Street of the Tripods could be characterized as a community monument of the Athenian citizens for democracy and the cohesion of Athenian society.

The vase paintings discussed above served a similar purpose in a more private context. These vessels were –most likely– used during the *epinikia* of the choruses, but also afterwards in private events. Here, again, competition and the urge to excel through contest were celebrated as basic elements of Athenian society and its success. These values were demonstrated to the Athenians not only in public spaces, and thus at the level of the *polis* as a whole, but also in smaller units of society, such as the *phyle* or the *oikos*.

Some details of the monuments' design are significant because of their high prestige and importance. Pausanias (1.20.1) mentions in the context of the choregic *naiskoi* standing on the Street of Tripods that, in these edifices, stood some noteworthy works (of art), including a satyr by the most-esteemed Praxiteles. Moreover, the tholos of Lysicrates, a unique monument with outstanding proportions, is the first known building to use Corinthian columns at its exterior.²⁴

These two examples demonstrate that (some of) the monuments erected by the *choregoi* were designed and embellished by the most important artisans and artists of their time, and that they even introduced innovations in architecture. Thus, the quality of these monuments was in accordance

24. cf. Korres 2000, 36-37, 40, fig. 37.

with the high value set on the fundamental ideals of democratic Athens, which they represented.

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The institution of *choregia* in ancient Boeotia

Evi Tsota, Olga Kyriazi, Ioannis Fappas

Η παρούσα μελέτη επικεντρώνεται στον θεσμό της χορηγίας, όπως αυτός αποτυπώνεται μέσα από γραπτές πηγές, επιλεγμένα αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα και μνημεία της αρχαίας Βοιωτίας. Η χορηγία στην αρχαιότητα ήταν μια μορφή συνεργασίας, καθώς οι χορηγοί κατέβαλαν χρηματικά ποσά τόσο για τη διεξαγωγή και προετοιμασία μουσικών και δραματικών αγώνων όσο και για την υλοποίηση ή βελτίωση δημόσιων κτηρίων και έργων. Η σημασία του θεσμού της χορηγίας, καθώς και η μεταγενέστερη εξέλιξή της ως ευεργεσία ή δωρεά, επιβεβαιώνεται μέσα από την ύπαρξη ενός σημαντικού αριθμού αρχαιολογικών μνημείων και ευρημάτων, που χρονολογούνται από την κλασική έως τη ρωμαϊκή εποχή.

Keywords

Choregia, sponsorship, beneficence, Boeotia

During the 6th century BC¹ the Athenians developed an intelligent and flexible system of four public services (*liturgies*): the *gymnasiarchia* (γυμνασιαρχία), the *trierarchia* (τριηραρχία), the *hestiasis* (ἑστίασις) and the *choregia* (χορηγία, *khoregia*). The economic prosperity of the Greek city-states was made possible by these public services (*liturgies*, λειτουργίες). The institution of the *choregia* (sponsorship) began as a paramount liturgy which, although it was a form of indirect taxation, contributed to the flourishing of culture and improvement of values, such as civil consciousness, compassion and financial convergence of different social strata.

Since theatrical performances were civic ceremonies in ancient Greece, the state paid the actors' salaries. However, the additional expenses

1. Migeotte 1995, 7-32; Mosse 2002.

(including the salaries and training of the chorus, costumes, flute players etc.) were assigned to χορηγοί. If the play won, the prize was awarded to the sponsors. The prize was not of a financial nature. The *choregos*' name was written on a stone column, which gave him glory, honour and prestige.² According to Aristotle, οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε πολιτείαν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην ἄνευ συμμέτρου χορηγίας.³ Over the years, the institution of *choregia* was established in several Greek πόλεις such as Aegina, Thebes, Boeotian Orchomenos, Thisbe, Kea (Karthaiia), Chios and Mytilene until the Hellenistic period.

The institution of *choregia* was gradually enriched and eventually substituted by *beneficence* during Hellenistic times, and *patronage* in the Roman period. Whatever the form of financial support, it always served to cover various public expenses of the ancient cities. Public funds were often insufficient, leaving cities to look for other means, such as lending, liturgies or donations. Some of these extra expenses correspond to current standards, such as defence, public constructions or religious and cultural events.⁴

Many ancient cities in Boeotia, such as Thebes, Tanagra, Koroneia, Orchomenos, Acraephia and Thisbe, often required financial support for the construction of temples, public buildings or other projects, to conduct theatrical or musical contests or festivals. There are even examples of projects being financed to support a military presence in problematic cities. This was the case with Agesilaus, king of Sparta, who decided to fortify the *polis* of Thespieae in order to strengthen his military position in 378 BC.⁵

Orchomenos

In the case of Orchomenos, Alexander III supported financially the city by rebuilding its fortifications as a reward for the alliance with the Orchomenians in the Battle of Chaeronea.⁶ The Boeotian *polis* of Orchomenos had been destroyed twice during the conflicts with Thebes, in 364 and in 354 BC. Arrian⁷ reports that, after the total destruction of Thebes in 335 BC by the

2. For the institution of *choregia* in Athens, see also the papers of Maehle, Makres and Angelidis in the present volume.

3. Aristotle, *Politics* 1330A, 13.

4. Chaniotis 2009, 18.

5. Xenophon, *Hellenica* 5.4.41: ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ πάλιν ἀποχωρήσας εἰς Θεσπιάς, ἐτείχισε τὸ ἄστυ αὐτοῖς.

6. Burn – Burn 1980, 77.

7. ἐπὶ τούτοις Ὁρχόμενόν τε καὶ Πλαταιὰς ἀναστήσαι τε καὶ τειχίσαι οἱ ξύμμαχοι

army of Alexander, as a consequence of the defection of Thebans against the Macedonian Guard garrisoned in Kadmeia, it was agreed that rebuild the fortifications of both Plataea and Orchomenos.

The walls of the Boeotian Orchomenos were preserved until the early 19th century to a much greater length than today. The British traveller William Leake presented in 1805 a site plan depicting the full course of the fortification.⁸ Nowadays, the fortification is partially preserved, but two construction phases belonging to the 4th century BC can be distinguished. The later phase, built in isodomic masonry, belongs to the period when the wall was strengthened and extended with Alexander's financial support.⁹ To that later phase of reconstruction belongs the artillery tower that still commands the highest peak of the acropolis. In commemoration of this



Fig. 1: *The T-shaped base inside the tholos tomb of Minyas, Orchomenos.*

ἔγνωσαν (Arrian, *Alexander Anabasis* 1.9.10).

8. Leake 1835, 145ff.

9. De Ridder 1985, 137-224.

funding, a Π-shaped base was erected somewhere in the city of Orchomenos, with statues of Alexander and members of his family. In Roman times, the pedestal was transferred from its original location and placed situated inside the tholos tomb of Minyas (Fig. 1), along with new and different statues from the Roman imperial cult.¹⁰

A similar case concerns the *polis* of Thebes. According to inscriptions from the late 4th century BC, the city received citizens' donations in order to rebuild public buildings.¹¹ Cassander, king of Macedonia, decided in 316/315 BC to finance the reconstruction of Thebes,¹² thus restoring what Alexander had destroyed.

An equally important public building, the theatre of Orchomenos,¹³ was erected with the financial support of Alexander III; it was discovered



Fig. 2: A group of inscribed stone triangular tripod bases, Orchomenos.

10. Aravantinos *et al.*, forthcoming.

11. Buraselis 2014; Kalliontzis 2014, 5.

12. δοκεῖ δέ μοι τὰς Θήβας οἰκίσαι ὁ Κάσσανδρος κατὰ ἔχθος Ἀλεξάνδρου (Pausanias, 9.7.2).

13. Fittschen 1999, 49-60.

in the 1970s.¹⁴ In addition to the musical competitions in honour of the Charites, Omoloios Zeus and Dionysus, evidenced by the inscriptions found at the site, the theatre was also used for the gatherings of the allied cities of the Boeotian Koinon, after 335 BC, since the temporary transfer of the legislative body of the council to Orchomenos. The first phase of the theatre's construction, dating back to the late 4th century BC, with a stone auditorium, orchestra and skene, was also associated with the main extension of the city walls by the Macedonians, when Orchomenos was rewarded for its services in the conquest of the rival city.

During the excavation of the theatre, a group of twenty-five inscribed stone triangular tripod bases was discovered.¹⁵ The inscriptions indicate that the tripods (Fig. 2) were assigned by two *choregoi* (sponsors) of music and



Fig. 3: *The inscribed ionic architrave, Orchomenos.*

14. Spyropoulos 1973, 392ff.

15. Amandry, Spyropoulos 1974, 175-178.

poetry contests that took place at the theatre mainly in honour of Dionysus, Charites, in celebrations Charitision¹⁶ and Zeus Omoloios, and in one case of Serapis, Isis and Anubis (*IG VII 3215*). An inscribed ionic architrave¹⁷ referring to the *choregia* of a celebration in honour of Dionysus was also found during the excavation of the theatre (Τελέσιππος Αριστίωνος Ιθύμαδος Ευανκρίτω άνδρεςσι χοραγείσαντε Διωνούσι ανεθέταν Τιμόλλιος άρχοντ[ο]ς αυλίοντος Νικοπόλιος) (Fig. 3). The majority of inscriptions follow a pattern: first, they mention the name and patronymic of the two sponsors, then the name of the local ruler, and finally the name of the flute player and singer who won the games. The inscriptions associated with the contests in honour of Dionysus date from the mid-3rd century BC, the Charitision from the 2nd to 1st century BC, and those of Zeus Omoloio from the 1st century BC.

It is important to note what Elizabeth and Willy Child wrote on the subject:

the political significance of these tripod dedications is patent: the polis of Orchomenos set up the expensive tripods as prizes in the musical contests in honor of Dionysus, only to receive them back stamped with the *kleos* of its victorious citizens. The erection of the choregic tripods in a prominent public place at Orchomenos, within or at least not far from the agora and the burial site of Hesiod provided the city with visual markers of the magnificence of both the city-state and its prominent *choregoi*. The *choregoi*, in turn, conspicuously emphasized their prominent status in Orchomenian society.¹⁸

Valley of the Muses

During the Hellenistic period, the rulers of the various states that were created after Alexander III rushed to be on friendly terms with the Greek cities. A typical example in Boeotia is evident in the findings from the Valley of the Muses.¹⁹ The history of the Valley and the secret forest on the eastern slopes of Mount Helikon begins in the 6th century BC. It reached its apex in importance from the 3rd century BC onwards because of the Mouseia, festivals established and organized every five years by the Thespians dedicated to the nine Muses, during which poets and musicians from all over Greece participated in various contests.²⁰

16. Buckler 1984, 49-53.

17. Amandry, Spyropoulos 1974, 180-183.

18. Child 2008, 251-282.

19. Tzanimis 1995, 407-427.

20. Jamot 1891, 381-403, 448-449, 659-662; Jamot, De Ridder 1922, 217-306.

In the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, games in honour of the Roman emperor who sponsored the festivals were added to the list. At that time, they were called the Great Kaisareia (Μεγάλα Καισάρεια), and not Mouseia, as they were tributes in honour of the emperor. The winners dedicated their tripods to the sanctuary of the Muses.

The Heliconian sanctuary included a theatre (dated to the late 3rd or early 2nd century BC), a long ionic stoa (length 96.7 m dated to the 3rd century BC) and a small temple or altar of the Muses (a small rectangular building dated to the 3rd century BC). The temples in the valley and a temple of Hermes in Thespieae were erected during the time of Philetaios, king of Pergamon and founder of the Attalid dynasty, with his financial support.²¹

Plataea

The ancient *polis* of Plataea was situated on the northern side of Mount Cithaeron, below the modern village. An example of beneficence, in this case by a private individual, was discovered here. The inscription is a decree of a Hellenic League honouring an Athenian Glaucon, son of Eteocles, for dedications and gifts to Zeus Eleutherius and Homonoia of the Hellenes, and prescribing that it was to be set up next to the shared altar of the divinities.²² Before the decree was discovered in 1973,²³ some other inscriptions had been found that attest to the existence had been some inscriptions to attest the existence of a dual cult of Zeus Eleutherius and Homonoia of the Hellenes, at least during the 3rd century BC.²⁴ The cult of Homonoia is known from another 3rd century BC inscription, also from Plataea (*IG VII 2510*), and a priest of Homonoia of the Hellenes and Zeus Eleutherius are attested at Athens by inscriptions from the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.

Thisbe

Ancient Thisbe stood in the area of the modern village of Thisbe, which, until recently, was called Kakossi, in north-western Boeotia. A series of ten inscriptions have come to light in the area.²⁵ They are resolutions and

21. Pollit 1994, 352; Wilhelm 1897, 179-182.

22. West 1977, 307-319.

23. Spyropoulos 1973, 375.

24. Étienne – Piérart 1975, 51-75.

25. Foucart 1884.

προβουλεύματα that proclaim *consuls* and benefactors of the ancient *polis*. During the 3rd century BC, the Homeric πολυτρήρων Thisbe developed and maintained ties, relations and consulates with other cities, such as Sikyon, Naupaktos, Amphissa, Chalkis, Pagae (the ancient northern harbour of Megaris that became an independent city in 243 BC) and Panopeus, a financial agreement with the nearby city of Korsiai, and even with the Aetolian League.

In order for an individual to become ambassador and benefactor of the city, he was expected to have performed significant deeds or offers in favour of the city and the citizens. A typical example of an official ambassador can be discerned in the inscription of a preliminary decree (προβούλευμα) found in 1906 during the renovation of the church of Panagia Kakossiου in Thisbe.²⁶

Acraephia

The *polis* of Acraephia was built east of the Lake Kopais and northwest of Lake Yliki. Acraephnum was one of the smaller cities of Boeotia with no secondary settlements (*komai*). Acraephnum, however, was one of the earliest members of the Boeotian League.

A series of three inscriptions from Acraephia make extensive references to a wealthy and ambitious citizen, Epaminondas,²⁷ son of Epaminondas, as a benefactor of the city. The activities of the illustrious Epaminondas date, according to the inscription, between the reigns of the Roman emperors Caligula (37-41 AD), when he was ambassador of the Boeotian Koinon, and Nero (54-68 AD), when he was priest of the imperial cult of Zeus.

According to the honorary decree (*IG VII 2712*), which was posted in the agora and the city sanctuary (ἐαυτὸν πρὸς τὸ φιλόδοξον [καὶ] φιλάγαθον ταῖς [ἐπαλ]λή[λ]οις δαπάναις, εἷς φιλόπατρις καὶ εὐεργέτης νομ[ιζ]όμενος), Epaminondas revived the Ptoia, the music and poetry festivals in honour of the local hero Ptoos, whose sanctuary is located on Kastraki Hill, near the Pan-Hellenic sanctuary and oracle of Apollo Ptoos.²⁸ The celebrations had been discontinued for about thirty years, until the *agonothetes* Epaminondas restored the sanctuary and recommenced the games (ἀναλαβὼν τ[ε] τὴν

26. *SEG* 349.

27. Olivier 1971.

28. Ducat, Llinas 1965.

ἀρχὴν εὐθέως ἐπετέλει τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μαντεῖα). At the same time, he tried to restore old customs (πατρίους πομπὰς μεγάλας καὶ τὴν τῶν συρτῶν πάτριον ὄρχησιν θεοσεβῶς ἐπετέλεσεν). When Gaius Julius Caesar Augustus Germanicus (Caligula) became emperor of the Roman Empire, in 37 AD, that active citizen of Acraephia convinced not only the Boeotian cities, but also a significant number of other cities in Greece to send an embassy to Rome to congratulate the new emperor, and was chosen as head of the participants. He also gave an order to make an exact copy of Nero's speech at Isthmia held on November 28 in 67 AD (the inscription is now in the Archaeological Museum of Thebes, inv. no. 319), whereby the Greek cities became free and exempt from all taxes.

According to an inscription dating to the 1st century AD (*IG VII 2712*), Epaminondas financed, with the amount of 6000 *denarii*, the reinforcement of the embankments of Lake Kopais near the city with mortar, in order to save and protect the crops from flooding, a common problem, especially during the winter months.²⁹

According to the inscription *IG VII 2712*, the city of Acraephia dedicated a bronze statue to Epaminondas for this beneficence, not only to a single city but to Boeotia as a whole, and offered him a golden wreath.

Koroneia

The project financed by Epaminondas in eastern Kopais was part of a major plan for draining the lake, which had already begun in the Mycenaean era. The ancient inhabitants of Orchomenos, the mythical Minyes, were the first who dried out a large part of the lake, by using canals and embankments in natural sinkholes (*katavothrae*) and drove the river waters towards the sea.³⁰

The draining of the lake was a constant concern, even for subsequent generations, and a key issue for many cities which needed to attract major sponsorships to finance the constructions. Therefore, many centuries after the first successful draining of the lake, Alexander III commissioned Cratis, a mining and hydraulic engineer, to drain a part of the lake, in 335-331 BC, using some of the old channels but also digging a new central drainage ditch along the basin. A total of sixteen vertical shafts, at the bottom of which the underground tunnel passed in both directions, had to be dug and a 2 km long tunnel, 1.5 m wide and 1.7 m high, was opened.

29. Argoud 1993, 48-49.

30. Aravantinos *et al.* 2006; also for further bibliography.



Fig. 4: *Emperor Hadrian's first inscription from Koroneia, 125 AD, (Archaeological Museum of Thebes).*

For reasons unknown to us, however, the shafts never reached the desired depth and the tunnel remained unfinished.³¹

At a later date, the lake draining became the reason for one of the largest sponsorships in ancient Boeotia, as evidenced by several inscriptions carved on a large marble pillar, which was unearthed in 1920 by the archaeologist N. Pappadakis in Koroneia, now in the Archaeological Museum of Thebes.³² The inscriptions record the “letters” sent by the Roman emperor Hadrian (117-138 AD) to the inhabitants of Koroneia. Three of these inscriptions refer to the problem of flood control and the necessity of new constructions in the region ordered by the emperor, who visited Koroneia in 125 AD and saw in person the main problems caused by the overflowing of the rivers of western Kopais, deriving from the foothills of Mount Helikon.

The first inscription (Fig. 4), dating to 125 AD, refers to the need to settle the river beds of Kephissos, Erkynda and the rest of the rivers of the region by digging ditches and constructing embankments. According to the text, the emperor estimates the cost of the project constructions and informs the

31. Gullath 1990; Knauss 1995.

32. Pappadakis 1920, 367, 388; Fossey 1991, 5.



Fig. 5: *Emperor Hadrian's second inscription from Koroneia, 125 AD, (Archaeological Museum of Thebes).*



Fig. 6: *Emperor Hadrian's third inscription from Koroneia, 125 AD, (Archaeological Museum of Thebes).*



Fig. 7: *Statue of Hadrian from Koroneia, 2nd century AD (Archaeological Museum of Thebes, inv. no. 167).*

inhabitants of his intention to grant the amount of 65,000 *denarii* from the imperial treasury. He also allows the city to choose the engineers for the construction.³³

After ten years, in 135 AD, the Roman emperor sent a new “letter” to the citizens (Fig. 5) concerning the work on the river basins. This time, he referred specifically to the River Falaros, informing the inhabitants that he had sent his close friend Aemilius Juncus to solve the problem and he requested that he be informed of what had happened ten years ago.³⁴

Finally, in the third inscription by the Roman emperor (Fig. 6), the constructions at Falaros appear to have been completed. Hadrian seems to be very pleased with them and draws attention to the necessity of maintenance and not allowing the constructions to be destroyed. He also notes that anyone who causes damage to the projects would have to repair them, and the city should have to pay a fine of 500,000 *denarii* for the damage.³⁵

The interventions carried out during the Roman period in the region closed the circle of the ancient projects for flood protection. As heirs to this long tradition, the Roman era flood defences gave to the citizens of Koroneia and the inhabitants of the surrounding smaller cities a rich agricultural land and contributed to the efforts of exploiting the fertile soils of the basin. The city of Koroneia honoured its benefactor Hadrian for his valuable financial support. A marble statue (*ανδριάς αριστοπολιτείας*), of a preserved height of 1.82 m (Archaeological Museum of Thebes, inv. no. 167; Fig. 7), was placed in the *agora* of the *polis* near the Roman emperor inscriptions.

The above selective presentation of monuments from Boeotia, featuring examples of sponsorships and benefactors, highlights the anthropocentric character of the financial support developed in these cities. Beyond individual citizens’ goals, the development and growth of these institutions sought to improve the social and economic conditions of all inhabitants. The involvement of all citizens prevented absolute poverty or excessive wealth, and helped create an environment conducive to the creation of prestigious goods. Funding these goods gave prestige to those who contributed to the community as sponsors, and benefactors enjoyed the recognition of their fellow citizens.

33. Oliver 1989, 261, 264-265; Argoud 1993, 49-51.

34. Oliver 1989, 262, 268-269; Argoud 1993, 52-53.

35. Oliver 1989, 261, 266-267. Argoud 1993, 51-52.

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The *choregia* and the agonistic monuments from the Hellenistic to the Roman period¹

Dimitrios S. Sourlas

Στο παρόν κείμενο θα παρουσιασθούν δημοσιευμένα και αδημοσίευτα επιγραφικά μνημεία αγωνιστικού περιεχομένου (λαμπαδηδρομιών, αναθέσεις εφήβων κ.ά.), που έχουν βρεθεί στην Αθήνα και προέρχονται κατά κύριο λόγο από την περιοχή των μεγάλων Γυμνασίων της πόλης. Σκοπός είναι η καταγραφή και παρουσίαση της μετεξέλιξης του θεσμού της χορηγίας κατά τους Ελληνιστικούς και Ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους, η σημασία της αγωνοθεσίας και των λοιπών αξιωμάτων, αλλά και ο βαθμός συμμετοχής των ιδιωτών στις λειτουργίες που συνδέονται κυρίως με τους εφήβους και κατά συνέπεια με την εφηβεία.

Keywords

Athens, *choregia*, *ephebeia*, lists of *ephebes*, inscriptions, Hellenistic period, Roman period

The *choregia* –a characteristic democratic institution of Ancient Greece, and particularly of Athens– emerged at the end of the 6th century BC in the context of the Cleisthenic reforms and acquired its fully fledged form during the 5th century BC. According to this institution, wealthy citizens were responsible for covering the expense of preparing the choruses that performed in dramatic and dithyrambic contests.² The *choregia* was a great honour, but also a great responsibility and expense, as the costs covered by the *choregos* included not only the preparation and maintenance of the members of the chorus but also the erection of the monument to support the bronze tripod, the prize awarded to the victorious chorus.³

1. I am grateful to Dr George Kakavas, director of the Numismatic Museum, for his invitation to participate in the conference on the *choregia*. I am indebted to Dr Andronike Makres for translating the text and for all conversations about and ideas on the subject. All photos are by E. Bardani and/or from the archives of the former First Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities.
2. Makres 2014, 71-73.
3. Makres 2014, 79-80.

The *choregia* was a luxury that was associated only with the wealthiest citizens. At the same time, it constituted a civic duty, which could not be avoided. The increasing difficulty in recruiting *choregoi*, combined with the financial difficulties during the final years of the 5th century BC, led, for a limited period, to the institution of *synchoregia*, whereby two men shared the expense.⁴

In the context of the broader institutional and financial reforms of the final quarter of the 4th century BC, which are connected by most scholars to the conservative reforms of Demetrius of Phaleron, the institution of the *choregia* was abolished.⁵ From that time onwards, funding of the choral competitions was undertaken –even if only nominally– by the demos of the Athenians, which, in turn, passed on part of the great expense involved to only one man: the so-called “*agonothetes*”, one of the wealthiest men of his time.

The *agonothesia* was not an unknown practice in the Greek world before the institution was introduced in Athens. The term *agonothetes* was relatively common in the early 5th century BC and was used to denote the organizer of musical contests during religious festivals. The *agonothetes*, as an elected official, was originally responsible for the organization and the high quality of the contests. The erection of tripods, a customary practice of the *choregoi*, continued under the *agonothetai*. In the beginning, the cost was covered by the demos, but during the 3rd century BC, when public funds could no longer cover the expense, the *agonothetai* began financing the performances from their own private funds. For these benevolent actions, the *agonothetai* were honoured by the city, either during their term of office or at the time of its termination. From the middle of the 3rd century BC onwards, the *agonothetai* financed festivals such as the Dionysia, the Lenaia and the Panathenaia. From the middle of the 2nd century BC onwards, contests in honour of Theseus were also included. There is also epigraphic evidence of an *agonothetes* in ephebic contests (*IG II² 2879*).⁶

It is a matter of controversy whether, as mentioned above, the man responsible for this reform, i.e. the abolition of the *choregia* and the introduction of the *agonothesia*, was Demetrius of Phaleron, a man of conservative political beliefs, who, by introducing this reform, removed the financial burden involved in the *choregia* from the members of the

4. Makres 2014, 85; Wilson 2000, 265.

5. See Makres 2014, 88, with all the previous bibliography on the subject.

6. Wilson 2000, 272-276.

wealthy class. Several scholars have recently associated this reform with the restoration of democracy in Athens after Phalereus in 307/306 BC.⁷ It is difficult, however, to accept this view.

Around that time, the *agonothetes*, a magistrate and not a *leitourgos*, assumed the duties of the *choregos*; the *gymnasiarch* was no longer a *leitourgos* responsible primarily for the preparation and funding of the torch-races but rather a magistrate responsible for the *gymnasion*.⁸

The *gymnasiarch* was a man of wealth. During the Classical period, the *gymnasiarchy* was a liturgy that conferred a lot of honour and prestige on the *gymnasiarch*, just as the *choregia* did for the *choregos*. The *gymnasiarchy*, just like the *choregia* in dithyramb, was organized tribally. Originally, the main aspect was financing and overseeing the organization of the torch-races during the festivals. The youths participated in these contests according to tribe. The responsibility of the *gymnasiarch* was not only to cover the costs involved but also to provide the oil necessary for the relevant activities.⁹

According to the existing epigraphic evidence, the *gymnasiarchy* in Hellenistic Athens developed into an annual public magistracy of the city. The *gymnasiarch* received public funds in the administrative context of *merismos* (allocation of public funds for public expenses). His appointment to the office was no longer determined by his tribe but by an election by a show of hands by the people of Athens. The *gymnasiarch*, in close collaboration with the *kosmetes* of the *ephebes*, was in charge of the administration of the contests, as well as the winning prizes. Among other duties, he was responsible for constructing new buildings or auxiliary facilities in the *gymnasia* so that the various needs of the *ephebes*' activities would be covered.¹⁰ Moreover, he was in charge of financing the inscribed stone slabs (*stelai*) bearing the lists of participants in or victors of various agonistic events.

As mentioned above, the *gymnasiarchy* as a liturgy changed towards the end of the 4th century BC, possibly in the context of a more generalized constitutional reform, but also in the context of the changes in another important institution of the city: that of the *ephebeia*. In 336/335 or 334 BC,

7. On the subject, see Makres 2014, 89, with all bibliographical references.

8. Culasso-Gastaldi 2009, 122-123; Makres 2014, 89.

9. Culasso-Gastaldi 2009, 118-119; Marrou 1956, 10-111.

10. Culasso-Gastaldi 2009, 125-126.

the law of Epikrates was passed in the context of the policy adopted by Lycurgus of Athens, which brought important changes to the institution of the *ephebeia*, the most important being that the head of the *ephebes* was no longer elected on a tribal basis.¹¹ Following the Lamian War in 322 BC and the conquest of Athens by the Macedonians, the institution of the *ephebeia* was reduced by a significant degree and recovered later on, possibly under Demetrius of Phaleron, during the period 317-312 BC.¹² However, the great changes in the institution of the *ephebeia*, and especially its transformation from a mandatory military institution into an annual educational one with a strong athletic and cultural character, must have taken place sometime in the early 3rd century BC.

From that period onwards, the city no longer paid the *tetrobol* (*per diem*) to each *ephebe*. Accordingly, the magistracy of the *kosmetes*, who was in charge of the *ephebes* and in earlier times had been elected by the *demos*, became a liturgy and was accessible only to wealthy citizens.¹³ The ephebic inscriptions of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC prove that the *kosmetai* were those who financed, to a great extent, the expenses involved in the *ephebeia*, such as the restoration of buildings in the *gymnasium* or the provision of olive oil and meat for the sacrifices. We also know of instances when the *kosmetes* invited the wealthy *ephebes* to assume the financial burden of a *gymnasiarchy*.¹⁴ These obligations gradually passed onto the *ephebes* themselves. From the 2nd century BC onwards, we find more references to *ephebe gymnasiarchs* that were, at the same time, *agonothetai*.

Furthermore, around that time there is a substantial increase in the number of inscribed dedications made by the *ephebes* themselves. These were mainly inscribed marble stelai or bases dedicated by groups of *epheboi* participating in a contest. It is more common to find dedications to one of the heroes or deities associated with the *gymnasia*: namely Hermes, Heracles or, more frequently, Theseus, the archetype of the Athenian *ephebe*.¹⁵

Of great importance is a group of approximately thirty inscriptions that were found on dedicatory bases which supported torches (*Lampas* dedications) in Athens and Attica; most of these date to the 1st century BC or the

11. Burckhardt 2004, 193; Reinmuth 1971, 123-132.

12. Tracy 2004, 208.

13. Pelekidis 1962, 104-106.

14. Marrou 1956, 114-115.

15. Kazakidi 2015, 61-64, 94.

early 1st century AD.¹⁶ As already mentioned, torch-races were fundamental to many religious celebrations in Athens, and their organization and administration was one of the duties of the *gymnasiarch* and the *kosmetes*. Torch-races are attested, for example, at the Theseia, the Epitaphia, the Hephaestia, the Panathenaia and the Hermeia.¹⁷

Their original locations were not necessarily sanctuaries, but more commonly *gymnasia*. Four such bases are kept in the storerooms of the Library of Hadrian. Their find-spots were inside or very near the site where the Gymnasion of Ptolemy and that of Diogenes are supposedly located, in the area of modern Plaka, most probably east of the Roman Agora.¹⁸

The most important and the earliest of the four is a fragmentary base with the following inscription (*IG II/III*³ 382)¹⁹ (Fig. 1):



Fig. 1: *Inscribed Lampas dedication base (inv. no. ΠΑ 2367).*

16. Essential works for the subject are Kritzas 2004, 271-289 and Makres 2010, 179-195, with all the previous bibliography on the subject.

17. Kritzas 2004, 275-276.

18. On the subject, see Sourlas 2013, 162-164; Sourlas 2015, 311-314.

19. Sourlas 2010-2013, 169-174.

	Θεμιστοκλής	<i>non-stoichedon</i>
	Θεοφράστου	
	[Α]γνούσιος λαμ-	
	παδαρχήσας ἐ[ν]	
5	τῷ ἐπὶ Διοδώ[ρου]	
	[ἄρ]χοντος <i>vacat</i>	
	[ἐνιαυτῶι]	

The dedication is dated to the archonship of Diodorus in 53/52 BC. During that year, Themistocles was *lampadarchos* or superintendent of the group of *ephebes* who won the torch-race in a festival; however, the inscription does not mention either the name of the race or the god to whom the torch was offered. This, combined with the reference to the office of the *lampadarchos*, which was held by Themistocles in 53/52 BC, suggests the aim of the inscription was to glorify the dedicator himself. It is a personal dedication to Themistocles, son of Theophrastus from the deme of Hagnous, of whom we also know from other inscriptions (the most important of which is the decree of the Athenian Assembly from Eleusis dating to 20/19 BC). The dedicator belonged to one of the most prominent Athenian families of the 1st century BC. He was a member of the priestly clan (*genos*) of Kerykes. He traced his origins to Akestion, and through him to Themistocles, who was a general during the Persian Wars. In the aforementioned decree of 20/19 BC, Themistocles is referred to as *dadouchos*. Because of their contribution to enhancing the importance of the Mysteries, other members of his family, who had served as *dadouchoi* for five generations, are also commemorated.

The second fragmentary base contains the following inscription (*IG II/III*³ 403) from the second half of the 1st century BC or 1st century AD²⁰ (Fig. 2):

	[-----]
	[-----]
	[----- c. 7 --- νι]κήσ[ας -- c. 3 --]
	[-- c. 5 -- εν τῶι] ἐπὶ [-- c. 6 --]
	[c. 2 ἀρ]χοντος εν[ιαυτῶι]
5	[Ερμ]ῆι παιδοτριβου[ντος]
	[2-3]Ἴου του Ἀρίστου εκ [Μυ]-
	[ρι]νούνητος, υποπαιδοτ[ρι]-

20. Malouchou and Sourlas 2010-2013, 163-168.



Fig. 2: *Inscribed Lampas dedication base (inv. no. ΠΑ 522).*

[β]ούντων Μητροδώρου
 Φρεαρρίου, Λάμπωνος
 εκ Μυρινο[ύνητος].

This is a base that originally held the torch of a victor at a torch-race. The name of the dedicator is not preserved, and neither is that of the *archon*, which would have provided us with a secure date for the inscription. The *paidotribes* and the two *hypopaidotribai* mentioned are unknown. The presence of the two *hypopaidotribai*, however, provides us with a *terminus ante quem* for the inscription—namely 54 BC—when a *hypopaidotribes* is last mentioned, whereas the earliest case of a second *hypopaidotribes* appears on the inscribed base *IG II² 2995* (dated to 38/37 BC). The inscription can be dated by its letter forms to the first half of the 1st century AD; the archaistic shape of the letter omega is characteristic. The victor dedicates the torch to Hermes as protector of the *gymnasia*, but the particular festival during which the torch-race took place is not mentioned.

The third fragmentary base has the following inscription (*IG II/III*³ 394):²¹

non-stoicheidon

[..... c.16-17]...[.c.2.]
 [..... c.14-15] ἄρχον[το]-
 4 [ς ἐνιαυτῶι Ἑρμῆι,] παιδοτρ[ι]-
 [βοῦντος Φιλίου] τοῦ Φιλίου-
 [Φρεαρρίου, ὑπ]οπαιδοτρ[ι]-
 [βοῦντος Ἀπο]λλωνίδο[υ]
 [Ἀπολλωνίδου Φρεα]ρρίο[υ]

The form of the letters dates the inscription to the end of the 1st century BC.

The fourth inscription, which is kept in the storerooms of the Library of Hadrian and very likely comes from a *gymnasion*, is as follows (*IG II/III*³ 379)²² (Fig. 3):

59/58? BC

[.....]
 [.....]
 ου Μαραθῶ
 νιος λαμπά
 δα νικήσας
 ανέθηκεν
 παιδοτρι
 βούντος
 Μενίσκου
 Κωλονήθεν
 Ὑποπαιδο
 τριβούντος
 Ἀθλου Κωλο
 νήθεν.

Unfortunately, the name of the *ephebe* victor who dedicated the torch is not preserved, and neither is that of the deity or the festival in which the dedicator was victor.

21. The inscription has not yet been published in full.

22. Makres 2010, 179-195.

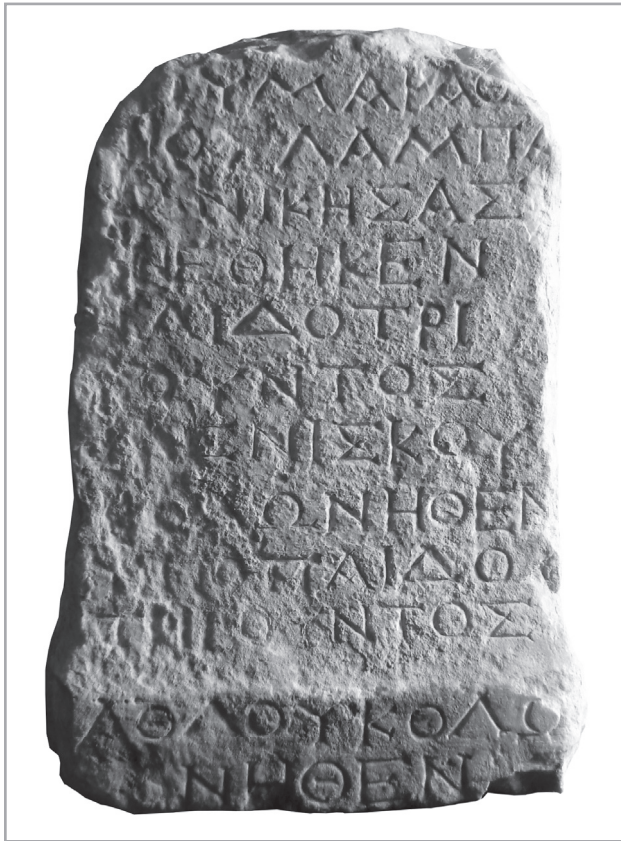


Fig. 3: *Inscribed Lampas dedication base (inv. no. BA 1439).*

Finally, from the area of the Diogeneion is preserved a common type of dedication for victors in ephebic torch-races, namely an inscribed base of a herm (*IG II/III*³ 381).²³ On the base, we read:

 4 συνε[.....c.25ἄρχοντος]
 ἐνιαυτῷ[Ἑρμῆ, παιδοτριβοῦντος Φιλίου τοῦ]
 Διοκλέο[υς Φρεαρρίου, ὑποπαιδοτριβοῦντος]
 Θεοδώρ[ου τοῦc.6-7...ου Μελιτέως]

23. The inscription has not yet been published in full.

Judging by other similar monuments on which the names of two *paidotribai* are inscribed, the new inscription should be dated to the middle of the 1st century BC (55/54 BC).

This change in the institution of *ephebeia*, from a democratic state institution to a private one that involved the city's elite, took place during the Roman period, particularly the Roman Imperial period. The final/last-known catalogue of names (*IG II² 1963*) is dated to 13/12 BC, when the cost for construction fell exclusively upon the *kosmetes*. From this time onwards, the production of the official state catalogues was split among the *kosmetai* and the *paidotribai*, as well as the *ephebes* themselves.²⁴ Usually, the contests of the festivals and the victorious *ephebes* are also inscribed in these catalogues. In many cases, *epheboi* are mentioned as *gymnasiarchoi* and *agonothetai*; this likely refers to the wealthiest among them.

The *epheboi* themselves paid for the erection of the inscribed honorary herms erected in the *gymnasia* in honour of the *kosmetai*, with the permission of the Areopagus and, sometimes, the Council. Honorific reliefs to *kosmetai* are also sometimes chosen by the *ephebes* to be carved along with the catalogues of names.²⁵

According to the theme, we can discern some possible symbolism, as for example the indication sometimes of an athletic contest when there are nude *epheboi* depicted around a *kosmetes*, holding palm branches in their hands (*IG II² 2017*; *IG II² 2208*; etc.), or crowning themselves (EAM 1468); a military context when *epheboi* are depicted fully armed, indicating the link between *ephebeia* and military training (*IG II² 2050*); on other reliefs, *epheboi* appear rowing, taking part in the sea-battles referred in the inscriptions as part of naval contests in festivals of that period (*IG II² 2087*; *IG II² 2130*; etc.). Some scholars explain the choice to depict these subjects as a direct correlation to the city's glorious naval past.²⁶

In the storerooms of the Library of Hadrian there is a fragmentary relief from an ephebic stele depicting a young man in a boat, probably from a representation of a boat race. Currently, it is quite difficult to connect it with other known objects of the same type. According to its morphological characteristics (no part of the inscription survives), it can be dated to the last quarter of the 3rd century AD²⁷ (Fig. 4).

24. Wiemer 2011, 501.

25. Wiemer 2011, 502-506.

26. Newby 2005, 168-201; Wiemer 2011, 487-529, especially 510-516.

27. Inv. no. ΠΑ 2003. The dimensions of the fragment are 0.24 x 0.21 x 0.068 m.

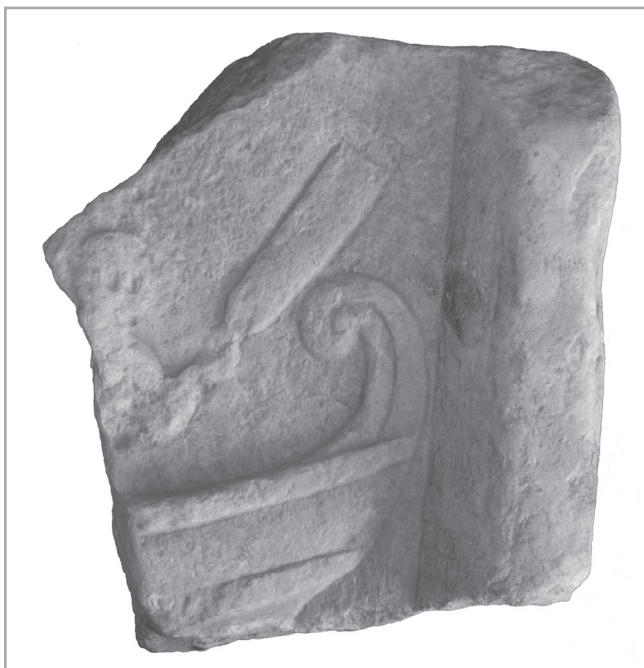


Fig. 4: Fragmentary relief from an ephebic stele depicting a young man on a boat, possibly indicating a boat race (inv. no. ΠΑ 2003).

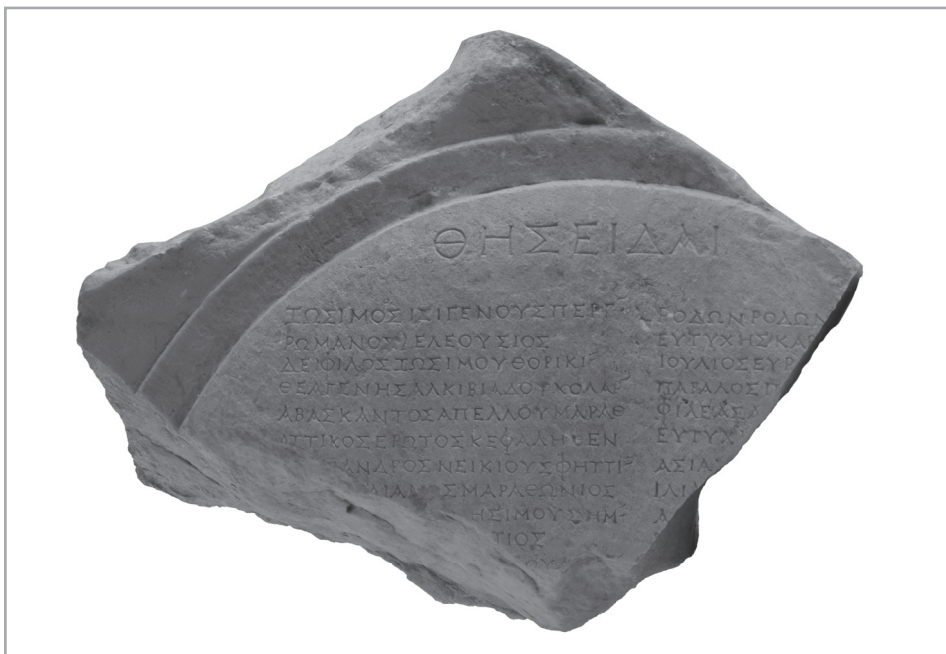


Fig. 5: Inscribed fragmentary marble shield (inv. no. ΠΑ 2367).

Indirect reference to the beginning of the institution is contained in a single monument of its category: a partially preserved inscribed marble shield found in 2008 near the site of the so-called “Diogeneion” (Fig. 5). On it are inscribed the names of 21 *ephebes*, under the general title *Theseidai*. On the basis of a prosopographical analysis, it is possible to date the inscription to around AD 175/176.²⁸

According to the most probable explanation, the *Theseidai* of the inscription were a group of *ephebes* participating in a contest of a festival, not necessarily the Theseia, as could also be concluded. The only other reference to the *Theseidai*'s existence can be found in a catalogue dated to AD 180/181-191/192, which lists the *ephebes*, contests and victors. At the bottom of this large stele are inscribed two separate groups, with 11 members each, listed under the titles *Theseidai* and *Herakleidai*. We believe that this stele bears the names of those participating in a contest of physical power, held in honour of Heracles and Theseus, with the participant *epheboi* divided into two groups.

The lack of any reference in the new inscription to officials responsible for the *epheboi* renders it almost certain that the stele was ordered and financed by the *ephebes* themselves, and that it formed part of a larger monument, i.e. a base.

In conclusion, the abolition of the institution of *choregia* and the changes in the institution of the *ephebeia* that both took place at the end of the 4th century BC are equally significant. Both actions informatively reveal the prevailing attitudes in Athens concerning the gradual involvement of the wealthier citizens in financing state liturgies. In this manner, the resources of wealthier individuals were invested in the continuation of an institution that was deeply associated with the city, namely the *ephebeia*. Financing the construction of the monuments connected with the institution of *ephebeia* gradually fell to the *ephebes* themselves, who largely belonged to the highest propertied class and, from the Roman period onwards, exclusively so. During this period, the *ephebeia*, just like the *choregia*, which reappeared after a long period of absence, were only honorary titles connected with the city's glorification and promoting the interests of a small elite.

28. Sourlas 2015, 299-322.

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Dedicatory inscriptions and donor depictions in Late Antique mosaic pavements of the Eastern Mediterranean¹

Panagiota Assimakopoulou-Atzaka

Οι ψηφιδωτές αφιερωματικές επιγραφές του Ανατολικού Κράτους είναι σημαντική πηγή πληροφοριών για τους δωρητές κατά την ύστερη αρχαιότητα. Οι χορηγοί διακρίνονται σε δύο κατηγορίες: σε εκκλησιαστικά και σε κοσμικά πρόσωπα. Στην πρώτη κατηγορία περιλαμβάνονται επίσκοποι και άλλοι ανώτεροι εκκλησιαστικοί αξιωματούχοι – άτομα συνήθως υψηλού μορφωτικού επιπέδου, τα οποία ασφαλώς θα ενδιαφέρονταν προσωπικά για το περιεχόμενο της διακόσμησης, όπως και για τη σύνταξη των επιγραφών–, καθώς και εκπρόσωποι του κατώτερου κλήρου, που αναφέρονται είτε ως αναθέτες είτε ως τα πρόσωπα που στις μέρες τους ή με τη φροντίδα τους ολοκληρώθηκαν συγκεκριμένες εργασίες. Στη δεύτερη κατηγορία ανήκουν τα κοσμικά πρόσωπα, που, ανάλογα με την κοινωνική και οικονομική τους κατάσταση, εμφανίζονται σε ατομικές ή σε συλλογικές δωρεές. Τα αντιπροσωπευτικά παραδείγματα από κάθε κατηγορία, που αναφέρονται και σχολιάζονται, καταδεικνύουν τη σημασία του θεσμού της χορηγίας στην ύστερη αρχαιότητα και το ρόλο των χορηγών για την ανέγερση και τη διακόσμηση σημαντικών, δημόσιων και ιδιωτικών, οικοδομημάτων. Καταδεικνύουν ακόμη τις κοινωνικές διαφορές, αλλά και το διαφορετικό μορφωτικό επίπεδο των δωρητών, το οποίο προκύπτει τόσο από τη χρησιμοποιούμενη γλώσσα όσο και από το περιεχόμενο των επιγραφών. Με συνοπτικό τρόπο εξετάζονται και οι πληροφορίες που αφορούν στο κόστος της ψήφωσης, καθώς και στην έκταση που αναλάμβανε να ψηφώσει ο κάθε χορηγός. Σχολιάζονται, τέλος, οι σπάνιες περιπτώσεις, στις οποίες οι δωρητές απεικονίζονται σε ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα ανάμεσα σε άλλες παραστάσεις, συνοδευόμενοι ή όχι από τα ονόματά τους.

Keywords

Late Antiquity, Eastern Mediterranean, Eastern Empire, mosaic pavements, dedicatory inscriptions, donor depictions

1. This article is a very brief presentation of the Late Antique mosaic dedicatory inscriptions of the Eastern Empire, based primarily on the conclusions of my previous research on this topic.

An enormous number of dedicatory inscriptions survive on Late Antique mosaic floors, far surpassing any other category of inscriptions. Particularly in the Eastern Empire, dedicatory inscriptions are also the lengthiest; the more donors involved, the lengthier the inscription.

Researchers who study this topic should focus on: (i) donors and any information concerning them: for example, gender, profession, social class, economic status and motivation for the donation; and (ii) information provided by these texts on broader issues, such as the date of the monument or the tessellation, the names of various professions, the titles of secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries, city names (which may be known from other sources), facts related to the mosaicists and their workshops, references to the value of the donation, or to the size of the tessellated area. Moreover, mosaic donor inscriptions contribute terms –beyond the mosaic-making terminology– that are unknown from other sources, and their linguistic diversity provides a valuable source for scholarly research on a variety of linguistic phenomena and local peculiarities.

Of these two major categories, only the first will be discussed here, i.e. that related to donors. From the large number of extant inscriptions, only a few illustrative examples will be cited.²

1. Donors who are members of the clergy

1.1. The bishop³

Naturally, we often find highly educated persons in this class who took a personal interest in the decoration and wording of the main dedicatory inscriptions.

A typical example of this category comes from the cathedral of Apamea (AD 533).⁴ The Bishop of Apamea, Paul, was responsible for the tessellation, according to the dedicatory inscription: Τὴν ποικίλῃν ψηφίδα / Παῦλος εἰσάγει / ο ποικιλόφρων / τῶν ἀνωθεν / δογμάτων [Paul, who understands the variegated heavenly doctrines, introduced the variegated tesserae]⁵ (Figs. 1 and 2).

2. For an overview of sponsors of mosaic floor inscriptions, see Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1990 and Caillet 1987, including earlier bibliography. More recently, see, for instance, Baumann 1999; Caillet 1993; Dunbabin 1999, 317-326; Hamarneh 1996; Hunt 1998, 19-22; Isager 1997; Mentzou-Meimaris 1998; Vuolanto 2002; Zettler 2001.

3. For bishop sponsors in Greece, see Assimakopoulou-Atzaka and Parcharidou-Anagnostou 2009.

4. Balty 1976; Maguire 1987, 14-15.

5. In all the inscriptions, the original spelling is preserved.



Fig. 1: Syria,
Apamea, cathedral
(postcard).

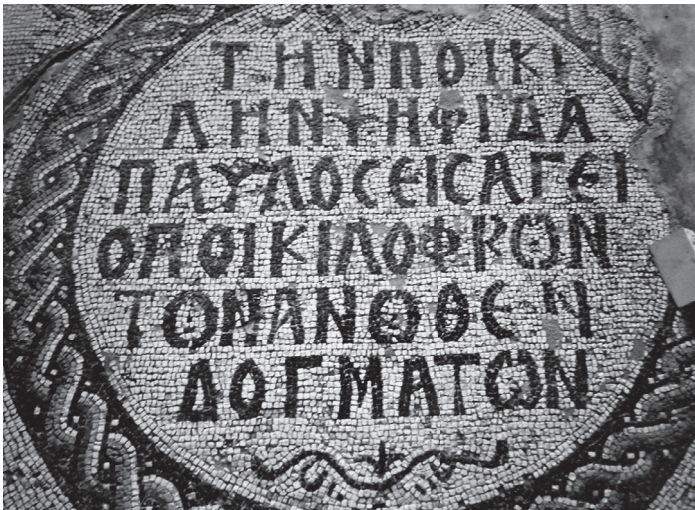


Fig. 2: Syria,
Apamea, cathedral
(photo by P. Atzaka,
2005).

The vocabulary (ποικιλόφρων: one who understands and interprets in every possible way the heavenly doctrines, the Divine Truths) and wordplay (ποικίλη ψηφίδα – ποικιλόφρων) involve specialized language skills that required a solid training in the Classics; there is no doubt, I believe, that Bishop Paul was the author of the inscription. The content of the church decorations, i.e. the choice of the mosaic subjects, should probably be attributed to the same person.

Other well-known sites in modern Greece may also be cited, such as the so-called “Basilica of Paul” at Philippi, or the basilicas of Doumetios

at Nicopolis (Fig. 3) and of Bishop Peter at Phthiotides, Thebes.⁶ On these monuments, the conception and design of the mosaic decoration, as well as the dedicatory inscriptions –texts, particularly in the latter two examples, in elegant Greek of a high literary standard– clearly reflect the choices and education of the respective bishops, while suggesting their awareness of their intellectual superiority and their desire for fame and posterity.

Another important dedicatory inscription, probably composed by a bishop, comes from an ecclesiastical building of the first quarter of the 6th century AD discovered at 6 Ploutarchou Street in Thebes.⁷ The



Fig. 3: *Nicopolis, basilica of Doumetios (Actia Nicopolis Foundation Archive).*

inscription on the mosaic explicitly mentions two artists who jointly produced the mosaic, Demetrios and Epiphanes, whose names actually

6. Atzaka and Anagnostou 2009, 25-26, 33-36, figs. 1, 9-11.

7. Aravantinos 2008, 244, fig. 401; Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 157-159, no. 96, pls. 259a, 262a, 264g; Atzaka 2011, 86, fig. 70; Assimakopoulou-Atzaka and Parcharidou-Anagnostou, *ibid.*, 30-31, fig. 7.

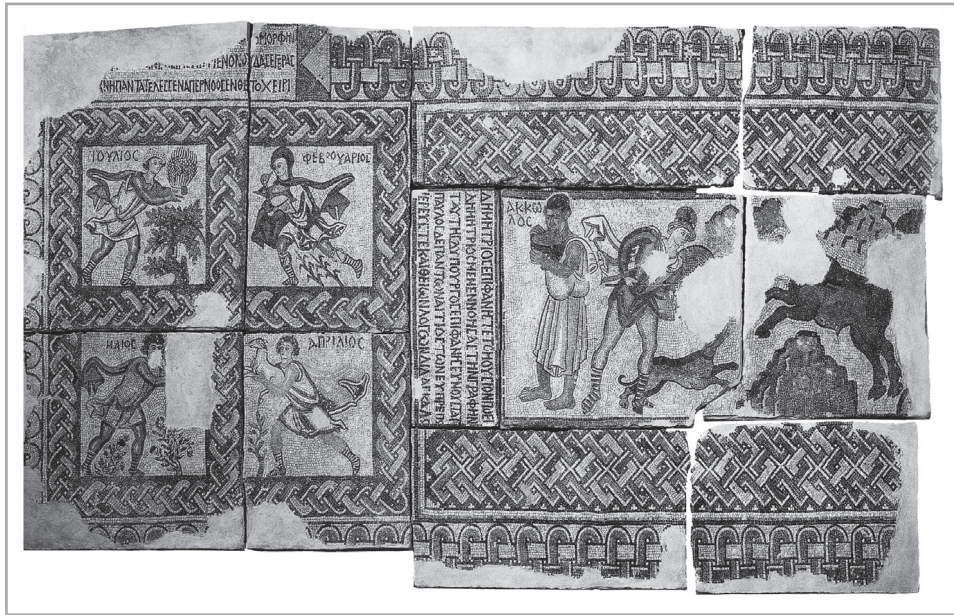


Fig. 4: Thebes, building at 6 Ploutarchou Street (from Aravantinos 2008, 246, fig. 401).



Fig. 5: Thebes, building at 6 Ploutarchou Street (photo by P. Atzaka).

precede that of Bishop Paul, who, according to the inscription, was the donor of the entire decorative programme (Figs. 4 and 5).

1.2. Members of the lower clergy

Persons from the lower clergy, such as deacons and deaconesses, elders,

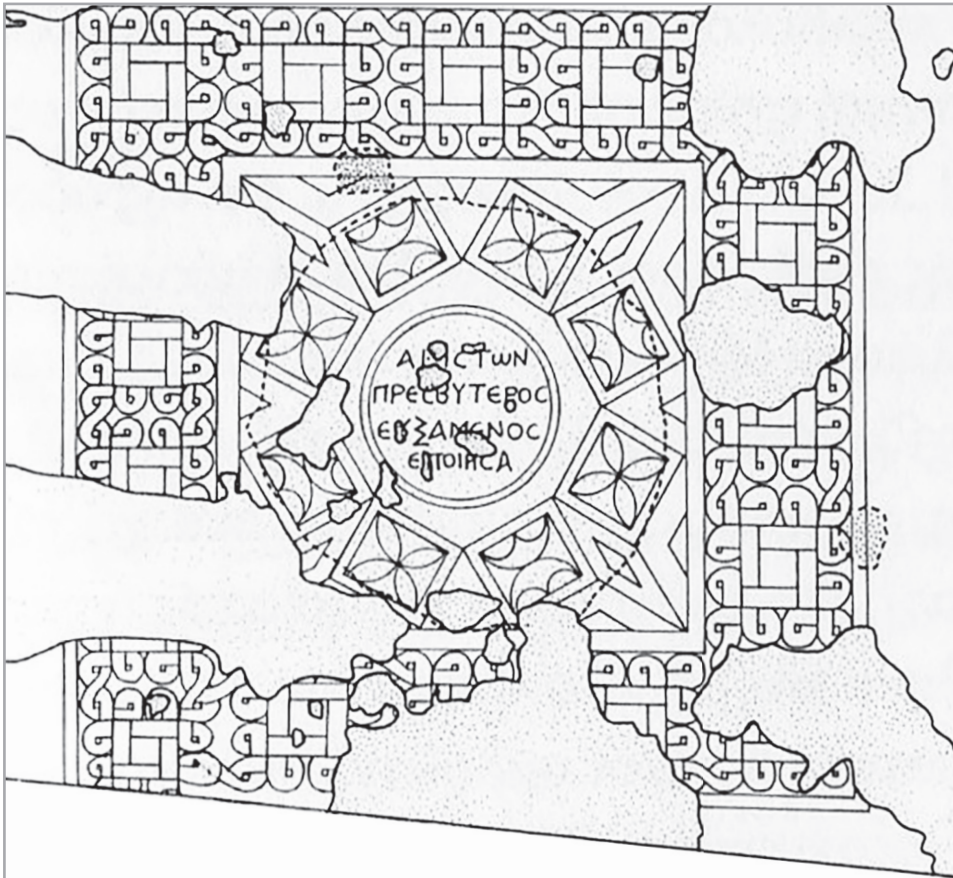


Fig. 6: *Nafpaktos, building on Noti Botsari Street (from Archaiologikon Deltion 55, 2000, B1, 629, fig. 42).*

periodeutes, paramonarioi, readers and *oikonomoi*, appear in a large number of mosaic dedicatory inscriptions as either patrons or the persons during whose time of service or under whose care specific projects were completed. Two examples from Greece should be mentioned. The first comes from an early Christian complex discovered in Nafpaktos (Noti Botsari Street):⁸ Αρίστων / πρεσβύτερος / ευξάμενος / εποίησα [The priest Ariston made this to fulfil a wish] (Fig. 6). The second inscription adorns the presbytery of the

8. Kefallonitou 2000, fig. 42; Zogaki 2004, 475, pls. 4-6.

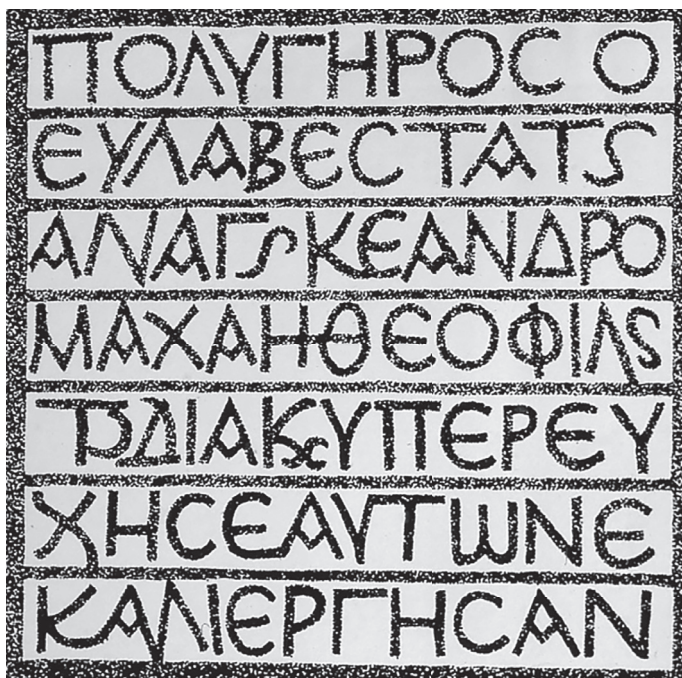


Fig. 7: *Klapsi, Evrytania, basilica of St Leonides* (from Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, pl. 274b).

basilica of St Leonides at Klapsi in Evrytania (6th century):⁹ Πολύγηρος ο / ευλαβέστατ(ος) / αναγ(νώστης) και Ανδρο/μάχη η θεοφιλ(εσ)/τ(άτη) διάκ(ονος) υπέρ ευ/χής εαυτών ε/καλιέργησαν [The pious reader Polygeros and god-loving deaconess Andromache paid for the decoration to fulfil a wish] (Fig. 7).

2. Secular donors

2.1. The cost of the entire project is covered by a socially and economically prominent individual or family

The dedicatory inscription from the basilica at Dafnousia in Phthiotida reads:¹⁰ Ευγένειος ο λαμ(πρότατος) και Διονυσειά / υπέρ ευχής εαυτών και των πεδίων / αυτών σύμπαν το έργον της αγίας του θεού / εκκλησίας εκ

9. Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 164-169, no. 105, pl. 274b.

10. Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 173-176, no. 111, pls. 292a, 295d. For the title λαμπρότατος, see Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1990, 234. See also below (Fig. 31). For another recent finding from Greece, in which the sponsor is characterized as λαμπρότατος, see Papageorgiou 2004, 461, pl. 5.

θεμελίων ἐπλήρωσαν [The illustrious Eugene and Dionyseia fulfilling a wish for themselves and their children paid in full for the entire work of the holy church of God from the ground up]. Here, the family of the *illustrious* Eugene covered the cost of the entire project, not only the tessellation.

It may be surmised that the cost of the entire project was also covered in the case of the so-called “House of Kyrios Leontios”, which was discovered in ancient Scythopolis (modern Beth Shean in Israel) and has been identified as a synagogue.¹¹ Below a depiction of the Homeric episode of Odysseus and the Sirens lies the inscription: Κ(ύρι)ε β(ο)ήθ(ει) Λεοντί/ ου Κλούβ(α) [Lord, help Leontios Klouvas] (Fig. 8). In another room of the building, the same person is mentioned as a donor in a second dedicatory inscription: Μνήσθη / εις αγαθόν κ(αι) (ε)ις / ευλογίαν ο Κύρ(ιος) Λεόντις / ο Κλούβας ότι υπέρ / σοτηρίας αυτού κ(αι) του / αδελφού αυτού Ιωνάθα / εψήφωσεν τα όδε / εξ ηδών [Seeking good and blessing, Kyrios Leontis Klouvas had this tessellated by paying entirely out of his own pocket for his own and his brother Ionathas’ salvation] (Fig. 9). The expression εξ ιδίων,



Fig. 8: Israel, ancient Scythopolis (Beth Shean), so-called “House of Kyrios Leontios” (from Ovadiah 1987, pl. XXX.1).

11. Ovadiah and Ovadiah 1987, 34-36, no. 31, pls. XXX.1, XXXI.1.



Fig. 9: Israel, ancient Scythopolis (Beth Shean), so-called “House of Kyrios Leontios” (from Ovadiah 1987, pl. XXXI.1).

which is often used in dedicatory inscriptions, clarifies that the donor paid for the cost of the project out of his own pocket.

In the Early Christian basilica of St Panteleimon in Aphrodisias, in Caria, the boatswain Paul is mentioned in two inscriptions, one in the presbytery and one in the nave, as the mosaic donor, testifying to his good financial standing: Παύλος ο Ολυπίου ναύκληρος υπέρ σωτηρίας εαυτού και του οιού του / ...κε παντός του πιστού ύκου αυτού επύησεν τιν ψίφωσιν του βίματος και Παύλος / ναύκληρως / υπέρ ειάσεως / αυτού την ευ/χήν απέδο/κεν [Paul, the son of Olypius, boatswain, for the salvation of himself and his son, and of all his faithful household, commissioned the mosaic for the bema *and* Paul the boatswain gave this in prayer for his healing] (Fig. 10).¹²

12. Budde 1987, 28-30, figs. 14, 15, pls. 93, 97.



Fig. 10: Asia Minor (Turkey), Cilicia, Aphrodisias, church of St Panteleimon (from Budde 1987, pl. 93).

2.2. *The cost of part of the project is covered by an individual*

Donors in this category are mentioned individually, or as a family, in independent inscriptions, in various sections of the mosaic floors of monuments, enclosed in panels or free-standing, usually before entrances. A mosaic inscription from the synagogue of Apamea, in Syria, which is on display in the courtyard of the Archaeological Museum of Damascus, reads: Ευπιθίς ευξαμένη / υπέρ σωτηρίας αυ/τής και του ανδρός / και των τέκνων / και παντός του οίκου / αυτής τον τόπον εποίησεν [Eupithis, in prayer for the salvation of herself and her husband and children and of all her household, had this building erected (or paid for the tessellation of the building)] (Fig. 11).¹³ Among the many that could be cited, excellent examples are the basilicas of St Andrew in Eresos, on Lesbos, and St John in the Mastichari village, on Kos, where each donation,

13. Balty 1981, 145, fig. 157; Mentzou-Meimaris 1998, 174. See also other dedicatory inscriptions from the same monument below (Figs. 15-16).

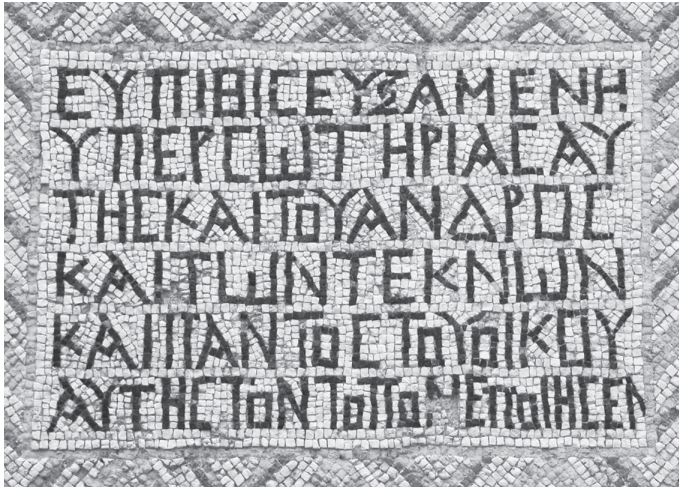


Fig. 11: Syria, Apamea, synagogue (photo by P. Atzaka, 2005).



Fig. 12: Kos, basilica at Mastichari (from Pelekanides 1974, pl. 43a).

with the name of the donor and the corresponding wish, is mentioned separately.¹⁴

In the Mastichari basilica, two inscriptions are of particular interest. In the first, the deacon Timothy concludes the dedication by reporting the sum he had spent (four gold coins), which was by no means a negligible amount (Fig. 12):¹⁵ Τιμόθεος / ο ευλαβ(έστατο)ς διά / κονος υπέρ / σωτηρίας

14. For the inscriptions in the basilica of St Andrew, see Pelekanidis 1974, 127-129, no. 116, pls. 101, 103b, 105, 106; and in the basilica of St John, see *ibid.*, 70-74, no. 31, pls. 42b-44.

15. *Ibid.*, 72, pl. 43a.

/ εαυτού ε/ψήφωσεν / ν(ομίματα) Δ [The pious deacon Timothy donated four coins for the mosaic for his salvation].

The second inscription (Fig. 13) reads:¹⁶ Ευστοχιανή / η κοσμοτάτη / ναυκλήρισα / κε Μαρία η νεό[ς] / αυτής εψηφωσαν / την στοάν [The virtuous boatswain Eustochiane and Maria, her boat, donated the mosaic in the portico]. Eustochiane, who was a boatswain and owned one boat, called Maria, assumed the cost of the tessellation of part of the portico, i.e. the north aisle of the church, where this inscription is located. Boatswains, many of whom were boat owners, were engaged in maritime trade.



Fig. 13: *Kos, basilica at Mastichari (from Pelekanides 1974, pl. 44a).*

16. Pelekanidis 1974, 73, pl. 44a.

The donor's profession was also associated with the sea in the basilica of St Isidoros in Chios (Fig. 14):¹⁷ Ἀρκάδειος / Φωκααῖος / αρμαιοράφος / ἀποίησα ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς / τοῦ οἴκου μου [The sailmaker Arcadius from Phocaea covered the cost of part of the mosaic of the basilica, fulfilling a wish for my family].

Unlike Paul in Aphrodisias, Arcadius and Eustochiane do not seem to have been members of the affluent class of people involved in maritime professions, as can be concluded not only from the fact that Eustochiane owned only one boat but also that their contribution to the basilica mosaics, for which they are mentioned, is part of a group donation, in which each donor met only part of the expense for the decoration.

References to the sums contributed by each donor is also made in other Late Antique mosaic dedicatory inscriptions in both the Western and Eastern

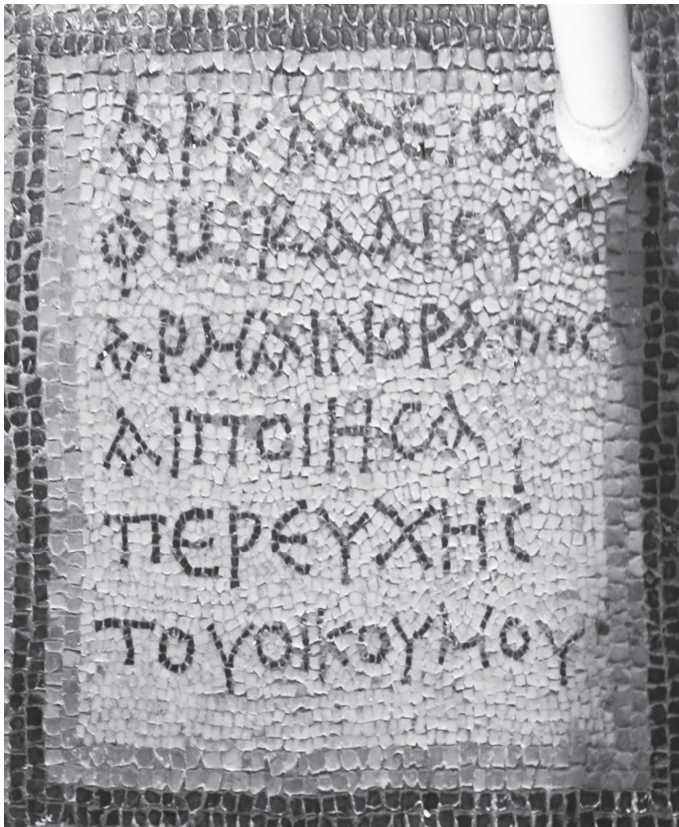
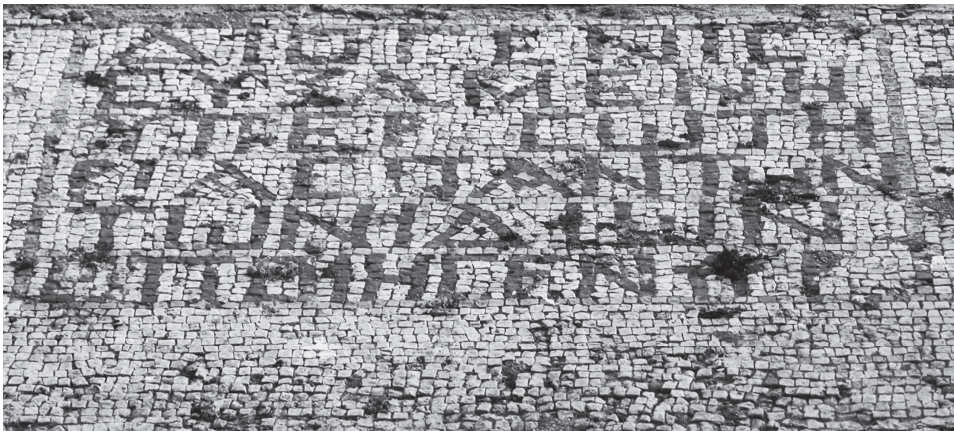


Fig. 14: Chios, basilica of St Isidoros (photo by P. Atzaka, 2004).

17. Penna 1988, 57-58, plan 5, photo 1; Pennas 1982, 362, pl. 241a.



Figs. 15-16: Syria, Apamea, synagogue (photos by P. Atzaka, 2005).

Empire. In these, the amount contributed by each donor is always given in *solidi* and its subdivisions: a *solidus* was equivalent to a gold coin, a *semissis* to half a gold coin, a *tremissis* to a third of a gold coin, etc. When the inscriptions are in Greek, the same monetary units appear in Hellenized form (νόμισμα or σόλιδος, σιμίσιον, τριμίσιον). In addition to the inscription in the basilica at Mastichari, this information is also provided in Greece by inscriptions in basilicas at Elounda on Crete, Antikyra on Boeotia, in Sophronios, Nikete and Chalkidiki, and in the Early Christian building at Kallion in Phocis.

References to the mosaic area contributed by each donor, measured in feet (πόδες), are rare; this has been documented, however, throughout the Mediterranean region. Most inscriptions that supply this specific information come from synagogues in Syria and Palestine, as well as from Early

Christian basilicas in northern Italy; similar inscriptions are occasionally found in monuments in other regions (e.g. the synagogue of Philippoupolis, in Bulgaria). In the Eastern Mediterranean, the most representative example is the synagogue of Apamea, in Syria, where each donor indicates the floor area he undertook to tessellate. The number of feet varies from one donor to another, in most cases between 50 and 100 feet, reflecting each individual's financial status (Figs. 15 and 16).¹⁸

2.3. Collective donations¹⁹

In this category, donors are listed together in an inscription, sometimes accompanied either by other facts or by the wishes they sought to fulfil: for instance, in the synagogue of Tiberias, the donors are listed on contiguous square compartments below the main scene with the zodiac circle and personifications of the seasons (Fig. 17).²⁰

Laymen and clergy often appear side by side as donors in the inscriptions of collective donations, as is the case with the mosaic from the second



Fig. 17: Israel, Tiberias, synagogue (from Dothan 1983, pl. 11).

18. For a collected bibliography on dedicatory inscriptions in which the cost of the mosaics can be calculated, see Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1990, 254-262, figs. 44-49; *ead.* 2003, 165-166, figs. 176-178; Atzaka 2011, 113-115, figs. 94-97.

19. For collective donations, see also Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1990, 242-243.

20. Dothan 1983, 54-60, plan E, pls. 17.1, 26, 34.3.

phase of the chapel of the priest John at Mount Nebo, in Jordan (AD 565): Υπέρ σωτερί/ας κ(αι) προσφοράς / των δούλων σου / Σεργίου, Στεφάνου / κ(αι) Προκοπίου Πορ/φυρίας κ(αι) Ρώμης κ(αι) / Μαρίας κ(αι) Ιουλια/νού μοναχού (Fig. 18) [For the salvation and devotion of your slaves, Sergios, Stephanos, and Prokopios, Porphyria, and Rome, Maria and the monk Ioulianos].²¹

The entire town is sometimes mentioned collectively as a donor, as in an inscription from the region of Pella, in Palestinian Decapolis, dating back to AD 482: ἐγένετο ἡ ψιφῶσις / ἀπὸ προσφοράς τῆς / κώμης [The tessellation was donated by the town].²² And, more rarely, the people of



Fig. 18: Jordan, Mount Nebo, chapel of the priest John; second phase (from Piccirillo 1993, 175, fig. 228).

an entire city are mentioned, as in the church of the Virgin at Madaba, in Jordan (late 6th-early 7th century AD): ἐ[γένη]τω τὸ πάνκαλον ἔργον τοῦτο τῆς ψιφῶ/[σεως του ε]νδώξου κ(αι) σεπτῆς ὑκου τῆς αγίας (και) ἀχράντου δεσποί/[νης..] Θεοτόκου σπουδῆ (και) προθυμία του φιλωχ(ρίστου) λαοῦ

21. Di Segni 1998, 447; Hunt 1998, 19-22, fig. 3; Piccirillo 1993, 174, figs. 228, 230; Piccirillo 1998, 351-355, figs. 204, 205, 210. See also the Demetrias Cemetery church (Fig. 31).

22. Piccirillo 1981, 23-25, fig. 14; *idem* 1993, 747, fig. 745.

ταύ(τη)ς / [της πόλε]ος Μιδάβων [The most virtuous work of tessellating the glorious and sacred home of the holy and pure Virgin was donated and produced by the Christ-loving people of the city of Madaba].²³

3. Donor depictions

In rare cases, donors are depicted in mosaics. In an Early Christian secular building excavated in 1980 at 7 Dimogerontias Street in Chios, female figures are depicted at regular intervals within a lavish geometric composition.²⁴ These are probably portraits of upper-class female donors, as evidenced by their clothing and jewellery (Figs. 19 and 20).²⁵

More examples come from ecclesiastical buildings. In the intercolumniation of the northern colonnade in the basilica at Kissufim, in Israel (AD 578), two female figures are depicted, above whom are the inscriptions Καλή ώρα and η Κυρά Σιλθούς [Good time and Kyra



Figs. 19: Chios, building at 7 Dimogerontias Street (photo by P. Atzaka, 2004).

23. Piccirillo 1982, 379-381, fig. 5; *idem* 1993, 65, fig. 22. See also Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1990, 244, fig. 21.

24. Athanassopoulou-Penna 1980, pls. 283-284; *ead.* 1983; Penna 1988, 63-64, figs. 5-7. See also Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 2014, 43, fig. 3.

25. Kiilerich (1998, 27) wonders whether the figures in the Chios mosaic are personifications of the seasons.



Figs. 20: *Chios, building at 7 Dimogerontias Street (photo by V. Athanassopoulou-Penna).*

Silthous] (Fig. 21).²⁶ The latter offers coins in her right hand to the former. One possible alternative reading is: “Good time (dative), Lady Silthous”. In other words, this is a kind of salutation or expression of gratitude for the woman who donated money to the church at an “opportune time”.²⁷ The figure on the left may symbolize the local church. The clothing of the figure on the right, the gesture of handing the coins, as well as the honorific address, *Kyra*, all testify to an influential and wealthy family background. The honorific *Kyria* (*Kyra*), which is given to women of high social classes, also occurs in other mosaic dedicatory inscriptions.

Another mosaic with donor depictions comes from Gerasa, in the Palestinian Decapolis, in Jordan. Known as the Chapel of Elijah, Mary and Soreg (6th century), the monument was named after the three donors who are depicted amidst vine scroll tendrils (Figs. 22 and 23).²⁸

26. Ovadiah and Mucznik 1983. See also Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1990, 238-240, fig. 16; Atzaka 2011, 108-109, fig. 92; Poulsen 2012, 169, fig. 1.

27. According to another view, the figure on the left is the personification of the “good action”; that is, of the donation (Mentzou-Meimaris 1998, 176).

28. Piccirillo 1993, 296, figs. 515, 569, 572.



Fig. 21: Israel, Kissufim, basilica (from Atzaka 2011, fig. 92).

Most known examples, in fact, come from Jordan. In Gerasa, again, in the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian (AD 533), in front of the presbytery, flanking a long dedicatory inscription, are depicted the two main donors, Theodore *paramonarios* (Fig. 24) and his wife, Georgia (Fig. 25); in the



Fig. 22: Jordan, Gerasa, chapel of Elijah, Mary and Soreg (from Piccirillo 1993, 296, fig. 572).



Fig. 23: *Jordan, Gerasa, chapel of Elijah, Mary and Soreg (from Piccirillo 1993, 281, fig. 515).*

nave of the same church, among other subjects, are depicted two more persons, Kallionistos and John, the son of Astrikios, bearing offerings (Fig. 26).²⁹

In the chapel of the priest John on Mount Nebo, the busts of two figures—a priest and a woman of noble origin—depicted in the centre of the northern and eastern sides of the mosaic respectively, may also be interpreted as donors (Figs. 27 and 28).³⁰ In fact, it has been hypothesized that the priest could be identified as the priest John, who is mentioned in the monument's main dedicatory inscription, and the female figure as one of the women listed as donors in another inscription (Fig. 18).³¹

Finally, of particular interest is the basilica of St Stephen at Kastron Mefaa (modern Umm al-Rasas), also in Jordan, which is adorned by mosaics; these are the latest known in the Eastern Empire, as they date back to the 8th century, and, moreover, can be dated securely owing to the accompanying

29. *Ibid.*, 288-289, figs. 507-512, 535 (left); Poulsen 2012, 173, fig. 4.

30. Piccirillo 1993, 174, figs. 216, 217, 230; *idem* 1998, 351, figs. 204-207.

31. Hunt 1998, 19-22. For this inscription, see above (2.3. *Collective donations*).



Fig. 24: Jordan, Gerasa, church of SS. Cosmas and Damian (from Piccirillo 1993, 276, fig. 507).



Fig. 25: Jordan, Gerasa, church of SS. Cosmas and Damian (from Piccirillo 1993, 277, fig. 508).



Fig. 26: Jordan, Gerasa, church of SS. Cosmas and Damian (from Piccirillo 1993, 279, fig. 511).

inscriptions.³² The most impressive example of a donor depiction survives on this monument. A lengthier dedicatory inscription in the eastern section of the central nave in front of the presbytery mentions the names of the donors, who are depicted in a frieze below the inscription (Figs. 29 and 30).³³ The seven figures, each alternating with a fruit tree, were all destroyed by the iconoclasts, who drew sketchy geometric or floral motifs over them; yet, the donors' outlines, fragments of their clothing, many of the objects they held and the figures that accompanied them can still be seen clearly.

4. *Donation incentives*³⁴

In order to interpret donor intentions and motivations, we should divide them into two broad categories: middle- or lower-class donors and influential figures: i.e. lay or ecclesiastical officials, and any wealthy individual who entertained ambitions of contemporary or posthumous fame.

32. Ognibene 2002; Piccirillo 1993, 238, figs. 345, 383; Poulsen 2012, 171.

33. Ognibene *ibid.*, 307-325, pls. 71-78, photos 88-94; Piccirillo *ibid.*, 238, figs. 345, 383, 387.

34. See also Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1990, 262-264.



Figs. 27-28: Jordan, Mount Nebo, chapel of the priest John; second phase (from Piccirillo 1993, 166, figs. 216 and 167, fig. 217).



Fig. 29: Jordan, Kastron Mefaa (Umm al-Rasas), church of St Stephen; detail of Fig. 30 (from Ognibene 2002, photo 91).



Fig. 30: Jordan, *Kastron Mefaa (Umm al-Rasas)*, church of St Stephen (from Ognibene 2002, photo 88bis).

In interpreting donations of the former type, four helpful observations can be made based on inscriptions and texts: (i) a large number of very small donations by ordinary people appear in the mosaic dedicatory inscriptions, mainly in church buildings; (ii) the faithful are encouraged in religious texts to participate in a construction project by donating as much money as they can afford in exchange for the salvation of their souls; (iii) in the dedicatory inscriptions themselves, donors often invoke God or the saints to beg for the fulfilment of personal or family wishes (as a wish for remission of sins, for healing, etc.); and (iv) the invocation of the wish *υπέρ σωτηρίας των καρποφορησάντων* is often found in inscriptions, for example in the following two characteristic inscriptions. The first comes from the church of Tayibat al-Imam, near Hama in Syria (mid-5th century AD): *Κύριε Χριστέ Εη/σού μνήσθητι των / καρποφορησάντων / και καμώντων εις τον / άγιον οίκον σου* [Christ the Lord / remember the / donors and / the mosaicists in your / sacred home].³⁵ The second, much later, inscription (AD 762) comes from Mount Nebo, in Jordan: *Διά της / του Θε(ε)ού προνοίας / ανεκτίσθη η σεπτή / μονή αύτη της Αγίας Θε/οτόκου επί Ιώβ επισ/κόπου Μηδάβων (και) Γεωρ/γίου εγκλίστου υπέρ σω/τηρίας των καρποφο/ρησάντων* [This venerable monastery of the Virgin was rebuilt by divine providence under the bishop Job of Madaba (and) the monk George to save the donors].³⁶

Combining these four observations, we arrive, I believe, at a basic interpretation of donations by members of the middle classes. By offering

35. Zaquq-Piccirillo 1999, 448, 454, fig. 39. See also Atzaka 2011, 55, fig. 44.

36. Di Segni 1998, 449-450; Piccirillo 1998, 359-363, figs. 226, 227. For *καρποφορούντες* (donors), see also Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1990, 243-245.

a small sum of money, these people were given the opportunity to secure both the favour of the Church and divine grace, in addition to a modicum of social prominence within their community.

The second category, that of prominent persons, generally involves individual donors rather than collective donations. Examples include the so-called “basilica of Damokratia” at Demetrias in Thessaly, in whose mosaic a single person is mentioned: Δαμοκρατία η λαμπροτάτη [the illustrious Damokratia] (Fig. 31).³⁷ A woman of noble origin, as suggested by the adjective that accompanies her name,³⁸ Damokratia complacently commemorates her own name and title twice in the two consecutive church construction phases; she probably covered the cost of building the entire church, not only of the mosaics.³⁹ Notably, several ordinary people are crowded together in a dedicatory inscription in a cemetery basilica in the same city, adjacent to the basilica of Damokratia, each having offered a donation for tessellating the monument’s presbytery.⁴⁰

On this subject, mosaic dedicatory inscriptions in secular buildings provide significant evidence. For instance, in the inscription in a public bath at Anemourion, in Asia Minor (late 5th or early 6th century AD), the prominent donor, while praising the beauty of the building, advertises his name, capacity and virtues by concluding the inscribed text with an apotropaic wish (Fig. 32):⁴¹ Πολλή μεν ἔσ[τι]ν ἡ χά[ρι]ς τῶν κτισμάτων / κύριος ἀπάντων ὁ στρατη[γός] Μουσαῖος / ὃν ἡ φύσις κόσμησε λαμπραῖς ἀξ[ία]ις. / Φθόνος τ’ ἀπέστω τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ψη[φί]δος [The buildings are very elegant; the general Moussaïos is the ruler of all. He has been gifted by nature with splendid gifts. May the beauty of this mosaic be safe from envy].

Many more similar inscriptions could be mentioned, each of them interesting for different reasons, and almost all of them seeking to praise the beauty of the work and to promote the individual who provided money for it. These inscriptions often reflect the donors’ high level of education and their intention to communicate their social or ideological status to visitors. Another striking example is the now-lost mosaic floor of a bath in Serdilla, in Syria, dating from AD 473; in the dedicatory inscription, the donor’s statement is phrased in very eloquent Homeric

37. Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1982, 126, fig. 19; *ead.* 1990, 233-234, fig. 10.

38. See above.

39. See above.

40. Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1982, 126, fig. 18.

41. Atzaka 2011, 105-106, fig. 90; Campbell 1998, 40, no. 11, figs. 36, 37, pl. 166.



Fig. 31: *Thessaly, Demetrias, basilica of Damocratia (from Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1982, fig. 19).*

hexameter verse, in which the donor, Ioulianos, the glorious son of Thalassios, who states his name twice, boasts about both his family origins and his donation.⁴²

Finally, the frequent occurrence in mosaics of the Eastern Empire, especially in Antioch, of images with personifications of abstract concepts, such as Κτίσις (Construction) (Fig. 33), Κόσμησις (Elegance), Ανανέωσις (Renewal) or Μεγαλοψυχία (Magnanimity), usually in the guise of upper-class women,⁴³ could be linked to the act of donating, as it could reflect generous offers by prominent dignitaries of the administration, which is often connected with the imperial court.⁴⁴

Donating in antiquity is an extremely broad research topic, which has been intensively studied in recent decades, and not without good reason: the issues involved are many and fascinating, concerning the individuals associated with all kinds of donations, their economic status, education, manifest and underlying motives, and, further still, the broader historical, social and cultural conditions in which the institution of donation

42. Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1990, 240-241, fig. 18. For more dedicatory inscriptions by prominent individuals, see Atzaka 2011, 102-106; Poulsen 2012, *passim*.

43. For the personifications of abstract concepts, see, for instance, Campbell 1994; Kiilerich 1998, 25ff.; López-Monteaudo 1997.

44. Mundell-Mango 1995, 273-274. See also Papakyriakou 2013, 227-228.



Fig. 32: Asia Minor (Turkey), Anemourion, bath (from Campbell 1998, fig. 36).



Fig. 33: Syria (southwestern Turkey), Edessa (Urfa), building at Haleplibahçe (from Karabulut, Önal and Dervişoğlu 2011, 49, photo 54).

flourished. Research is advancing and is daily enriched by new evidence that illuminates these topics from different angles and helps keep the interest of the academic community undiminished.

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Excavation of an Early Byzantine basilica in Drymos, Vonitsa: The evidence of the dedicatory inscriptions¹

Ioannis P. Chouliarás

Σε ανασκαφή στο νότιο τομέα του συνδετήριου δρόμου της Ιονίας οδού με το Άκτιο, στη θέση Δρυμός Βόνιτσας αποκαλύφθηκαν τα ερείπια μεγάλης παλαιοχριστιανικής τρίκλιτης βασιλικής. Τα ερείπια μαρτυρούν πως πρόκειται για ναό κτισμένο ως επί το πλείστον με απλή τοιχοδομία, με ακατέργαστους ή ελαφρά επεξεργασμένους λίθους τοποθετημένους σε οριζόντιες στρώσεις, ενώ κατά διαστήματα παρεμβάλλονται σειρές πλίνθων. Σε κάποια τμήματα υπάρχει επιμελέστερη τοιχοδομία με πλίνθους να τοποθετούνται σε οριζόντιες στρώσεις, ενώ ως υλικό δομής χρησιμοποιήθηκε και η σταχτιά ασβεστόπετρα της περιοχής. Στον χώρο του ναού εντοπίστηκαν και περισυλλέγησαν άφθονα κινητά ευρήματα, όπως μαρμάρινα θωράκια, τμήματα επιστυλίων, πεσσίσκοι, κίονες ραβδωτοί και αρράβδωτοι, κιονίσκοι, κιονόκρανα, επιθήματα, σιδερένιοι ήλοι, άφθονα θραύσματα υάλινων αντικειμένων, καθώς και άφθονα σπαράγματα κονιάματος με ίχνη χρώματος. Από τον χώρο περισυλλέγησαν ελάχιστα δείγματα άνθρακα, κέραμοι, ορισμένες εκ των οποίων φέρουν ανάγλυφες δαχτυλιές, καθώς και όστρακα κτενωτής ή και άγραφης χρηστικής κεραμικής. Η βασιλική σώζει το ψηφιδωτό της δάπεδο, που αποκαλύφθηκε κατά τη διάρκεια των εργασιών και φαίνεται να καλύπτει έως τώρα μια έκταση τουλάχιστον 180 μ². Το ψηφιδωτό κοσμείται με γεωμετρικά και φυτικά, κυρίως, μοτίβα. Μια επιγραφή αποκαλύφθηκε πολύ κοντά στο ιερό της βασιλικής, καθ' όλο το πλάτος της ανατολικής πλευράς του κεντρικού κλίτους, μέσα σε πλαίσιο. Η επιγραφή σε πρώτη ανάγνωση, και χωρίς ακόμη να αναλυθεί με βάση τα ιστορικά και αρχαιολογικά τεκμήρια, μας παρέχει βασικές πληροφορίες για τον κτήτορα του ναού, που χρηματοδότησε την κατασκευή του, και τους ψηφοθέτες, ενώ με βάση την προσφώνησή του,

1. This article is an initial study of the dedicatory inscriptions of Drymos. It should be noted that the archaeological research is not yet completed and some aspects of the excavation are not taken into account. I would like to thank Professor George Velenis for his precise dating suggestions, based on the inscriptions, and also my friend and colleague Marina Papademetriou for her accurate remarks on the texts of the inscriptions.

«θεοφιλέστατος», φαίνεται να ήταν επίσκοπος. Μας παραδίδεται επίσης το όνομά του, Ολύμπιος, καθώς και ότι εύχεται μεταξύ άλλων και υπέρ της διαμονής του στην περιοχή. Περαιτέρω έρευνας χρήζει το γυναικείο όνομα Διογένια και η σχέση της είτε με τον Ολύμπιο είτε με τον Ανδρέα, το όνομα του οποίου ακολουθεί στην επιγραφή και για του οποίου τον «οίκο» εύχεται ο Ολύμπιος. Μια δεύτερη επιγραφή εντοπίστηκε στο νάρθηκα, ακριβώς πριν το τρίβηλο, στην οποία αναγράφεται το όνομα Ευγένιος και ότι «εκέντησε» αυτή την εκκλησία. Η γραφή μοιάζει με αυτή της επιγραφής της ανατολικής πλευράς του κεντρικού κλίτους. Τα γλυπτά τεκμήρια, τα διακοσμητικά τους θέματα, το μέγεθος των ψηφίδων του ψηφιδωτού δαπέδου, το είδος των διακοσμητικών του θεμάτων και ο τύπος των γραμμάτων της επιγραφής μας οδηγούν σε μία χρονολόγηση στα μέσα με το β' μισό του 5ου αιώνα.

Keywords

Early Christian period, inscriptions, Acarnania, Drymos, bishopric, Olympios, Eugenios

At the southern end of the road from Ionia to Aktion, east of the village of Drymos in the municipality of Vonitsa–Aktion, at a location called “Kelephi”, excavations which began in August 2013 and are ongoing have revealed the remains of a large three-aisled basilica of the Early Christian period.

The remains indicate that this was a church built primarily from *opus incertum*, with rubble or roughly cut stones placed in horizontal courses and with occasional bands of bricks. Some sections of the masonry are skilfully made, with bricks placed in horizontal courses. The rubble masonry, with stones placed in thick layers of mortar and with courses of bricks between them, is a distinctive feature of the Early Byzantine architecture of western Greece,² while the ash-coloured limestone of the region was also used for building. In addition to the main church, we have thus far brought to light the narthex in the west (which is connected to the nave by a *tribelon*), a baptistery and its vestibule in the northeast, and many other adjacent structures around the basilica (Fig. 1). We do not yet know the use of the latter, as they have not yet been excavated fully.

The fact that the mosaic pavement of the basilica is preserved is very important. This was discovered during the excavations, and it seems to

2. See, for example, Vokotopoulos 1992, 142-146.



Fig. 1: Aerial photo of the basilica (the numbers mark the locations of the inscriptions).

extend over an area of 300 m². The mosaic covers the three aisles of the main church, the narthex, the baptistery and the two structures to its west, as well as some annexes, whose excavation surveys have not yet been completed. The pavement is preserved almost intact in the nave, and in large sections in the north and south aisles, while the sanctuary is paved with marble inlay (*opus sectile*).³ To date, three dedicatory inscriptions have been found on the mosaic pavement: the first extends across the width of the eastern sector of the nave in front of the chancel screen (Fig. 1, no. 1),



Fig. 2: Inscription no. 1 (nave).

3. For the floor mosaic and its decorative motifs, see Chouliarás 2014.



Fig. 3: Inscription no. 1 (drawing).

the second is in the narthex, in front of the *tribelon* (Fig. 1, no. 2), and the third is at the entrance of the baptistry (Fig. 1, no. 3).

The first inscription (Figs. 2-4), which is written inside a panel, has capital letters, no accentuation and extends across two lines, is very important, and was found widthways across the nave, just in front of the bema. The inscription is preserved in excellent condition apart from the first letter of the first line, which is half-preserved, but can still be securely identified, and the first letter of the second line, which is not preserved, but can also be surely identified. The inscription is written as a peculiar *tabula ansata*, whereby the handles are inscribed inside the rectangular panel that encloses it. The inscription is as follows:

ΘΕΟΦΙΛ(ΕΣΤΑΤΟ)Σ ΔΟΥΛΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ
 ΥΠΕΡ ΕΥΧΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΜΟΝΗΣ / [Τ]ΗΣ
 ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΓΕΝΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ
 ΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΚΕΝΤΗΣΕΝ

As regards the reliability of the reading of the first word *θεοφιλέστατος* (God-beloved), we can make the following remarks. Only half of the first



Fig. 4: *Inscription no. 1 (detail).*

letter is preserved; however, it is undoubtedly Θ, and the following letter are likewise undoubtedly ΕΟΦΙΛ. Following the letter Λ is an abbreviation that is signified by the monogram S (Fig. 4). This specific form can be interpreted as an abbreviation of the ending -εστατος and probably refers to the title of the person mentioned afterwards, who is a bishop, as we shall see.⁴ This abbreviation is similarly interpreted in almost all of the Early Byzantine inscriptions.⁵ In some of these cases, all clerics and readers are referred to as θεοφιλέστατοι or θεοφιλείς.⁶ In addition, the inscription of the sanctuary in Klausii in Eurytania describes the deaconess

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4. This specific abbreviation could also be read as θεοφιλής. However, we believe that the mosaicist had enough space to add another letter and would have done so if he wanted to write the title θεοφιλής. The title θεοφιλέστατος, however, is longer and could not fit the inscription.
 5. See, for example, Papademetriou 2013, nos. 103, 107, 111, 119, 126, 127, 133, 135, 136, 143-145, 147, 171, 178; Pelekanides and Atzaka 1988, 72-73, pl. 43α.
 6. See, for example, Assimakopoulou-Atzaka and Pelekanidou 1987, 167; Papademetriou 2013, nos. 109, 111, 120, 121, 323, 768; Pelekanides and Atzaka 1988, 60, pl. 21γ.

Andromacha as θεοφιλέστατη.⁷ The same name accompanies the deaconess Agrippiane in an inscription in the basilica at 281 Korinthou Street in Patras.⁸ Also, some inscriptions mention the title of the deacons, priests and bishops who gave donations for constructing or decorating churches.⁹ From the above-mentioned, it is clear that the word θεοφιλέστατος does not provide adequate evidence that Olympios was a bishop.¹⁰ Nevertheless, θεοφιλέστατος Olympios might not have been merely a priest, but rather a high-ranking official of the local church. His position emerges in the next part of the inscription.

The use of the phrase “δούλος του Χριστού” is unusual.¹¹ Apostle Paul in the Epistle to the Romans (*Rom.* 1:1) names himself a servant of Christ; however, this specific type is not common in inscriptions of the Early Byzantine period. The priest of basilica no. 32 in Varata, Lykaonia (7th-8th century), describes himself as a δουλότης of Christ.¹² This specific term might also provide evidence for an early date, as the phrase Olympios uses (“δούλος του Χριστού”) was particularly common with the apostles.

The name of the donor-dedicator –Olympios– follows the phrase “Θεοφιλέστατος δούλος του Χριστού”. The name Olympios is not very common; yet, until the beginning of the 7th century, we find significant individuals with this name.¹³ For example, Olympios was the name of a *magister officiorum* at the beginning of the 5th century, and of at least three bishops and one saint. *Magister* Olympios succeeded Stilicho and became ruler of the western sector of the Roman Empire in AD 408.¹⁴ The bishop of Ainos in Thrace, who participated in the Council of Serdica (modern

7. Assimakopoulou-Atzaka and Pelekanidou 1987, 167, pl. 274.

8. Assimakopoulou-Atzaka and Pelekanidou 1987, 87, pl. 121α; Feissel and Philippidis-Braat 1985, 374, no. 157; Papademetriou 2013, 87; Petsas 1971, 163, pl. 147δ; *SEG* 29 (1979), no. 425; *SEG* 37 (1987), no. 367.

9. See, for example, Pelekanides and Atzaka 1988, 51, pl. 12β, 54, 60, pl. 21γ, 78, 96, 128-129, pl. 103α, 105β, 134, 142.

10. However, the title “θεοφιλέστατος” is given to bishops and abbots of monasteries in the majority of inscriptions. See, for example, Mentzou-Meimaris 1977-1979, 115-116, no. 193; Papademetriou 2013, nos. 102, 103, 134, 136, 140, 141, 144, 145, 147, 166, 607, 612, 682, 717, 844, 849.

11. “ΣΤΥΛΙΑΝΟΣ ΔΟΥΛΟΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ” is inscribed on a tombstone of Abdera (Polystylon), dated to the 6th or 7th century AD. See Bakirtzis 1994, 161.

12. Papademetriou 2013, 85, 327, no. 652.

13. See, for example, Jones *et al.* 1980, 801-804, specifically 803, about an Olympios mentioned by Pope Leo in AD 457.

14. Jones *et al.* 1980, 801-802; Loungis 1978, 103.

Sophia) in AD 343, was named Olympios.¹⁵ Also, Olympios was the name of the archbishop of Constantia of Cyprus, who participated in the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (AD 451),¹⁶ and possibly of another bishop in the same bishopric. Finally, St Olympios was a Byzantine eparch during the reign of Emperor Herakleios (AD 610-641), who suffered martyrdom at the beginning of the 7th century at the court of King Chosroes of Persia.¹⁷ After this period, the name became even rarer and was not used by bishops of known centres.

The reason for Olympios' prayer is particularly important. He prays "υπέρ ευχής και σωτηρίας και διαμονής", and, after the insertion of two other names, he also prays "υπέρ παντός του οίκου αυτού". The prayer "υπέρ ευχής και σωτηρίας" of a donor is not unusual in this kind of inscriptions;¹⁸ yet, the wish "υπέρ διαμονής" allows us to suppose that Olympios took up residence in a building or region and prays for his safe stay. If Olympios was installed in a structure, this suggests that he was a prominent person to whom a new dwelling was granted, as happened in the case of high-ranking officials of the state and the high clergy.¹⁹ This dwelling could be a simple house or, in the case of a bishop, a bishop's palace. If he was installed in this location, specifically in Drymos, this suggests that Olympios was not native to the area but came from a different region of the empire and was designated this position for unknown reasons. However, both may be true: namely, that he was installed at the same time in this place and in this specific edifice. Thus, Olympios prays for his safe residence either in this ecclesiastical district in general or specifically in the bishop's palace. Hence, based on the above-mentioned, we can assume that a possible promotion within the Church hierarchy led Olympios from his homeland or from his home to this specific region, and we can also assume that this promotion was to the bishop's throne of this bishopric, which, as examined below, existed from at least the beginning of the 4th century. The existence of the bishop's palace might be proven as the excavations continue

15. Jonkers 1974, 71 (3).

16. Angelopoulos 1985, 37.

17. Britzaki-Panayotidou 1997, 266. Another saint named Olympinus or Olympios († AD 269) is celebrated on January 30: see Britzaki-Panayotidou 1997, 266; Matthaïou 1971, 734.

18. For the Early Byzantine period, see, for example, Mentzou-Meimaris 1977-1979, 111, no. 167; Zafiriou 1999, 85 (222, 223).

19. Gounaris 2000, 194ff.

because the annexes attached to the north and west sides of the basilica, which are currently being excavated, appear to be houses, based on an initial survey. If that is the case, Olympios' residence refers to his stay in the bishop's palace. Concerning the wish "ὑπὲρ παντός του οἴκου αὐτοῦ", it is known that the first bishops could be married,²⁰ and that the celibacy of the bishops was regulated by the Quinisext Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (AD 692).²¹ Thus, a bishop could have a wife and offspring.

The two names that come before the house of Olympios should also be examined. They belong to a woman (Diogenia) and a man (Andrew), who, we can reasonably suggest, are Olympios' closest relatives. Are they his wife and son? This is a plausible assumption, but their relationship is not stated.

Finally, the word that closes the inscription also explains the reason for its existence. Olympios "εκέκτησεν" this basilica, which means that he was definitely the donor of the mosaic *pavement* of the nave. As is known, the word *εκέκτησεν* (embroidered, decorated) was frequently used for the person who funded the production of a mosaic. Similarly, other words such as *επήφωσεν* (inlaid) or *εκαλλιέργησεν* (grown) were also used.²² The word *εκέκτησεν* was in common use only in central Greece.²³ Therefore, Olympios was the donor of this decoration, and his donation was so important that the inscription is situated in a prominent place, i.e. in the nave, where it spanned the entire width of the floor in front of the bema. We have also to pay attention to some irregularities in the forms of the letters, such as the angular ending of the drop on A, and also the angular writing of Δ, the square rendering of Ω and the writing of Λ as an oblique T.

Recently, we were fortunate to find a second intact dedicatory inscription, this time in the narthex of the basilica (Fig. 5). The excavation of the narthex revealed, apart from the new decorative patterns of the mosaic pavement and the *tribelon* that led from the narthex to the nave, the following inscription across three lines, just in front of the *tribelon* and inside a frame that is formed by the decorative patterns:

20. We know this from apostolic texts (*Tim.* I, 3:2-5). We mention here some examples of married bishops such as Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus and Spyridon of Trimithous.

21. Ohme 2013; Rallis and Potlis 1852, 330-331.

22. Assimakopoulou-Atzaka and Pelekanidou 1987, 28-38.

23. *Ibid.* 33.



Fig. 5: *Inscription no. 2 (narthex).*

*ΕΓΩ ΕΥΓΕΝΙΟΣ ΕΚΕΝ/ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑ Η ΤΟΥ /
Θ(ΕΟ)Υ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ*

The writing of this inscription, although more careless than the other, resembles that in the eastern sector of the nave, as many of the letters, specifically Α, Ε, Ω and Λ, have the same shape. This means that, firstly, Olympios might not have decorated all of the church, but merely the nave, and, secondly, that the narthex was decorated by Eugenios.²⁴ The same type of letters as in the inscription in the nave also indicates that the person mentioned here, i.e. Eugenios, might have succeeded Olympios in the same office.

The name Eugenios is common during the Early Byzantine period, being found, for example, in an inscription in the basilica near the village

24. Many churches and their decoration were products of cooperative efforts; see Caraher 2003, 209ff.

of Hagios Konstantinos in Daphnousa in Phthiotis (end of the 4th to the beginning of the 5th century).²⁵ A bishop of Nikopolis also has the same name; he wrote a letter dated to AD 457 which he signed as bishop of Epirus. This letter refers to another bishop of Euroia with the same name.²⁶ The short distance between Drymos and Nikopolis (no more than 40 km) and the integration of Acarnania into Palaia Epiros (*Epirus Vetus*) during the Early Christian period suggest that we should look for further connections between the Eugenios of this inscription and the bishop of Nikopolis.²⁷

The phrase “THN ΑΓΙΑ Η ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ” is also problematic. We believe that the Η between the word “ΑΓΙΑ” and the article “ΤΟΥ” is a mistake made by the mosaicist, who, instead of an Ν, made a straight line and transformed the latter into an Η. So we must read “*THN ΑΓΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ*”.

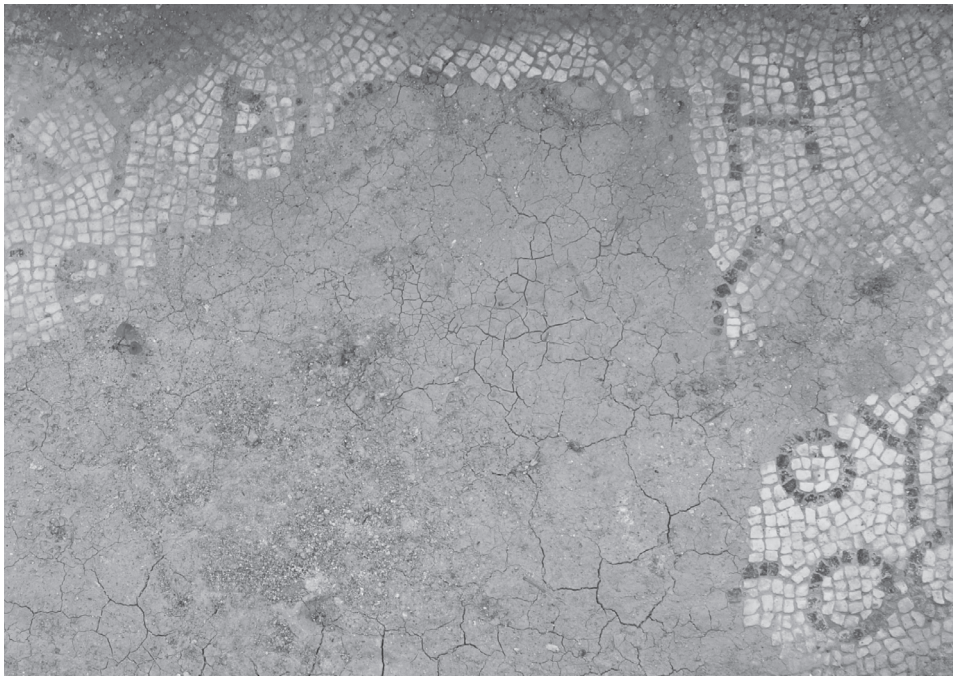


Fig. 6: : *Inscription no. 3 (baptistry).*

25. Assimakopoulou-Atzaka and Pelekanidou 1987, 175; Orlandos 1929, 227-230, figs. 1-3.

26. Argyros 2001, 29; Meletios of Nikopolis 1987, 269ff., specifically 277-278.

27. For the ecclesiastical geography of the region and a map of that period, see Murray 2000, 803ff.; Pietri 1984, 21ff.

A third inscription, across four lines at the entrance of the baptistery, was recently brought to light; unfortunately, it is mostly destroyed (Fig. 6). The preserved text is as follows:

KYPIE [MN]H/ΣΘΗ[TI] [...]Y / [...]OY / [...] TOO

This dedicatory inscription can be partially reconstructed as: Κύριε μνήσθητι του δούλου σου. This was probably followed by the name of the donor of the baptistery's mosaic pavement. This phrase is common in dedicatory inscriptions of the Early Byzantine period.²⁸

Although it has not yet been explained, the double vowel (OO) at the end of the inscription is interesting. It is possible that, before this ending, there was the consonant T, which can be restored from its remains. The form of the letters of this inscription differs from the types of the other two, as is shown by the different writing of K, P and Y.

These three dedicatory inscriptions from the mosaic pavement are very significant, as they constitute irrefutable evidence for the existence of an important religious centre in this region: they give the names of two eminent priests of the local church, namely Olympios and Eugenios; they indicate Olympios' family relations and probable wedded status; they state that Olympios resided in a building that was ceded to him; they mention the offerings of the two donors, i.e. Olympios and Eugenios, who sponsored the construction of the mosaic pavement in the nave and narthex respectively; and they reveal the wealth of the donors and also the general development of the settlement that was probably, as is indicated by the findings to date, a prosperous town that existed from as early as the Late Roman period.²⁹

In order to provide weight to the hypothesis of the donations and also to prove that this three-aisled basilica with a baptistery and several adjacent structures is an episcopal church, we should refer to previous excavations in the region. Euthymios Mastrokostas excavated in Drymos in 1960-1970. In fact, Mastrokostas found three Early Byzantine basilicas inside and outside the village of Drymos, a building of indeterminate use

28. Papademetriou 2013, 153, nos. 36 and 39; 374-375, no. 808; 379, no. 816; Pelekanides and Atzaka 1988, 83, pl. 51β.

29. Axiote 1980, 195-196; Chrysos 1997, 154; Paliouras 2004, 56; 1994, 131-133, 254-255; Veikou 2012, 188-189; Veikou 2012a, 91, 291-292, 333, 420-421, table. 17, no. 38. According to Veikou, the lifetime of the Byzantine settlement of Drymos lasted from the 4th to the 11th centuries AD.

and a number of tombs.³⁰ One of the basilicas (Basilica A) is situated in an area called Paliokklesi, to the west of the village, where, today, only ruins covered by dense vegetation are visible.³¹ The second basilica (Basilica B) is situated to the south, alongside the modern church in the village, but it is no longer visible.³² However, the third basilica (Basilica C) is situated at the site of “Kelephi”, in the same location as the basilica we are currently excavating. However, Mastrokostas does not provide extensive information about the basilica, and we located it only by sculpted architectural members and without a drawing of its ground plan. This lack of information means we cannot identify it with the basilica we have found recently. The basilica found by Mastrokostas is located to the north-northeast of the village,³³ as he notes, also a part of “Kelephi” where the excavations have brought to light large buildings of the Early Byzantine period very close to the building (Building D) that Mastrokostas excavated.³⁴ The basilica that we are currently excavating is situated to the east of the village. In all probability, it is a new basilica (Basilica E), unknown until now to modern research, which appears to be greater and more lavishly decorated than the others. However, it is possible that the architectural members Mastrokostas found could derive from the basilica that we are currently excavating; thus, these members might have been found as *spolia* in other places.

There is ample evidence from the above-mentioned excavations that this is a cathedral. It is important in the bishop’s case an inscription with the word “ἐπίσκοπος” (bishop) along with the ending of his name that was found in one of those basilicas in the site of “Paliokklesi” and was probably inscribed on a gravestone.³⁵ It is probable that this bishop was buried in the place where he was a spiritual leader during his lifetime. At the site of “Paliokklesi”, many other tombs with important findings and inscriptions were found, which suggests that this was a funerary basilica and certainly

30. Mastrokostas 1971, 185-193; Pallas 1977, 30-32.

31. Mastrokostas 1971, 185-192; Pallas 1977, 32. According to Veikou, the first phase of this basilica can be dated to between the 4th and the 6th centuries; see Veikou 2012a, 275, table. 17, no. 38.

32. Chalkia and Konstantios 1979, 210-211; Mastrokostas 1971, 192; Pallas 1977, 30-31.

33. Mastrokostas 1971, 192-193; Pallas 1977, 30-31.

34. Mastrokostas 1971, 193, fig. 9, sh. 1.

35. Mastrokostas 1971, 189; Veikou 1998, 20-21.

a cemetery for local bishops.³⁶ “Paliokklesi” is also named Gorgovli or Gourgovli. According to tradition and local historians, the diocese of Gorgovli was created in the 4th century at Gorgovli by the Christians of ancient Thyrraeon.³⁷ However, both ancient Thyrraeon and Gorgovli were destroyed in AD 397 during the invasion of the Visigoths in Epirus under Alaric.³⁸ Thus, tradition and the few written sources testify to the existence of an old bishopric in the region of Drymos that, we believe, was not named Gorgovli but rather something different.³⁹

The truly magnificent decoration of the basilica is another significant indication that it is an episcopal church. In addition to the mosaic pavement, we must mention the incomparable beauty of the sculpted decoration of the marble architectural members, the existence of a great number of coins (up to 700 have been found to date) and the exceptional design of the *opus sectile* of the presbytery.⁴⁰ Another basic indication that this is an episcopal church is the great number of annexes that are adjacent to the church and cover a large area. One of these annexes, which is adjacent to the east side of the south wall and has a vestibule that is connected by a door to the south aisle, is identified, as mentioned above, with the baptistery that was probably covered with a cross vault. In the centre of the baptistery, there is a cross-shaped baptismal font with stairs to its west and east sides that was probably covered with a ciborium; its water pipes were also found. Finally, we must not forget that Emperor Leo I issued a decree in AD 459 by which he conceded all the religious institutions to the jurisdiction of the bishop, and thus also the construction of such buildings.⁴¹

In conclusion, we can make an initial suggestion for the name of this Early Byzantine site. Using the hypothesis (which is itself based on the inscriptions and other findings) that this is a bishop’s church as our foundation, we should search between the ancient and Roman towns that existed in the region and remain unidentified, and we must

36. Mastrokostas 1971, 186-190, figs. 1-6.

37. Ferentinos 2000, 145-150.

38. Blockley 1998, 115; Ferentinos 2000, 148-150.

39. For the existence of a bishopric in the region of Drymos, see Axiote 1980, 196; Drakoulis 2009, 223; Soustal and Koder 1981, 148; Vokotopoulos 1992, 8 (4).

40. The cost of making a marble inlay was greater than that of a decoration with mosaic. See Bowden 2000, 148; Caillet 1987, 34; Caraher 2003, 213-214.

41. Papademetriou 2013, 37, 69.

also carefully consider the evidence for the creation of two new towns: one Christian and one pagan, after the 2nd century AD by the people of ancient Thyrraeion.⁴² In addition, the location of Drymos in an area that is protected by the winds of the Ambrakikos Gulf can make us reconsider theories about the harbours of Thyrraeion. According to the written sources, the largest city of ancient Acarnania had two ports, and neither has yet been fully identified.⁴³ We simply mention that ancient Thyrraeion is located in a straight line about 2 km distant from Drymos, which must have been near the coast during ancient times, and this means that the people of ancient Thyrraeion had no reason to search for another distant place for their harbour.⁴⁴ Many historians, as we saw above, believe that Drymos was a bishopric during Late Antiquity, possibly of Christian Thyrraeion, and an important centre for the Roman road connecting Nikopolis with Nafpaktos.⁴⁵ The lack of any reference in the *Synekdemos* of Hierocles to a bishopric in this area suggests either that further research on the relationship between the archdiocese of Nikopolis and the bishopric of Drymos is needed or that the diocese was founded immediately after the *Synekdemos*. However, the rich archaeological finds testify to the historical evidence, whereas the inscriptions that have been found give the first names of the eminent donors who sponsored the great buildings in this until-now unidentified bishopric.

The first phase of the basilica, which is determined mainly from inscriptions and the form of their letters, can be dated from the second half of the 5th to the first half of the 6th century. However, we cannot date the basilica based only on the inscriptions; rather, we have to examine all the valuable material found during the excavations, namely sculpture,

42. Ferentinos 2000, 145ff. See also Mastrokostas 1971, 190-191, who refers to the name “κώμη Φεινάκων”.

43. These two ports were actually cities: Echinus and Heraclea. See Katopodis 2000, 46-47; Pritchett 1992, 80, 93ff., 97ff.; Pritchett 1994, 181ff.; Samsaris 1994, 133-137. Diodorus Siculus refers to another town to the west of Thyrraeion, called Derion (Derium) or Deriis, located near Agrinio. See Cramer, 1898, 36-37; Dany 1999, 47; Katopodis 2000, 59; Pritchett 1992, 80ff.; Pritchett 1994, 181.

44. For the placement of the port of Thyrraeion at Drymos, see Axiote 1980, 196; Kirsten 1987, 96-97; Pritchett 1994 195-196; Samsaris 1994, 131-133.

45. Roman coins were found at the site of Gorgovli; see Thompson *et al.* 1973, 48, no. 312. Furthermore, a Roman *miliarion* was found in Drymos: see Axiote 1980, 188 ff., sh. 1; Samsaris 1994, 132, no. 171.

architectural members, coins, ceramics and, of course, the decorative motifs of the mosaic pavement, as well as the size of the tesserae, to determine a more accurate chronology.⁴⁶

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46. For the dating of the mosaic pavement, see Chouliarás 2014, 210.

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Imperial sponsorship during the Iconoclastic Controversy (early 8th to the mid-9th century): The case of Constantine V (741-755) and Irene of Athens (797-802)

Penelope Panagiotidou

Στην παρούσα μελέτη επιχειρείται η εξέταση των εκφάνσεων της αυτοκρατορικής χορηγίας-πατρωνίας της καλλιτεχνικής και αρχιτεκτονικής δραστηριότητας, θρησκευτικής και κοσμικής, καθώς και των διαφόρων δωρεών και ευεργεσιών κατά την περίοδο της Εικονομαχίας. Για αυτό το σκοπό θα παρουσιαστούν τα παραδείγματα ενός Εικονομάχου αυτοκράτορα, του Κωνσταντίνου Ε΄, και μίας Εικονόφιλης, της Ειρήνης της Αθηναίας. Και οι δύο βασίλευσαν σε μία περίοδο οικονομικής ευημερίας, που το αυτοκρατορικό θησαυροφυλάκιο ήταν γεμάτο με άφθονα αποθέματα χρυσού και η αυτοκρατορία διέθετε ένα στέρεο και ισχυρό διοικητικό σύστημα. Ο Κωνσταντίνος Ε΄ πρωτοστάτησε στην αστική ανανέωση της Βυζαντινής πρωτεύουσας και της μετατροπής της σε μεσαιωνική πόλη. Το πρόγραμμά του συνεχίστηκε από την Ειρήνη, παρά τις διαφορές τους σε θέματα θρησκευτικής πολιτικής, καθώς και από τους επόμενους αυτοκράτορες μέχρι και την εποχή του Βασιλείου Α΄. Επιπλέον, η Ειρήνη μέσω του ιδιαίτερου ενδιαφέροντος που έδειξε για τα φιλανθρωπικά ιδρύματα, τις εκκλησίες και τα μοναστήρια της Κωνσταντινούπολης, αναπαρήγε για τον εαυτό της την παραδοσιακή εικόνα της ευσεβούς ηγεμόνα που ήταν αφιερωμένη στις ευεργεσίες, την αντιμετώπιση της φτώχειας και τη γενική ευημερία των υπηκόων της. Η τελευταία ήταν ζωτικής σημασίας για την Ειρήνη λόγω της ασταθούς κατάστασης της διακυβέρνησής της.

Keywords

Constantine V, Irene of Athens, iconoclasm, euergetism

The iconoclast emperors¹ of the 8th century had little interest in the arts and architecture. We can easily examine their attitude by investigating the

1. The prohibition of image worship lasted from 726 until 787. From 787 until 814, the imperial policy changed and allowed the worship of religious images. Another prohibition on image worship was imposed in 814 and lasted until 843.

circumstances of this troubled era. During this time, the Byzantine Empire was facing troubles from the Arabs and the various Slavic tribes that had populated the Balkan Peninsula during the previous centuries, and, at the same time, the lives of its subjects were threatened by fatal diseases and natural disasters, such as powerful earthquakes and volcanoes. For the above reasons, priority was given to the public works that were necessary for the survival of the Byzantine cities, and to the construction or repair of fortifications.

For example, after the destructive earthquake of 740 in Constantinople,² Emperor Leo III (717-741) chose to repair the city walls³ instead of reconstructing the church of St Irene or St Sophia. After the drought of 766, Constantine V (741-755), following his father's lead, renewed Valen's aqueduct,⁴ the main source of water in Early Christian Constantinople. Valen's aqueduct had been destroyed during the Avaroslavie siege of 626 and had been abandoned since then.

Constantine V was mainly interested in the military and dogmatic affairs of his time and, for that reason, he used arts and architecture to promote his iconoclastic policy.

After the Hieria Council (753/754), which formally prohibited image worship,⁵ Constantine V, in order to stabilize the iconoclastic doctrine, set in motion the most powerful means of propaganda of his time, the visual arts.⁶ It is well known that art more directly influences ideas and behaviour than writing. It is the most fundamental and accessible way of facilitating communication between all the members of society, regardless of their social or

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2. Nicephorus, *History*, p. 130, 4-132, 16; Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, p. 180, 6-10; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 412, 6-16; Cameron and Herrin, p. 58, 13-17; Schreiner 1979, p. 44, 1-11.
 3. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 412, 16-21; Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, p. 180, 10-16; Zonaras, p. 264, 1-10; Schreiner 1979, p. 44, 11-15. Leo III's repairs are attested by inscriptions including his name and his son's, Constantine V, on the southern towers of the city walls. cf. Janin 1964, 273, 276; Meyer-Plath and Schneider 1943, 124, n. 7; 127, n. 12 and n. 16; 128, n. 18; Tsangadas 1980, 62; Van Millingen 1899, 98-99.
 4. Nicephorus, *History*, p. 160, 2-23; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 440, 14-24. Valen's aqueduct was first constructed by the emperor Hadrian, but it is known by the name of its restorer, Valens. It was located 15 km northwest of the Byzantine capital. cf. Dalman 1933, 1-49; *ODB* I 145.
 5. Iconomachy started in 726, when Leo III removed the image of Christ from the Chalki Gate of the Great Palace. It is probable that the image was replaced by a Cross.
 6. For art during Constantine V's reign, cf. Stephen 1977, 115-117.

educational stratum. It is a symbolic language open to everyone, and, during the Byzantine era, it was represented in both churches and public buildings.

From the *Life of St Stephen the Younger*,⁷ we learn that Constantine V destroyed many figurative images and replaced them with mosaics or frescoes with floral and animal decoration, representations of chariots and hunts, scenes from the theatre and the circus, and depictions of the Cross.⁸

The emperor ordered the destruction of a Circle from the New Testament, which had been depicted in the church of Virgin Mary of the Blachernai, before the final session of the Hieria Council, and replaced it with mosaics featuring trees, ivies, birds, animals and other patterns.⁹

In approximately 753, Constantine V funded the reconstruction of the church of St Irene,¹⁰ the second-largest surviving church in Constantinople, which had been damaged during the earthquake of 740. The reconstruction of Justinian I's church followed its model's climax and added a dome with a cross. In this way, he amended a huge structural mistake of the original church. The apse's dome was decorated with a monumental cross in two dimensions on a golden background.¹¹ Constantine V also constructed parapets for the church with his monogram.¹²

In 764, Constantine V removed the representations of the six Ecumenical Councils from the Milion¹³ and replaced them with the image of a chariot in the circus, and with one of his favourite charioteers.¹⁴ The Milion was a big monument in Constantinople, the starting point of all the roads of the Byzantine Empire, and the focal point of political and religious propaganda during the 8th century.¹⁵

7. *Vita S. Stephani Junioris*, PG 100, cols. 1112-1113, 1120-1121, 1172.

8. cf. Gero 1975, 4-22; Grabar 1957, 155; Parry 1996, 178-190.

9. cf. Cornmack 1977, 35-44, especially 38; Mango 1977, 1-6, especially 4.

10. cf. Janin 1953, 103-106; Peschlow 1977.

11. cf. Brubaker and Haldon 2001, 6-8; Cornmack *op. cit.*, 35.

12. cf. Sodini 2002, 223-248, especially 223; Ulbert 1969-1970, 339-357, especially 345-346.

13. cf. Mango 1959, 47-48.

14. *Vita S. Stephani Junioris*, PG 100, col. 1172.

15. During the late 7th century—possibly during Justinian II's reign (685-695 and 705-711)—the Milion was decorated with the image of the six Ecumenical Councils. The next emperor, Monothelete Philippikos Vardanis (711-713), removed the representation of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680/681) from the panel because of its condemnation of Monotheletism. The next Orthodox emperor, Anastasios II Artemios (713-716), restored the Sixth Ecumenical Council's image to the Milion. cf. Grabar *op. cit.*, 49ff, 55ff, 155ff; Mango *op. cit.*, 47-48.

In 768/769, Patriarch Niketas, after repairing the parts of St Sophia that had been damaged during the earthquake of 740, removed the figurative mosaics and frescoes of the μικρόν και μεγάλον σεκρέτον of the Patriarchate¹⁶ and replaced them with golden crosses, which are similar to the ones we find in St Irene.¹⁷

The most direct means of communication between the emperor and his subjects, apart from the multiple public ceremonies, were the various works of art which he patronized, and his public representations. For this reason, Constantine V displayed in many different places in Constantinople golden and silver statues of himself¹⁸ and decorated many monuments of the Byzantine capital with representations of his victories.¹⁹ His aim was to reinforce his personal prestige and also to ensure the favour of his Constantinopolitan subjects for the armies that he had gathered and settled in the Byzantine capital.

Empress Irene (797-802), who restored image worship in 787 by assembling the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea, had the exact opposite ideological and dogmatic cause. For that reason, she funded the reconstruction of many churches and monasteries in Constantinople that had been damaged or converted into secular buildings by Constantine V. The empress also patronized the construction of new religious buildings. In this way, Irene strengthened the monastic movement of the Byzantine capital, which had been under prosecution during the Iconoclastic Controversy.

The Byzantine empress built a female convent devoted to the Virgin Mary on the island of Pringipos, near Constantinople, in 780/781.²⁰ Irene intended to use the monastery as her own mausoleum, after her death.²¹ Later, the above-mentioned convent obtained large historical importance, since it became the place of exile for many Byzantine empresses who were compelled to leave the capital.²²

16. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 443, 22-26; Nikephorus, *History*, p. 160, 2-8. cf. Brubaker and Haldon 2001, 21; Cormack and Hawkins 1977, 177-251, especially 210; Mango and Scott 1997, 612, n. 14.

17. cf. Brubaker and Haldon 2001, 20-21.

18. Nicephorus, *Antirrheticus* II, *PG* 100, col. 276.

19. Mansi 1960-1961, 354.

20. Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, p. 202, 7-9; *Life of Irene*, 24-25. For the *Life of Irene*, cf. Treadgold 1982, 237-251; p. 204, 3-6; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 478, 26-29; *Georgius monachus continuatus*, p. 774, 3-9; Zonaras, p. 303, 7-9.

21. *Life of Irene*, 26-27.

22. Apart from Irene, who was exiled in the monastery of Pringipos by Nicephorus I (802-

In approximately 790, Irene reconstructed the monastery of Virgin Mary of the Pege²³ outside the city walls in Thrace that had been damaged by an earthquake.²⁴ Justinian I's monastery was named after the curative spring which was in its yard. The empress' abdominal disease was also cured by drinking water from that spring. For that reason, she donated to the church curtains interwoven with gold, golden veils, a crown and liturgical vessels decorated with gemstones and pearls. She also patronized a mosaic, which portrayed herself and her son Constantine VI offering the above donations to the monastery, in memory of her cure.²⁵

Irene's concern for philanthropy and social welfare was made clear by the construction of the complex of the church of St Luke.²⁶ Among its buildings, the complex included poorhouses and a cemetery for the free burial of the strangers who happened to die while visiting Constantinople.²⁷ The empress also built in the Byzantine capital γηροκομεία, ξενοδοχεῖα, γηροτροφεία, ξενοτάφια, τα πτωχοτροφεία τῆς Λαμίας and a hospital (ξενῶνα) bearing her name.²⁸

Sometime after 787, possibly in 796,²⁹ Irene reconstructed the church of St Euphemia in the Circus of Constantinople,³⁰ which had been converted into an arsenal by Constantine V. She also ensured the return of the martyr's relic after they were miraculously found on the island of Lemnos.³¹

At an unknown date, the empress built in the Byzantine capital the churches of St Anastasius the Persian³² and St Eustathios.³³ She also funded

811) in 802, the following became nuns: Mary of Amnia, Constantine VI's (780-797) wife (Efrosini), Michael II's (820-829) wife, the empress Zoe (1028-1050) and Anna Dalassena. cf. Treadgold 1982, 237-251, especially 250; Thomas 1987, 124.

23. For the monastery of Virgin Mary the Pege, cf. Janin 1953, 232-237.

24. *Patria*, p. 259, 14-260, 7.

25. *De sacris aedibus Deiparae ad Fontem*, ASS, Nov. III, 880. cf. Cornmack 1977, 40; Euthymiades 1998, 22, n. 81; Herrin 2002, 106; Mango 1972, 156-157.

26. For St Luke's church, cf. Janin 1953, 322.

27. *Patria*, p. 246, 3-6.

28. *Patria*, p. 246, 6-12. cf. Magdalino 1996, 30.

29. Berger 1988, 558.

30. For the church of St Euphemia, cf. Janin 1953, 120-124; Nauman and Belting 1966.

31. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 440, 2-11; *Patria*, p. 216, 19-217, 8.

32. *Patria*, p. 219, 1-4. For the church of St Anastasius the Persian, cf. Janin 1953, 124.

33. *Patria*, p. 265, 5-6. For the church of St Eustathios, cf. Janin 1953, 124.

the construction of the monastery of St Euphrosyne *στά Λιβάδια*. The monastery was situated among fields inside the city of Constantinople.³⁴

Apart from Irene, her son and co-emperor Constantine VI undertook analogous building activities. According to an inscription (780), he built the church of the Archangels in Sige on Mount Olympus in Bithynia.³⁵ His first wife, Mary of Amnia, patronized the construction of the monastery *τῶν Δεσποινῶν* in Constantinople. She retired to this convent after her divorce from the emperor in 975.³⁶

Irene's collaborators, following her example, also built monasteries inside or near the Byzantine capital. The patriarch Tarasios funded the construction of a monastery on his family estate in Stenon, outside Constantinople.³⁷ Patrikios Michael built the monastery of Virgin Mary *τῶν Ψύχα* in Constantinople, near the Sosthenion.³⁸ Finally, the patriarch Nicephoros built the monastery of St Theodoros on the Asian side of the Bosphorus³⁹ and also the monastery *τά Αγαθοῦ*.⁴⁰

Irene's favour towards the Church peaked after 797, when she reigned as sole emperor. Then, she exempted the Church and the monasteries from all the taxes for their estates. The empress also made various donations to the people of the capital (799), and she also reduced the municipal taxes and the customs duties for the same city. This policy can be related to her efforts to rectify her bad reputation after the blinding of her son Constantine VI and also to her efforts to strengthen her power in the Byzantine Empire and among the western kingdoms, which had been weakened after Charlemagne's coronation.

The Byzantine emperor, owing to the power deriving from his office, wielded absolute control over the state revenues, which gave him the ability to decide how they would be disposed. Therefore, it was up to him to decide whether he would use the available funds for the common good,

34. *Patria*, p. 243, 13-19. For the church of St Euphrosyne *τά Λιβάδια*, cf. Abrahamse 1985, 37; Janin 1953, 137-138; Ruggieri 1991, 190.

35. cf. Buchwald 1969; Ruggieri 1991, 214-215.

36. Sathas 1894, 128. For the monastery *τῶν Δεσποινῶν*, cf. Janin 1953, 92.

37. De Boor 1880, 139-217, especially 201; Heikel 1888, 403, 419-421; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 481. For the monastery of Tarasios, cf. Janin 1953, 497-498; Thomas 1987, 124; Treadgold 1988, 140-141.

38. Van de Ven 1902, 97-125, especially 110-111.

39. De Boor 1880, 139-217, especially 201; *Oratio de exilio S. Nicephori et translatione reliquiarum, austere Theophane*, PG 100, 162C.

40. For the monastery *τά Αγαθοῦ*, cf. Janin 1975, 23; Ruggieri 1991, 199-200.

and thus declare his Christian piety, or use them to promote both himself and his political and ideological aims.

Constantine V, like his father Leo III, demonstrated his genuine interest in the Byzantine capital by repairing the buildings that had been damaged by the earthquake of 740 and also by making a very important effort to increase its population.

In order to propagandize the iconoclastic doctrine, the emperor patronized various artistic and architectural works. This effort also had a very important political dimension. On the one hand, it represented the supremacy of the emperor over the bishops and monks, who, from now on, were under his absolute control, and, on the other hand, it aimed to impose stability in an era of huge change for the Byzantine world.

Irene had a very different ideological orientation from Constantine V and his father Leo III. She rebuilt the churches and the monasteries that had been damaged during the Iconoclastic Controversy, but she also moved a step forward by displaying a wider interest in the well-being of the people of Constantinople through her various donations. This demonstrates the empress understood that, in this way, she could improve her public image, which became vital at the end of her reign, due to Charlemagne's coronation and the blinding of her son, Constantine VI.

However, the imperial policy of patronizing expensive public works in the capital in order to promote the emperor's political aims, while the empire's provinces were in a state of absolute destitution, creates a tenebrous picture in the eyes of the modern viewer.

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**Ἐγράφη δι' ἐξόδου καὶ σπουδῆς καὶ ἀγάπης θέλοντος
κτῆσασθαι τοῦτο ... νῦν δὲ προστίθεται καὶ ἀφιερῶνται'*:
Donating books in Byzantium (9th-15th century)**

Kalliopi Mavrommati

**Cod. Athon. Karakallou* 20, f. 212v, 1289/90¹

Ἡ αντιγραφή κωδίκων στο Βυζάντιο, πρακτικὴ που κατεχοχὴν διέσωσε τον πλοῦτο της αρχαιοελληνικῆς διανόησης μέχρι τῆ σύγχρονη εποχὴ, τροφοδοτήθηκε ἀπὸ χορηγίους προσώπων με κοινὸ παρανομαστή το εἰδικὸ ενδιαφέρον για τὴ σύνθεση καὶ κυκλοφορία εγχειριδίων με ποικίλο περιεχόμενο (θεολογικὸ, φιλοσοφικὸ κ.ά.). Πριν τὴν εφεύρεση τῆς τυπογραφίας, ἡ αντιγραφή κωδίκων υπῆρξε μίᾳ κοπιαστικῆ καὶ χρονοβόρα ἐργασία με υψηλὸ κόστος, συνεπὼς ἀποτελέσσε χορηγία προσώπων που κατέβαλλαν τὴ δαπάνη για διάφορους λόγους. Ἐδῶ θα μας ἀπασχολήσουν οἱ κατηγορίες τέτοιων δωρητῶν (πρόσωπα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, αυτοκράτορες καὶ άτομα του περιβάλλοντός τους, χορηγοὶ ἀπὸ τὴ στρατιωτικὴ καὶ πολιτικὴ ζωὴ, ἐπαγγελματίες καὶ ἄλλοι που ἐπέλεξαν να παραμείνουν ἀγνωστοί), οἱ οποίοι μερίμνησαν για τὴν αντιγραφή κειμένων καὶ στη συνέχεια τα δώρισαν σε ἰδρύματα τῆς Αυτοκρατορίας. Το θέμα ἐξετάζεται με βάση χρονολογημένα σημειώματα ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων (9ος – 15ος αἰώνας).* Σκοπὸς μας εἶναι ἡ ἀνάδειξη τῆς χορηγίας ὡς προς τὴν κυκλοφορία βιβλίων στο Βυζάντιο, ἡ ἀνίχνευση τῶν κινήτρων του δωρητῆ, το περιεχόμενο τῶν χορηγημάτων καὶ, συνακόλουθα, ἡ προσπάθεια να προσδιορισθεῖ ὁ ρόλος του Βυζαντινοῦ χορηγοῦ στη συντήρηση καὶ ἀνάδειξη τῆς ἐλληνικῆς πολιτιστικῆς ταυτότητας.

*Το υλικὸ προέρχεται ἀπὸ ἐρευνητικὸ πρόγραμμα του Τμήματος Ἱστορίας & Αρχαιολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν (ΕΚΠΑ) καὶ ἐιδικότερα ἀπὸ το Ἐργαστήριο Ψηφιακῆς Αποτύπωσης του Δημοσίου καὶ Ἰδιωτικοῦ Βίου τῶν Βυζαντινῶν.

Keywords

Byzantium, colophons, donation, manuscripts, notes

1. See n. 34 (6).

On the afternoon of June 1, 1296, a fierce earthquake struck Constantinople. At that time, *megas logothetis* Constantine Acropolites recalls being in retreat, reading a manuscript by Plato which he had borrowed from the royal library. Having left that book aside, and while he was working on Democritus and Heraclitus, the sudden violent tremors interrupted his thoughts. This incident, recorded in Acropolites' correspondence,² portrays a rare and very realistic view of the involvement of Byzantine scholars in the study and reproduction of books. As is well known, this practice allowed for the preservation of ancient culture through the centuries.

However, the production of manuscripts was not limited to a small group of methodical scholars who collected, exchanged, copied and borrowed books, owned private libraries and were, in general, engaged in the study of secular and theological literature.³ Commissioning manuscripts was an aspiration of people of all social backgrounds and genders, and was driven by a personal interest in acquiring intellectual works or donating them, which was a generous gesture considering the expense involved.⁴

The emergence of paper as a cheaper alternative to parchment advanced the production of books from the 10th century onwards and resulted in the preservation of a great number of codices.⁵

The scribes, many of whom donated the fruits of their labour, were clerics or laics, and all were relatively well educated.⁶ They worked either privately at home or, in the case of monks, in their cells or in organized *scriptoria*.⁷ When their laborious work was completed, the scribe added

2. Romano 1991, 59.13-18. *PLP* 520.

3. cf. Mango 1975, 29-45; Wilson 1975, 9-15. The correspondence of scholars reveals great interest in acquiring books. On these issues, see, as indicative examples, Dendrinis 2011, 25-54; Karpozilos 1991, 255-276.

4. Many acquired books for personal use rather than donation. Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 492. Books were expensive. For instance, a note from the 12th century states that a monk spent more than 12 gold coins on a manuscript. See n. 24 (4). cf. Evangelatou-Notara 2003, 494-495; Hunger 1989, 40-42; Mango 1975, 43-45; Oikonomides 2002, 591.

5. According to Oikonomides (2002, 590), "the use of paper was introduced into Byzantium certainly in the tenth century, and possibly in the ninth", although "paper manuscripts survive from the eleventh century on". For parchment and paper, see also Atsalos 2004, 31-83; Papazoglou 2001, 43-77.

6. The Church required literate people in order to meet the daily demands of the institutions. Evangelatou-Notara 2003, 495; 2011, 176. cf. Browning 1978, 41; Déroche 2006, 113-123; Wilson 1975, 4-6.

7. Copying books should not imply that the monks were engaged in scholarly activities.

a short note, generally in a specific style,⁸ referring to the assignment and the donation of the work to the Byzantine sacred institutions. In other instances, the donation was made later and mentioned separately. There are numerous examples of such notes, usually found at the beginning or the end of the text, with dates affixed. The objective of the present article is to study these notes.

The process of archiving the notes and colophons throughout the 19th and 20th centuries is based on the science of palaeography. Notes have been studied and compiled primarily by Emeritus Professor Florentia Evangelatou-Notara and were recently digitized by the Laboratory of Public and Private Life of the Byzantines in the Department of Byzantine History & Archaeology in the University of Athens (EKPA), with the aim of presenting them for the first time as a single online collection.⁹

The best examples of notes include the scribe's name and vocation (calligrapher, notary, deacon, etc.), often followed by attributes that indicate humility (unworthy, sinful, modest, etc.).¹⁰ The scribe's incentive was certainly moral, but there was also a financial reward.¹¹ Manuscripts were commissioned by clerics and laics, who used manuscripts for private study or wished to donate them, primarily for the eternal salvation of their souls.

The notes include brief comments, calendar entries, prayers to and in praise of God, tributes to emperors and other dignitaries, cues for commemorating the contributors, and acknowledgements of the scribe and the donor. They also include the donor's intention: for instance, a vow (*efhi, tama*) or

Monasteries and churches maintained collections for ceremonies and teaching. For the scribes, see Evangelatou-Notara 2011, 179-182; Hunger 1989, 89-94; Papazoglou 2001, 95-115; for the *scriptoria*, see Ibid. 106-109.

8. The scribes mention the perils of copying, for example discomfort in the neck, fingers and knees, and stiffness caused by their posture, using stylistic formulas including the words *kopos*, *mochthos* and *ponos*. As indicative examples, see Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 187, no. 63. Mioni 1973, 73-76, 83-84.
9. The database will soon be available for scientific use. I am grateful to Professor Athena Kolia-Dermizaki, director of the laboratory, for the opportunity to work on the database, as well as to Professor Evangelatou-Notara for her remarks on this article.
10. The expressions of humility reflect the Christian attitudes of the time, although some stated their work with confidence. Evangelatou-Notara 2011, 177-179. cf. Hunger 1989, 95-99.
11. Little information is preserved regarding the fees of the scribes. Evangelatou-Notara 2011, 179-182; Kravari 1991, 375-384.

inclination (*pothos, pistis, merimna, spoudi, tirvos*). Specific terms are used to describe the commissioning (*analoma, epitagi, exodon, dapani, kelefsis, misthapodosia, prostaksis, protropi, syndromi, di energeias, dia doseos, etc.*) and the donation (*afiero, anatheto, apocharizo, diatheto, doroumai, doron or dorima, fero, paradido, porizo, prosafierono, prosekirono, prosfero, tithimi*).

More than 3500 notes were studied, dating to between the 9th and 15th centuries (until 1453). These include numerous commissions and donations, mainly from clerics, usually of a lower rank (*notarios, kouvouklisios, grammatikos, chartophylax, skeuophylax, protopapas*,¹² priest, abbot, monk, etc.), but also higher Church officials (patriarchs, metropolitans and bishops). More rarely, donating laics include, for example, civil officials, scholars and professionals (either as individuals, couples or groups), and, of course, the emperor and his entourage.

Commissioning does not necessarily signify subsequent donation, as the books were often destined for private study. Notes that clearly indicate donations account for a small proportion of the surviving material; nonetheless, they provide a representative view of the practice. However, all conclusions must be accepted with the caveat that only a small number of manuscripts survive.

Few preserved codices remain for the 9th and 10th centuries, in comparison to subsequent centuries, presumably because they were written on parchment.¹³ Many notes state the commissioning, yet none mention donations.

From the 11th century, there are 13 donations from clerics.¹⁴ These include a shared donation between a *protopatrikios* of the Byzantine court, a minor cleric (*skeuophylax*) and a few priests, who granted the funds as an offering to their village church.¹⁵ The remainder were commissioned by three abbots,¹⁶ six monks (one *syngellos*, who is noted as a former *protonotarios* and *logothetis tou dromou*, and another as a monk and

12. For these titles, see Leontaritou 1996, 313-335, 286-300, 143-145, 628-660, 531-547, 483-496 (in the above order). For *grammatikos* as a civilian title, see Oikonomides 1985, 173.

13. The high cost and scarcity of parchment forced scribes to wash or scrape the ink off written manuscripts (*codices rescripti* or *palimpsests*). Atsalos 2004, 83-87.

14. cf. Evangelatou-Notara 2003, 486.

15. Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 69, no. 190. *Protopatrikios* is a title for governors and generals. *ODB* 1600. For *skeuophylax*, see n. 11.

16. (1) *Ibid.* 10, 43, no. 175 (four books); (2) *Ibid.* 44, no. 182 (not certain if acquired through plunder); (3) *Ibid.* 48, no. 240.

maistor), a donation shared between a monk and a nun,¹⁷ one *protopapas* and one *kouvouklisios*.¹⁸ Also, there are four donations from laics: a *spatharios*, *koubikoularios*, a *vasilikos notaries*, a *primikerios* and *archon tou chrysocheiou*,¹⁹ and one bearing the title of *proedros*.²⁰ In one instance, the identity of the donor is not clear.²¹

From the 12th century, there are 10-12 donations from clerics: a bishop in a shared donation with an abbot (who presumably initiated the deed),²² two abbots,²³ a shared donation from an unspecified number of priests,²⁴ five or seven monks,²⁵ and someone who describes himself as *archon* and *kritis* (?).²⁶ Three donations come from laics: a scribe²⁷ and two civilians.²⁸

From the 13th century, there are 34 donations from clerics and 11 from laics. The clerics include two patriarchs (one offering 12 manuscripts,

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17. (1) Miller 1848, 138; Vogel and Gardthausen 1966, 62; (2) Miller 1848, 413-414. For *syngellos*, see Leontaritou 1996, 553-605. For the titles of the imperial court *protonotarios* and *logothetis tou dromou*, see Oikonomides 1972, 311; *ODB* 1746, 1247; (3) Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 41, no. 132. For *maistor*, see *ODB* 1269; (4) Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 47-48, no. 239; (5) *Ibid.* 73, no. 274 (monk and nun, not stating firmly a donation).
18. (1) *Ibid.* 66, no. 120; (2) *Ibid.* 73, no. 269; (3) including the priests mentioned in n. 14. For *kouvouklisios* and *protopapas*, see n. 11.
19. (1) *Ibid.* 107, no. 303. For *spatharios* and *koubikoularios*, see *ODB* 1935, 1154; (2) Evangelatou-Notara 1982, no. 247 (a book stolen from a fire). For *vasilikos notarios*, see Oikonomides 1985, 172-173; (3) Spatharakis 1981, 18; Evangelatou-Notara 2003, 485. Oikonomides 1972, 300, 317; (4) also see rf. 14 (*protopatrikios*).
20. Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 89, 144, no. 116 (10th-11th century). *Proedros* is a broad title of rank, both civilian and ecclesiastical; here, probably civilian. *ODB* 1727.
21. Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 159, no. 185 (a pawn that was later donated).
22. *Ibid.* 46, no. 335.
23. (1) *Ibid.* 53, no. 356; (2) *Ibid.* 56, no. 398.
24. *Ibid.* 81, no. 471. This is dealt with in detail below (“priests and notables”).
25. (1) *Ibid.* 60, no. 505 (two monks are mentioned, one is probably the scribe); (2) *Ibid.* 56, no. 333; (3) *Ibid.* 78, no. 411 (a monk-priest offering a Gospel); (4) *Ibid.* 57, no. 420 (an offering to the monastery he resisted); (5) *Ibid.* 79, nos. 425, 426 (bought, but it is uncertain whether it was donated); (6) Papageorgiou 1897, 542.
26. Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 76, no. 372 (an offering to the church [to which?] he was appointed). For *archon* (probably *archon ton monastirion*), see Leontaritou 1996, 102-104.
27. Evangelatou-Notara 1982, 58, no. 446. This is dealt with in detail below (“Nile”).
28. (1) *Ibid.* 95, no. 515; (2) *Ibid.* 81, no. 481.

and the other two),²⁹ one metropolitan (making two donations),³⁰ one archbishop,³¹ one *grammatikos*,³² three *archimandrites*,³³ four abbots,³⁴ eight monks and one priest.³⁵ The laics are: a certain *sebastos*,³⁶ a Genovese (or originating from Genoa, residing in Byzantium), mentioned as despot and *komis* (earl),³⁷ a married couple offering to a church they founded,³⁸ a woman from a well-known family,³⁹ a high administrative officer⁴⁰ and four stating only their names.⁴¹ In five cases, the donors are of uncertain status, being either clerics or laics.⁴²

From the 14th century, there are 30 donor clerics and 11-12 laics. The clerics include three patriarchs,⁴³ four metropolitans (one made at

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29. (1) Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 15, no. 273. Probably the ecumenical patriarch Josef I (1266-1275/1282-1283); (2) Ibid. 16-17, 110-111, nos. 21, 22. The patriarch of Alexandria Athanasios (1275/1276-1315) offered two manuscripts to the metropolis of Alexandria, which were brought from the capital. *PLP* 413.
30. Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 23-24, no. 58. The metropolitan of Thessalonike, Ignatius (c. 1283), gave two manuscripts, encouraged by *the protos tou Agiou Orous* Ignatius, who is also mentioned in the note. *PLP* 8053. It is noteworthy that high Church officials both urged others and were themselves urged to donate property. See Laiou 2012, 112-116.
31. Evangelatou-Notara 1984, no. 162.
32. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1891, 107-108. He offered a parchment manuscript probably in the 14th century. For *grammatikos*, see n. 11.
33. (1) Evangelatou-Notara 1984, no. 66; (2) Ead. 2000, 54, no. 112; (3) Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894, 298. *ODB* 156.
34. (1) Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894, 194; (2) Evangelatou-Notara 1984, no. 41; (3) Ibid. 190, no. 164a; (4) Omont 1929, 11.
35. (1) Evangelatou-Notara 1984, no. 29 (shared donation by a monk and a laic); (2) Ibid. no. 65; (3) Ibid. no. 67; (4) Ibid. no. 139 (a restoration); (5) Ead. 2000, 61, no. 34; (6) Ibid. 70, no. 77; (7) Ibid. 70-71, nos. 80, 81; (8) Ibid. 75, no. 114; (9) Ibid. 52, no. 70 (the priest).
36. Evangelatou-Notara 1984, no. 37. For the title *sebastos* as a member of the high nobility, see *ODB* 1862.
37. Evangelatou-Notara 1984, no. 62.
38. Ead. 2000, 121-122, no. 108.
39. Ibid. 109, no. 5. A certain Komnenos Doukas commissioned a manuscript, which was donated later by Maria Doukaina Komnene Vranaina, who was probably a close relative. *PLP* 12099, 27511.
40. Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 112-113, no. 107. Michael Zorianos held the *officion tis trapezis* and other titles in the court of the despot of Epirus Thomas (1296-1318). For this title, see Ibid. 112, rf. n. 111. *PLP* 6666.
41. (1) Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1897, 209 (involving a parchment manuscript); (2) Evangelatou-Notara 1984, no. 33; (3) Ibid. no. 215; (4) Ead. 2000, 75, no. 116: ἐπὶ τῶν γον..... Ταρσοῦ πρόεδρος.
42. (1) Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894, 480; (2) Evangelatou-Notara 1984, no. 51; (3) Ibid. no. 118; (4) Ead. 2000, no. 92.
43. (1) Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894, 228: the patriarch of Jerusalem Gregory II (1322);

least seven donations),⁴⁴ one *protopapas* and *ekdikos* (who later became bishop),⁴⁵ one mentioned as *protos tou Agiou Orous*,⁴⁶ an abbot,⁴⁷ a deacon,⁴⁸ two priests,⁴⁹ 16 monks (one of them was a former emperor and another a foreign ruler) and a nun.⁵⁰ The laics include an empress,⁵¹ a scholarly woman,⁵² a married couple⁵³ and seven to eight civilians.⁵⁴

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- (2) Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 17, 156, no. 222: the patriarch of Alexandria Gregory II (1315-1342) (probably a donation); (3) Ibid. 18-19, no. 295: patriarch of Jerusalem Dorotheos (1377/1378-1406) (two books).
44. (1) Ibid. 213, nos. 161, 188, 135, 149 (also see nos. 123, 124, 125). This is dealt with in detail below ('Moschopoulos'); (2) Ibid. 27, nos. 326, 294. The metropolitan of Drama and Larissa Ioasaf (1389-1401) donated 30 books across two occasions. *PLP* 8915; (3) Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 25-26, no. 159. The metropolitan of Theoupolis and Prousa Nicholas (1315-1331) offered the skulls of SS. Cosmas and Damian along with a parchment manuscript. *PLP* 20482; (4) Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 27-28, no. 286.
45. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894, 16 (from the bishop of Methone Demetrios Panaretos Malotaras). *PLP* 16545. For *ekdikos*, see Leontaritou 1996, 197-213.
46. Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 48, no. 129. *PLP* 8857.
47. Ibid. 32-33, 57-58, no. 279. Abbot Jacob fulfilled the wish of the deceased bishop of Slanitza (Pella) to donate a Gospel to a church founded by the abbot.
48. Ibid. 242, no. 266.
49. (1) Ibid. 38-39, no. 180. This is dealt with in detail below ('Philantropenos'); (2) Ibid. 39, no. 213.
50. (1) Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894, 332; (2) Lampros 1900, 201. *PLP* 7640; (3) Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1891, 107. He states that only in the event of his death should the book be donated; (4) Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 78, no. 158; (5) Ibid. 78, no. 160; (6) Ibid. 215, no. 167 (two books); (7) Ibid. 80, no. 179 (two books); (8) Ibid. 223, nos. 195, 189 (probably two donations); (9) Ibid. 83-84, nos. 199, 215 (two parchment manuscripts); (10) Ibid. 84, no. 200; (11) Ibid. 85, no. 210; (12) Ibid. 88, no. 260 (monk and nun); (13) Ibid. no. 280. This is dealt with in detail below ('Kantakouzenos'); (14) Ibid. 92, no. 303. The Serbian ruler of Thessaly Ioannes Ouresis (1366-1372/1373) retired as a monk; (15) Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894, 389 (four books); (16) Ibid. no. 207; (17) Ibid. 229 (a nun).
51. Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 104, no. 230. This is dealt with in detail below ('Anna Palaiologina').
52. Ibid. 99-100, no. 131. This is dealt with in detail below ('Raoulaina').
53. Ibid. 130, no. 165.
54. (1) Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894, 327. Four scribes worked for the *Codex Hierosolymitanus*, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate 219. Folia 84r, 242v contains two different notes, dated to the 14th century. The first states that a certain Otoganis bought and donated the book in the diocese of Larandon (Lycaonia), and the second that a certain Gerakis also bought and donated it to the same place. Presumably, Gerakis funded the new texts included. *PLP* 21145, 3684; (2) Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894, 365; (3) Evangelatou-Notara 2000, no. 231. This is dealt with in detail below ('Chantzamis'); (4) Ibid. 124, no. 242. *PLP* 14404; (5) Evangelatou-Notara 2000,

In three cases, the donor is not identified.⁵⁵

There are numerous notes dated generally from the 15th or 14th-15th century which could not be included here, as the study ends at 1453. From clerics, we can be certain of only one donation, from a metropolitan.⁵⁶ Laics include an emperor,⁵⁷ an *archon*,⁵⁸ a doctor,⁵⁹ a son of an *exarch*,⁶⁰ one couple⁶¹ and three untitled civilians.⁶²

The donations from clergy, monks and minor clerics in particular are abundant, as they tended to offer manuscripts to institutions, often those which they had transcribed themselves. This tendency can be attributed to the convention of entering monastic life by means of an offer (*adelphaton*), whether of money or other belongings. Moreover, donations were made by both clergy and laics in return for moral support or for commemoration purposes (*psychikon*).⁶³ Certainly, donations stem from the requirement to address the practical needs of an institution along with the wishes of the donor, as exemplified by the following example involving the monastery of St John the Theologian in Patmos.

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- 125, no. 269; (6) Ibid. 18, no. 288. A certain Agathon donated a personal gift from the patriarch of Constantinople Macarios (c. 1377/1379-1390/1391). *PLP* 16310; (7) Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 76, no. 137. We do not know more about Manassis, but it is likely that he was a monk.
55. (1) Evangelatou-Notara 2000, no. 203; (2) Ibid. no. 319; (3) Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1897, 58.
56. Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 28-29, no. 346. In April 1431, the metropolitan of Silivria Ignatius (John Chortasmenos) completed a parchment, palimpsest *Menaion*, which he offered to the church of Silivria. Ignatius noted that he had copied 11 more *Menaia*, which were distributed to various places. *PLP* 30797.
57. Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 107, no. 336. This is dealt with in detail below (“Manuel II”).
58. Ibid. 106, no. 329. *Archon* Georgios Apocaucos donated a book to the church of Theotokos in Vlacheres, where he had repaired the lead roof. *PLP* 1181. For *archon*, see *ODB* 160.
59. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1915, 284-285.
60. Id. 1894, 39. The *exarch* was both a civilian and an ecclesiastical title. *ODB* 767; Leontaritou 1996, 226-235.
61. Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 115-116, no. 338. Nikephoros Louvros was governor (*kephali*) of Berat (Albanien). *PLP* 15053. *ODB* 1122.
62. (1) Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 126, no. 348; (2) Ibid. 126, no. 351; (3) Chrysanthos 1933, 528-529. The book was donated to the metropolis of Trebizond before the Ottoman conquest of 1458. Later, it was redeemed by the ecumenical patriarch Symeon I (1466, 1471/1472-1475, 1482-1485).
63. For a detailed analysis, see Evangelatou-Notara 2005a, 164-170. For similar donations, see Laiou 2012, 111, 114-114.

A register from the year 1200 reveals that the monastery's library held in excess of 300 manuscripts, following successive donations from faithful brothers and its monks.⁶⁴ A note dating to January 11, 1180, states that a scribe by the name of Nile devoted a small book (*vivlidarion*) because the library was devoid of such an item.⁶⁵ Clearly, the demands of the monastery dictated the type of donation. The task could be undertaken by any individual with sufficient financial means or transcription skills.

Donations were also made if books were overused, as apparently occurred in the instance of a *Typicon*, a specialized manuscript containing administrative rules set by the founder, in the monastery of St Eugenios in Trebizond. It is assumed that the book had suffered damage and needed to be replaced. In 1346, a certain Procopius Chantzamis sponsored the copy for his eternal salvation. The codex (today held in Mount Athos) features an array of fine embellishments and miniature images, and it can be speculated that the sponsor was quite wealthy.⁶⁶

Of most interest is the involvement of monks and priests in the ownership of adorned or expensive manuscripts, albeit their financial position is unknown.⁶⁷ Around 1313, monk Sabas, from the outskirts of Nicomedia, was the scribe and owner of a decorated parchment manuscript, which was devoted to Theotokos, as indicated in a miniature depicting Sabas humbly kneeling against Her feet.⁶⁸ The high quality of the manuscript suggests that the monk must have been affluent.

Often, the monks and clerics came from well-known and prosperous families, such as the priest and *megas economos* of the diocese of Ioannina Michael Philantropenos. Between 1319 and 1342, he donated a Gospel to the monastery of St Nicholas, otherwise known as *tou kyrou Iakovou*, in Ioannina (Epirus). He had either founded or renovated the monastery of St Nicholas of Philanthropenon a few years earlier.⁶⁹

64. Astruc 1981, 15-30. cf. Wilson 1975, 6-11.

65. See n. 26; 49 (10, 13). Relevant examples that mention restorations of books: n. 16 (4); 22 (2); 34 (4); below, n. 65. Similarly, books ordered by abbots and intended for the monastery's library. See n. 15 (3); 22 (1, 2). Presumably, when abbots encourage donations (n. 21; 29). For other possibly related cases, see n. 24 (3, 4); 25. cf. Evangelatou-Notara 2003, 491-492; Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 157.

66. See n. 53 (3). *PLP* 30588.

67. Similarly, monks offer many books they bought with their own money, or they simply keep them. See n. 15 (1); 24 (5, 6); 34 (7); 49 (3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 15, 17).

68. Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 77-78, no. 154. *PLP* 24624.

69. See n. 48 (1). *PLP* 29773. Leontaritou 1996, 352-435. Many held posts in the royal court or were former rulers. As indicative examples, see n. 14; 16 (2, 3); 48 (13, 14).

Therefore, the commissioning of finely embellished and illustrated parchment manuscripts suggests a degree of affluence on the part of the donor. In addition, the assignment of the tasks to certain *scriptoria*, many of which were provincial, signifies the quality of their work. The vast expense associated with this work often required a collective donation, as was the case with the purchase of liturgical books by many priests and notables of a village in Cyprus which were offered to atone for their sins to the church of Theotokos Sevouriatisses, in 1193.⁷⁰

Also of note are the donations of liturgical manuscripts by married couples. For instance, spouses Michael Louchinas and Zoe, in 1296-1297, and Nikeforos Louvros and his wife Maria, in 1413, who donated Gospels to churches whose construction they had financed.⁷¹

Books were also received as donations or bequests of private library collections. For instance, in 1059 the *protospatharios* and *consul* Eustathios Boilas bequeathed his private collection to the monastery of Theotokos of Salem which he had founded, and commissioned the copying of a book intended for another church he built.⁷² In the mid-11th century, Abbot Timothy supplied the monastery of the Mother of God Evergetis in Constantinople with liturgical items and books and was therefore regarded as an honorary founder.⁷³ Notes reveal many similar provisions, though involving fewer books. A striking example is that of the methodical collector and metropolitan of Crete and Lacedaemon (1283-1316/1325) Nikephoros Moschopoulos, who acquired and donated various, often illustrated, codices to different places: for instance, the church of St Demetrius in Lacedaemon, and also to great monasteries such as St John the Baptist on the Jordan River and St Catherine on Mount Sinai.⁷⁴ His nephew, the philologist Manuel Moschopoulos, recounted in correspondence dating to 1305/1306 that part of his uncle's collection had been transported with extreme care by some monks to Mount Athos; however, it is unclear whether the intention was to donate or safeguard it.⁷⁵ It is worth mentioning that at least two of Moschopoulos' books are still held on Mount Athos.⁷⁶

70. See n. 23. For shared donations by clerics and laics, see n. 14; 34 (1).

71. See n. 37; 60; 52.

72. Evangelatou-Notara 1982, no. 202; 2003, 484. *ODB* 302, 1748.

73. Thomas and Constantinides-Hero 2001, 473.

74. See n. 43 (1).

75. Levi 1902, 3.60-61. Ševčenko 1981², 134, 146-147. *PLP* 19376, 19373.

76. For these notes, see Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 204-205, nos. 124 (as a donor), 126

Manuscripts, being valuable, were often looted and then redeemed from the hands of infidel foes, as detailed in certain notes. Often, a subsequent donation is inferred, especially if the “saviour” is a monk buying it after a theft. A typical example involves an 11th-century manuscript that was purchased from the spoils of the fall of Ptolemais at the hands of the Mamluks (1291) by the monk Bessarion, who presumably offered the book to the monastery where he resided.⁷⁷ Today, the manuscript is found in the monastery of Sinai.

Many wished that their offering would remain whole and in one place and cursed whoever attempted to alter or remove it. The distaste for stealing can be discerned mostly in the notes of the Palaiologan era, which was a time of turmoil and decline. Certainly, the curses did not work. A distinct example involves a parchment manuscript dating from 1289/1290 that was offered to the Karakallou monastery by monk Isaac, who included in the book the note accompanying the title of this study. Despite the utterance of curses following these writings, the book was removed and, in 1492, was found in Constantinople, before finally returning to its original location.⁷⁸

The contribution of scholarly women to commissioning and donating books in Byzantium should not be overlooked. A noteworthy figure from the Palaiologan era (1261-1453) is the bibliophile Raoulaina Theodora Palaiologina, niece of Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259-1282), who donated manuscripts to influential figures of the time and at least one book to the Great Lavra on Mount Athos.⁷⁹

Empress Anna Palaiologina, widow of Andronikos III (1328-1341) and guardian of his successor John V (1354-1391), also donated in gratitude (*sostron*) a luxuriously illustrated Psalter to Mount Athos around 1345/1346, while governing at a time of political unrest.⁸⁰

Significant orderings and donations were also made by emperors. In particular, John VI Kantakouzenos (1347-1354), who, after retiring from

(as an owner).

77. See n. 34 (7). Also, see n. 15 (2); 33 (1); 44; 49, (17); 61 (3). For relevant cases, but with no indication of donating, see Evangelatou-Notara 1984, 45, no. 144; 2000, 196, no. 96. For hiding manuscripts during a raid, see Alexoudis 1982, 276-279. For the purchase of a stolen manuscript, see n. 18 (2).

78. Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 151-153. *PLP* 8247.

79. See n. 51. *PLP* 10943.

80. See n. 50. *PLP* 21347.

his office as a monk, was renamed Ioasaf, ordered a *plethora* of copies and made donations to Mount Athos.⁸¹

Finally, books were offered as imperial gifts. In 1408, Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (1350-1425) sent a luxurious and embellished parchment manuscript with his envoy Manuel Chrysoloras to the monastery of St Dionysios in Paris, seeking to negotiate aid against the Ottoman expansion.⁸²

Conclusions

The surviving notes studied provide evidence that the donation of books was a widespread practice throughout the empire. Most donations were from monks and minor clerics, but many came from high-ranking Church officials. Donor laics included the emperor and major rulers, imperial officials, men and women *literati*, and simple civilians. Undoubtedly, the offering of manuscripts involved scholars and non-scholars with various incentives.

The books were mostly donated to religious institutions as a means of being accepted to the monastic community (*adelphaton*), for commemoration purposes (*psychikon*), to enhance the assets of a sacred institution or increase those of a newly founded one, as a bequest after the death of the owner, or to save them from the hands of infidel enemies.

However, the principal intentions, which are consistently cited in the notes, irrespective of the status of the donors, are the following: physical health and well-being, heavenly catharsis and salvation of the soul, penance of sins for the donor and his family, and eternal remembrance. Moreover, as stated in some distinguished cases, for the glory and praise of the scribe and owner of the manuscript (εἰς δόξαν καὶ ἔπαινον).⁸³ Certainly, both would have received a degree of social recognition.

As donors state their names, donation, labour of transcription and expense, despite any expressions of humility and requests for the readers' eternal commemoration, the pursuit of recognition beyond a moral and metaphysical level is obvious. These persons must have been conscious

81. See n. 49 (13). For Kantakouzenos' books, see Evangelatou-Notara 2000, 89-91.

82. See n. 56. *PLP* 21513, 31165.

83. As an indicative example, see n. 15 (2). The scribes were aware that the books would survive for centuries to come even if the writing hand rotted in the grave. Evangelatou-Notara 1984, no. 288: ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἢ γράμματα, σήπεται τάφω τῷ δὲ γράμμα μὲν εἰς χρόνους πληρεστάτους (sic). cf. Atsalos 2004, 229-288.

that their service and contribution⁸⁴ would be regarded as noble by future generations, in addition to strengthening the wealth of the Church.

Typically, the content of these gifts is associated with theological works (patristic, ascetic, hagiographical, liturgical texts, etc.), intended for common use in the recipient religious institutions.⁸⁵

The study of this material in conjunction with other sources reveals that the circulation of books in Byzantium was significant, especially once copying intended for private use is also taken into account. The notes elucidate the activity of the scribes in both large and provincial monastic centres, and the impressive production of opulent manuscripts on the fringes of the Byzantine Empire.

The Byzantines supported the preservation and promotion of the Classics as revealed through the work of scholars, although the foundation of culture remained primarily the study of theology.⁸⁶ Above all, the donation of books was a common approach, as this served not only personal aspirations, but also intensified the development of intellectual and spiritual didactics. Consequently, as shown in the note below, books were respected, valued and considered a legacy to humanity.

Τέλος πέφυκε τῆς παρούσης πυκτίδος (...). Ταύτη τυχών τις και
 τρυφήσας εἰς κόρον και νοῦν καθαρθεῖς θαυμάσει τὸν ἐργάτην, ὅστις
 κέκτηται τὴν ψυχὴν ἔξω φθόνου· θησαυρὸν δ' ἄλλον τὴν βιβλὸν
 ἀπαρτίζων κοινὸν παρέσχον πλοῦτον, ἐξ οὗ πλουτήσας ὁ προστυχὼν
 ἄνθρωπος ἔξει τὴν χάριν ὡς δημιουργὸς τοῦδε νοῦ τοῦ βιβλίου.⁸⁷

84. Evangelatou-Notara 2003, 492; 2011, 185. cf. Giros 2012, 98-101; Markopoulos 2006, 85-96.

85. There is large disparity between the number of commissioned books of a theological and secular content. The issue relates to the significance given to theological versus secular education in Byzantium (θύραθεν και ἐγκύκλιος παιδείσις), although illiteracy remained significant. cf. Evangelatou-Notara 2000b, 495; 2005b, 102-106; Reynolds and Wilson 1968, 48-51. For literacy in Byzantium, see Browning 1978, 39-54; Cavallo 2006b, 97-109; Id. 2006, 35-46, 83-95.

86. Commissioning and donating books certainly influenced the intellectual developments of the time. Browning 1978, 52-54; Evangelatou-Notara 2003, 495; Hunger 1989, 130-136.

87. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894, 180.

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Founders of monasteries practising philanthropy: The case of the *sebastokrator* Isaakios Komnenos

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Σε όλη τη βυζαντινή περίοδο εντοπίζουμε πολυάριθμες μαρτυρίες ευσεβών χριστιανών που εξέφρασαν με ποικίλους τρόπους τα φιλόανθρωπα συναισθήματά τους, επιδιώκοντας ταυτοχρόνως εξιλέωση για τις αμαρτίες τους. Μία διαθέσιμη πηγή πληροφοριών σχετικά με αυτό το θέμα αποτελούν τα λεγόμενα κτητορικά Τυπικά, ένα είδος καταστατικών ίδρυσης και λειτουργίας μονών και ευαγών οίκων που συστήνονταν ή ανακαινίζονταν από κοσμικά ή εκκλησιαστικά πρόσωπα (κτήτορες). Στο πλαίσιο της παρούσας γραπτής συμβολής θα εστιάσουμε στην περίπτωση του σεβαστοκράτορα Ισαάκιου Κομνηνού, ο οποίος ίδρυσε την περίφημη μονή της Θεοτόκου Κοσμοσώτειρας στη Βήρα (σημερινές Φερές στη Θράκη). Παράλληλα, ο Ισαάκιος θέσπισε ένα καλά οργανωμένο και σύνθετο φιλανθρωπικό έργο, που θα αποτελούσε βασική αποστολή της συγκροτηθείσας μοναστικής κοινότητας. Είναι ευτυχής συγκυρία που το Τυπικό του Ισαάκιου για την οργάνωση του μοναστικού βίου και τη διοίκηση της μονής έχει σωθεί στο σύνολό του, αλλά και που συντάχθηκε από τον ίδιο τον κτήτορα, με κάθε λεπτομέρεια και ευγνωμοσύνη. Έτσι, είμαστε σε θέση να παρουσιάσουμε το πολύπτυχο φιλανθρωπικό πρόγραμμα, που προέβλεπε καθημερινή παροχή συσσιτίου και επετειακές-τελετουργικές διανομές σε φτωχούς, τη λειτουργία ενός νοσοκομείου για ηλικιωμένους προσαρτημένους στη μονή, την κατασκευή και συντήρηση δύο γεφυρών για την ασφαλή διέλευση και προστασία της ζωής των ταξιδιωτών και, τέλος, την πνευματική καθοδήγηση των παραστρατημένων πιστών και την αποδοχή των περιθωριοποιημένων. Επιπλέον, σχολιάζουμε ζητήματα, όπως ποιοι ήταν οι πραγματικοί αποδέκτες των προβλεπόμενων παροχών και υπηρεσιών, ποιος ο βαθμός παρέμβασης του κτήτορα στη διοίκηση του ευαγούς ιδρύματος, ποια τα κίνητρό του για τη θέσπιση του φιλανθρωπικού προγράμματος και γιατί έλαβε την απόφαση να το πραγματοποιήσει μέσω της μοναστικής κοινότητας.

Keywords

Isaakios Komnenos, *ktetor*, *typikon*, Kosmosoteira, charity

The fundamental principles of Christian teaching were *love* for others and *care* for the needy. Thus, philanthropy was a virtue that everyone had to pursue as a solid proof of their faith. In parallel with this, emphasis was placed on charitable activity as a conduct pleasing to God which would be rewarded in the worldly as well as the posthumous life. This resulted in the belief that pious deeds could save a believer's soul. Indeed, throughout the Byzantine period there are numerous examples of faithful Christians exercising charity in various ways while simultaneously seeking atonement for their sins.¹

One relevant source is the so-called "*ktetorika typika*", the "foundation charters" issued by founders or refounders (*ktetors*) of monasteries.² It is noteworthy that almost all the preserved documents include regulations from the *ktetor* which enjoin the monastic community to practise philanthropy through either occasional or systematic assistance to the poor and the disabled. In fact, several of these monasteries, especially those with an aristocratic or imperial *ktetor*, supported an attached charitable house (e.g. a hospital, an old-age infirmary, a poor house, a guest house) or engaged in other forms of social welfare (e.g. construction and preservation of bridges).³ The regulations concerning philanthropic

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1. On the theoretical basis and practice of Christian philanthropy, from an extensive bibliography, see Brown 2012; Constantelos 1987; Countryman 1980; Finn 2006; Hengel 1974; Herrin 2013, 267 ff., 299 ff.; cf. also the essays in Allen *et al.* 2009; Holman 2008; Sheils and Wood 1987.
2. On the *ktetorika typika*, which the *ktetors* of monasteries and/or charitable institutions issued in order to regulate the monks' life and administrative issues, see Galatariotou 1987, with earlier bibliography; Konidares 2003²; Manaphes 1970. cf. also *BMFD* 1-5; in this industrious work, which comprises five volumes, all the preserved monastic foundation documents are edited and translated into English. The introductions are authored by J. Thomas, who includes valuable information on Byzantine monastic life and commentary on the documents. However, many do not accept the author's view of a monastic reform pursued by certain *ktetors* from the late 11th century onwards (cf. Chatziantoniou 2004, 233 ff.; Kaplan 1994, 107, 123; Krausmüller 2011, 111 ff.; Morris 1994, 353 ff. and 2005, 108-109; Mullett 2007a, 2-5).
3. cf. Volk 1983, 58 ff., who describes the treatment of the sick monks and laymen, and the philanthropic activities of monasteries, according to the preserved *typika*. See also *BMFD*, Vol. 1, 29; Vol. 2, 448, 465, 516-517, 575, 615, 659, 734-735, 794-795; Vol. 3, 868, 879, 986, 1049, 1101-1102, 1118, 1214, 1263; Vol. 4, 1346, 1437, 1521, 1588-1589, 1631-1632.

practices related to the *ktetor*'s wish to perform or establish charitable deeds as well as to the perception that such activities were consistent with the commitments of a monastic community.⁴

In the limited framework of our written contribution, we shall confine ourselves to examining one of the most distinguished examples: the case of the *sebastokrator* Isaakios Komnenos, who founded the renowned monastery of the Mother of God (Theotokos) Kosmosoteira, in Bera (Thrace), and, at the same time, established a well-organized and multifaceted philanthropic project.⁵ Fortunately, Isaakios' *typikon* for the regulation of monastic life and the administration of the monastery has been preserved in its entirety.⁶ It is essential to note that the text was authored by the *ktetor* himself, both eloquently and in detail. Thus, we are in a position to present the multifaceted philanthropic programme, as well as to comment on issues regarding the actual recipients of the prescribed benefactions, the intervention of the *ktetor* in the administration of the charitable house, his motivations for this philanthropic project and his decision to put it into effect through his monastic foundation.

To begin with, we shall give some brief information concerning the biography of the *sebastokrator* Isaakios Komnenos. This will be useful for understanding issues such as the establishment of the monastery in a rather remote location or the *ktetor*'s wholehearted devotion to his monastic and charitable foundations. Isaakios was the third-born son of Alexios I Komnenos, the younger brother of the emperor Ioannes II, and father of the future emperor Andronikos I. For a large part of his life, he

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4. cf. *Auxentios* 781.24-37; *Akropolites* 418.23-35, for the *ktetors*' view that monks, more than any other Christians, ought to perform philanthropic activities. cf. Mentzou-Meimare 1982 on the charitable foundations in the provinces, attested from the Early Byzantine period to the mid-9th century; most of these were attached to a church or a monastery.
 5. On the monastery, see *BMFD* 2, 782 ff.; Charizanes 2003, 125 ff; Sinos 1985, 11 ff., 35 ff. On the archaeological data, see Ousterhout and Bakirtzis 2007, 48. ff.; Patterson-Ševčenko 2012, with earlier bibliography; Sinos 1985, 75 ff. For the philanthropic activity of Isaakios and his monastery, see *BMFD* 2, 794-795; Volk 1983, 200 ff.
 6. On the *typikon*, see the commentary of the editor Papazoglou 1994, 23 ff. cf. the commentary in *BMFD* 2, 783 ff., in which an excellent English translation by Patterson-Ševčenko can also be found, based on the older edition by Petit (1908). Despite the shortcomings noted by Polemes and Stephanes 1997, we use the new edition, which is based on the preserved manuscript of the 16th century, rather than Petit's edition, which was based on a literate's transcription during the 19th century.

lived in exile, continuously trying to gain the alliance of Byzantium's enemies in order to usurp the throne. At times, he was reconciled with his imperial relatives. However, he definitively deserted his ambitions only after 1146.⁷ Subsequently, disillusioned and alienated from the Komnenoi dynasty, perhaps even from his own offspring,⁸ he retired to his estates in western Thrace, which had been granted to him by his father. This is where, while he had already been afflicted with serious health problems, he decided to found a monastery dedicated to the Theotokos Kosmosoteira. For this purpose, he chose an expedient location, which was called Bera by the locals (modern Pherrai/Pheres), 6 km west from the top of the Evros River delta. Since the area was uninhabited, he established a settlement near the religious foundation by transferring the population of at least two of his estate villages; thus, the monastery was provided with the necessary labour force to maintain its operation.⁹ For its financial support, the *ktetor* endowed the institution with almost all of his abundant resources.¹⁰

In his *typikon*, Isaakios points out from the very beginning that his goal as a *ktetor* is to accomplish a reverent task which will glorify God and, at the same time, ensure his spiritual redemption. He explains that this could be accomplished in two ways: either by founding a religious institution

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7. On the *sebastokrator* Isaakios, see Barzos 1984, 238 ff.; *PBW* 2011, Isaakios (Komnenos) 102; Sinos 1985, 8 ff.
 8. cf. *Kosmosoteira* 36.39-40 (ch. 2); 124.1709-126.1715 (ch. 90). See also below, n. 32. Isaakios speaks of his nephew, the emperor Manuel I, in flattering terms. This could mean that their relationship had perhaps been restored to some extent. However, it should be noted that he mentions Manuel only to ask for his protection of the monastery, if the need should arise (cf. *Kosmosoteira* 68.706-716 (ch. 31); 123.1702-124.1708 (ch. 89)).
 9. *Kosmosoteira* 95.1256-1260 (ch. 69); 147.2045-2050 (ch. 112). See Sinos 1985, 1-3 and 1987-1990, 225, 233, who notes that the monastery and the newly established village were located in a geographically, economically and strategically suitable spot near the *via Egnatia* and the delta of the Evros River. For the possibility that the area was unsettled, see *Kosmosoteira* 34.5-8 (ch. 1); 36.43-45 (ch. 2); 68.704-706 (ch. 31); 109.1462-1463 (ch. 74). On Bera, cf. Asdracha 1976, 124 ff.; Soustal 1991, 200-201.
 10. For the large fortune of Isaakios Komnenos that was bequeathed to his monastery, and comprised various estates and exploitation rights in western Thrace, see *Kosmosoteira* 40.95-96 (ch. 5); 93.1243 ff. (ch. 69); 143.1960-1963 (ch. 107); 143.1976 ff. (ch. 108). cf. Charizanes 2003, 133-135; Kaplan 2010, 461 ff. For its management, cf. Smyrlis 2001, 249-250, 247, n. 6, and especially Kaplan 2010, 469 ff. Regarding Isaakios' former activities as a patron of religious foundations (the Chora monastery, in Constantinople, and the St John the Forerunner monastery, on the Jordan River), see Theodoros Prodromos 391-393; cf. 398.50. See *BMFD* 2, 782, with more references.

or by exercising philanthropy. Isaakios chose to combine the two pious deeds. Thus, on the one hand, he established his monastery to praise God and exalt the Virgin. With this undertaking, he also wished to express his gratitude to the Mother of God for her benefactions and her support during critical periods of his life. Simultaneously, he hoped that he would gain her intercession for his salvation after his death. To achieve this purpose, 50 of the 74 monks he assembled at the monastery devoted their time exclusively to hymnody.¹¹ Of course, the daily prayers of the monks for the salvation of the *ktetor*'s soul and the commemorative services on his account were only part of their substantial liturgical tasks. Isaakios greatly emphasizes this issue, as its repetitive treatment indicates.¹² On the other hand, he also declares that the monastery was founded “for the salvation of many strangers and as atonement and ransom” for his countless sins. The phrase clearly indicates that practising philanthropy in the operational framework of the monastery was a predominant target of the *ktetor* and that it was considered equally important for the propitiation of God.¹³

11. *Kosmosoteira* 37.52-56 (ch. 3); 79.952-960 (ch. 48); cf. 119.1667-1674 (ch. 88). For the liturgical duties of the monks, see *ibid.*, 44.158 ff. (ch. 9-11); 52.293 ff. (ch. 13-15); 92.1234-1242 (ch. 68); 114.1552-1560 (ch. 80).

12. *Kosmosoteira* 37.52-56 (ch. 3); 42.120-43.136 (ch. 7); 46.190-197 (ch. 10); 48.227-238 (ch. 11); 85.1103 (ch. 59); 88.1166-1173 (ch. 64); 108.1438-1442 (ch. 72); 127.1729-1746 (ch. 90-91). The repetitive treatment of this topic is also related to the fact that the text was composed in various stages and somewhat in haste (cf. Ševčenko 1984, 135; *BMFD* 2, 785-786, 851 ff.; Kaplan 2010, 456-458, 482). Still, it indicates that this was an issue which concerned the *ktetor* intensely. It should also be mentioned that *Isaakios would enjoy the traditional patronal privilege of being buried at his monastery*. However, this was a decision that was apparently made during the course of the project (see *Kosmosoteira* 119.1675 ff., chaps. 89-90, especially l. 1675-1681. cf. Ousterhout 1985, 34; Ševčenko 1984, 135 ff.).

13. *Kosmosoteira* 36.45-46 (ch. 2): “πρὸς σωτηρίαν πολλῶν ὀθνείων καὶ λύτρον καὶ ἄποινον, ὡσπερ τῶν ἀμετρήτων πλημμελημάτων μου” (cf. trans. Ševčenko, *BMFD* 2, 799, corrected by me regarding the lacuna in Petit’s edition); cf. 137.1855-1856 (ch. 99). For the importance Isaakios places on the philanthropic mission of his monastery and the redemptive value of the charitable work, see also 41.113-42.119 (ch. 6); 47.203-212 (ch. 10): “For this is my major aim, most aimed at” (trans. Ševčenko, 803); 85.1114-1130, especially l. 1117-1119 (ch. 61): “and those ailing brethren whom, for the appeasement of God, I arranged to be hospitalized in the old age infirmary of this monastery” (trans. Ševčenko, 825); 101.1301-1310, 104.1331-1352, especially l. 1306-1307, 1334-1335, 1344-1346 (ch. 70); 118.1645-119.1667 (ch. 87); 128.1752-1754 (ch. 93); 131.1787-132.1803 (ch. 96); 149.2103-2105 (ch. 114). See also below, n. 38, for the designation of the charitable deeds as beneficial for the *ktetor*'s soul.

A facet of Isaakios' philanthropic programme concerned daily food distributions of the leftovers from the ample and varied, as it is described,¹⁴ communal table of the monks. This offering would provide some satisfaction to the needy gathered at the monastery's gate.¹⁵ Hence, the *ktetor* would avoid the sin of indifference to the indigent.¹⁶ The modest daily allocations would be increased on special occasions, such as the Lord's and the Virgin's feast days. In these cases, sufficient food was to be offered to 100 of the poor, along with a small cash gift. Similar generosity could perhaps be displayed on the day of the annual memorial service for the founder, although Isaakios urges the superior to execute them in a rather humble way.¹⁷ In both cases—in the regular, but rather meagre, assistance of the destitute, as well as in the adequate, yet ritualistic, distributions—the *ktetor* is confident that he increases the prospects of his own salvation. Concerning the monks who had to execute these regulations, he expected them to share part of what his open-handed generosity had provided to them. In parallel, he views their piety as a sort of guarantee that not only will they carry through with these offerings without fail but will even improve on them.¹⁸

The old-age infirmary, which accommodated 36 laymen, functioned as a systematically organized charitable activity.¹⁹ The social background of

14. *Kosmosoteira* 41.110-111 (ch. 6); 63.582 ff. (ch. 24-29); especially 87.1151-1159 (ch. 63).

15. cf. also *Bebaia Elpis* 68.23-69.31 (ch. 89): "with this small surplus morsels of yours, you will alleviate to a degree their great poverty" (trans. Ševčenko, *BMFD* 4, 1549). Prescriptions for daily food distribution to the poor are quite common in the preserved *typika* (see *Attaleiates* 61.746-63.750; *Evergetis* 81.1165-1166, 81.1173-83.1177 (ch. 38); *Kecharitomene* 111.1639-1644 (ch. 64); *Phoberos* 73.17-29 (ch. 54); *Pantokrator* 51.352-359, 53.404-406). On these kinds of offerings and their spiritual importance, see Caner 2008, 236 ff.

16. *Kosmosoteira* 41.108-42.119 (ch. 6); 118.1649-119.1663 (ch. 87).

17. *Kosmosoteira* 45.182-185 (ch. 9); 47.197 seq. (ch. 10); 48.238-246 (ch. 11); 67.673-679 (ch. 29); 84.1067-1069 (ch. 56); 89.1174-1176 (ch. 65). For these charitable donations, which corresponded to a ritualistic commitment to philanthropy, cf. Herrin 2013, 306. Unlike other lay founders (cf., for instance, *Kecharitomene* 121.1788 ff. (ch. 71); *Pakourianos* 97.1287 ff. (ch. 21)), Isaakios does not prescribe specific donations of alms on his annual commemoration. Instead, he entrusts this issue to the superior's discretion, obviously trying to assume modesty (cf. *Kosmosoteira* 88.1166-1173 (ch. 64). For a self-effacing attitude, see also 112.1522-114.1541 (ch. 77); 123.1699-1702 (ch. 89)).

18. *Kosmosoteira* 47.207-211 (ch. 10). cf. also below.

19. The infirmary was an outbuilding located inside the external periphery wall, which surrounded the monastery complex. cf. *Kosmosoteira* 86.1125-1129 (ch. 61); 101.1301-1307 (ch. 70). As in other *typika* (cf. *Mount Tmolos* 203.1-204.15:

its residents is not explicitly defined.²⁰ However, the monthly allowance that is prescribed for them indicates that the beneficiaries would belong to the socio-economic class of the *penētes*. This conclusion is confirmed by the instruction that the patients should be clothed in the old garments of the monks in case they had to be accommodated for a lengthy period,²¹ and that special leftovers from the monks' meals should occasionally be given to them. Nonetheless, Isaakios' injunction that the residents' diet normally should not differ in quality and quantity from the monks' indicates that he places them on an equal footing.²² Furthermore, the *ktetor* seems to confer trust on them, as he enjoins that they should not be forced to abandon the institution when they are healed, but rather should depart voluntarily.²³ Moreover, he insists that the infirm elderly be treated with attentiveness and appreciation: "the superior must regard the brethren as [though they were] God himself, and cherish them in all ways."²⁴

Isaakios notes that the monks, following his example, should spare no expense in executing the charitable project, given that the foundation had been lavishly endowed. As far as the old-age infirmary is concerned, he regulates that the prescribed provisions should never be reduced, even if the institution is in financial straits.²⁵ The *ktetor*'s emphasis on adequate

12 patients; *Pantokrator* 109.1347-1350: 24 patients; *Lips* 134.13-14 (ch. 50): 12 patients), the prescribed number of beneficiaries in our document has symbolic value (cf. Kalvesmaki, 2006). However, it appears that it also corresponded to the actual financial means of the foundation (cf. Dölger 1953).

20. At another point in the *typikon*, the *ktetor* mentions his inclination for *philoxenia* (φιλοξενία) from childhood. He continues by referring solely to almsgiving to the poor (*eleēmosyne/eleos/diadoses/metadoses* to the *penētes*) (cf. *Kosmosoteira* 118.1649-119.1667 (ch. 87)). Apparently, the term *philoxenia* is used with the meaning of *love for the stranger* and not of *hospitality*. Hence, we cannot adduce the above attestation to define the social background of the infirmary's residents.
21. *Kosmosoteira* 103.1321-1322, 105.1369-1371, 105.1383-106.1389 (ch. 70). cf. *Evergetis* 81.1170-1173 (ch. 38); *Phoberos* 73.23-25 (ch. 54); *Auxentios* 782.15-21, where monks' old clothes and footwear were distributed to the poor.
22. *Kosmosoteira* 102.1316-103.1322, 104.1357-1359; cf. 105.1376-1378 (ch. 70).
23. *Kosmosoteira* 103.1322-1326 (ch. 70). Contra cf. *Evergetis* 87.1259-1268 (ch. 41) on mistrust of the monks lest they pretend continued illness in order to enjoy greater comfort for a long time.
24. *Kosmosoteira* 105.1368-1369 (ch. 70; trans. Ševčenko, *BMFD* 2, 831); cf. also 104.1359-105.2 (ch. 70): for the superior's, rather symbolic, obligation to visit in person the patients on Sundays.
25. *Kosmosoteira* 47.209-212 (ch. 10); 86.1121-1123 (ch. 61); 118.1645-119.1667 (ch. 87); 131.1788-132.1808 (ch. 96).

levels of care is demonstrated by the fact that he himself fastidiously designates all comforts and services (kind and quality of food supplies, facilities, furnishings, hygiene, lighting and heating, medical equipment and medication, hospital staff).²⁶ Isaakios' genuine sympathy for the "ailing brethren" is also indicated by his consideration of their spiritual serenity. Indeed, he ordains that a special chapel be constructed for the patients to fulfil their religious needs. The church should be in close proximity to the infirmary so that the hymnody can be heard even by those who are confined to bed. Finally, regulations regarding the proper funeral ceremony for the deceased are included; the ultimate care for the dead body was also considered to be a charitable task in case of an impoverished faithful.²⁷

The fact that Isaakios, despite his old age and poor health, intended to manage the infirmary himself demonstrates that he did not perfunctorily perform his Christian obligation to endorse philanthropy.²⁸ One should note that the *ktetor* constructed personal facilities for his repose within

26. *Kosmosoteira* 101.1310 ff. (ch. 70). cf. *Pakourianos* 111.1530-115.1589 (ch. 29) and especially *Pantokrator* 83.904 ff., where the facilities and the level of service in the attached charitable foundations are likewise described thoroughly. This feature is also related to the fact that a lot of the preserved *typika* of the 11th and 12th centuries emphasize issues regarding the operation and direction of the foundations (cf. Chatziantoniou 2004, 257-258 for an interpretation).

27. *Kosmosoteira* 105.1378-1383, 106.1389-1391 (ch. 70). For similar prescriptions in other *typika*, cf. *Evergetis* 83.1177-1184 (ch. 38); *Pantokrator* 89.1001-1006, 99.1158-1164, 107.1324-1336; *Lips* 134.22-25 (ch. 51). Contrary to other *ktetors*, Isaakios did not include provisions for a special cemetery (*xenotapheion*). Instead, he ordained that the deceased should be buried far from the monastery, wherever they wished. A similar prescription is set out for the locals, who are not allowed to be buried in their villages. We should stress that these provisions are not to be interpreted as lack of consideration for the spiritual concerns of others. As Papazoglou (1994, 106, n. 1390) already remarked, they should rather be attributed to the fact that Isaakios appears very preoccupied with hygiene (on this issue, see *Kosmosoteira* 109.1452-1456 (ch. 73); 118.1627-1629, 1640-1645 (ch. 86); 138.1876-1881 (ch. 101); 147.2071-148.2076 (ch. 113); cf. Volk 1983, 206 n. 744).

28. *Kosmosoteira* 101.1307-1310 (ch. 70). For Isaakios' poor health, cf. *ibid.*, 34.12-35.13 (ch. 1); 36.40 (ch. 2); 104.1339-1348 (ch. 70); 125.1714-126.1715 (ch. 90). Kaplan 2010, 456, 482-483. The repeated references to his health issues aim to stress his personal efforts for the construction of the foundation, a feature shared by many *typika*; cf., for instance, *Pakourianos* 55.584-590 (ch. 5). For Isaakios' personal involvement, cf. also *Kosmosoteira* 90.1207-1210 (ch. 67); 109.1450-1451 (ch. 73); 110.1472-111.1503 (ch. 75); 141.1932-142.1936 (ch. 107); 148.2091-2093 (ch. 113).

the monastery's periphery.²⁹ Consequently, he was in the position to immediately supervise the service provided.³⁰ After his departure from life, the direction of the charitable foundation would be assigned to the superior.³¹ This provision is different to what was usually applied in monasteries that supported an attached philanthropic institution. In most cases, a pertinent official was appointed for its operation (*nosokomos*, *gērokomos*, *xenodochos*, etc.).³² It is likely that Isaakios was influenced by the *typikon* of the Theotokos Evergetis monastery (in Constantinople),

29. *Kosmosoteira* 115.1584 (ch. 83); 148.2081-2090 (ch. 113); 149.2106-2110 (ch. 115).

It was not uncommon for lay *ktetors* to reserve for themselves personal facilities as a serene refuge, where they would withdraw during the last years of their lives, without having been tonsured (cf. *BMFD* 2, 858). Isaakios does not include this customary patronal privilege among the primary incentives for the establishment of the monastery. On the contrary, he stresses that, unlike other *ktetors*, he did not find it to satisfy his own needs or to look for amenities (*Kosmosoteira* 103.1331-104.1335 (ch. 70); contra cf. *Kecharitomene* 137.2088 ff. (ch. 79), for the luxury apartments of the foundress and her descendants). Obviously, Isaakios already had a private residence as a landlord, perhaps in the nearby town Neokastron, where *despotika oikēmata* are mentioned (*Kosmosoteira* 93.1249 (ch. 69). Mostly, the term denotes the functional buildings for the estate's exploitation directly by the landowner, but it might also include his residence; see *ibid.*, 149.2107, 2110 (ch. 115). cf. Kaplan 2010, 467, 474-475 and n. 123, for a different interpretation).

30. Isaakios exercised considerable control over the monastery in general, not only because he lived at the foundation, but also because a large part of his property would be bequeathed to the monastery after his death (*Kosmosoteira* 93.1243-101.1300, especially 93.1245 and 97.1271-98.1276 (ch. 69); 149.2111-150.2120 (ch. 116)). Besides, the management of the estates that were already transferred to the monastery was assigned to the *steward* (*oikonomos*), who was selected by the founder and was apparently accountable to him (*ibid.*, 40.103-104 (ch. 5); 1770-1773 (ch. 94)). At the same time, the superior was also chosen at the discretion of the founder (*ibid.*, 52.291-292 (ch. 12); 68.719 (ch. 32)).

31. Unlike other founders, who assigned the direction of their charitable foundations to the patronal family (cf. *Attaleiates* 35.286-291, 37.323-324; *Tmolos* 203.5-7, 204.8-11 and 209-210), Isaakios does not involve any family member in the supervision of the charitable project and, generally, in the administration of the monastic institution, apparently due to his clear detachment from them. It is noteworthy that, apart from his parents (*Kosmosoteira* 82.1010-1020 (ch. 54); 128.1774-131.1785 (ch. 95)), at no point in the *typikon* does he mention his children or his late spouse, not even to prescribe annual commemorations for them. (See especially the indicative phrase on p. 125.1714-126.1715 (ch. 90); cf. Galatariotou 1987, 106. For different interpretations, cf. Kaplan 2010, 462; *Magdalino* 1984, 104-105).

32. *Roidion* 69.9-14 (ch. 1), as well as 70.14 (ch. 3) and *passim* (*xenodochos*); *Machairas* 51.13-14 (ch. 118) (*xenodochos*); *Pakourianos* 113.1544-1548, 1559-1565 (ch. 29); *Pantokrator* 111.1379-1381 (*gerokomos*). cf. also Kaplan 2010, 471.

which our *ktetor* had used as an exemplar for the composition of his regulatory document. Similarly, in that *typikon* the care of the monastery's hospice-infirmiry (*xenodocheion*) was entrusted to the superior himself.³³ With this choice, the *ktetors* possibly wished to underline their special interest in their charitable house as well as the dedication the community was expected to demonstrate for the project.³⁴ In any event, even after the *ktetor*'s death, his intervention in the operation of the charitable house must still have been decisive, given that his *typikon* treats most related issues quite extensively. At this point, one should mention that a monastic community was –at least morally– obliged to respect and execute the regulations of the *ktetor*'s document.³⁵ Indeed, Isaakios, like most founders, continually underlined the binding value of his prescriptions and stressed that his *typikon* should be carefully preserved and remain unaltered.³⁶

Isaakios also embraced other activities of social welfare. More specifically, he constructed two bridges in Evros for secure passing at two highly frequented spots near the monastery, where many accidents had occurred in the past. Isaakios affirms that he aimed to his own benefit, which would derive from the beneficiaries' prayers for his spiritual salvation. Still, one can discern the *ktetor*'s sincere concern for his fellow beings, “who previously encountered grave dangers” and whose lives were to be saved in the future by this project. Besides, it is a unique case in the preserved *typika*, in which the service is called “beneficial to the public” (*κοινωφελές*).³⁷ Of course, it should be noted that, at the same time, there

33. For the Evergetis' *typikon* used as a model by Isaakios, see *BMFD* 2, 784, 785. Jordan 1994, 215, 228-229 and 1997, 230-231, 234; Mullett 2007b, 205.

34. *Kosmosoteira* 85.1119-86.1130 (ch. 61); 103.1329-1331, 104.1359-105.1361 (ch. 70).

35. See Konidares 2003², 35 ff.; Manaphes 1970, 59, 104; cf. Stolte 2007, 129-131, 137-139.

36. *Kosmosoteira* 34.8-12 (ch. 1); 40.98-99 (ch. 5); 43.140-44.157 (ch. 8); 67.680-686 (ch. 30); 82.1009-1010 (ch. 54); 85.1103-1106 (ch. 59); 106.1399-1403 (ch. 70); 131.1788-1790 (ch. 96); 153.2174-2176 (ch. 118). cf. *BMFD* 2, 792. See also Manaphes 1970, 76, 104 ff.

37. On the contrary, a work of charity or generosity is usually designated as *psychikon* (*ψυχικόν*) or *psychopheles* (*ψυχοφελές*), given that it might lead to the salvation of the benefactor's soul. See *Kosmosoteira* 86.1127-1129 (ch. 61); 90.1208, 91.1226-92.1127 (ch. 67); 101.1301-1302 (ch. 70): “I would like to give some orders regarding one other work of benefit to [my] soul” (trans. Ševčenko, *BMFD* 2, 830); 119.1655 (ch. 87). cf. *Ataleiates* 105.1402; *Pakourianos* 93.1232-1234 (ch. 29). On the term *psychikon*, see Konidares 1994, 58-59; Papagianne 2008.

is symbolism in this interest in passing strangers. This is clearly denoted in the following phrase: “so that through the prayer of those who cross over it, I myself, I hope, may find easy and unmarshy that future bridge when I come to cross it to the eternal dwellings”.³⁸ The same symbolism obviously holds true in Isaakios’ decision not to exercise the privilege, granted by his father, to receive tolls for the use of a highway near the monastery. He similarly remarks that all passers-by should find the road “unimpeded, and easy to traverse”.³⁹

At this point, another comment should be made concerning the actual beneficiaries of the *ktetor*’s philanthropic programme. With the exemption of the last-mentioned charitable deed, the primary recipients of most benefactions (daily and ritualistic distributions, old-age infirmary, nearby bridges) must have been the peasants of the newly established village in proximity to the monastery. It is noteworthy that, when Isaakios treats the issue of the monks’ contact with laymen, he mainly mentions the villagers (*chorites*).⁴⁰ Second in turn were obviously the residents of Neokastron town and the surrounding domains (*choria, proasteia*). These people would also have availed of the charitable service, as they were located near the foundation and were subject to it.⁴¹

38. *Kosmosoteira* 90.1207-92.1233 (ch. 67). For the location of the bridges, cf. Kaplan 2010, 479-480; Soustal 1991, 200. For other ecclesiastic foundations associated with the construction and/or preservation of a bridge, see Millet 1949, 103-111; *BMFD* 1, 323. For the symbolism, cf. Varvounis 2011, 219.

39. *Kosmosoteira* 148.2096-149.2105 (ch. 114). cf. Papazoglou 1994, 148 n. 2097, who identifies the road with the *via Egnatia*. cf. also Kaplan 2010, 476, who proposes an evidently less spiritual interpretation; he discerns financial benefits from the eventually augmented frequenting in the annual fair(s) in Neokastron. The same purpose is thought to be served with the construction of at least one of the bridges (*ibid.*, 479-480). Naturally, no one can exclude that spiritual and practical intentions might have coexisted.

40. *Kosmosoteira* 115.1580-1587 (ch. 83); 116.1588-1608 (ch. 84); 118.1640-1644 (ch. 86). Of course, it is to be expected that there would also be occasional visitors—even influential ones—who would be attracted by the beauty of the landscape and the repute of the monastery (*ibid.*, 110.1472-1473 (ch. 75); 148.2086-2088 (ch. 113); 149.2106-2110 (ch. 115)). These visitors can be considered as recipients of the founder’s benefactions only regarding the use of the two bridges and the exemption from the highway tolls, hence their identification as *strangers* or *passers-by* (cf. *ibid.*, 90.1209 and 91.1212, 1215, 1222 (ch. 67); 148.2097, 149.2101 (ch. 114); 149.2108 (ch. 115)).

41. On the *episkepsis* (= imperial estates) of Neokastron, see *Kosmosoteira* 93.1248-95.1260 (ch. 69); 146.2035-147.2070; 138.1892-1895 (ch. 103); 147.2045-2050 (ch. 112). cf. Kaplan 2010, 467-468; Soustal 1991, 373.

Furthermore, Isaakios' thoughtfulness for his tenants (*paroikoi*) is apparent at many points in his *typikon*. He claims that he, as a landlord (*despotēs*), had maintained a kind attitude towards them and had never oppressed them.⁴² He urges the monks and the superior to maintain the same attitude, adding that suppression is inconsistent with the monastic vocation and with the virtuous aim that he, as a founder, intended to achieve. Instead, he points out that they deserve protection and help from the landlord –especially the weakest members of the community, such as the widows and the orphans or those with an impoverished household.⁴³ It is also indicative that, in his text, he frequently calls the villagers “poor” (*penētes, aporoi, ptōchoi*). Therefore, although it is not explicitly stated, it is obvious that the dependent peasants were regarded as appropriate recipients of Isaakios' benefactions. All in all, these would indeed constitute the primary beneficiaries since the foundation was not located in or close to an urban centre.

On a spiritual level, philanthropy is expressed as consolation to the sorrowful and desolate, guidance to the disorientated and deceived, as well as acceptance to the marginalized. Therefore, the conversion of a Jewish couple whom Isaakios baptized, giving them the names of his parents Alexios and Eirene, might be included in his philanthropic project. In parallel with their spiritual salvation, Isaakios provided them with an elementary resource, whether due to their alienation from a former community, their difficulties in incorporating into a new one or even because of some affection for them. In any case, this obligation was to be undertaken by the monastery in the

42. The aforementioned assertion of Isaakios is not confirmed by any other source. For example, we are not in the position to say whether the relocation of the two villages next to the monastery met any reactions on behalf of the dependent peasants, or whether it was imposed in an authoritative manner by the landlord. Certainly, Isaakios built all the necessary infrastructure (an aqueduct, a church, a bath, two bridges: *Kosmosoteira* 108.1443-10.1460 (ch. 73); 133.1810-134.1818 (ch. 97); 138.1896-139.1908 (chap. 104); 147.2071-2081 (ch. 113); see also above, n. 9) in order to provide, not only to the monks but also to the villagers, the proper conditions for living and working, and even for fulfilling their religious needs. Later, having already ensured an elementary labour force to support the monastery, Isaakios recommended that the abbot move additional residents to promote the welfare of the monastery. In this case, the founder seems yielding, as he exhibits consideration for possible difficulties due to the distance between the tenants' lands and their new settlement (*ibid.*, 95.1256-1260 (ch. 69); 138.1892-1895 (ch. 103)).

43. *Kosmosoteira* 106.1404-107.1414 (ch. 71); 111.1510-112.1521 (ch. 76); 136.1829-1854 (ch. 98); 147.2055-2059 (ch. 112). cf. *BMFD* 2, 795.

future.⁴⁴ In the context of spiritual charity, one could also interpret Isaakios' injunction that the superior had to assume the villagers' pastoral care since the founder had witnessed that they actually had such a need. Hence, he notes: "For the pastoral authority will lead them willing or not toward the good, and will not suffer them to become prey for wolves of the mind".⁴⁵

Isaakios greatly emphasizes the perpetuation of the charitable work he established, which would naturally augment the prospect of his salvation. He considers that its continuance was guaranteed, on the one hand, because of his generous endowment, and, on the other hand, by the project's association with the monastic community. Theoretically, the monks' piety, their expectation of divine reward and, conversely, their fear of eternal condemnation in case they neglected the pious deeds would not allow the project to fail.⁴⁶ Thus, the community was made responsible for the perpetuation of the religious and philanthropic mission, and had to pay attention to proper financial management as well as to the maintenance of all the buildings and constructions.⁴⁷ Additionally, the superior was to complete any projects that the founder could not manage to fulfil.⁴⁸ Therefore, Isaakios' choice to pursue philanthropy through his monastery should not be attributed merely to the concept that such activities befitted the commitments of Christ-loving monks⁴⁹ or to the traditional connection

44. *Kosmosoteira* 128.1752-1760 (ch. 93).

45. *Kosmosoteira* 138.1896-139.1908 (ch. 104) (especially l. 1904-1906; trans. Ševčenko, *BMTD* 2, 843).

46. *Kosmosoteira* 40.95-107 (ch. 5); 47.203-212, 48.223-225 (ch. 10); 86.1129-1130 (ch. 61); 91.1224-92.1233 (ch. 67); 104.1348-1357 (ch. 70); 118.1649-119.1667 (ch. 87); 131.1787-132.1808 (ch. 96); 148.2096-149.2105 (ch. 114). cf. also above; cf. Kaplan 2010, 481.

47. *Kosmosoteira* 91.1216-1221 (ch. 67); 106.1391-1397 (ch. 70): "it must be restored by the superior back to its former state and quality, for the eternal conservation and preservation of the enterprise." cf. also the *ktetor's* insistence on the preservation of all constructions, facilities and properties of the monastery: 84.1078-1079 (ch. 57); 100.1298-101.1300 (ch. 69); 108.1430-1438 (ch. 72); 108.1444-109.1456 (ch. 73); 114.1547-1551 (ch. 79); 128.1767-1568 (ch. 94); 134.1818-1828 (ch. 97); 138.1882-1887 (ch. 102); 145.1998-2003 (ch. 109); 48.2079-2081 (ch. 113); 153.2165-2166 (ch. 118). For the building's maintenance as well as the proper financial administration and the inalienability of the property, cf. *BMTD* 2, 792-793; Kaplan 2010, 470 ff.

48. *Kosmosoteira* 104.1348-1349 (ch. 70); cf. 137.1861-1866 (ch. 99). For instructions regarding the completion of other unfinished constructions and projects of the *ktetor*, see 109.1458-1460 (ch. 73); 119.1675 ff. (ch. 89); 127.1747-1751 (ch. 92); 152.2156-153.2165 (ch. 118).

49. On this issue, cf. Dennis and Miller 1990, 425 ff.

between charitable and religious foundations. Isaakios' confidence that the community would secure the prolonged performance of the project played a major role in this decision, especially as he appeared to have no close ties with family members who could supervise the charitable work and ensure its continuation.

To sum up, when studying the *typikon* which Isaakios issued for the monastery of the *Kosmosoteira*, one gets the impression that the founder had conceived and wished to apply a composite project that would cover either symbolically or systematically almost all facets of philanthropy: (i) alms for the poor (daily and ceremonial distributions), quoting the biblical excerpt: "When did you see me hungry and feed me, or thirsty and give me drink?" (Matt. 25:37);⁵⁰ (ii) care for the sick and elderly (old-age infirmary): "When did you see me ailing and tend to me?" (Matt. 25:39, 43);⁵¹ (iii) safeguarding travellers and welcoming strangers (bridges, abolishment of tolls); (iv) concern for the weak (tenants, widows, orphans), citing: "Plead for the orphan and obtain justice for the widow" (Is. 1:17);⁵² (v) spiritual guidance for the deceived and disorientated (Jews, led- astray villagers).

As the aforementioned excerpts suggest, Isaakios obviously acknowledged *care* for the needy and weak as a substantial obligation of the faithful and, conversely, *inconsideration* for them as a grave sin. Thus, he systematically strove to comply with the Christian duty of charity. At the same time, much evidence indicates an inspired founder who did not practise his philanthropic programme in a perfunctory way. The abundant funding of the foundations with almost all of his resources, the willingness to personally assume the direction of the old-age house, the meticulous and solicitous guidelines, and the repeated appeals to the community never to neglect the project all portray a man genuinely devoted to charitable purposes.⁵³ Certainly, as all founders who endorse institutional philanthropy declare, so does Isaakios state that, through his charitable

50. *Kosmosoteira* 41.117-42.118 (ch. 6; trans. Ševčenko, *BMFD* 2, 801); cf. 119.1659-1663 (ch. 87; trans. Ševčenko, *op. cit.* 838): "since this charity will save from death (Tob. 4:11) this man here who is fettered by sins. For it is said, 'When did you see me hungry and feed [me]?'".

51. *Kosmosoteira* 105.1361 (ch. 70; cf. trans. Ševčenko, *BMFD* 2, 831).

52. *Kosmosoteira* 106.1407-1410 (ch. 71): "In this he should find God gracious, he who said, 'Plead for the orphan and obtain justice for the widow' (Is. 1:17). For I have long been in the habit of pitying the poor such as these" (trans. Ševčenko, *BMFD* 2, 832).

53. See also *BMFD* 2, 795.

activity, he anticipated his spiritual salvation, especially as he seemed to be approaching the end of his life. However, at some point his confidence that his deeds and projects sufficed to increase such a redemptive prospect appears moderate.⁵⁴ This implies that he was stimulated by an additional incentive. Indeed, the wording and tone of the relevant passages display unaffected sympathy for the “wretched villagers” and the “ailing brethren”, as well as sincere concern for his fellow beings’ safety.⁵⁵ They reveal a rather compassionate person who does not seem to have been influenced merely by self-centred aspirations. Taking all motivations into account, one surely comprehends why Isaakios stressed the importance of philanthropy as a central commitment of his monastery.

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55. See, especially, *Kosmosoteira* 91.1207-1214, 92.1228-1233 (chap. 67); 103.1322-1326, 104.1335-1336, 1344-1348, 106.1397-1399 (chap. 70); 106.1404-107.1414 (chap. 71); 111.1513-112.1520 (chap. 76); 118.1645-119.1667 (chap. 87). cf. also Galatariotou 1987, 106: “his warm and personal way of expressing himself.”

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Female sponsorship in Macedonian churches during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods

Eirini Panou

Η λατρεία της Αγίας Άννας, μητέρας της Θεοτόκου, αποτελεί πολύπλευρο αλλά ανεξερεύνητο ακαδημαϊκό πεδίο, που προσφέρει πολλά για την κατανόηση του Βυζαντινού πολιτισμού. Η παρούσα μελέτη θα επικεντρωθεί σε περιπτώσεις γυναικείων χορηγιών σε εκκλησίες της Καστοριάς, της Βέροιας και της Θεσσαλονίκης μεταξύ του 12ου και του 14ου αιώνα, με σκοπό να ερμηνεύσει τη γυναικεία χορηγία ως αποτέλεσμα κοινωνικής προβολής, θεολογικών ζυμώσεων και καλλιτεχνικής έκφρασης. Το εικονογραφικό πρόγραμμα των Μακεδονικών εκκλησιών περιλαμβάνει θέματα που άπτονται Χριστολογικών και Μαρριολογικών ζητημάτων, που σφράγισαν τη λατρεία της μητέρας της Θεοτόκου από τον 6ο αιώνα και εξής, και καθόρισαν την εικονογραφική της παράδοση. Ταυτόχρονα όμως, οι Μακεδονικές εκκλησίες περιέχουν εικονογραφικά θέματα που συναντούνται σε ορισμένες μόνο περιοχές, όπως το θέμα της Άννας Γαλακτοτροφούσας και Ελεούσας στη Βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη και η σχέση των γονέων της Θεοτόκου με τα Πάθη του Χριστού στην Ανατολική Ευρώπη. Ως καλλιτεχνικό σταυροδρόμι, η Μακεδονία ενώνει την μακραίωνη Βυζαντινή παράδοση με τις καλλιτεχνικές τάσεις της εποχής και μας παραδίδει ένα πλούσιο εικονογραφικά και θεολογικά ρεπερτόριο που επιτρέπει την κατανόηση της γυναικείας χορηγίας μέσα από ένα πολυεπίπεδο σύστημα ιδεολογιών και κοινωνικών αξιών.

Keywords

St Anne, Virgin Mary, Kastoria, Incarnation, Byzantine art

The Byzantine churches of Macedonia are exemplary case studies for studying St Anne (the mother of Virgin Mary), whose iconography remained unexplored until recently.¹ By “unexplored”, I mean that the iconography

1. Panou 2015.

of St Anne outside the Mariological circle –the pictorial life of the Virgin Mary in Christianity– has been examined only briefly. Unlike Lafontaine-Dosogne, I will not look at the narrative scenes of the Mariological circle, but, rather, will focus primarily on portraits of Mary’s parents.² The iconographical choices selected for the churches of Macedonia evidently reveal the qualities that the Byzantines attributed to the grandmother of Christ, which had received their conclusive form by the time the churches under discussion were painted.

The earliest depiction of St Anne in Macedonia appears in Kastoria, in the 12th-century church of Hagioi Anargyroi (Kosmas and Damian). On the eastern wall of the narthex, the saint holds baby Mary³ under an image of the prophet Abraham and his wife Sarah.⁴ In the *Protevangelion of James*, a 2nd-century apocryphal text and the earliest source for the life of Mary before the birth of Christ,⁵ the sterile Anne laments her childlessness by comparing herself to Sarah,⁶ as Joachim to Abraham. In Byzantine homiletics, the sermons preached on feast days, and in particular by George, the Metropolitan of Nikomedia (9th century), the same parallels are drawn to demonstrate that Joachim and Anne superseded all biblical couples as they were the only ones to become forefathers of Christ. The nucleus around which the parallel is drawn between the apocryphal and the biblical couple is the birth of Mary, which surpasses all previous births, as we can see in the works of Andrew of Crete (8th century), Peter of Argos (10th century) and Isidoros of Thessaloniki (14th century).⁷ Peter of Argos, in particular, writes that: “It was a good choice for these people to become a couple and it is proved in the birth of Mary.”⁸

The second couple, in whose proximity we find Anne, is the first

2. Lafontaine-Dosogne 1992.

3. Pelekanides and Chatzidakis 1985, 25, see nos. 27 and 28 for the date. See also Drakopoulou 1997, 35.

4. Skawran 1982, 172.

5. Pseudo-Eustathios in his *Commentary of the Hexaemeron* (5th century), Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem in his discourse on the Theotokos (6th century), Maximos the Confessor in his *The Life of the Virgin* (7th century) and Pseudo-Demetrios of Antioch in his discourse on Christ’s Nativity and on Mary (after 642) are among the first to treat the *Protevangelion* in detail. For a detailed discussion of these works in relation to the story of the apocryphal text, see Panou 2015.

6. De Strycker 1961, 74.

7. *PG* 97, col. 841B-C and *PG* 139, col. 28B; Kyriakopoulos 1976, 24, verses 53-56, 32.

8. Boissonade 1962, Vol. 3, 11; *PO* 19 [348].

Byzantine emperor, Constantine the Great, and his mother, Helen. In the southern narthex of Hagioi Anargyroi, there was an 11th-century portrait of Constantine and Helen⁹ close to that of the middle-aged donor Constantine, who extends his arms in supplication to the emperor.¹⁰ The donor's decision to commemorate himself next to his namesake is not accidental, and it indicates the importance Christians placed upon name conjunction, to which I will return below. St Anne's position next to the two couples mentioned above (Abraham and Sarah, and Constantine and Helen) appears in several monuments outside Macedonia. For example, in Kurbinovo (Skopje, 1191) Anne, Joachim and Mary stand next to Constantine and Helen¹¹ in order to exalt the position of Mary's parents in the iconography of the church by placing them next to two of the most important establishers of Christianity. The salvation role of the Holy Cross that Helen discovered in Golgotha is underlined by Cyril of Jerusalem in the 4th century: "For this Golgotha is the very centre of the earth. It is not my word, but it is a prophet who hath said, Thou hast wrought salvation in the midst of the earth."¹² The proximity of St Anne to the Holy Cross and to Constantine the Great and Helen emphasizes her role as a propagator of Christianity by associating her with the most important symbol of orthodoxy.¹³ The combination of an imperial couple (as a duality) and a biblical couple, comprising St Anne and the Virgin Mary, in the narthex originates in the donor's desire to stress his genealogy and socio-economic class. This combination also underlines the genealogical continuity which is rooted in "εὐγένεια", in its Komnenian form, which was connected to aristocratic descent.¹⁴

On the northern side of the wall that divides the northern from the main aisles, an inscription reveals the donors of the church—Theodore Lemniotes and his wife Anne Radene—who are depicted, one on either side of the Virgin. Their son is depicted with Christ.¹⁵ Lemniotes and Radene belonged to the local aristocracy,¹⁶ and their financial status allowed them

9. Moutsopoulos 1992, 391.

10. Moutsopoulos 1992, 368, 379.

11. Hamann-MacLean 1963, plan 6a, nos. 21, 22, and 1976, pl. 39C.

12. Schaff and Wace 1894, Vol. 7, 89. The passage quoted is *Psalms* 74:12.

13. Teteriatnikov 1995, 187-188.

14. Magdalino 1993, 320.

15. Panayotide 2006, 159-162. Only one child of Lemniotes is depicted in the scene, but the inscription refers to his "children" (καὶ τέκ[νοις]); see Drakopoulou 1997, 45-46, n. 114.

16. Drakopoulou 1997, 55.

to renovate the church, a model of which is offered by Lemniotes to the Virgin. Above the depiction, the inscription is divided into three equal parts and accompanies every member of the Lemniotes family. It consists of two lines of writing, the second of which contains the surname of Anne Radene, a fact that Drakopoulou has justified by Radene's involvement in the iconography of the northern aisle.¹⁷ The inscription is not the only piece of evidence that identifies the female donor. Looking at the proportions of the depiction of the Lemniotes family in the northern aisle, the different scale adopted for Anne Radene becomes obvious. In terms of proportion, after Theotokos, Radene is by far the most projected figure in the composition, and this is how someone who could not read the inscription would interpret the depiction. The inability to read the inscription could be a result of the elevated height of the inscription, the viewers' varying levels of (il)literacy or, as Drakopoulou notes, the difficult wording/indecipherability of the inscription. Radene's projected position is underlined by her position to Theotokos' right, whereas her husband is positioned, with their son, to the Virgin's left.¹⁸

What is the connection between this depiction on the northern wall and that of St Anne with Theotokos in the narthex? Firstly, the inscriptions of the Lemniotes family on the northern wall and the narthex connect these two parts of the church. The inscription in the narthex mentions the afterlife, using phrases such as ἀείδροσον γλόην ("ever-fresh grass") and τόπον τῶν πραέων ("land of the gentle"), which, combined with the fact that the narthex is associated with burial, indicates that Lemniotes asks for the protection of Hagioi Anargyroi not only for any imminent sickness but also after death. Gerstel theorizes that the church of Hagioi Anargyroi was not only related to burial in general but, judging by the inscriptions, also served as a family burial monument. This is indicated by the fact that, in the narthex of the church, female saints and martyrs are depicted with their family members such as St Ioulita with her son, St Jerusalem with her two sons and, as mentioned, St Helen with her son, Emperor Constantine.¹⁹ Emphasis on family is eminent in the narthex and explains the presence of the family portrait in the northern aisle, and, by reading these two parts as one, Lemniotes seems to ask SS. Kosmas and Damian to protect his family

17. Drakopoulou 1987-1988, 310.

18. Mamagkakes 2012, 86-87.

19. Drakopoulou 1997, 44-46; Gerstel 1998, 99.

both in sickness and after death. The distinguished family portraits are those of Theotokos in the northern aisle and of Anne Radene, as mentioned. The fact that Theotokos in the narthex is depicted only with her mother and not her father, Joachim, underlines the relationship between Anne Radene and Theotokos. This relationship becomes clearer if we look at some aspects of St Anne's cult, or, in other words, the ways the Byzantines understood the sanctity of the mother of Theotokos.

As mentioned, in the *Protevangelion of James*, during her lament St Anne calls on Sarah, who also conceived a child at an advanced age. By contrast, texts from the 4th century and later draw parallels between St Anne and Anne, the mother of Samuel, rather than Sarah. The reason, as Gregory of Nazianzus tells us, is that one mimics the other: Μιμείται τοίνυν καὶ αὕτη τὰ περὶ τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ Σαμουὴλ διηγήματα.²⁰ Maximus the Confessor, who wrote a life of the Virgin at the beginning of the 7th century, repeated the connection between the apocryphal Anne and the mother of Samuel, and it became famous in hagiography and homilies on the early life of the Virgin from the 8th century onwards. This parallel led to the equivalence of the name Anne with the resolution of sterility and protection during child bearing. For example, the mothers of St Philaretos (possibly) in the first half of the 8th century,²¹ of St Euthymios the Younger (+898),²² of St Theophano,²³ of Nikolaos of Oraia Pege (+965-1054)²⁴ and of Christodoulos, who built the chapel of St Anne in Patmos in the 11th century,²⁵ were all named Anne because of their mothers' inability to conceive children. An epigram written on a Marian icon dedicated –as Pentcheva suggests– by Theodora Komnene (niece of Manuel Komnenos) to the Virgin refers to the salvation of Anne by her daughter. The epigram is a plea for a child: “In the past, O Maiden, by being wondrously born, you extracted Anne from the affliction of bareness.”²⁶ In other words, by the Komnenian period, the name Anne was firmly associated with the resolution of sterility.

20. *PG* 46, col. 1137D.

21. *PMZ* 444.

22. Nikolaou 2005, 70; *PMZ* 458.

23. Delehay 1902, 314; Nikolaou 2005, 72, 44.

24. Nikolaou 2005, 72.

25. Vranouse 1980, 9.

26. Pentcheva 2007, 126, 209 (Appendix): “Στεῖρα πρὶν Ἄννα σὺ δὲ τεχθεῖσα ξένως στεῖρώσεως τὴν θλίψιν ἐξῆρας, κόρη”.

This connection, which also included the protection of children in the afterlife, was widespread in iconography. In the crypt of St Christine in Carpignano of Apulia, which dates to the 10th century, a donor offers a portrait of St Anne with Theotokos for his wife Anne and his child who had died, in a case of name conjunction similar to that of the donor Constantine in Kastoria.²⁷ In Hagioi Anargyroi, the iconographic programme also features Anne Radene, who, like another Anne, calls on Theotokos for the protection of her family. In this sense, the portrait of St Anne in Hagioi Anargyroi can be considered, if not as female sponsorship, then as an initiative for male sponsorship.

Another case of name conjunction is found in the church of St Stephen in Kastoria. Here, the donors are numerous, thus highlighting the importance of the church for the community of Kastoria. There are three depictions of St Anne, and these date to between the second half of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th,²⁸ when a certain Constantine and an Anne are found among the donors.²⁹ There is no evidence to connect these donors with one of the three depictions, and thus they will be considered cases of anonymous sponsorship.

The depictions of interest to us are found in the chapel which is dedicated to St Anne above the narthex, in the gallery.³⁰ This particular gallery, the only one in Kastoria, was the place where women would attest the liturgy,³¹ and which is “filled with painted images of maternity”.³² In the sanctuary of the gallery chapel, St Anne holds the Virgin using her left arm, which is not usual, but also not rare, as it is attested in the Peloponnese, in St John the Theologian (13th century) in the Argolid,³³ on the island of Euboea and particularly on Crete.³⁴ In the church of St Stephen, Anne is also depicted on either side of the pier that divides the central window: she holds the Virgin in her right arm in one depiction, while, in the other, Anne is portrayed as

27. Safran 2013, 138, figs. 1-2.

28. Orlandos 1938, 124; Pelekanides and Chatzidakis 1985, 11; Sisiou 2009, 283.

29. Drakopoulou 1997, 89 (Δέησις του δούλου του Θ(εο)ῦ Κωσταντίνου και της συμβίου αὐτου Ἄννας).

30. Orlandos 1938, 122, fig. 84.

31. Moutsopoulos 1992, 211; Orlandos 1938, 122.

32. Gerstel 1998, 96.

33. Panselinou 1991-1992, 165.

34. Euboea: St Nicholas in Pyrgos, Koimesis in Oxylinthos and Metamorphosis in Pyrgi. Crete: St Panteleimon in Bizariano and All Saints and Christ's Transfiguration in Neapolis.

the Galaktotrophousa (breastfeeding Mary), a theme which is not unknown in Crete.³⁵ The dating of the three images demonstrates that the portraits outside the chapel were completed before the chapel was dedicated to the saint, as the interior depictions date to the turn of the 14th century and there are no indications of replacement depictions. The fact that other saints are depicted with their children in the chapel,³⁶ and of course the threefold appearance of St Anne, underline the quality of motherhood of the saints included in the iconographical programme. Gerstel suggests that women would pray for a child in the space of the gallery, but, taking into consideration what was mentioned above, they could also have brought offerings after conception and birth or simply have prayed for the protection of their children and families. The anonymous pictorial dedications in the church of St Stephen reveal aspects of the cult of St Anne that express social responses, which in combination with hagiological texts, comprise in problems of conception that women, similarly to the apocryphal Anne, experienced. Or, some of them, as Theophylaktos of Ochrid tells us, when he refers to barren couples who looked for resolution in astrology,³⁷ and praises the mother of the Virgin for not seeking medical care, did not wear amulet, did not consume drink, did not resolve to magic, but kept praying.³⁸ In texts such as the *Patria of Constantinople*, it is clear that female sponsorship in relation to St Anne was a female initiative before or after birth, which is not the case in historiography, where, usually, men dedicate churches to St Anne. For example, according to the *Patria*, Justinian II built the church of St Anne in the Deuteron after his wife fell pregnant and had a vision of the saint.³⁹ Secondly, in order for the editor of the *Patria* to explain the name of the monastery, i.e. *Spoude* (= haste), he recounts the following story: The pregnant wife of Leo III, Anne, was returning from Blachernai, and, as she was going towards the house of a *protospatharios*, she gave birth at that spot. Later, she bought the house and called it the “Monastery of Haste”.⁴⁰ Thirdly, in the same story, the empress is credited

35. Orlandos 1938, 123, fig. 85; Pelekanides and Chatzidakis 1985, 8-9, nos. η, θ. St John in the village of Axos in Mylopotamos in Rethymno (c. 1400) and St Anne at Anisaraki in Chania (1352).

36. Gerstel 1998, 97.

37. Hatlie 2006, 184.

38. *PG* 126, col. 133B-C.

39. Berger 1988, 524-525; Preger 1989, 244.

40. Berger notes that a monastery of Haste was mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies*; see

with the construction of another church called *ta Annes* (of Anne), the location of which is not known.⁴¹ Fourthly, a century later, Theophilos' wife, Theodora, while coming back from the Blachernai, realized she was pregnant when her horse flinched, which motivated her to build the church of St Anne in the Dagestheas area, the bath of which is located close to the tetrapylon.⁴² As Janin argues, we cannot be certain whether there is a link between all the monuments mentioned in the *Patria* about St Anne and whether they all relate to the same monument.⁴³ However, the connection between pregnancy and Anne is clear.

The third and final example is a church painted by Georgios Kallierges, the Resurrection in Beroea, which is dated to 1314 based on a dedicatory inscription.⁴⁴ This monument allows us to look from another perspective at the cult of St Anne, this time in conjunction with her husband Joachim. The donors of the church are Ksenos Psalidas and his wife, Euphrosyne, who finalized the sponsorship after her husband's death. On the pediment of the western wall, Joachim holds a closed scroll and Anne is depicted in advanced age praying above the *Koimesis of Theotokos*. Above the main entrance of the church lies the donor inscription. According to Semoglou and Papadopoulos, the donors' inscription faces the portraits of the parents of the Virgin because they were meant to be "read" together as a group.⁴⁵ The dedication of the church to the Resurrection of Christ, the depiction of the Virgin's *Koimesis* and the presence of Mary's parents indicates that the Psalidas couple was interested in the soteriological aspect of the veneration of Christ's grandparents. During the Iconoclast period (730-843), Joachim and Anne appear in Byzantine homilies as important figures who effectuated the Incarnation of Christ. In his

Berger 1988, 525, n. 107. In the *Gospel of Luke* (1:39-40), shortly after her pregnancy, the Virgin visited Elizabeth "with haste", which has been understood as a sign of Mary's demonstration of joy. However, this has not been accepted by Jane Schaberg, who claims that it was because of Mary's fear of being pregnant. See Schaberg 1990, 89-90. However, that the word haste meant joy is indicated in the 10th-century *Discourse to the virgins* of Lukas Adialeiptos: "Ὁ δὲ μετὰ περιχαρείας ἀπήει καὶ σπουδῆς, προσδοκῶν ἴδῃ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτοῦ ἐπαπολαῦσαι." See Rigo 2009, 335, l. 440-441.

41. Berger 1988, 525; Janin 1969, Vol. 3, 470; Preger 1989, 251.

42. Mango 1985, 60; Preger 1989, 232.

43. Janin 1969, 150.

44. Papazotos 1994, 100-103; Pelekanides 1973.

45. Semoglou and Papadopoulos 2011, 6-7.

Nativity homily, Patriarch Photios (858-867, 877-886) writes that “the Incarnation is the road to birth, the birth is the result of pregnancy, and this is why a woman (i.e. Mary) was selected to bring to an end the divine plan”.⁴⁶ His support of Anne’s conception is not only the result of the rising interest of homilists in the early life of Mary from the 8th century onwards and the acknowledgement of the *Protevangelion* at that time, but was also related to the dogma of the Incarnation. The Incarnation was, of course, a central tenet of Christianity, but its insistence on Christ’s human nature was particularly attractive to the pro-image faction during and after iconoclasm, the members of which believed that Christ was incarnated on earth and, thus, could and *should* be depicted. Photios, “preoccupied with the iconoclastic danger”,⁴⁷ defended Anne’s pregnancy and its result—the Incarnation of Christ—since Christ’s humanity is justified by the humanity of his forbearers: “Christ can be depicted since he was born of Mary, who is a human, and denying Christ’s humanity is denying his mother’s humanity”, writes Theodore Studites (759-826), highlighting the importance of supporting the physical forbearers of Christ.⁴⁸ As propagators of Christ’s humanity, and also as a result of their ability to mediate for the salvation of the deceased, they were included in the iconographical programme of the church in Beroea. One should note that their relationship to the afterworld is attested only in iconography and not in texts, if we exclude two cases: a homily of Pseudo-John the Evangelist (possibly 6th century), which included Anne in his *Dormition of Mary*, where she is mentioned as taking part in Mary’s Assumption, together with Eve and her cousin Elizabeth,⁴⁹ and John of Damascus in his first homily *On the Dormition of Holy Theotokos*.⁵⁰

The three above-mentioned examples of the churches of Macedonia clearly demonstrate that the veneration of Mary’s parents is multileveled and significantly contributes to our understanding of second-level readings of Byzantine iconography. Although the axis on which the edifice of

46. *PG* 102, col. 560B, translated in Mango 1958, 174.

47. Dvornik 1953, 86.

48. Dalkos 2006, 206-207.

49. “And on the first day Eve, the mother of the human race, came, and Anne, the mother of Mary, and Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist, and they approached Mary and bowed down at her feet and said, Blessed be the Lord, who chose you to be the dwelling place of his glory”; see Shoemaker 2002, 390.

50. Kotter 1988, Vol. 5, 489.

their veneration is the dogma of Christ's Incarnation, this is denatured to motherhood and afterlife protection. The iconographical choices of the donors allow us to examine the connection made by the Byzantines with Anne and Joachim, and how this connection was imprinted in art. Moreover, this connection often constitutes an indication that, behind the reference to or the projection of a male donor, may lie female initiative, as is the case in the *Patria of Constantinople*, where, aside from cases of empress donors, there are also emperor donors, such as Justinian II, who built a church dedicated to St Anne after his wife saw a vision of the saint and later gave birth. The maternal aspect of the veneration of St Anne is reflected in the churches of Kastoria. The Christological character of the veneration of Mary's parents, and especially of Anne, as they effectuated the Incarnation of Christ, does not mean that in cases of female sponsorship the maternal side of St Anne is always projected. And this is what we learn from the example of Beroea.

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Did the *basileus* sponsor a plot? Giovanni da Procida as ambassador of Michael VIII Paleologos and the Sicilian Vespers between reality and myth

Alessandro Angelucci

Σύμφωνα με μία στερεότυπη εικόνα, οι αυτοκράτορες του Βυζαντίου συνήθιζαν να χρηματοδοτούν συνωμοσίες ή πραξικοπήματα για να εξασφαλίσουν ότι στους θρόνους των άλλων χωρών θα κάθονταν βασιλείς που θα εκτιμούνταν από την Κωνσταντινούπολη, με ταυτόχρονη προσπάθεια άσκησης επιρροής στις αποφάσεις τους με στόχο την αποφυγή επιθέσεων ή εισβολών. Το παρασκήνιο των Σικελικών Εσπερινών αποτελεί μία ενδιαφέρουσα περίπτωση μελέτης, η οποία αναδεικνύει με ενάργεια την υπόθεση αυτή μέσα από όλες τις πτυχές της. Ο Μιχαήλ Η΄ θα βοηθούσε την φιλο-Γιβελλινική Ένωση για να προκαλέσει εξέγερση στη Σικελία, λίγο πριν ο Κάρολος Α΄ της Ανζού προσπαθήσει να εισβάλει και να ανακτήσει την Κωνσταντινούπολη. Ο Τζιοβάνι της Προτσίντα (da Procida) αποτέλεσε τον συνδετικό κρίκο μεταξύ των διαφόρων συνωμοτών και του Βυζαντίου, το οποίο προσέφερε περισσότερα από 30.000 νομίσματα για να ανακόψει τον Οίκο των Ανζού. Η παρούσα μελέτη εστιάζεται στην προοπτική της πατρωνίας σε ένα ευρύτερο πολιτικό πλαίσιο, αναλύοντας τον τρόπο με τον οποίο θα μπορούσε να πάρει τη μορφή μίας συνειδητής χορηγίας σε σχέση με τη μελέτη περίπτωσης ή εάν αντικατοπτρίζει τη μακροχρόνια εικόνα των Δυτικών για τους βασιλείς της Ανατολικής Ρωμαϊκής αυτοκρατορίας ως χορηγούς πολιτικών αναταραχών στη Δύση.

Keywords

Plots, Sicilian Vespers, John of Procida, Michael VIII Palaeologus, *Rebellamentu di Sichilia*

The theory and practice of sponsorship are protean, as sponsorship encompasses large quantities of material from across time. In this article, I discuss the problem of managing patronage and sponsorship in the political sphere during the Byzantine period, beginning with a diachronic

and methodological description of the general problem, and then focusing on the Sicilian Vespers as a case study.

The idea of patronage lies at the heart of *basileia*, whereby the emperor is the master of the world through his special relationship with God, on whose behalf he acts as a bishop for His subjects and as the thirteenth apostle, according to the image that emerged from the Constantinian Age onwards.¹ The *basileus* was not only a father for his people but also a paragon for other lords seeking legitimation at his hands, as Roman law, rearranged under Justin I, stated that the emperor is *lex animata in terris* or νόμος ἔμψυχος.² This concept was also evident in the West during the Middle Ages, where it laid the foundations for the imperial leanings of Frederick II Hohenstaufen, for instance.³ Under Roman civil law, the emperors were viewed for a long time as the only source of truth and power. The Western lords aimed for their political roles to be recognized through marriage to members of the royal family: for example, Charlemagne tried to marry his daughter Rotrud to Constantine, the son of the *basilissa* Irene,⁴ and Otto I wed his son Otto II to Teophano, the niece of John Tzskimitzes.⁵ Another legitimate means of recognition was conversion, as when barbarians, such as the Bulgars, decided to become Christians, and, in such cases, the emperor acted as their sponsor. It was one of many examples of *basileis* being the patron of brides such as being baptism sponsors to the Christian faith for several kings or chiefs of foreign tribes; for instance, Czar Boris converted in approximately 846 and assumed the name Michael in honour of his imperial patronage.⁶

Besides this patronage role, which was recognized by many masters outside Constantinople, Byzantine policy also influenced the internal politics of other kingdoms or city-states around the Mediterranean through embassies.⁷ Another way of mastering control was to house families or refugees from abroad, such as the relatives of the Lombard king Desiderius after the Frankish conquest of Pavia in 8th century,⁸ as well maintaining

1. Marcone 2002, 135-136.

2. Pertusi 1990, 6-60.

3. Kantorowicz 2012, 101-141.

4. Barbero 2000, 90-95; Diehl 2007, 64-89; Hägermann 2004, 153.

5. Keller 2001, 61-63 and *passim*.

6. Cheynet 2008, 489-492.

7. Lounghis 1980.

8. Gasparri 2012, 113 and *passim*.

pretenders to a kingdom, such as Gundovald, the illegitimate son of the kings of the Franks in the 6th century.⁹ These examples provide us with an idea of how Constantinople sponsored operations for a *change de règimes*, or for something akin to a *golpe*. Maintaining guests was useful as they could have been engaged in friendly relations when their successful deeds would have brought them to the throne. The *basileis* not only paid the maintenance expenses of a likely successor but also sponsored treaty alliances to avoid the threat of invasion, giving money to the invader's closest foes to keep them away from imperial lands: this is not the idea from a Byzantine work, but come from an influential scholar of politics.¹⁰ This was common not only during the First centuries following Constantinople's founding, when tides of barbarians spread from Asia, thereby necessitating the use of such a strategy, but also later on: for example, during the Komnenian period. During this time, there were attempts to promote rebellions on the northern borders of the Norman Kingdom, in Abruzzi, in 1155-1156,¹¹ or sponsoring the claims to free Ancona from the siege of Federico Barbarossa and Venetia in the same century.¹²

Against this backdrop of information, it is worth questioning whether the relationship between Constantinople and Sicily just before the Vespers should be considered an example of sponsorship in the same way? The role of Michael VIII in planning the uprising of the Sicilian Vespers on March 1282 has long been debated. Certain Sicilian nobles did plot against Charles of Anjou, but the role of Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus is not clear and is still a matter of contention.¹³ It is clear that Charles of Anjou would have used the port of Messina as a base to launch a sea invasion as the inaugural move in a crusade against Constantinople.¹⁴ Certain scholars have suggested that there must have been links between the Crowns of Aragon, Sicily and Constantinople before the Vespers.¹⁵ Other scholars have proposed that there was an agreement, but that this came about after the

9. Bachrach 1994. In general, for Byzantine affairs with the Frankish state, see Angelucci 2012, 58-73 and Lounghis 2011, 781-799.

10. Luttwak 2009.

11. Lamma 1955-1957, Vol. I, 195-216.

12. Boncompagno da Signa 1999; Grillo 2014, 171-175.

13. *Cronache volgari del Vespro* 2012, 20-24.

14. Housley 1982, 75-76.

15. Duprè Theseider 1954, 39; Geanakoplos 1985, 375-383; La Mantia 1940, 97-140; Runciman 1971, 261-277; Tramontana 1989, 51; Wieruszowski 1971, 182-183.

Sicilian riot.¹⁶ Recently, Cingolani has adopted a more pragmatic position, and remains undecided on when the agreement happened (whether before or after the Vespers).¹⁷

Sicilian Vespers is the name given to a popular rebellion at Palermo that began a revolution which resulted in Angevins being expelled from Sicily in 1283. It is believed to have begun when a French soldier molested a Sicilian woman.¹⁸ The 19th-century Italian historian Michele Amari is still recommended reading for the history of the Sicilian Vespers, although it needs updating in places.¹⁹ Soon after the uprising it was thought that *basileus* Michael from the Palaeologan dynasty sided with the rebels; he should have provided money to pro-Ghibelline nobles faithful to the Eastern imperial government to help them organize a plot. Speculation concerning the origins of a plot is interesting not only for medievalists but also for social scientists today. For instance, scholars from Cambridge are studying theories about the plot and its influence on modern democracy.²⁰

The main source for the rebellion is *Lu rebellamentu di Sichilia (The rebellion of Sicily)*.²¹ This is a popular early Italian tale, dated to the early 14th century and written by an anonymous Dominican friar who probably had a close relationship with Tolomeo da Lucca, according to the latest discoveries. From Tuscany, the tale spread and was rewritten three times, or it may have arisen from an oral tradition.²²

The main character of the tale is Giovanni da Procida, a physician faithful to the Hohenstaufen family. He was exiled and lived as a rebel in Sicily. In 1279, Charles of Anjou, the king of south Italy and count of Provence, decided to launch an attack against Constantinople with a massive force, and Giovanni da Procida reached out to the *basileus* Michael VIII to advise him of the plan.²³ Giovanni landed at Constantinople and met two other rebel knights, who helped him become a guest of Michael Palaeologus.²⁴ After two months, it was clear that Giovanni was the best

16. Giunta 1969, Vol. II, 543-560; Hillgarth 1975; Lopez 2004, 103-132.

17. Cingolani 2006, 357.

18. Amari 1843.

19. Franchi 1997.

20. Polidoro 2014, 9-34.

21. Now re-edited in *Cronache volgari del Vespro* 2012, 90-171.

22. *Cronache volgari del Vespro* 2012, 58-69.

23. *Ibid.*, 92-93.

24. *Ibid.*, 92-95.

physician in the palace, and the Apulian and Sicilian refugees chose him as their representative.²⁵ He once requested a secret interview with Michael Palaeologus, who scheduled a meeting in the treasure tower,²⁶ where Giovanni berated Michael VIII for not being concerned about Charles's preparations for a military campaign.²⁷ However, the *basileus* defends himself by stating that Charles was powerful, and his request for help was ignored by the pope, cardinals and every other Christian king because they considered Charles too strong.²⁸

Giovanni offered to help manage a rebellion on Sicily using 100,000 ounces of gold.²⁹ Michael gave him the funds and wrote letters of recommendation for him. Therefore, Giovanni began travelling around the Mediterranean dressed like a Franciscan friar; first, he came to Sicily and organized a plot with Palmieri Abate, Gualtieri da Caltagirone and Alaimo da Lentini. They were persuaded to sign a treaty of alliance with the Greeks. Then Giovanni da Procida reached the pope at Rome.³⁰ Giovanni persuaded Pope Nicholas III to take part in the plot against Charles, reminding him that the Angevin king had rebelled against his authority and had once refused to marry a relative of the pope, whose noble family of *Orsini* was considered of lower social level.³¹

Pope Nicholas III signed letters of recommendation to be delivered to the king of Aragon. Giovanni went to meet Peter III of Aragona at Majorca and, during a secret interview, tried to persuade him to avenge himself against Charles, who had once defeated his relative Manfredi Hohenstaufen.³² The king feared the power of the Anjevin king, but Giovanni assured him that he would be part of a larger alliance and gave him letters from Constantinople, Sicily and Rome, as well as 100,000 ounces of gold.³³ Giovanni da Procida informed all the other plotters when the truce was signed with Aragon, and he returned to Constantinople, where he asked for 30,000 ounces of gold to fund an army to defend

25. *Ibid.*, 94-95.

26. *Ibid.*, 94-97.

27. *Ibid.*, 96-97.

28. *Ibid.*, 96-99.

29. *Ibid.*, 98-101.

30. *Ibid.*, 100-105.

31. *Ibid.*, 104-107.

32. *Ibid.*, 106-111.

33. *Ibid.*, 112-113.

Sicily. He also promised, on behalf of the *basileus*, a wedding between the daughter of Peter of Aragon and the son of Michael.³⁴

According to the agreements, an uprising should have taken place in Sicily on 1283; however, Giovanni da Procida learned from some Pisan ship-owners that Pope Nicholas III had died, leaving the plotters without their greatest ally.³⁵ Before the plan could falter, Giovanni da Procida organized a meeting at Malta, where the Sicilian plotters met Accardo Latino, another ambassador of the *basileus*.³⁶

Meanwhile, the king of Aragon used the Greek gold to outfit a great army, but, following the advice of da Procida, he began a military campaign without revealing the target to the other masters of Christianity.³⁷ The pope and the king of France attempted to find out where he planned to launch the attack by asking King Peter, but Peter did not reveal the target.³⁸

At the end of Easter 1282, a French soldier molested a Sicilian woman outside a church in Palermo during a holiday, thus sparking the uprising of the Sicilian Vespers. King Charles of Anjou tried to take back the island, but Messina resisted the siege, having burnt the Angevin fleet at the docks.³⁹ At the same time, the king of Aragon had openly revealed that he planned to attack the coasts of Tunis, waging war under the pretext of converting Muslims, but he also kept close to Sicily in order to intervene and help if needed. An embassy of Sicilian people asked him for help, and King Peter drove his fleet to the coast of the island, hurrying to free Messina. When he came, he was immediately recognized as lord of Sicily by the entire population.⁴⁰

This story is a legend and, at times, anachronistic, but it has roots in historical reality. It also emphasizes the role of Byzantium in the organization of the plot, sponsoring it with money. We can now move on to question: How did the gold of Palaeologus actually help? It is not easy to answer this as scholars still debate what contact occurred between Aragona and Palaeologus before the Vespers. Even if the Catalan court and Sicilian barons were in touch, as indicated by documents, and if we presume that

34. Ibid., 114-119.

35. Ibid., 118-121.

36. Ibid., 122-127.

37. Ibid., 128-129.

38. Ibid., 130-137.

39. Ibid., 136-152.

40. Ibid., 151-171.

Giovani da Procida was a guest in Catalonia from 1275 onwards,⁴¹ contacts between Aragon and Constantinople would still not have been assured. Geanakoplos confirmed that he found a document in Pisa, dated January 1282, in which King Peter claimed to defend the rights of Byzantium by conquering Sicily.⁴² However, certain scholars have claimed that this document is inaccurate because it comes from a document of questionable authenticity.⁴³ Someone said that Michael VIII Palaeologus sent an embassy from Constantinople to Portfangos in 1282, but it is uncertain whether it really arrived to the port which contained the army of Aragonia.⁴⁴ Wieruszowski believed contact began when an embassy of the Catalan knight Tavernier was sent to the Roman Curia, but it dates back to 1278.⁴⁵ At any rate, the register which relates it does not mention the reason, but rather merely states that it was thought Tavernier was involved in a secret mission related to this plot.

On the other hand, Amari theorizes that contact began just after the election of Pope Martin IV in 1281. This pope excommunicated the *basileus* and ordered that no Christian could have a relationship with him.⁴⁶ Formerly, Martin had criticized Michael VIII's laxity in unifying Latin and Greek Churches, but this was clearly an excuse, as Michael VIII had been defended by the previous pope for his attempts to create a union, and also for giving power to John Bekkos in order to prepare for unification (and for this Michael VIII faced internal struggles). At any rate, from 1281 onwards it was clear that Charles of Anjou planned to launch an attack against Constantinople with the aid of the pope and Venice. He was gathering funds and clearly indicated that the target was Byzantium.⁴⁷

Therefore, it is not strange that Michael VIII Palaeologus sought allies, sponsoring Charles' enemies to gain support. Lopez has pointed out that, following the Vespers, the Catalans and Greeks did not actively collude against their common enemy (although some collusion did occur),⁴⁸ and also that the Genoese acted as financial intermediaries

41. Soldevila 1950, 377.

42. Geanakoplos 1985, 377.

43. Kern 1911, 16.

44. Lopez 2004, 124.

45. Wieruszowski 1971, 179.

46. Amari 1843², Vol. I, 159.

47. Housley 1992, 52-53.

48. Lopez 2004, 113.

to the *basileus*, with whom they had been allies since 1278 (if the Venetians and Anjevins had won, they would have lost control over Byzantine trade).⁴⁹ It is likely that the so-called “Accardo Latino” in the *Rebellamentu di Sichilia* refers to Benedetto Zaccaria, the Genoese admiral of Byzantium and lord of Focea.⁵⁰ He had been in touch with the king of Castile and Aragon, and, according to sources such as the Templar of Tyre, acted like an emissary of the *basileus*.⁵¹ It is likely that Genoese bankers anticipated a great influx of money. Moreover, a letter from Pope Martin IV, the annals *Ghibellini piacentini* and the Guelf Salimbene de Adam refer to alleged contact between Catalans and Greeks.⁵² Sometimes, economic help is clearly specified; this is the reason Villani later wrote about 30,000 ounces of gold.⁵³

On the other hand, scholars point out that Greek sources, such as Georgios Pachymeres and Niceforo Gregoras, did not write about any kind of alliance with Western powers. These historians wrote exclusively about problems relating to the internal events of their empire. It should also be noted that Michael’s military policy made an alliance possible. He used large numbers of mercenaries, as he preferred them to normal Greek soldiers or *akritai*.⁵⁴ It is not strange that Michael paid strangers to fight against his enemies. Moreover, Michael Palaeologus won at Berat in 1280 against a mixed force of French and Epirotes attempting to invade his empire, whereupon he changed the direction of his next military campaigns because the Turks were penetrating more and more, pressing into Anatolia, so he probably hoped for a quieter western border.⁵⁵

In conclusion, the problem remains open but, in my opinion, there is enough evidence to argue that Byzantium played a critical role in historical events although probably not to the extent described in the *Lu rebellamentu di Sichilia*. The possibility of a plot has long been used to simplify the reality, and it is likely that the one concerning Giovanni da Procida was just a myth, created by Guelph Party to justify a shocking defeat in Sicily. Moreover, the dating of documents which da Procida signed confirms that

49. Origone 1997, 218-219.

50. *Cronache volgari del Vespro* 2012, 182-183.

51. *Ibid.*, 65.

52. *Ibid.*, 65.

53. Villani 1991, Vol. I, VIII, § LX, p. 508.

54. Bartusis 1992, 43-66.

55. Laiou and Morrison 2013, 16-21.

he was in Spain in 1282, and it is difficult to believe he travelled all around the Mediterranean at the same time.⁵⁶ It is likely that the idea of a plot was a misunderstanding arising from a papal bull dated to November 18, 1282, in which Pope Martin IV relates rumours about the involvement of Michael VIII Palaeologus in a plot with King Peter.⁵⁷

However, it is also likely that Michael VIII Palaeologus helped organize a counter-attack, at least when it became clear that a sudden riot in Sicily was helping to strengthen and secure his position on the western side. Michael wrote in his memoirs that he provided money to fund a riot in Sicily and to avoid an invasion against Constantinople, but scholars debate this, arguing that he was simply boasting.⁵⁸ If it is true, it indicates the lack of money outside the empire and the importance of sponsorship for political planning. Such sponsorship did not always result in monuments with epigraphs commemorating some philanthropist, and much of it is destined to remain unknown unless new sources in manuscripts or archives are uncovered. Nevertheless, sponsorship may have saved Byzantium from again being transformed into a Latin colony.

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56. Wieruszowski 1971, 175.

57. La Mantia 1940, 100.

58. Michele VIII 1926, 174.

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Sponsorship on the island of Naxos: Inscriptional evidence from 14th-century churches with painted decoration¹

Alexandra Kostarelli

Οι επιγραφές που διατηρούνται σε ναούς με τοιχογραφίες του 14ου αιώνα, κυρίως στην κεντρική Νάξο, μας παραδίδουν αρκετά ονόματα αφιερωτών. Μέσα από την εξέταση αυτών των επιγραφών σκιαγραφείται με σαφήνεια η θέση των ντόπιων σε σχέση με τους Δυτικούς, η ευχέρεια στην άσκηση της λατρείας και στην τοιχογράφηση ναών από τους ορθόδοξους, η θέση της γυναίκας στην κοινωνία της εποχής, καθώς και η κοινωνική θέση των καλλιτεχνών. Ο εντοπισμός αφιερωτών, οι οποίοι φαίνεται να είχαν υψηλή κοινωνική θέση, αλλά και χορηγών από την εκκλησιαστική ιεραρχία οδηγεί σε ορισμένες ενδεικτικές, ωστόσο πολύτιμες, ποσοτικές προσεγγίσεις. Αντίστοιχα δεδομένα μπορούμε να συλλέξουμε τόσο για τις συλλογικές χορηγίες, στις οποίες κατά κανόνα οφείλονται οι τοιχογραφήσεις των ναών της εποχής, όσο και για τις ατομικές χορηγίες. Οι συγκρίσεις με παραδείγματα, που αφορούν στη χορηγική δραστηριότητα κυρίως κατά το β' μισό του 13ου αιώνα στη Νάξο, οδηγούν στο συμπέρασμα ότι οι χορηγίες για τοιχογράφηση ναών σταδιακά μειώνονται από τις πρώτες δεκαετίες του 14ου αιώνα και τελικά φαίνεται να εκλείπουν πριν τα μέσα του ίδιου αιώνα. Τέλος, η ενδεικτική αναφορά παλαιότερων σχετικών παραδειγμάτων από το νησί καταδεικνύει τη διαχρονικότητα της συγκεκριμένης συνήθειας.

Keywords

Donor, donation, dedicatory inscription, sponsorship, Naxos

This article concerns sponsorship on Naxos, the largest island of the Cyclades in the Aegean Sea, during the 14th century. Specifically, this work is concerned with the dedicatory inscriptions preserved in five Naxian

1. This article would not have been completed without the invaluable assistance of G. Chouliaras, director of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Thesprotia, and G. Fouseri, assistant professor at the Ecclesiastical School of Thessaloniki, whom I warmly thank.

churches with painted decorations, dating to the first half of the 14th century. The churches under discussion are Agios Polycarpus at Distomo of Filoti (1305/1306; An. 1), Agios Ioannis the Theologian at Afikli of Apeirantos (1309; An. 2), Agios Konstantinos of Vourvouria (1310; An. 3), Agios Soson Giallous (1313/1314; An. 4) and Agios Ioannis the Theologian at Kaminos of Filoti (1314; An. 5).

The painted decoration of these churches has been dated based on the preserved inscriptions and belongs to the period during which William Sanudo I (1303-1323) held the throne of the Duchy of Naxos.² No specific information is available concerning either the relationship between the Orthodox and the Catholics or the religious policy adopted by the duke towards the vassals. Nevertheless, the locals must have accepted the domination of the foreigners as any large-scale and intense reaction from their side would have rendered the Westerners' governing of the island impossible.³

Particularly, the inscriptions' text is written in calligraphy, short and simple in the wording, with a few exceptions, while spelling mistakes are sporadically detected. The inscriptions are usually written on the background of the frescoes using white letters (An. 5a) or, rarely, on separate panels using black letters against a white background (An. 1). The practice of situating dedicatory inscriptions in the sanctuary and mainly in the apse is quite common on Naxos during this era⁴ and is also adopted elsewhere, such as in 13th-century Cretan churches.⁵

Cases of collective patronage are mainly found in the above-mentioned monuments. The churches of Agios Ioannis of Apeiranthos (1309; An. 2a1, 2b, 2c) and the homonymous church of Filoti (1314; An. 5a, 5c, 5d, 5e, 6f, 5g) are characteristic examples; three donors are mentioned in the first one, while there are seven known dedicators in the second monument. Generally, this kind of votive donation from individuals was widespread during the second half of the 13th century on the island, as exemplified by some earlier cases, such as Panagia "*stis Giallous*" (1288-1289),⁶ Panagia of Archatos (1285),⁷ Agios Stephanos of Tsikalario (end

2. Miller 1960, 652-655. Also, see Saulger 1992, 46-52; Slot 2012, 11-13.

3. Kostarelli 2013, 266-267.

4. Kostarelli 2013, 61, n. 233.

5. Katselaki 2003, 44-45, with examples.

6. Drandakis 1964a, 100; Kalopissi-Verti 1996, 133.

7. Dimitrokallis 1972, 22; Dimitrokallis 1981, 15-16; Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 87-88.

of the 13th century)⁸ and Agios Georgios of Marathos (1285/1286).⁹ It is a custom deeply rooted in the Greek Orthodox tradition, and it survives to this day.¹⁰ The oldest known example of collective sponsorship for mural decorations on Naxos is found in the church of Panagia Drosiani, where the names of seven donors are evidenced in the preserved dedicatory inscriptions (second half of the 7th century).¹¹ Generally, both individual and group donations are related to small churches on the island. The same elements concerning the size and simplicity of the monuments' construction prevail in the Peloponnese,¹² Kythira,¹³ Crete¹⁴ and Euboea.¹⁵

A representative case of individual sponsorship is found in Agios Konstantinos of Vourvouria (An. 3). There are seldom references to the title or profession of the donor,¹⁶ with the exception of priests and monks.¹⁷ However, in the Vourvouria inscription the dedicator's name is preceded by the word *kyr* (κυρ).¹⁸ As no other inscription with such wording is known from Naxos from the 13th-14th centuries,¹⁹ showing an address common elsewhere, especially used for the emperor of Constantinople,²⁰ it is likely that this particular sponsor played an important role in the island's society. This view is reinforced by the fact that he alone bears the cost of the murals of the church.

The name of the donor's spouse –Telaza– is particularly strange and has been associated with a Western origin.²¹ No written testimony for

8. Drandakis 1985-1990, 39.

9. Mastoropoulos 1986b, 105, pls. 19-20.

10. Examples are preserved on Crete (14th-15th centuries), Mani, Cyprus (Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 35-37) and Rhodes (Christoforaki 2000, 464).

11. Mitsani 2004-2006, 394-395, n. 1; 412, n. 12.

12. Kalopissi-Verti 2007, 71; Kalopissi-Verti 2008-2009, 91-93.

13. Kalopissi-Verti 1999, 75.

14. Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 42; Kalopissi-Verti 1996, 369-370; Kalopissi-Verti 2012, 130-133.

15. Katsali and Kostarelli 2017.

16. Emmanuel 1991, 31-33. Kalopissi-Verti 1999, 87-88.

17. Kalopissi-Verti 1996, 368.

18. When the word “*kyr*” precedes the sponsor's name in dedicatory inscriptions, the donor is someone of high social status. There are many examples from the Peloponnese (Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 34, 64; *Idem* 1994, 456). Also, see Kalopissi-Verti 1996, 367-368; Laiou 2012, 110, 117.

19. Kostarelli 2008, 22.

20. As an indicative example, see Konstantinidi 1998, 28-29.

21. Pennas 2009, 152. For another view, see Dimitrokallis 1963, 552.

the Tzykalas couple is known.²² Perhaps Vassilios (?) Tzykalas can be considered as a member of the De Cigalla family, which has its roots in Genoa and its installation in Greece dates back to the 13th century. Some of its branches, having been gradually Hellenized and having embraced orthodoxy, are found on various islands.²³ Nevertheless, it is most likely that this particular name arises from his or his family's profession as a ceramist (τσουκαλάς).²⁴ However, "Tzykalas" has existed as a surname since the 12th century and is widespread throughout the Greek world. In the early 14th century, people with this surname settled in Macedonia, mainly in the village of Gomatou in Mount Athos.²⁵ Among them is a certain Vassilios Tzykalas, who lived in Chalcidice in approximately 1300.²⁶ This surname is found in Naxian documents of the mid-16th century.²⁷ Also, the priest Antonios Tzigkalas (Αντώνιος Τζηγκάλας) is mentioned in an inscription from a post-Byzantine Naxian icon depicting the Archangel Michael.²⁸ In the apse of Agios Georgios of Lathrino –close to Vourvouria– an inscription with the dedicator's name, Michael Tsykalopoulos (Μιχαήλ Τσουκαλόπουλος),²⁹ is preserved. It is believed he was related to Vassilios Tzykalas, the Vourvouria church donor.³⁰

22. Dimitrokallis 1963, 551-552; *PLP* 11, no. 28091; Katsouros 2008a, 33-34; Kostarelli 2008, 22.

23. Sphyroeras 1959-1960, 3-15.

24. Vourvouria village is near Tsikalario village (the place where pottery is made). So, this surname may indicate either the occupation of the ceramist or the origin of this village. Of course, the question remains whether, during the 14th century, surnames derived from occupations indicate the occupation of that particular man or whether people just happen to have that surname. Laiou-Thomadaki 2001, 187.

25. This surname is widespread, especially during the 14th century, and is found with the same spelling (*PLP* 11, nos. 28080-28118), with slight variations (*PLP* 11, nos. 27930-27931) or using the feminine gender (*PLP* 11, nos. 28120-28122 (Tzykalo=Τζυκαλώ)). Lefort *et al.* 1994: Alv III 100, where Tzykalas Michail (Τζυκαλάς Μιχαήλ) is mentioned as a sojourner at Kamena village in Chalcidice (1262). Katsouros 2008a, 33-34; Kostarelli 2008, 17-27; Laiou-Thomadaki 2001, especially 155, 156, 158, 165, 167, 169-171, 174, 186.

26. *PLP* 11, no. 28092.

27. Dimitrokallis 1963, 552, n. 2; document no. 15 in 25.2.1538, which mentions Tzikallas Dimitrios (Τζηκαλλάς Δημήτριος); Visvisis 1951, 29.

28. Drandakis 1964b, 429.

29. *PLP* 12, no. 29403. Also, see *PLP* 11, no. 28119, which mentions Tzykalopoulos Georgios (Τζυκαλόπουλος Γεώργιος) (Crete, 14th-15th century); Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 117.

30. Mitsani 2004-2006, 427, no. 38.

Several cases of family donations are known from relevant inscriptions on Naxos. From the monuments under discussion, we can mention the inscriptions from Agios Polycarpus (An. 1) of Distomo (1305/1306) and Agios Sozon Giallous (1313/1314; An. 4). Unfortunately, the donors' names are not preserved. The names of Vassilios and Telaza are mentioned in the inscription of Agios Konstantinos (An. 3). Also, one of the inscriptions in the apse of Agios Ioannis of Filoti gives us the names of Thomas and Plyti (An. 5c). In these cases, specific wording is adopted, whereby the husband's name is written first, followed by that of his wife, and the inscription ends with the expression: "and their children" (και των τέκνων αυτών). Corresponding data are found in inscriptions from the previous century in Naxian monuments, such as in Agios Nicholaos of Sagkri, where the dedicator "Nicholaos ... the reader" (Νικόλαος ... αναγνώστης)³¹ considers it appropriate to include in the dedicatory inscription his wife,³² as well as their children.³³ Numerous relevant examples come from the Aegean islands, Mani, the Peloponnese and Crete.³⁴

There are also examples where an individual commemorates their donation with a separate inscription even though other family members also gave donations to the same church. These inscriptions are particularly common on Naxos³⁵ and elsewhere. Such individual dedicators include Georgios (An. 2a1) and Kalli from Filoti village (An. 2c), whose names are found in two inscriptions in the church of Agios Ioannis of Apeiranthos, among other donor names in the same church.

The status of women in Naxian society at that time can be sketched fairly well through these inscriptions. In particular, as mentioned above, the husband's name is preceded and followed by that of his wife. However, in Agios Ioannis of Apeiranthos inscription, Kalli (An. 2c) expresses her supplication alone, mentioning her place of origin –Filoti– a town in central Naxos, close to Apeiranthos. Also, Kalli includes her children in

31. Dimitorkallis 1972, 21; Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 87-88, no. 34; Pennas 2009, 150.

32. When there is no certain reference to a wife's name, a standardized expression is generally used: και της συμβίας αυτού. Kalopissi-Verti 1992, nos. 19, 20, 28, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, etc.

33. References to family members are found in Early Byzantine inscriptions from Naxos. Drandakis 1988, 45. For more examples, see Mitsani 2004-2006, nos. 32, 35.3, 36, 39a-b.

34. Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 35.

35. As an indicative example, see Mitsani 2004-2006, 426, no. 37a.

her supplications, without referring to her husband.³⁶ The absence of the husband's name in women's dedicatory inscriptions is rare. However, another such example is found on Naxos, in Panagia "*stis Giallous*",³⁷ as well as on a few monuments in other regions.³⁸

The name Kalli must have been common on the island. It is also noted in inscriptions in Panagia "*stis Giallous*"³⁹ and in Agios Stefanos of Tsikalario (end of the 13th century),⁴⁰ and it is included quite often in dedicatory inscriptions preserved on Greek islands.⁴¹ The name Plyti, from an inscription of Agios Ioannis of Filoti (An. 5c), is unusual.⁴² The same name is preserved in the dedicatory inscription of Agios Georgios of Oskelos (1285/1286).⁴³ The name Telaza, written in the apse of Agios Konstantinos of Vourvouria, is unique.

It is noteworthy that the majority of the inscriptions preserved in the apse of Agios Ioannis of Filoti are related to donors from the clergy. Thus, in the semi-dome of the apse an inscription mentions Markos the monk (An. 5a); lower in the hemicylinder, there is an inscription with the name George Skinelis the priest (An. 5d), and, at the lowest point of the hemicylinder, another inscription contains the name Makarios the monk (An. 5f). Such a concentration of dedicatory inscriptions related to the Orthodox clergy has not been identified in any other Naxian monument. Only two cases of 13th-century inscriptions with donors from the clergy are known, namely the painter Michael the priest (Μιχαήλ ιερέα ο ζωγράφος), from Panagia of Archatos, and Nicholas the reader (Νικόλαος ο αναγνώστης),⁴⁴ from Agios Nikolaos of Sagkri. A general observation is that, among the preserved inscriptions on Naxos, those of the laity donors predominate whereas there are fewer inscriptions from cleric donors. References to the names of cleric sponsors are found in inscriptions in other areas as well. Although, generally, the churches with painted decorations in the Cyclades lack

36. Although, traditionally, women lived on the fringes of public life, they were certainly involved in productive activities. Kasdagli 1994, 89-132.

37. Drandakis 1989, 100.

38. As an indicative example, see Kakavas 2006, 272.

39. For the inscription, see above, n. 36.

40. Mitsani 2004-2006, 427, no. 39. Also see Pennas 2009, 151.

41. As an indicative example, see Christoforaki 2000, 460, n. 84; Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 84, no. 31; Lymberopoulou, 2006, 172.

42. Mastoropoulos 1983, 123, n. 13; Mastoropoulos 1986a, 7, n. 13.

43. Mastoropoulos 1983, 123; Mastoropoulos 1986a, 7.

44. Reader (αναγνώστης) is an ecclesiastical office.

dedicatory inscriptions, Agios Georgios in Episkopi (Sikinos, 1351 to 1352) bears an inscription, in which the priest's name—Georgios—is written.⁴⁵ Statistically, an examination of the preserved dedicatory inscriptions on Euboea and the Cyclades indicates that laity donors far outnumber all others; on Crete, priests, monks and nuns prevail as dedicators.⁴⁶

From one of the inscriptions in Agios Ioannis of Apeiranthos (An. 2b), we should note the name of the painter Nikiforos, to whom part of the painted decoration (second layer) is attributed. Through studying the murals of the second layer of the homonymous church in Filoti, iconographic similarities have been found with the above-mentioned murals of the Apeiranthos church. Additionally, two short inscriptions in the Apeiranthos church mention, using similar wording, Nikiforos Tzykandilis (An. 5e, 5g), who can be identified as the painter Nikiforos of Agios Ioannis of Apeiranthos.⁴⁷

According to S. Kalopissi-Verti inscriptions classification for Late Byzantine monuments which preserve painters' names, the one from Agios Ioannis of Apeiranthos falls into the category of those that have the form of short invocations.⁴⁸ It can also be included in the category of inscriptions referring to painter-sponsors of the painted decoration of the church.⁴⁹ Another such inscription with the name of the donor-painter comes from Panagia of Archatos (1285), which refers to the painter Michael the priest (Μιχαήλ ιερέα το ζωγράφο).⁵⁰ The oldest relevant inscription on Naxos is preserved in the apse of Panagia Drossiani, and it refers to the painter and donor Georgios (Γεώργιος) (late 11th century).⁵¹ In addition to these, as can be assumed by the wording of the inscriptions, it is likely that Nikiforos was solely a painter, while the painter of Panagia of Archatos was also a priest.⁵² Generally, in the dedicatory inscriptions of provincial monuments the names of artists are mentioned only in the absence of substantial differences in the social hierarchy between them and the donors of the painted decoration of the church.⁵³ As the dedicatory inscription was

45. Mitsani 2004-2006, 404, 429, no. 44.

46. Kalopissi-Verti 1999, 87.

47. Kostarelli 2013, especially 229-230.

48. Kalopissi-Verti 1997, 130-132, with examples.

49. Kalopissi-Verti 1997, 135.

50. Dimitorkallis 1981, 15-16; Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 87; Kalopissi-Verti 1997, 135-136; Mitsani 2000, 110-111, n. 80.

51. Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 90; Mitsani 2004-2006, 416, no. 19.

52. For the role of the clergy as donors, see Kalopissi-Verti 1996, 376-377.

53. Among significant sponsorships of the Late Byzantine period, painters remain

a means of exalting the sponsor's role, any reference to the painter was of secondary importance. Thus, it may be regarded that, in the inscription of Agios Ioannis of Apeiranthos the artist's name is noted owing to his capacity as a sponsor or because there was no social difference between the other donors and the artist Nikiforos.⁵⁴

Nikiforos is believed to be a member of the Tzykandili family (Τζυκανδήλη ή Τζικανδήλη ή Τζικανδίλη), known since the late 11th century.⁵⁵ Apart from this specific name, dedicatory inscriptions of the second half of the 13th century bear testimony to additional names of well-known Byzantine families:⁵⁶ namely Pediasimos (Πεδιάσιμος) in Panagia “*stis Giallous*”,⁵⁷ Mavrikas (Μαύρικας ή Μαυρικάς) (?) in Theotokos “*sto Demo*” of Apeiranthos,⁵⁸ Galatis (Γαλάτης) in Agios Georgios of Marathos,⁵⁹ Xenos (Ξένος) in Agios Stefanos of Tsikalario⁶⁰ and Mitzos (Μιτζός) in Agios Nikolaos of Sagri.⁶¹ Based on these inscriptions, it has been argued that, during the second half of the 13th and the first quarter of the 14th century, the offspring of important Byzantine families came to Naxos because of the compromising “feudal” organization of the Duchy of Naxos and the prospect of financial prosperity.⁶²

anonymous, thus revealing the social gap between major donors and ordinary craftsmen. Kalopissi-Verti 1997, 137, 143-144.

54. Respectively in Agios Nikolaos at Agoriani (Lakonia, c. 1300) and in Agios Georgios at Sklavopoula of Selino (Crete, 1290), the painters are mentioned in the inscriptions as being donors themselves. Kalopissi-Verti 2012, 26, 37.
55. However, this specific surname is frequently encountered in the 14th century. Trapp 1973, 233; *PLP* 11, no. 27932 (Tzikandilis=Τζικαντήλης); *PLP* 11, nos. 28123-28131 (Tzykandilis=Τζυκανδήλης); *PLP* 11, nos. 28132-28133 (Tzykandylina=Τζυκανδύλινα); *ODB*, Vol. 3, 2136; Pennas 2009, 153. The author Tzykandyli (1358-1370) must have decorated with miniatures the manuscript of Job in 1362 in Mystras (Bitha 2000, 439). Another indication (1340) refers to an owner of a money changer's bench at the gate of the Golden Horn in Constantinople (Matschke 2006, 170-171, n. 72).
56. Katsouros 2006d, 20-21.
57. For the inscription, see Mitsani 2004-2006, 426, no. 37. For the surname, see *PLP* 9, nos. 22233-22236; *ODB*, Vol. 3, 1615; Pennas 2009, 153.
58. For the inscription, see Mitsani 2004-2006, 423, no. 32. For the surname, see *PLP* 7, no. 17421; *ODB*, Vol. 2, 1317-1318; Pennas 2009, 153.
59. For the inscription, see Mitsani 2004-2006, 425, no. 35; Pennas 2009, 153-154. For the surname, see *PLP* 2, no. 3498.
60. For the inscription, see Mitsani 2004-2006, 427, no. 39. For the surname, see *PLP* 8, nos. 20864-20890; *ODB*, Vol. 3, 2209; Pennas 2009, 154.
61. *PLP* 7, no. 18134; Zias 1989, 81.
62. Pennas 2009, 153-156.

The above view seems reasonable, but it is not supported by secure data. Thus, according to the wording of the examined inscriptions, only *kyr* Vassilios Tzygkalas, the sponsor of Agios Konstantinos of Vourvouria, seems to have occupied a high social position. However, his name does not appear among those of the well-known old Byzantine families identified in dedicatory inscriptions of Naxos. Also, the painter Nikiforos, who can be identified as Nikiforos Tzykandilis from evidence in both the churches of Agios Ioannis of Apeiranthos and of Filoti, regardless of whether he originates from an old important Byzantine family or not, must have held a social position commensurate with that of the other donors of these churches. Regarding these specific Byzantine families, there is no secure evidence that at least some of their offspring had not already been living on the island before the Latin conquest. Moreover, we do not have any evidence that the locals with these historical names are not distant branches of these families, less significant and financially weaker during the examined period.⁶³ However, since the Komnenian period the pressing ambitions of Western traders to the islands of the archipelago, combined with the policy of privilege concession that Komnenoi practised, resulted in the establishment of significant Byzantine families on these islands.⁶⁴ Perhaps, then, the offspring of these families came to Naxos before and during the Latin conquest. In any case, the supposed descendants of these families seem to have had limited financial capabilities—otherwise they probably would not have adopted the practice of collective sponsorship.⁶⁵

An overview of the inscriptions of the 13th-century Naxian monuments demonstrates that, from the first half of this century, no inscription with a date or donor portrait remains.⁶⁶ Nine painted decorations of churches have

63. The surname Mavrikas is also found elsewhere. Katsouros 2006a, 45; Katsouros 2008b, 35.

64. Penna 2010, 34, with bibliography.

65. Because of the limited financial capacity of the donors, M. Chatzidakis considered that they are no longer sovereigns, but rather ordinary villagers (Chatzidakis 1989, 14). A. Mitsani, based on the size of the churches, the character of the painted decoration and the dedicatory inscriptions, considered that these were mainly family churches (Mitsani 2004-2006, 404). However, a multitude of donors with limited finances in Crete has been interpreted as a sign of prosperity of the local population (Graziou 2015, 108).

66. The oldest donor portrait on Naxos is found in the narthex of Agios Georgios Diasoritis (second half of the 11th century). Acheimastou-Potamianou 1980, 490, pl. 290b; Acheimastou-Potamianou 1989, 74, 69, no. 105.

been dated based on inscriptions to the second half of the 13th century⁶⁷ and provide valuable information outlining a clear picture of sponsorship activity on Naxos and of the stratification of Naxian society concerning the Orthodox. Names of dedicators and, in some cases, their surnames are preserved on more than 25 monuments dating to the 13th century.⁶⁸ Donor portraits appear quite often in monuments of the second half of the 13th century, and provide information on the dedicators' social and financial status,⁶⁹ as well as the sartorial choices of the period.⁷⁰ However, no donor portrait is known either from the examined precisely dated monuments or from other Naxian monuments with frescoes dating to the 14th century.⁷¹ The only known depiction of donors in the Cyclades islands comes from the church of Agios Stephanos (Sikinos, first half of the 14th century).⁷²

However, the presence of churches with dedicatory inscriptions and donor portraits in the wider region of central Naxos during the late 13th century and the case of Agios Constantinos of Vourvouria individual sponsorship (1310) may indicate the existence of a core of rather wealthy Orthodox families in central Naxos at this time, whose role seems to have been fundamental to sponsorship activity.⁷³ Undoubtedly, some of these inscriptions reflect the manifestation of the piety of donors from weaker social groups.⁷⁴

Neither the social identity of the above-mentioned donors nor the Naxian social stratification are easy to define. However, the sovereign elite, which was socially beneath the ducal family and over the peasants, existed, and it is certain that families of Greek origin and particularly Naxian families

67. Mitsani 2000, 99.

68. Mastoropoulos 2006, 128; Mastoropoulos 2007, 154, no. 69.

69. For donor portraits, see Kalopissi-Verti 1992, 27 ff., 94 ff.; Bacci 2012, 293-308.

70. As an indicative example, see Acheimastou-Potamianou 2007, 20.

71. Nevertheless, donor portraits are included in the painted decorations of churches on Rhodes, Crete and Cyprus, dating back to the 14th and 15th centuries (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1995, 153).

72. Mitsani 1996, 620, pls. 196b-c.

73. Katsouros 2005, 8; *Idem* 2006b, 34; Kostarelli 2013, 260-263; Kotsakis 2007, 118-119; Mastoropoulos 2006, 126; Panagiotidi 1991-1992, 153; Pennas 2009, 151 ff.; Katsouros 2010, 10-11. The presence of strong Orthodox families in central Naxos must also have been assumed by M. Acheimastou-Potamianou (1980, 490), who speculated that Agios Georgios of Pera Halki (late 13th century) was the chapel of a local landlord. S. Kalopissi-Verti (1999, 88) considers that the lay donors mentioned in the inscriptions without a title were probably local landowners.

74. Mitsani 2004-2006, 403.

were included in this intermediate stratum.⁷⁵ Corresponding data are found in the Aegean⁷⁶ and other Latin-occupied areas.⁷⁷

Therefore, considering the size of these monuments and the nature of their wall paintings, it appears that, as well as constituting evidence of donors' piety, they often have a burial character.⁷⁸ In particular, through examining the inscriptions we can conclude that, during this period, regardless of the Latin occupation, some Orthodox inhabitants of central Naxos assumed the cost of the murals of the churches, demonstrated self-confidence deriving from their high social class, proclaimed their adherence to orthodoxy and wrote their names in the dedicatory inscriptions. Undoubtedly, peasants and bourgeois are included among the donors.

However, after the first decades of the 14th century the frequency of decorating churches with wall paintings decreased and eventually ceased before the middle of the 14th century. The first signs of this are detected around the beginning of the century, followed by a reduction in the churches' mural decorations and a lack of donor portraits, compared to the second half of the 13th century.

Consequently, during the first half of the 14th century some people on the island sponsored church wall paintings, alone or with others. Nevertheless, after the first decades of this century this kind of sponsorship activity ceases. Certainly, a careful study of the subject leads to the conclusion that, during this period, the faithful stopped being interested in decorating churches with frescoes, but they began ordering icons, some fine specimens of which are still preserved on the island.⁷⁹

75. Saint-Guillain 2009, 124-130, 134, especially 129-130.

76. Katsouros 2005, 8; Kotsakis 2007, 118-119; Maltesou 2000, 13; Mastoropoulos 2006, 126; Panagiotidi 1991-1992, 153; Pennas 2006b, 34; Pennas 2009, 151 ff.

77. As an indicative example, see Athanasoulis 2003, 75-77.

78. Mitsani 2004-2006, 404.

79. Kostarelli 2013.

*Appendix- Inscriptions***An. 1: Agios Polycarpus of Distomo, 1305/1306**

... του καί τῆς συμ[βίας].../ καί τῶν [τέκν]ων αὐτῶν ἔτους Ϟωιδ´ (=6814)⁸⁰

... and his wife... and their children, year 1305/1306

(nave, west wall, northern part) (Fig. 1)

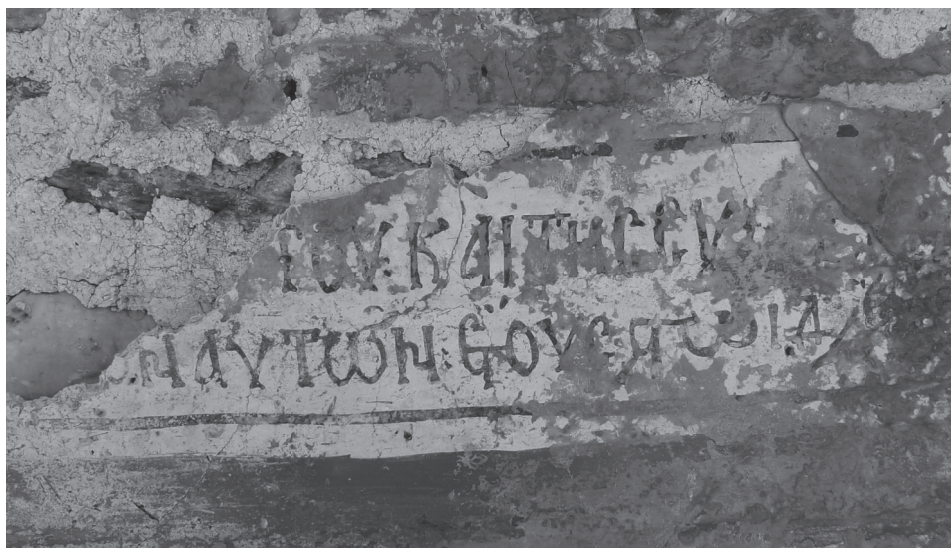


Fig. 1: *Agios Polycarpus of Distomo, nave, west wall, northern part, dedicatory inscription (photo by A. Kostarelli).*

An. 2: Agios Ioannis the Theologian at Afikli of Apeiranthos, 1309

a1) [Δέησις] τοῦ [δούλου] τοῦ Θε(ο)ῦ Γε[ωργίου] (?)⁸¹

Supplication of the servant of God Georgios

a2) ἔτους/ Ϟωιζ´/ιν(δικτιῶνος) Ζ´ (6817)

Year 1309, indiction 7th

(prothesis conch—in two parts—semi-dome)

80. Chatzidakis 1989, 15; Kostarelli 2013, 57, where a greater part of the inscription is presented than reported in the above bibliography; Mastoropoulos 1983, 125; *Idem* 1986a, 5; *Idem* 1986b, 98; Mitsani 2004-2006, 428, no. 41. The part “καί τῶν [τέκν]” of the first row is no longer preserved.

81. Dimitrokallis 1972, 23, where the indiction is missing; Drandakis 1965, 544, pl. 683b; Mitsani 2004-2006, 428, no. 42, pls. 9, 25; Moutsopoulos 1977, no. 70.

**b) Ἁγίου κ(αί) μάρτ(υρες)/ τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ διά/ πρεσβει/ῶν σας/
 προκόψε/τε τῶν δούλων σ(α)ς/ Νικηφό/ρου τοῦ ζωγρά/φου⁸²**
 Saints and martyrs of Christ with your intervention (help) the progress of
 your servant Nikiforos the painter
 (sanctuary, northern wall) (Fig. 2)

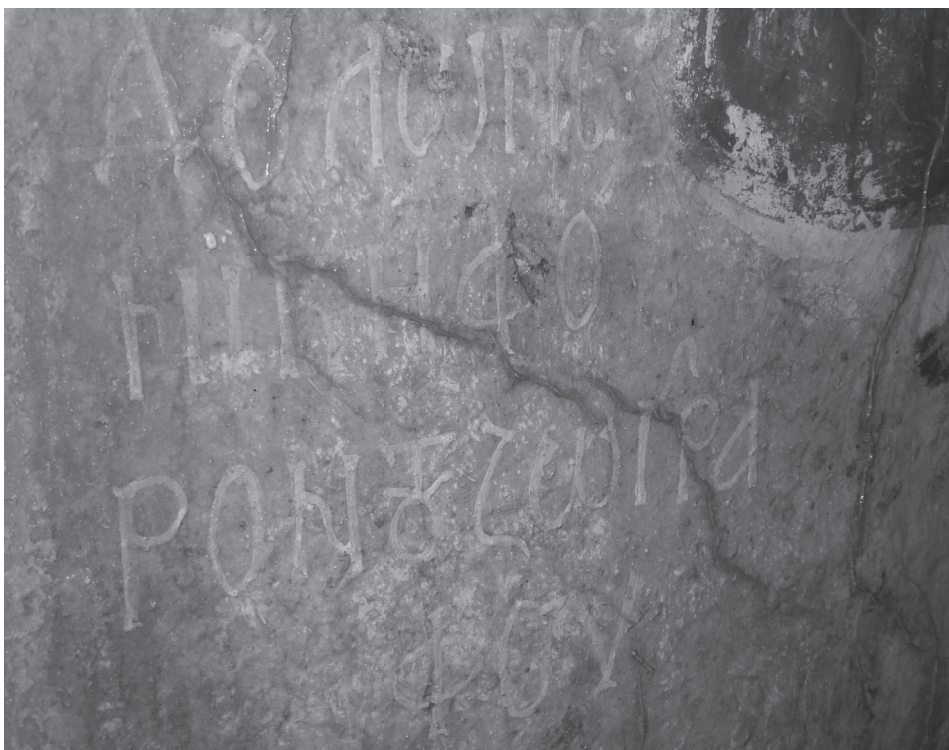


Fig. 2: *Agios Ioannis the Theologian of Apiranthos, sanctuary, north wall, dedicatory inscription, detail (photo by A. Kostarelli).*

c) Δέ(ησις)/ Κα/λῆς τῆς/ Φιλοτί/τισας κ(αί) τῶν τέ/κνων/ αὐτῆς⁸³
 Supplication of Kali from Filoti village and her children
 (sanctuary, northern wall)

82. Drandakis 1965, 544, pl. 684a; Kalogeropoulos 1933, 933; Kalopissi-Verti 1997, 132 (where the transcription adopted here comes from); Mastoropoulos 2007, 81, pl. 41; Mitsani 2004-2006, 428, no. 42; Moutsopoulos 1977, no. 68.

83. Drandakis 1965, 544, pl. 684β; Mitsani 2004-2006, 428, no. 42; Moutsopoulos 1977, no. 69.

An. 3: Agios Konstantins of Vourvouria, 1310

[Ἰστ]ορίθησαν αἱ ἅγιε εἰκόν[αι] δι' ἐξόδου κύρ [B]ασι/[λείου] τοῦ Τζυκ[αλᾶ]/ καὶ τῆς συμβίου αὐτοῦ Τε/λάζας κ(αί) τῶν τέκν(ω)ν αὐτ(ῶ)ν/ ἔτους Cωθ' ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) θ' μηνί Σεπτ(εμβρίω)⁸⁴

The holy icons were painted at the expense of *kyr* Vassilios Tzykalas and his wife and their children, year 1310, indiction 9th, month September (sanctuary apse, semi-dome)

An. 4: Agios Soson Giallous, 1313/1314

a) Cω/κβ, = 6822⁸⁵

1313/1314

(sanctuary apse, semi-dome)

b) Δ[έησις] τ(οῦ) δ[ούλου] τ(οῦ) θεοῦ]Μα ... [καὶ τῆς] σ[υμ]β[ίας] ...⁸⁶

Supplication of the servant of God Ma ... and wife ...

(nave, northern wall, within a blind arch)

An. 5: Agios Ioannis the Theologian at Kaminos of Filoti, 1314 (Fig. 3)

a) [Α]φ[ε]ς Κ(ύρι)ε [τήν] ψυχ[ή] τ(οῦ)/ δ(ού)λ(ου) σ(ου) Μά[ρκ](ου)/ [ιε]ρο(μονάχου)⁸⁷

Lord forgive the soul of your servant Marcus hieromonk

(sanctuary central apse, semi-dome, between the Virgin and Christ)

b) ἔτους/ C'ωκγ/ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιγ' μηνί/ Οκτοβρίω/κγ = 6823⁸⁸

Year 1314, indiction 13th, month October 23

(sanctuary central apse, hemicylinder, northern part, between SS. Nikolaos and Athanasios).

84. Dimitrokallis 1963, 551-552; Mitsani 2004-2006, 428-429 no. 43.

85. Mastoropoulos 1983, 126; Mastoropoulos 1986a, 5.

86. Kostarelli 2013, 64.

87. Kostarelli 2013, 65.

88. In the following bibliography, the date is erroneously given as 1315: Chatzidakis 1989, 15; Dimitrokallis 1972, 23-24; Mastoropoulos 1986b, 102; *Idem* 2007, 206, no. 122. In Mitsani 2000, 101, n. 59, the correct dating, adopted here, is included.



Fig. 3: *Agios Ioannis the Theologian of Filoti, sanctuary, central apse, location of the inscriptions (photo by A. Kostarelli).*

ε) Δέ(ησις) Θωμά κ(αί) τ(ῆ)ς ...χ./ [συμ]βίου αὐτ(οῦ) Πλυτής/ κ(αί) τῶν τέκνων α[ὐ]τῶν⁸⁹

Supplication of Thomas and his wife Plyti and their children
(central sanctuary apse, hemicylinder, lower part, against the background, between an angel deacon and St John Chrysostom).

δ) Δέ[ησις] Γεωργί(ου) ἱερέ[ω]ς/ Σκινέλη⁹⁰

Supplication of George Skinelis, priest
(central sanctuary apse, hemicylinder, lower part, against the background of the altar cover of Melismos, northern part of the cover) (Fig. 4)



Fig. 4: *Agios Ioannis the Theologian of Filoti, sanctuary, central apse, dedicatory inscriptions, detail (photo by A. Kostarelli).*

ε) Δέ[ησις] Νικηφόρ[ου]/ (τοῦ) Τζοκανδ[ή]λ[η]⁹¹

Supplication of Nikiforos Tzykandili
(central sanctuary apse, hemicylinder, lower part, against the background of the altar cover of Melismos, southern part of the cover) (Fig. 4)

89. Kostarelli 2013, 67; Pennas 2009, 152.

90. Kostarelli 2013, 65.

91. Mastoropoulos (1986b, 103; *Idem* 2006, 128; *Idem* 2007, 206, no. 122) has transcribed the name as Tzokandilis [Τζοκανδ(ή)λ(ης)] or Tzokandelis [Τζοκανδ(έ)λ(ης)], and Pennas (2009, 152) as Tzykandilis (Τζοκανδήλης), which is adopted here.

f) Δέ[ησις] Μακαρίου [μον]αχ[ού]⁹²

Supplication of Makarios, monk

(central sanctuary apse, hemicylinder, lower part, against the blue background of the altar cover of Melismos, under the cross of the cover) (Fig. 4)

g) Δέ(ησις) Νυκηφόρου/ τ(οῦ) Τζυκανδ[ήλη]⁹³

Supplication of Nikiforos Tzykandilis

(nave, northern wall)

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92. Kostarelli 2013, 67.

93. Kostarelli 2013, 68.

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Sponsors and donors in public museums: The case of the Numismatic Museum

George Th. Kakavas

Η δυναμική παρουσία του Νομισματικού Μουσείου στη σύγχρονη ελληνική πραγματικότητα μέσα από καινοτόμες και ρηξικέλευθες δράσεις στηρίζεται κυρίως στο θεσμό της χορηγίας. Συνεχίζοντας μια ηθική πρακτική που αποτελεί παράδοση ετών, απλοί ιδιώτες και Οργανισμοί, καταξιωμένοι φορείς, κρατικές Υπηρεσίες και ανώνυμοι δωρητές συμβάλουν από την ίδρυση του Μουσείου, το 1834, έως τις μέρες μας με την ιδιότητα του δωρητή, του χορηγού ή του κληροδότη στον εμπλουτισμό των συλλογών του. Ανάμεσά τους ξέχωρη θέση κατέχουν φιλέλληνες και φιλόμουσοι, όπως οι αδελφοί Ζωσιμά, ο Αλέξανδρος Μουρούζης, ο Ιωάννης Δημητρίου, ο Αλέξανδρος Σούτζος, οι Περικλής και Λεωνίδας Ζαρίφης, η κόμισσα Λουίζα Ριανκούρ, ο Κωνσταντίνος Καραπάνος, ο Γρηγόρης Εμπεδοκλής, ο Ηλίας Καντάς, ο Ιωάννης Κινδύνης, ο Πέτρος Πρωτονοτάριος, ο Άδωνις Κύρου και η οικογένεια Ανδρέα Μπούζα. Σήμερα, το όραμά μας για ένα Μουσείο ανοικτό και φωτεινό με ποικίλες δράσεις και υψηλού επιπέδου εκδηλώσεις, γίνεται και πάλι πραγματικότητα χάρη σε γενναιοδωρες χορηγίες και δωρεές. Άτομα και ομάδες εκδηλώνουν έμπρακτα την ευαισθησία τους για τον πολιτισμό και την αγάπη τους για το Νομισματικό Μουσείο, καθιστώντας το έτσι σταθερό σημείο αναφοράς για τα πολιτιστικά δρώμενα της χώρας μας.

Keywords

Numismatic Museum, Athens, donation, benefactors, coin collection

One of the few (and the richest) of its kind worldwide, the Numismatic Museum has become a point of reference for scholars and scientists, while also proving a popular attraction for a large number of Friends, who recognize its work and support its programme.



Fig. 1: *Gallery of donors, first floor of the Iliou Melathron.*

The valuable collections are housed in the Iliou Melathron¹ –the Palace of Iliion (Troy)– an extraordinary Neoclassical palatial mansion in Athens, which was the former residence of Heinrich Schliemann and his family, and was designed by the renowned architect Ernst Ziller.² A unique example of museum treasures housed in a historic building, the Numismatic Museum substantially contributes to the critical fields of the protection of cultural heritage and academic research.

Both known and anonymous donations and grants have been the driving force behind developing the museum’s collections, from its inception as the Royal Coin Treasury in 1834 up to the present day.³

The establishment of the Greek state by Kapodistrias in 1828, the birth of the *Megali Idea* (the “Great Cause”) and the flourishing of Hellenism, both within the Greek state and in the urban and economic centres of the regions both under and outside Ottoman rule, were decisive factors for both Greeks living in the country and the diaspora to establish

1. Portelanos 2012, 449-464.

2. Kardamitsi-Adami 2006, 99-109.

3. *Coins and Numismatics*, 40.

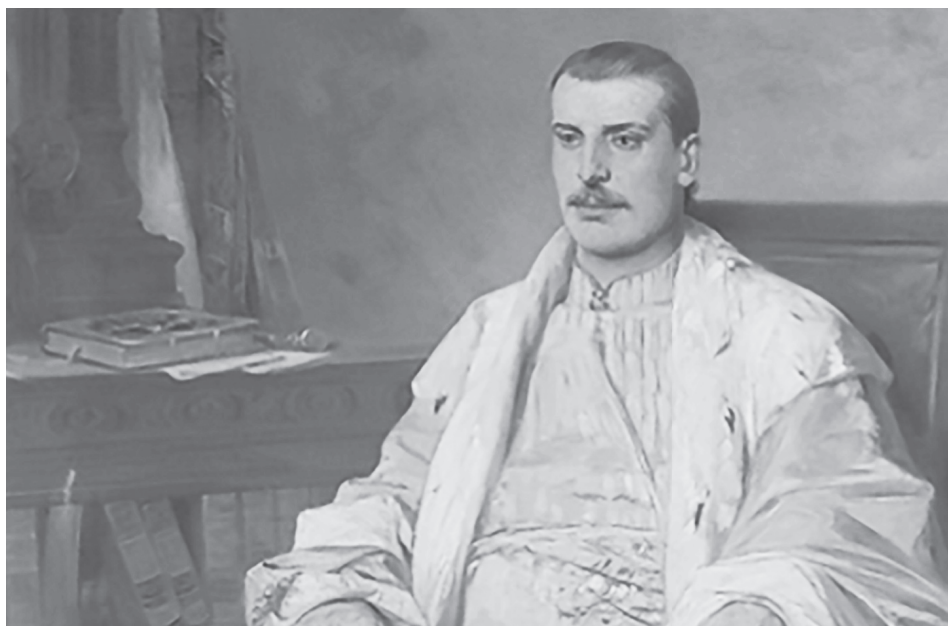


Fig. 2: *Nikolaos Zosimas (the benefactor from Ioannina) in an oil-painting by Nikiphoros Lytras.*

numismatic collections. These collections resulted in donations to the National Museum's newly established numismatic collection in 1829, which formed the initial core of the subsequent Numismatic Museum as an autonomous entity, established in 1834.⁴

In 1862, Georgios Typaldos, the museum curator at that time, appealed "to patriots, music aficionados and antiquity-loving expatriates and philhellenes", urging them to "contribute as much as possible ... to the development ... of the most complete collection of the numismatic monuments of Antiquity". His gesture led to a boost in the Numismatic Museum's acquisitions, which, until then, had consisted of only 8522 coins.⁵

Several prominent figures, as well as citizens of varying levels of wealth, responded to the national call to rescue the ancestral heritage of the Modern Greek state and donated coins, medals, gems and lead seals.⁶ It is largely thanks to these generous contributions that the Numismatic Museum currently

4. Touratsoglou and Tsourti-Karamesini 1981, 1-10.

5. Touratsoglou and Tsourti 1988, 122.

6. Evgenidou 2010, 12-13.

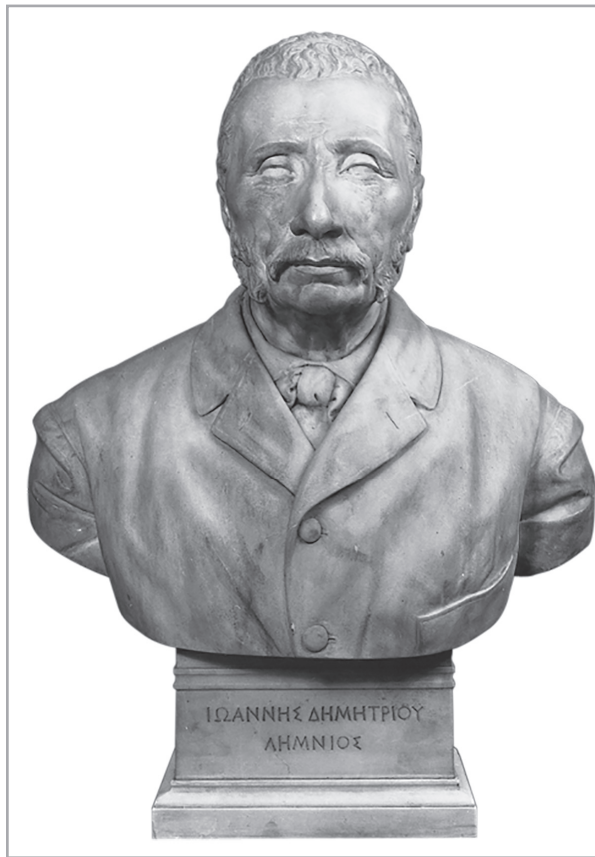


Fig. 3: Marble bust of Ioannis Demetriou (1824-1892) by Lazaros Phytalis (Athens, National Archaeological Museum).

holds perhaps the greatest numismatic collection in the world, comprising some 600,000 coins, numerous hoards, seals, medals, gems, silver and lead seals, jewellery, talents and spits, as well as rare incunabula that are preserved in its rich library (Fig. 1). Other important contributions came from the Archaeological Society and the University of Athens, the collections of which were incorporated into those of the Numismatic Museum.⁷

The first major donors were the Epirote brothers Zosimas in the early 19th century (Fig. 2). Comprising upwards of 18,000 coins and medals, their collection, which was assembled mainly by Zois Zosimas, a merchant in Nizhny, Russia, substantially boosted the early nucleus of the National Collection.⁸

7. Svoronos 1913, 76.

8. *Coins and Numismatics*, 30.

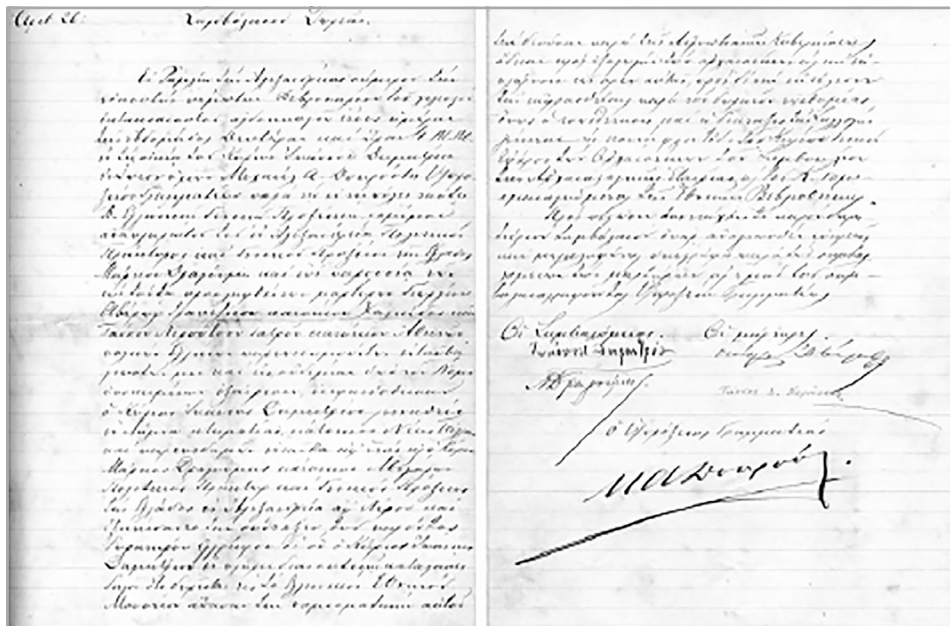


Fig. 4: The contract for donating the collection of Ioannis Demetriou to the Numismatic Museum.

This donation was followed by donations from and sponsorship by many other art-loving and patriotic modern Greeks and expatriates, as well as philhellenic foreigners, who were admirers of the ancient spirit.

His “principal concern [being] ... to contribute to the advancement of the enlightenment in Greece and to building the nation’s moral character”, Prince Alexander Mourousis (1816-1873), from the Ionian islands, offered to the University of Athens 25,000 drachmas for the acquisition of the collection of the Corfiote antiquarian and numismatist Pavlos Lambros (1866), consisting of 1053 silver and bronze coins, mainly from the Ionian islands.⁹

Ioannis Demetriou (1824-1892), a merchant from Limnos (Fig. 3) who was based in Alexandria, Egypt, donated to the Greek state his collection, consisting of about 10,000 coins from the Ptolemaic dynasty and Roman Egypt. It is one of the most important collections of Ptolemaic coins worldwide, with gold and silver issues of unique value. The donation document notes: “all these and everything that the donor acquires in the future will be donated to the Greek National Museum” (Fig. 4).¹⁰

9. Postolakas 1996; *Coins and Numismatics*, 32.

10. *Coins and Numismatics*, 36.



Fig. 5: *Countess Louise Riencourt (1846-1941).*

Alexandros Soutzos (1802-1871), an Epirote from Constantinople who later lived in Paris and Athens, bequeathed to the Numismatic Museum his collection, comprising 2355 ancient Greek coins. In his will, written in his own hand, he set out the condition that “the collection must be free and accessible to everyone who wishes to study it”.¹¹

In the early 20th century, the brothers Leonidas and Pericles Zarifis, sons of the national benefactor Georgios Zarifis, acquired and subsequently donated to the museum the collection of Subbi Pasha of Istanbul, consisting of 919 Roman and Graeco-Roman coins. They also donated 100 Ptolemaic coins, purchased for 2000 gold francs from antique dealers in Paris.¹²

11. Svoronos 1915a; *Coins and Numismatics*, 34.

12. Papageorgiadou-Bani 2006.

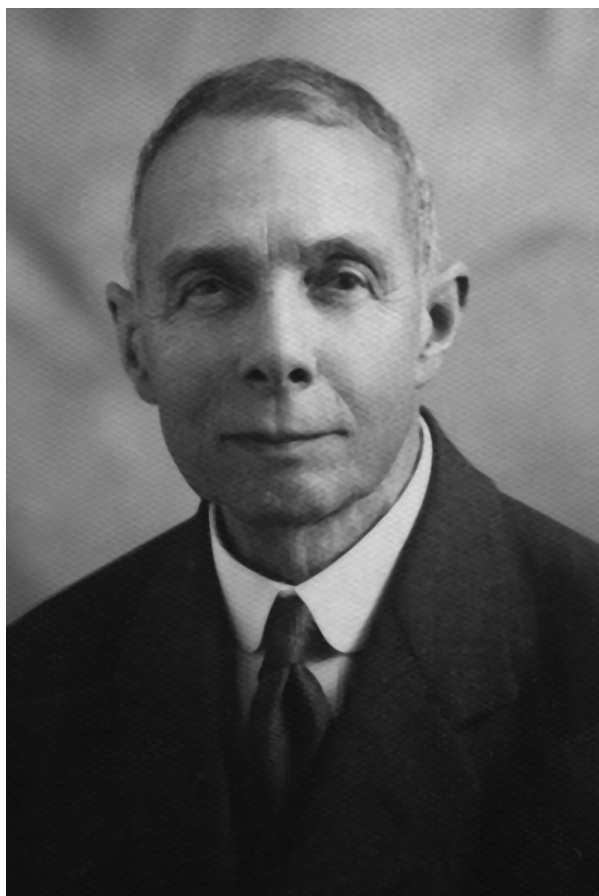
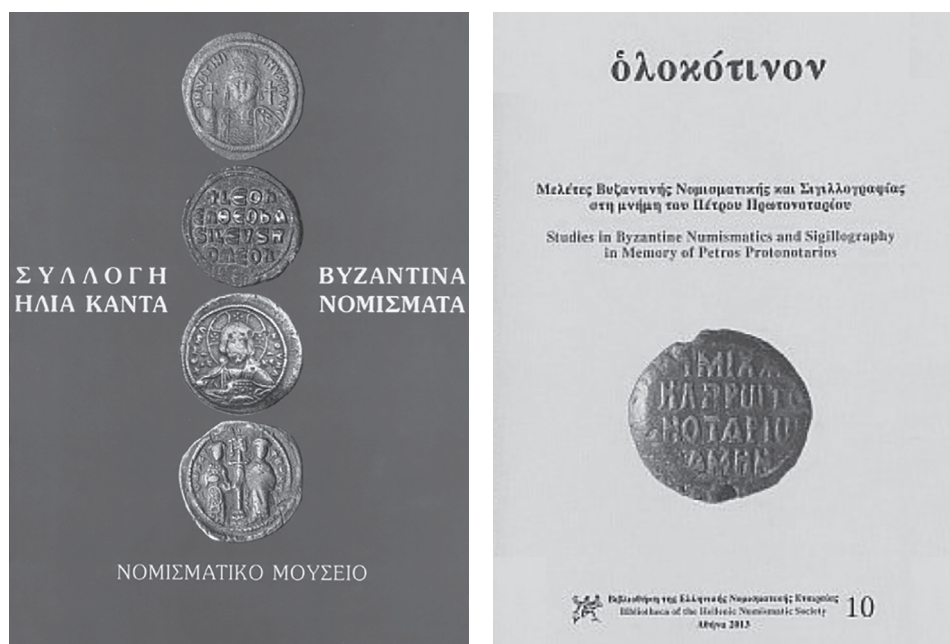


Fig. 6: *Grigorios Epedoklis* (1861-1951).

Countess Louise Riencourt (1846-1941) also movingly responded to the call by Ioannis Svoronos, the then director of the Numismatic Museum. In 1908, the countess readily purchased for 6000 gold francs and donated to the museum the collection of Troianski, the Russian *consul* to the Orient, which consisted of a complete series of 430 Byzantine coins. In his letter of thanks, Svoronos noted that “this collection is a royal and timeless gift to the National Museum, an offering worthy of the noble thoughts and feelings of your benevolent mind and heart” (Fig. 5).¹³

Constantine Karapanos (1840-1914), who was a lawyer, banker and politician, donated to the museum in 1911 his valuable collection, which

13. *Coins and Numismatics*, 40.



Figs. 7-8: Publications dedicated to the donors Ilias Kantas and Petros Petronotarios.

numbered some 1000 sculpted stones.¹⁴ The above collection was boosted by a donation by Demosthenes Tzivanopoulos (1838-1921), who, in 1920, kindly offered 109 ring stones dating from various periods.¹⁵

In 1924, Anastassios Stamoulis donated his collection of Greek, Roman and Byzantine coins, but mainly of lead seals, weights and other paranumismatica.¹⁶ In addition, Antonios Christomanos, who was a doctor, university professor, minister and art collector, donated to the museum his extensive collection of coins, stamps and ring stones in 1930-1931.¹⁷

Fortunately, the example set by the donors and sponsors of the first century since the Numismatic Museum's inception has been uninterruptedly followed up to the present day by more Greeks, who have been motivated by their love for their country.

14. Svoronos 1913.

15. Svoronos 1915.

16. Konstantopoulos 1930; Oikonomou and Varoucha-Christodouloupoulou 1955; Varoucha-Christodouloupoulou 1955.

17. Konstantopoulos 1930, 455-456 and 1931.



Fig. 9: Athens, silver decadrachm, c. 465 BC (NM 130/1999).

Grigorios Empedoklis (1861-1951) (Fig. 6), who founded the Commercial Bank of Greece, and was an antiquarian and collector of pottery and coins, had expressed his desire to donate his collection to the museum. In 1953, in accordance with their father's will, his daughters made a sizable donation of 7800 ancient Greek and Byzantine coins to the museum's numismatic collections.¹⁸

Ilias Kantas (1904-1965) (Fig. 7), who was the scion of an old Athenian family and a lover of archaeology who was especially interested in the Byzantine period, donated to the museum 1213 bronze Byzantine coins. Immediately after his death, his family donated in his memory a unique issue of a consular solidus of Justinian I.¹⁹

The ambassador John Kindynis' large collection, comprising nearly 900 ancient Greek, Roman, Byzantine, medieval and modern Greek coins and medals, was donated to the museum by his sisters following his death.²⁰ The architect Ioannis Vassileiou's extraordinary collection, consisting of 136 Parthian and Indo-Greek coins, was donated in 1972.

18. Varoucha-Christodouloupoulou 1960, 7-9.

19. Galani-Krikou *et al.* 2000.

20. Oikonomidou 1968, 270-275; 1969, 9; 1970, 12-13, tables 3, 4.



Figs. 10: *A bracelet of eight Byzantine solidi (7th century AD), bought by funding from the National Gallery of Greece.*

Petros Protonotarios (Fig. 8), a professor of ophthalmology, donated rare numismatic sets, hoards, coins and stamps over the years, including the unique golden seal of the emperor Michael VI Stratiotikos.²¹

In 1999, thanks to an anonymous, though prominent, donor, the acquisition of a rare Athenian decadrachm (Fig. 9)²² meant that not only was the museum endowed with a fine example of Athenian coinage but moreover this decadrachm became part of the museum's logo.

The collector Dimitrios Artemis across separate occasions donated various works of art to the museum, among them part of his valuable collection of rare coins from Crete and the islands of the Aegean.²³

Adonis Kyrou, who is an influential editor, researcher and a prominent collector, has donated to the museum numismatic hoards, a distinctive set of 1200 lead symbols, seals and clay seals, as well as ancient coins primarily from Macedonia, the Thracian peninsula and Cyprus.

An 11-year-old wrote in the museum's guest book: "Your monetary collection is also remarkable, and we would like to thank the donors for giving us the opportunity to admire them." An older visitor wrote: "May all donors of our country's historic wealth be eternally remembered. It is wonderful. I hope our young people familiarize themselves with it, too."

This tradition continues to this day: the Numismatic Museum often receives donations, both large and small (Fig. 10). The museum's prestige offers a guarantee to the donors that it will promote and preserve for future generations their precious offerings, and enable many prospective visitors to admire them.

Notable amongst the most recent donations is that of Ismene Bouza and her daughters, who, in 2012, donated in memory of Andreas Bouzas part of his rich collection, consisting of 2800 gold and bronze, mainly Ptolemaic and Byzantine, coins (Figs. 11-12).

21. *Coins and Numismatics*, 46; Touratsoglou *et al.* 2001.

22. *Fischer-Bossert* 2008; Touratsoglou 1999, 17-22.

23. Touratsoglou and Tsourti 2010, 355-377.



Figs. 11-12: *Two coins from the donation of Andreas Bouzas.*

Such gestures of donation and sponsorship set a fine example for all future generations. This is why one of the most beautiful halls of the Numismatic Museum, the Iliou Melathron dining room, is dedicated to these preeminent donors as a small token of gratitude for their generosity. Since the museum's early days, organizations, charitable organizations (Psycha, Kostopoulos), financial institutions (Commercial Bank of Greece, Alpha Bank), endowments (Alexandros Soutzos of the National Gallery, Dorideion of the Academy of Athens), government agencies, private companies and individuals have all endowed the museum with their donations and sponsorships.

Beginning in 2003, the Numismatic Museum's excellent collaboration with The Banknote Printing Works of the Bank of Greece (IETA) – The National Mint continues to be a great success. The annual donation by the Mint of a commemorative medal issue is made on the occasion of the European Heritage Days. The museum chooses a coin related to the subject of the event, which changes every two years, for the medal issue, which is offered free of charge to the public. The obverse bears an exact replica of a coin design, made with the technical support of the expert Mint staff and the valuable support of the Numismatic Museum's conservation department; the reverse always features the Iliou Melathron façade and the medal issue year.

In recent years, the practice of sponsorship has been indispensable for all cultural organizations the world over. Due to ever-dwindling state funding, there is a pressing need to identify sources of funding for cultural

activities. Without sponsorship, donations and volunteering, it would have been impossible for the Numismatic Museum to organize internationally acclaimed temporary exhibitions and conferences, publish academic books, organize educational programmes, events, anniversary or multidisciplinary events, participate in EU programmes, conferences and international exhibitions, and acquire new exhibits. Motivated by a sense of social awareness and responsibility, our sponsors help to fill the void created by the global economic crisis that has affected Greece.

In a fast-changing world, the Numismatic Museum responds to new challenges and pursues its vision, adhering to the museum's traditions. Memory and vision combined enable the museum to build a solid present and an optimistic outlook for the future.

In response to social change and the expectations of the public, and to attract visitors, the Numismatic Museum innovates and achieves a dynamic presence, in full agreement with Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's words:

Museums have always had to modify how they worked, and what they did, according to the context, the plays of power, and the social, economic, and political imperatives that surrounded them. Museums, in common with all other social institutions, serve many masters, and must play many tunes accordingly. Perhaps success can be defined by the ability to balance all the tunes that must be played and still make the sound worth listening to.²⁴

In addition to being temples of the Muses and the Arts, museums today must also be multicultural spaces for socializing, study, education, entertainment and communication, and meeting places for people, cultures and ideas. One may well wonder how the Numismatic Museum, a small public museum, has been able to attract generous donors in the face of such a regulated, financially hostile environment. This was made possible only by "fighting against inertia", by our constant struggle to make the museum known to the broadest possible public, rather than only to experts, numismatists and collectors. To become a lively, luminous museum known by its name: "Numismatic Museum". Not to be called by citizens "Mint" or, even worse, "Monetary Fund" any more. We are fighting against the

24. Hooper-Greenhill, E. (1992), *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. London: Routledge: <https://books.google.gr/books?id=4hvQNwuBo7EC>. Last accessed December 30, 2015.

spectre of recession and introversion by developing flexible modes of communicating the museum's programmes, by placing at the forefront coins, economic history and the history of human transactions. The circumstances of the inexorable dilemma "euro or drachma", in 2012, thrust us into the limelight. Indeed, where else would it be possible to find so many drachmas? A series of interviews with Greek and international media, including newspapers, radio, online forums and art galleries, such as *GAZARTE*, has enabled us to develop our vision for the new, modern, competitive Numismatic Museum, whose impact will be felt in the heart of Athens.

Next step: the quest for donors to actively support the innovative outreach activities that we have envisioned. It is a difficult step to take, not only because the market has run out of both cash and good intentions, but also because the current lack of a sponsorship culture in Greece –the birthplace of sponsorship– "makes applicants for sponsorship feel like supplicants and beggars, and the sponsors like creditors", according to Dr Xanthippe Skarpia-Heupel, president of the Macedonian Museum of Contemporary Art.²⁵ Despite the stifling economic environment and inherent difficulties, the Numismatic Museum is managing to elicit a response from affluent citizens, who are useful to the state, to paraphrase Demosthenes. It is also managing to find generous, magnanimous sponsors and to secure material and moral support for its quest to serve the afflicted field of culture.

Credit is due at this point to our loyal media partners, including public television ERT, Kathimerini, Ethnos, Eleftheros Typos and Ependytis newspapers, Thema.gr, Athina 98.4, Vima FM and Culturenow.gr for their support in communicating our events.

In October 2012, as part of the nationwide event "Environment & Culture – Brilliant Stories of Fire", we jointly organized with the Ephorate of Underwater Antiquities the temporary exhibition "Fire and Coin – Archaeology and Fire".²⁶ The exhibition inauguration was attended by the Greek minister of culture. The main sponsors included the Friends of the Numismatic Museum, Mouseion Estiasi S.A., which leases the Museum Garden Café, Gregory's Mikrogevmeta and Sklavenitis Supermarkets.

Our collaboration with these sponsors has enabled us to organize the temporary exhibition entitled "Cultural Deposits – From Ancient

25. <http://www.kathimerini.gr/398773/article/politismos/arxeio-politismoy/sos-toy-politismoy-pros-xorhgoys>. Last accessed December 30, 2015.

26. Kakavas 2015.

Seal Stones to Contemporary Printmaking”²⁷ as part of the Athens Print Festival. Authentic seal stones from the Numismatic Museum, the National Archaeological Museum and the Museum of Thebes were on display, accompanied by prints by Vicky Tsalamata.

The museum celebrated International Museum Day 2012 with two new educational programmes. The first one, *Discovering plants, animals and persons on coins*, was designed for the visually impaired. It was a wonderful opportunity for members of vulnerable social groups to explore the magical microcosm of coins by touch. The accompanying brochure in Braille format was sponsored by the non-profit association Lighthouse for the Blind. The second educational programme, *Learning about Iliou Melathron and its treasures*, was geared towards economic migrants who live and work in Greece and aimed to familiarize them with the Museum’s historic building, its exhibition spaces, the library and conservation workshop.

In addition to the museum’s major regular sponsors, these two educational programmes and related events, including a production of Jorge Bucay’s play *The Circle of 99*, starring Themis Bazaka, were made possible thanks to generous funding from the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, Terna Energy S.A. and Club Hotel Casino Loutraki. Also particularly important was the kind support of the Hellenic Post – Post Bank, which provided gifts for the pupils, and of Color Network.

The conference *Egypt Speaks through Papyri and Coins* was held on June 9, 2012, combining academic papers and the art events *Cleopatra – A Tribute, all the Berenices and Cleopatras are admirable!*, directed by Michael Sdougos and starring Greek actors, including Katerina Didaskalou and Dimitris Lekkas. Jointly organized with the Cultural Centre of the Arab Republic of Egypt, this event was made possible by the ongoing sponsorship of the Friends of the Numismatic Museum.

Moreover, it was the Museum Friends that funded, jointly with the Ainianes of Ypati Association, the Christmas concert with the Arosis string quartet and the soprano Vassia Zacharopoulou in Hesperides, Iliou Melathron’s flagship room. Multimedia material in DVD format was produced for most of these events, for which we would also like to thank our generous sponsors.

To celebrate International Museum Day 2013 on the theme of *Museums (Memory + Creativity) = Social Change*, the Numismatic Museum

27. Kakavas 2015a.

organized two days of activities addressed to interested citizens, pupils and students, as well as excluded social groups. The companies Deliolanis - Old Bakers and the Numismatic Museum Café supported the garden reception after the museum tours.

The museum's temporary exhibition "Faces of Time. Measuring Time in the Sky and the Sea", again jointly organized with the Ephorate of Underwater Antiquities, opened on October 21, 2013, as part of European Heritage Days. The support from the sponsors of the *Mentor* shipwreck research –the Cytherian Research Group Inc., the Stavros Niarchos Foundation and the John Latsis Foundation– was instrumental in organizing and implementing this exhibition.

An invaluable ally in this constant struggle for the museum's independence and survival is always the magical garden of the Iliou Melathron –Heinrich Schliemann's Garden of the Muses– where the elegant Café is now a hotspot for Athenians and an oasis of relaxation in the heart of the bustling city. The museum and the Café jointly organize the well-established jazz evenings on Thursdays, when the garden is swarming with music fans. Moreover, the Café management always supports our events and regularly subsidizes the August full-moon music evenings.

The precarious, complex times facing Greece leave no room for inaction. They make it imperative to constantly find ingenious ways for communicating culture and events. It is no exaggeration to say that, without our generous sponsors, this would have been impossible for a public museum receiving limited government funding.

In response to the challenge of the new digital, interactive applications, the Numismatic Museum is, thanks to arduous efforts by our scientific staff, the first state museum in Greece to partner with Google Art Project. Incurring no public expense, a total of 215 unique masterpieces in the museum's collections are featured on Google's digital platform, showcasing our dynamic international presence in the cultural scene.

In 2013, a turning point in the Numismatic Museum's activity was the honour of being invited by the International Federation of Finance Museums (IFFM), free of charge for the Greek state, to participate in the international conference *Finance Museums Throughout the World Unite To Promote Financial Literacy Globally*, held in New York. The conference was a great opportunity for the museum, which constantly seeks new ways to reach the international scientific community, to communicate its groundbreaking work to a large audience, showcasing not only the leading role

it plays in science, society and education, but also highlighting the fact that this is a profitable state museum, an integral part of contemporary Greek history supported by generous individuals and entities that readily contribute to the troubled culture sector. Our presence there was a tribute as well as a small token of gratitude to all the donors and supporters who help our outreach efforts; it was also an impassioned call for new sponsors.

I would now like to discuss the reason for organizing this conference – the international exhibition “Leaving a Mark in History. Treasures from Greek Museums”,²⁸ featuring rare antiquities from 12 Greek museums, illuminating history either as portraits of leading historical figures or as first-hand accounts of major historical and political events, and universal social, religious and cultural concepts and values.

Organized for the first time by a country other than Bulgaria, an exhibition featuring 195 Greek antiquities was organized in two of the largest archaeological museums in the country, in Plovdiv and Sofia (Fig. 13). Notably, not only were the country’s two museums, venues and infrastructure placed at our disposal, but they also became our generous sponsors and did not intervene in the museological and museographic display. Organized under the auspices of the Greek Embassy in Sofia and the Greek Consulate in Plovdiv, this was a landmark exhibition involving the collaboration of a significant number of Ministry of Culture agencies.

The financial requirements for organizing such an ambitious project were exclusively met by the sponsorship of Alpha Bank Greece and Alpha Bank Bulgaria, the Norwegian Institute at Athens, the Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, the Friends of the Numismatic Museum and the Friends of the National Archaeological Museum, IKEA Bulgaria, the companies Aktor, Orphee Beinoglou, Olympic Air and Aegean Air, Eleftherios Venizelos International Airport, Gras Savoye Willis, 360xpert Advanced Imaging Solution, Ioakeim Kalamaris, Mimis Plessas and the soprano Vassia Zacharopoulou, Alliance for Greece NGO, and AHEPA Bulgaria.

This international exhibition was a great challenge for us. The extraordinary response from companies and organizations to our call for sponsorship demonstrated that sponsorship is an investment in the social profile of the corporate entity involved.

28. Kakavas 2013; 2013a; 2015a; see also www.enma.gr/pdf/book_sofia_gr.pdf (in Greek).



Fig. 13: The poster of the exhibition “Leaving a Mark on History. Treasures from Greek Museums”, held in Sofia, Bulgaria.

Yet, the challenges do not end here. We have by now realized that “When the funding flow for culture is limited, it threatens social cohesion, progress, creativity – our very identity”.²⁹ Exporting culture, talent and creativity is a new approach to economy for us.

In this spirit and in the face of more challenges, we organized this Congress, jointly with the Norwegian Institute of Athens, the National Archaeological Museum and the Museum of Byzantine Culture. Thessaloniki’s religious and political authorities eagerly responded to our

29. Colin Tweedy, chief executive of Arts & Business: <http://www.kathimerini.gr/398685/article/politismos/arxeio-politismoy/dhmioyrgia-xorhgikhs-syneidhshs>. Last accessed December 30, 2015.

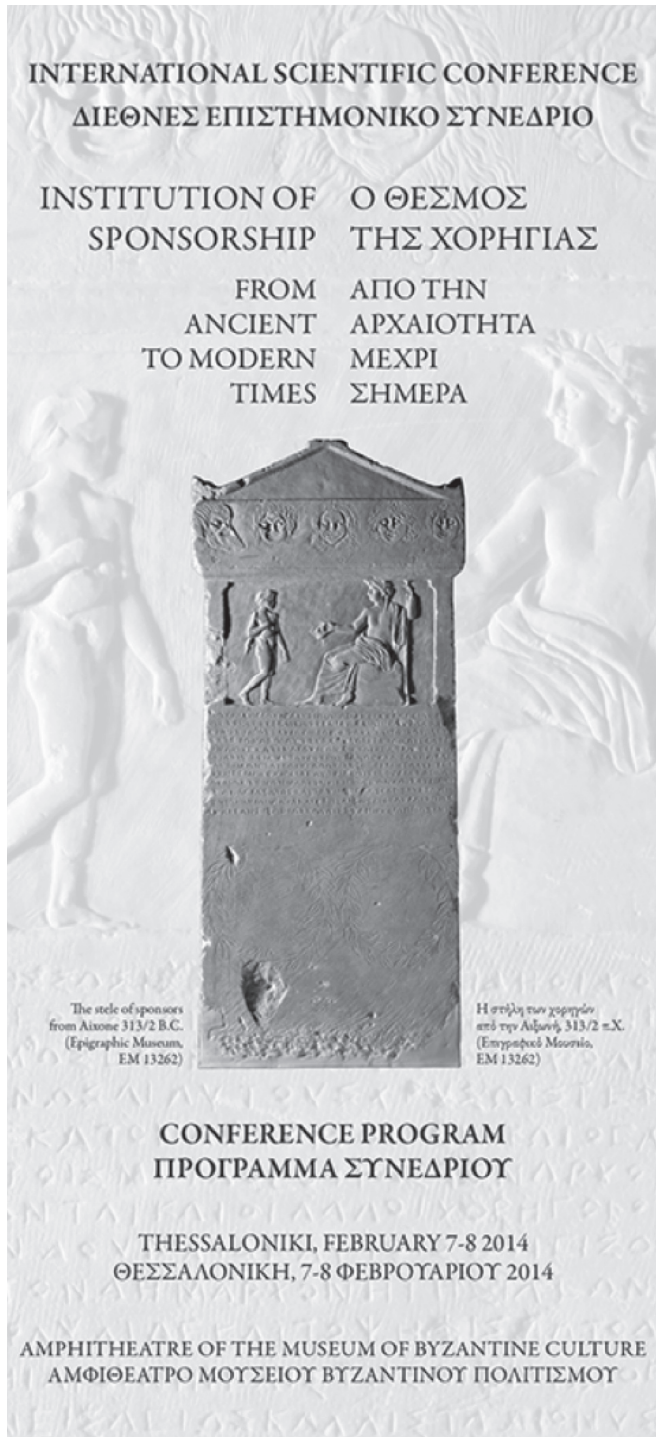


Fig. 14: *The programme of the International Scientific Conference Institution of Sponsorship, Thessaloniki, February 7-8, 2014.*

call and wholeheartedly supported us, both morally and materially. The museum also received support from the Agioreitiki Estia and Ainianes of Ypati (Fig. 14).

Another example of our resourceful efforts for the survival of the Numismatic Museum, during the critical days, is the advertising spot featuring Fotini Dara and sponsored by Alliance for Greece, thanks to which museum traffic increased by 80%. The monumental halls of the Iliou Melathron were filled with happy faces of people from all age groups, and families were provided with a unique, comprehensive museum experience, students with tours tailored to their courses or lectures, and interested citizens with special themed tours, all in the spirit of the agonizing search caused by the crisis.

Even though the character of donations has changed over time, from the early benefactors to the socially and culturally sensitive contemporary sponsors, the value of sponsorship remains invaluable and timeless.

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The Museum of Byzantine Culture's donors and sponsors as motivators in developing and promoting Greece's cultural heritage

Agathoniki D. Tsilipakou

Η πράξη της δωρεάς στην περίπτωση ενός δημόσιου πολιτιστικού και εκπαιδευτικού οργανισμού, και πιο συγκεκριμένα του Μουσείου Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού, προηγήθηκε της ίδρυσης του οργανισμού, που αποτελεί οδηγό στην προβολή και προώθηση της πολιτιστικής μας κληρονομιάς. Το Μουσείο με αυτόν τον τρόπο εκπληρώνει έναν από τους στόχους του, τον εμπλουτισμό των συλλογών του, προκειμένου να κάνει το ευρύτερο κοινό κοινωνό του υλικού μας πολιτισμού. Η εσωτερική ανάγκη για παροχή-δωρεά, εάν το Μουσείο δεν χάσει την αξιοπιστία του στα μάτια των δωρητών του, συνεχίζει να μεταδίδεται από τον πρώτο ιδιοκτήτη ή συλλέκτη, ενίοτε δωρητή, στον νόμιμο κάτοχο. Μεγάλο μέρος των συλλογών που εκτίθενται πλέον στη μόνιμη έκθεση ή φυλάσσονται στις αποθήκες του Μουσείου Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού προέρχονται από δωρεές και από χορηγίες ή μέσω της οικονομικής ενίσχυσης για την αγορά κινητών μνημείων ή έργων τέχνης. Μεταξύ αυτών ξεχωρίζουν οι μεγάλες δωρεές του Δημητρίου Οικονομόπουλου (1986) και της Δώρας Παπαστράτου (1994), συλλογές που εκτίθενται σε δύο αίθουσες της μόνιμης έκθεσης του Μουσείου που φέρουν το όνομά τους. Σήμερα οι δωρεές προς το Μουσείο Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού που παρουσιάζονται στη μόνιμη έκθεση ή φυλάσσονται στις αποθήκες σε αναμονή της σειράς τους να παρουσιαστούν στο κοινό ξεπερνούν τα 2.000 αντικείμενα, ενώ οι δωρητές ανέρχονται στους 40. Άλλη μία κατηγορία δωρεάς είναι η ενίσχυση με οποιαδήποτε μορφή στις δράσεις του Μουσείου. Αποφασιστικός ήταν και παραμένει ο ρόλος των δωρητών στον τομέα της διαχείρισης και προώθησης της πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς για το Μουσείο Βυζαντινού πολιτισμού. Σύμφωνα με τον νόμο 3525/2007 για την «πολιτιστική χορηγία» και τις ακόλουθες τροποποιήσεις του μέχρι το 2011, το κράτος ενθαρρύνει τα τελευταία χρόνια και προωθεί τον θεσμό της χορηγίας. Σταθερός υποστηρικτής, βοηθός και μέγας δωρητής-χορηγός όλα αυτά τα χρόνια για το Μουσείο Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού είναι ο μη-κερδοσκοπικός οργανισμός του «Συλλόγου των Φίλων του Μουσείου Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού», που ιδρύθηκε το 1988 με βασικό του στόχο την ηθική και υλική ενίσχυση του Μουσείου, την υποστήριξη στη λειτουργία και τον

εμπλουτισμό τω συλλογών του και την ευαισθητοποίηση του ευρύτερου κοινού σχετικά με τα επιτεύγματα του Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού.

Keywords

Museum of Byzantine Culture, donor, sponsorship, donation

According to anthropological theoretical approaches, donations –generally gifts– define the credibility of the donor, as well as of the gift receiver, while the object itself is completely intertwined with the personality of the donor. Donations to public institutes of culture and education predate the founding of the Museum of Byzantine Culture, and offer an impetus to highlight and promote our cultural heritage. The donation itself obligates both sides to enter a social contract. In this context, it is important to point out that the museum enriches its collections in order to communicate the cultural object to a wider audience. Particularly in times of economic contraction, a donation is the only means through which a museum can acquire, whether temporarily or permanently, new archaeological objects and works of art. It is also possible for a museum to receive a donation for a non-permanent exhibition, whereby the donor offers their object for free to the museum, thereby highlighting their interest in art, culture and contributing to society, whilst also promoting local history and the proceedings and works of the museum. This creates ties between the donor and the museum that extend through generations. The internal need for supply-donation, if the museum does not lose its credibility in the eyes of the donor, remains transferred from the first owner or collector, sometimes donor, to the legitimate devisee-holder. The donor does not expect anything in return other than internal, moral satisfaction and, perhaps, the gratitude of the benefitted institution.

Over the past three years, the museum's temporary exhibitions with innovative themes, such as "Byzantium and the Arabs", "The reliquary of the True Cross" from Jaucourt, "The Armée d 'Orient in the Balkans: Archaeological evidence for a hospital in Thermi/Sédès", "The Veneration of St Mamas in the Mediterranean: A traveller, border defender saint", primarily featured temporary borrowings from private collections, and two temporary exhibitions, titled "Tour in the Eastern Mediterranean throughout the works of John Trikoglou Collection" and "Thessaloniki of Collectors. City Stories", were populated entirely from private collections and sought to present less well-known but important and interesting aspects of the history of Thessaloniki and, more generally, cultural contacts in the

Mediterranean through the eyes and the interests of collectors within the Greek diaspora.

The state encourages the donation of movable objects or works of art in general by creating economic incentives for the holder-collector to enrich the collections of public museums. Relevant legislative and regulatory framework defines how a movable object has been received by a museum after the opinions of competent Councils of Monuments and after relevant ministerial decisions. Any accepted donation to a museum is recorded in detail, photographed, given a special registration classification number and stored in a secure manner, taking the first necessary steps in preventive conservation. On the object inventory itself, in both written and electronic format, and if it is exhibited, promoted or published, the provenance of this specific donation is noted, along with the information about the donor.

A large part of the collections now on permanent display or stored in the warehouses of the Museum of Byzantine Culture came from donations or through financial sponsorship which allowed the museum to purchase mobile monuments or works of art. Even when it belonged to the 9th Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities, before its independence in 1997 as a special regional service, i.e. even before its foundation, the museum had received donations, and it still does today. The first donation was made in 1977, and the second in 1981. From the 1980s to the present day there has been a constant flow of donations that enrich the museum's collections, almost on an annual basis; many citizens, especially, but not limited to, the local community, contribute to the work of the Museum of Byzantine Culture, despite the economic depression. Outstanding among the donations are those of Demetrios Economopoulos and Dori Papastratos, whose collections are on display in two rooms of the permanent exhibition which bear their names. The first collection was bequeathed to the museum in 1986 in Demetrios Economopoulos' will. The formal transfer took place shortly afterwards, in 1987, under the care of his wife, Anastasia Zamidis-Economopoulos. It consists of 1460 objects dating from prehistoric times to the 19th century, with an emphasis, in terms of quantity and quality, on Byzantine and post-Byzantine icons. The collection of Dori Papastratos, constituting 232 engravings from the 18th and 19th centuries and eight wooden and copper matrices, was given to the museum in 1994 by her daughters, Marina and Daphne Eliades. Parts of these private collections are exhibited in two separate rooms, which were inaugurated on May 27, 2001, and function as independent entities; they complement the museum's main thematic display, and they also allow



Fig. 1: View of the Meteora Monasteries, colour lithograph, last quarter of 19th century. Dory Papastratos donation, 1995.

visitors to perceive the collectors' sources, motives and orientations when building their collections.

The donations of Stella Gagalís, Mata Tsolozidis-Zisiadis (daughter of the collector G. Tsolozidis), Theodora Vlastos-Dragoumis (widow of Ion Dragoumis, Jr.) and Mina Papaloukas are also highly significant, in terms of both quantity and quality. Today, the number of items that were donated to the Museum of Byzantine Culture and are either on display in the permanent exhibitions or stored in the warehouses awaiting their turn for promotion and display to the public surpasses 2000 (475 icons, 233 engravings and lithographs, 10 engraving copper plates, 42 works of modern art from younger and contemporary artists, 481 ceramics, 687 coins, 75 metal objects, 4 fabrics and 2 old printed books), deriving from 40 donors. The donors are usually individuals (primarily, but not exclusively, collectors), cultural institutions (other than museums), non-profit



Fig. 2: *Icon of Saint Godefridus, by Emmanuel Tzanes, 1655. Donation of the Friends of the Museum of Byzantine Culture Association, 2002.*

corporations, businesses or professional organizations. The corporations, businesses and organizations, rather than the state, fund the acquisition of mobile monuments. Also, in order to open up the museum to society



Fig. 3: Lead seal of General Katakalon Kekaumenos, 11th century. Demetrios Portolos donation, 2007.

and attract a wider audience with diverse interests, and to further their aesthetic and intellectual education, the museum hosts exhibitions with works by contemporary artists. The museum also observes the following custom: the artists, as a gift in return for our hospitality and cooperation, donate their creations to enrich the art collection of the museum. This is a very important donation for the future, which the museum has an obligation to preserve for future generations. In order to demonstrate the museum's recognition of the donors' gifts and their decisive contribution to the mission of the museum, two temporary exhibitions were organized (1999 and 2007), and the museum's annual calendar for the year 2012,

with the title “Bearing gifts: Donations and donors in the collections of the Museum of Byzantine Culture”, was dedicated to them.

The Museum of Byzantine Culture celebrated its landmark twentieth anniversary in 2014 with the temporary exhibition “Byzantine treasures of Thessaloniki. The return journey” on September 11, 1994. This

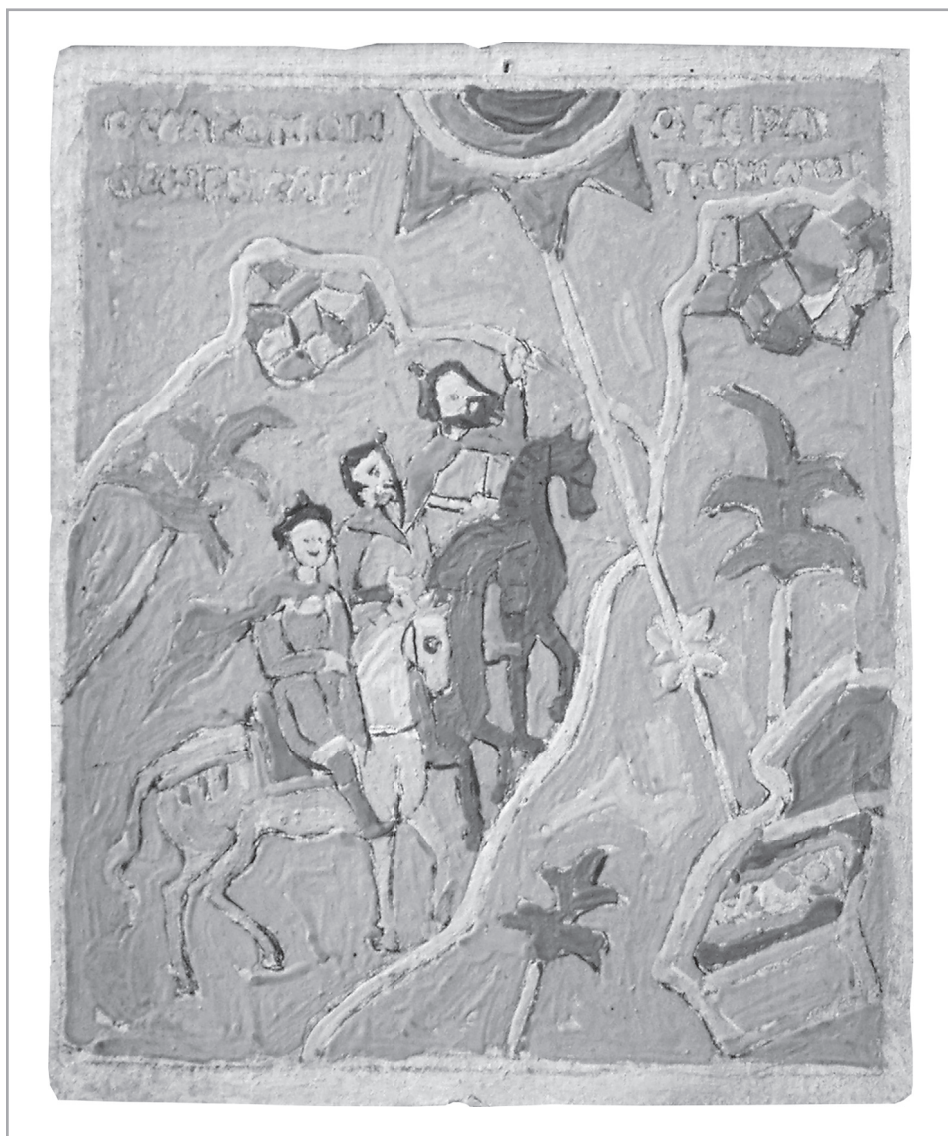


Fig. 4: *Spyros Papaloukas, The Adoration of the Magoi, from the work Horarion, 1924 (copy of a vestment, Stavronikita monastery, 16th century). Mina Papaloukas donation, 2007.*

anniversary celebration included, among others, the temporary exhibition “Ex Thessalonica Lux”, the temporary exhibition gallery “Kyriakos Krokos”, in which works from G. Tsolozidis’ collection were exhibited as a temporary donation, and the international conference “The institution of sponsorship from antiquity to the present”. The museum will next host an exhibition of donations from the past up until today, with representative objects from every donor. The exhibition is currently being prepared and, funding permitting, will open before the summer.¹

Another means of donating is to assist, in any way, the actions of the museum: for example, individuals, institutions and organizations can offer archival and photographic material for cultural, educational and publishing activities. The innovative exhibition of the history of Thessaloniki in the White Tower was made possible through such assistance and the use of new technologies.

The role of donors was and remains decisive for managing and promoting cultural heritage for the Museum of Byzantine Culture. Cultural institutions and corporations are the identity of donors. The permanent exhibition “The twilight of Byzantium”, which opened in 2002, and the conservation of the exhibits were made possible thanks to the generous sponsorship of the Marinopoulos family and the company Carrefour-Marinopoulos SA, in memory of John P. Marinopoulos. The museum’s archaeological storerooms were partly sponsored by PAPASTRATOS ABES, while the museum’s educational programme room was made possible and equipped by sponsorship from the A. G. Leventis Foundation, which also covered the cost of issuing and printing material for the teachers.

Under the Greek law 3525/2007 on “cultural sponsorship” and in the subsequent amendments to the Law until 2011 (Article 11 of N.3842/2010 instead of Article 33 of N.3773/2009, and Article 64 §2e of N.4002/2011), the state has encouraged the statute of sponsorship, which is particularly necessary during times of difficult economic circumstances, such as we are experiencing today. According to the above-mentioned legislative framework, the term “cultural sponsorship” means a pecuniary or other financial benefit in kind of intangible goods or services by individuals

1. “‘Bequeathed to the Byzantine Museum of Thessaloniki’: Donors and sponsors in the history of the Museum of Byzantine Culture”, temporary exhibition, February 28-May 30, 2015, Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki.

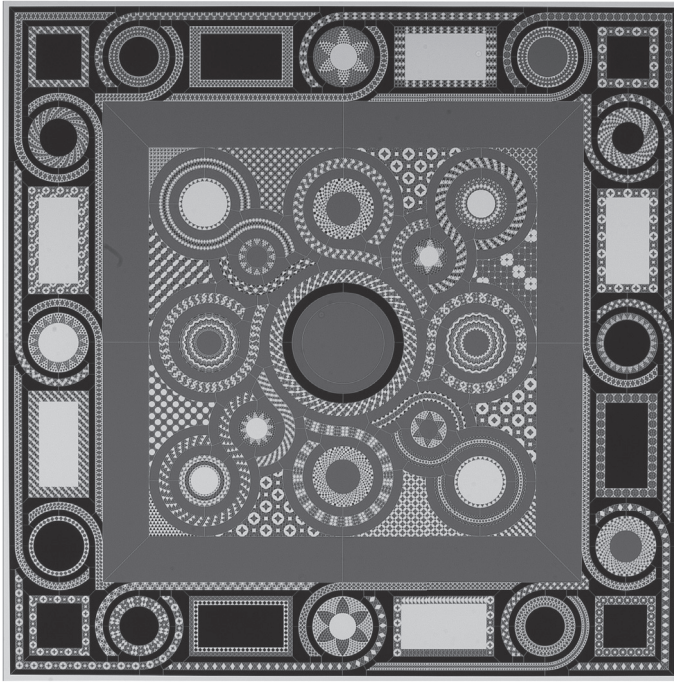


Fig. 5: *Nikos Alexiou, part of the work The End (detail), based on the marble mosaic's pattern of the Katholikon at the Iviron monastery, 2007. Nikos Alexiou donation, 2008.*

or corporate bodies, national or foreign, for the amplification of specific cultural activities or for other purposes dictated by the receiver. Sponsorship/donations simultaneously promote the beneficence and social standing of the donor. In addition to the satisfaction the sponsor receives from their assistance, appreciation and acknowledgement for their social work is also given.

During recent years, the museum has sought and accepted sponsorship or financial support in order to undertake necessary works, such as improvements to its infrastructure, artistic support for temporary exhibitions (graphic-design printing), food services and entertainment. The museum's communication with the wider public has also been sponsored, mainly by the municipality of Athens, OPAP, businesses and freelancers, artists and companies active in the field of culture. The museum has also collaborated with universities and cultural and non-profit associations. The names of the donors are published (and sometimes posted in a prominent position in the museum) on its website and social media, and in any printed or electronic medium of promotion.

The non-profit organization Association of Friends of the Museum of Byzantine Culture has been a continuous supporter, helper and great donor-sponsor to the Museum of Byzantine Culture for many years, with its main objectives being the moral and material reinforcement of the museum, support of its operation and enrichment of its collections, as well as raising awareness in the wider audience of Byzantine culture. Established in 1988, just after the commencement of the construction of the museum building, it assists our museum in a variety of ways: providing material and technical infrastructure, covering operating expenses, enriching the museum's collections, finding sponsors and donors, and financially supporting the educational, cultural and publishing activities of the museum, such as the annual calendar, which has been published since 2000.

In conclusion, cooperation in times of crisis, attracting more wonderful volunteers and sponsorship, strengthening the Association of Friends of the Museum of Byzantine Culture, and conveying our passion for enhancing and promoting our culture are key aims of the Museum of Byzantine Culture, which even now during this time of economic crisis is an active living organism and a dynamic public organization.

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The creation of the Benaki Museum, the founder Antonis Benakis and European standards

Filippa Chorozi

Ιδιαίτερα σημαντική κατά τη διάρκεια των αιώνων έχει υπάρξει η προσφορά ιδιωτών στους τομείς της τέχνης και του πολιτισμού. Ειδικότερα στο 19ο και 20ο αιώνα στην Ευρώπη με την ανάπτυξη του αστικού κόσμου παρατηρείται το φαινόμενο της προσφοράς οικογενειακών συλλογών, κυρίως με την ίδρυση μουσείων και ινστιτούτων. Τέτοιου είδους παραδείγματα εντοπίζονται και στον ελληνικό χώρο. Ο Αντώνης Μπενάκης δώρισε στο ελληνικό κράτος τις προσωπικές και οικογενειακές του συλλογές με στόχο την ίδρυση του Μουσείου Μπενάκη. Το παράδειγμα του μπορεί να εξεταστεί συγκριτικά με αντίστοιχα ευρωπαϊκά παραδείγματα εμπόρων και επιχειρηματιών, όπως του βρετανού Samuel Courtauld. Στο παρόν κείμενο θα εξεταστεί το παράδειγμα του μουσείου Μπενάκη στο πλαίσιο των ευρωπαϊκών παραδειγμάτων. Ο Αντώνης Μπενάκης ως Έλληνας της διασποράς συμμετέχει στον αναδύμενο αστικό κόσμο με την επιχειρηματική δράση και τις προσωπικές επιλογές του. Η ανάδυση του φαινομένου της συλλεκτικής δραστηριότητας και του μαικητισμού των μεγαλοαστών συνδέεται με τον επιτυχή πλουτισμό τους. Στο πεδίο των δημόσιων σχέσεων, ως συμβολικό και κοινωνικό κεφάλαιο είναι εμφανής η παρέμβαση των πλούσιων αστών στην κοινωνία, δράση που αντικατοπτρίζεται με διάφορες μορφές απλής ή σύνθετης δημόσιας παρέμβασης.

Keywords

Benaki Museum, collector, Antonis Benakis

This article examines the Benaki Museum and its links to European standards. The foundation of the museum, along with the goals and objectives of its founder, Antonis Benakis, who came from the Greek business diaspora and sought full integration into the upper echelons of Greek society, is discussed.

The practice of donating items and personal collections in order to create museums and institutions was developed by several well-known European

families. For example, the industrialist, collector and patron of the arts Samuel Courtauld, who was the president of one of the largest textile companies in the world, which became a respected industrial giant under his leadership, was one of the most famous patrons of the arts in Great Britain.

Samuel Courtauld was interested in painting, mainly in the work of young Impressionist artists. Among many other activities, Courtauld, along with Maynard Keynes (1883-1946), founded the Society of Artists in London (1925-1934), which aimed to provide financial assistance to young painters and sculptors. The most important benefaction in the field of arts was the creation of the Courtauld Institute of Art, in 1931, in London. This institute was the first centre in Britain to specialize in the study of art history. The institute opened in October 1932, and, during the same year, Courtauld donated most of his collection, which included works from great artists, such as Vincent van Gogh.¹

Samuel Courtauld set an example of a European practice adopted by major urban families, i.e. intervening in the public sphere through sponsorship, beneficence and creating art collections. Thus, people invested in order to increase their social and symbolic capital – something which previously had been the sole privilege of the nobility. As regards private art collections, the key difference between the nobility and these new benefactors was that the new cohort made their collections available to the public in an attempt to educate people.²

Despite significant differences, the case of Antonis Benakis can also be considered similar. After his settlement in Greece, Antonis Benakis sought to cut himself off from his family business in Alexandria, thus differentiating himself from the rest of his family. Moreover, he focused his attention on the Greek state, a focus that was initiated by his contribution to the cultural life of the country.

The collections of the Benakis family cover almost the entire spectrum of the history of Greek culture, from antiquity to the modern era. This was the first Greek museum to present the entire course of Greek civilization. The museum was created to redefine Greek narrative history within its new borders, after the Asia Minor Disaster.³

The Benakis family was already known prior to the foundation of the museum for its great beneficence both inside and outside Greek borders,

1. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/templates/article.jsp?articleid=32587&back=>. [Last accessed dates needed for all websites]
2. <http://www.courtauld.ac.uk/institute/index.shtml>.
3. *Guide of the Benaki Museum*, 2-20.

and Emmanuel Benakis and his son Antonis, owing to their charity work, were deemed benefactors of the Greek state. The benefactions of the family began in the 19th century within the Greek community of Alexandria, with the creation of a multitude of charities such as the Benakis Orphanage for Girls. The benefactions were also extended within Greece, with the Benakis Children's Asylum, the School of Nursing of the Red Cross and the Athens College.⁴

Antonis Benakis, who was part of an old family of the Greek diaspora in Egypt and the firstborn son of Emmanuel Benakis, was born in Alexandria in 1873 and followed the family tradition of beneficence towards their "new home", Greece – a tradition that had been established within the Hellenic diaspora immediately after the Greek War of Independence. He had a special interest in art and objects of material culture. Since his youth, he had been involved with the art market and creating collections. He was a conscious collector, friend and art lover, who participated in many cultural activities during the interwar period. His direct contact with Western social standards, initially due to his studies and then his business and commercial activities, helped him form modernizing ideas, and he adopted and followed in full the programme of the Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos.

There is no information relating to the creation of the collections of A. Benakis and his family in general. The question of building art collections in Greece in the 19th century is very complex and unclear. The questions regarding the transfer of the collection to Athens remain unanswered.⁵ The Benaki Museum was founded by A. Benakis with a governmental decree in 1930, and was inaugurated on April 22, 1931, by the Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos. It was founded and began operating in the interwar period, during which the political, social and cultural conditions of Greek reality changed.

In 1929, with the publication of his father's will (June 26, 1929), A. Benakis donated his father's house, located on Vasilissis Sofias Avenue, Athens, to the state in order to establish the Benaki Museum. The donation was given in memory of his parents, with the permission of the heirs, Alexandra K. Choremi, Penelope St. Delta, M. Arginine, Salvagos Virginia and I. Romanos.⁶

4. Arvanitakis 2006, 20-46.

5. Though the author's research sheds light on these issues.

6. *Historical Archive of the Benaki Museum, Archive of Antonis Benakis*, Folder 22: Newspapers, Introductory Exposition to the House, April 2, 1930 (6 sheets).

This much we know for certain, since we can rely on the official record “regarding the acceptance of donations by Emmanuel Benaki’s heirs and the establishment of the Benakis Museum”⁷, which was signed by the minister of education George Papandreou.

A donation of £25,000 was provided as a bequest from the will of Emmanuel Benakis. Of this, £15,000 was given to fund the necessary arrangements of and additions to the building and to furnish it in order to accommodate family gatherings. The remaining £10,000 was set aside for the maintenance and operation of the museum.⁸

In their explanatory report to the House, education minister George Papandreou and finance minister George Maris argued that, due to the purpose of the donation and to assure the success of the museum, it was necessary to adopt some special rules for the functioning of the institution. According to the wishes of donors and the political expectations, the successful and day-to-day operation of the museum as an autonomous entity under the management and supervision of the same family of donors had to be ensured.

The composition of the management and artistic board as well as all provisions relating to the museum’s operation ensures not only its exemplary operation but also the continuous increase of its collections.

According to governmental law, the state had the authority to accept donations, but had to abide by the rules of the family. Certain donors imposed some conditions on the donation. The relevant authorities considered it necessary to relieve the heirs of any tax incurred by Emmanuel Benakis’ legacy, which had previously been given to the state to fund the Benaki Museum.

The articles of the draft law covered all possible future scenarios, allowing the board and especially the president to make decisions for them. It is, in fact, the first private museum in Greece to be donated to the state but, from the first day of its operation, the family of donors and then the administrative committee maintained and still continues to maintain administrative responsibility.

The decision to transform a private collection into a museum did not only serve to increase the posterity of the family: the donation could be

7. *Historical Archive of the Benaki Museum, Archive Antonis Benakis, Folder 22.*

8. *Historical Archive of the Benaki Museum, Archive of Antonis Benakis, Folder 22. Explanatory Report.*

viewed as an act of charity that aimed to educate citizens. Aside from the personal collection of the Benakis family, the museum included: the pottery collection of Asia Minor (known as Rhodian), a collection of Indian pottery donated by George Eumorphopoulos and relics from Asia Minor, Pontus and Thrace, which were donated by the Fund of Exchangeable Community and Public Welfare Property. Items donated by various individuals were also included in the museum's collection. In addition to the collections, A. Benakis donated his personal library, containing 5500 titles.

The logical layout of the material during the creation of the museum comes from the first guide of the museum (1935). The collections were exhibited to the public in the manner of a personal collection and without serious intervention by professionals. All were prepared under the watchful eye of the owner.

The exhibition included ancient Greek artefacts, as well as objects from the Byzantine, post-Byzantine and Modern eras. The collection also contained many disparate objects not directly related to Greek culture, such as Islamic, Arabic, Persian, Coptic and Chinese art. These are objects of important, archaeological, artistic, folkloric and historical value.

The structure of the museum and its exhibition resulted in the creation of a new type of exhibition: this type retained the personal character of the collection, was without chronological order, and was primarily driven by the aesthetic criteria of the collector. This arrangement was maintained until 1970 when the museum was restructured.

The Benaki Museum meets all relevant European standards. It is a successful example of a European practice being transported to Greek, and likely served as a model for the creation of other private museums in Greece.

Undoubtedly, the museum bearing the name of his family was the most important cultural creation of Antonis Benakis. His relationship with and dedication to his creation is best reflected in his request that, after his death, his heart should be deposited in the museum—a symbolic act outlined in his will: “I wish that, even after my death, something from me stays at the Museum, which with so much excitement and love I created, and for this reason I command you to build my heart into the Benakis Museum”.

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Dedication to the god as a contribution to the universal dimension of the Greek spirit: The case of Delphi

Athanasia Psalti

*To Maro Kyrkou and Alkestis Choremi,
for their goodwill and love*

Το Δελφικό μαντείο κατέστη ήδη από τον 7ο αιώνα π.Χ. ένας πανελλήνιος τόπος ιερού προσκυνήματος λόγω, κυρίως, της αξιοπιστίας των χρησμών του και της σύνδεσής του με το κίνημα του δεύτερου ελληνικού αποικισμού. Με την πάροδο των αιώνων, τα πολυτελή αναθήματα και τα εξέχουσας αρχιτεκτονικής οικοδομικά έργα, που ανέθεταν οι ελληνικές πόλεις, τα βασίλεια της Ανατολής, οι ηγεμόνες και οι στρατηλάτες, οδήγησαν στη σταδιακή μεταμόρφωση της πετρώδους χώρας σε περιβάλλον περικαλλές, όπου Έλληνες και ξένοι, πιστοί και περιηγητές θαύμαζαν τις αρετές του ελληνικού πνεύματος και διδάσκονταν από αυτές. Η ανάδειξη, παράλληλα, του ιερού των Δελφών ως ισχυρού κέντρου λήψης πολιτικών αποφάσεων, μέσω κυρίως της σύνδεσής του με το θεσμό της Αμφικτυονίας, η οικονομική διάσταση της λειτουργίας του και η καθιέρωσή του στη συλλογική συνείδηση του αρχαίου κόσμου ως «κέντρου», ενίσχυσαν αδιαμφισβήτητα την οικουμενικότητά του. Η φιλοσοφική σκέψη και τα ηθικά διδάγματα που απέρρεαν από τις θεολογικές αντιλήψεις του δελφικού ιερατείου αποτελούν απόδειξη αυτής της καθολικής πνευματικής διάστασης. Τον 19ο αιώνα, η Μεγάλη Ανασκαφή των Δελφών, με δαπάνη της Γαλλικής Αρχαιολογικής Σχολής, θα επαναφέρει στο προσκήνιο το λαμπρό παρελθόν του ιερού και θα συμβάλει στη διαμόρφωση της αισθητικής, αλλά και της πνευματικής ανάπτυξης της νέας Ευρώπης, ενώ η αναβίωση των Δελφικών εορτών κατά τη διάρκεια του μεσοπολέμου, με αποκλειστική χορηγία του Άγγελου και της Εύας Σικελιανού, θα λειτουργήσει λυτρωτικά στη χειμαζόμενη Ελλάδα και θα προσδώσει διεθνές κύρος στην προσπάθεια ανάταξης της χώρας.

Keywords

Delphic oracle, dedications, sponsorship, sanctuary of Delphi, Sikelianos

The oracle at Delphi (Fig. 1), as early as the 7th century BC, was renowned as the most credible oracular centre. It played a decision-making role in political and religious affairs of the Greek states and the rulers of the East. Its prominent position can be traced to its presence in the foundation myths of renowned ancient cities, such as Thebes and Tarentum, and to its identification as an “indisputable” oracle during the second Greek colonization and its role in spreading the practice of worshipping Apollo Pythios to the West.¹

The sanctuary’s widespread reputation resulted in the accumulation of immense wealth and numerous works of art being completed, which were dedicated to the god as proof of the dedicatee’s faith and reverence. The sanctuary’s prosperity is mentioned in both of the Homeric poems: in the *Iliad* (I 404-405), the wealth of the dedications and the large number of animals destined to be sacrificed in “rocky Pytho” are paralleled with the treasures of Troy, while in the *Odyssey* (θ 77-81) Agamemnon receives a prophecy from the oracle before the campaign against Troy.²



Fig. 1: View of the sanctuary of Delphi.

1. Malkin 1989; Psalti 2014.
2. Lentakis 2000, 41.

The sanctuary was flooded with bronze offerings, mostly tripods (Fig. 2) –a characteristic symbol of the Delphic oracle– of which survive mainly the antefixes, monstrous griffins and female flying figures. The surviving material provides evidence for the blending of various artistic trends and the amalgamation of Eastern prototypes by the Greek coppersmiths. It has even been suggested that, during that period, Delphi was one of the places where the so-called “Orientalizing style” was formed; due to the increasing requirements of worshippers, Greek craftsmen came into contact with the teachings of Eastern art, probably through Cyprus,³ which were ultimately assimilated and Greek art became more human-centred.

As early as the 7th century BC, the sanctuary was administratively controlled by the Amphictyonic League of Pylaia and Delphi, a religious association of 12 tribal groups from Thessaly and central Greece based in the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi and that of Demeter in Pylai, a *kome* (small village) in the region of Thermopylae. The Amphictyony served as a guarantor of the peaceful coexistence and association of these tribes, mainly with the purpose of practising their religious duties, especially after the First Sacred War (600-590 BC), when it assisted the inhabitants of Delphi in



Fig. 2: *Bronze tripod handle.*
Middle of the 8th century BC.

3. Partida 1992, 126-138.

regaining their autonomy from neighbouring Krissa. The Amphictyony has even been considered a precursor of institutions such as the League of Nations or the United Nations.⁴

The votives from the Delphic sanctuary reflect the transition of the Greek sculptors at the end of the 7th century BC from producing small-scale art works, such as the bronze statuette of a *kouros* (630 BC; Fig. 3) attributed to Apollo that came from a Cretan workshop,⁵ to creating monumental works, for example the twin *kouroi* (Fig. 4) from the sanctuary which date to the early 6th century BC and which Polymedes εποίησε (made).⁶ The two statues were associated with the heroic act of two brothers from Argos, Kleobis and Biton; according to Herodotus (1.13), these young men fell into a divine-sent sleep after dragging for a long distance the cart of their mother, who was a priestess of Hera: “and the Argives made statues for them and dedicated them to Delphi, because they believed they were excellent (ἀριστοι) men.” Both colossal statues were discovered in 1894 and have been exhibited since then in the Archaeological Museum of Delphi as eloquent examples and eternal symbols of the virtue of the *beautiful and virtuous* (καλού κ’ αγαθού) youths, on whom the survival and future of the Greek city depended.⁷

An imposing statue of the Sphinx, which has been dated to the first decades of the 6th century BC and which was dedicated by the Naxians, was erected in a prominent position in the sacred area of Halos, where Apollo killed Python, son of Mother Earth, the first deity of the land. The mythical creature, with the head of a woman, chest and wings of a bird and body of a lioness, loomed large on a 10 m-high column, proof not only of artistic excellence but also of the high level of technical expertise achieved by the sculptors of the Archaic period.⁸

The most renowned dedication from the Amphictyony occurred in 510 BC, on the occasion of the erection of the new Archaic temple of Apollo. The contractors, who were members of the democratic family of the Alcmaeonidae, constructed the eastern pediment with Parian marble instead of limestone, as is mentioned in the contract, thus allowing for the

4. Amandry 1979, 123-136; Scott 2010, 35-36.

5. Amandry and Chamoux 1991, 162, no. 26.

6. Spivey 2004, 140-142. For the attribution of the *kouroi* to the Dioscuri, see Vatin 1982, 509-525.

7. Jacquemin 1992, 174.

8. Amandry 1952.



Fig. 3: *Bronze statuette of a kouros from a Cretan workshop (630 BC).*

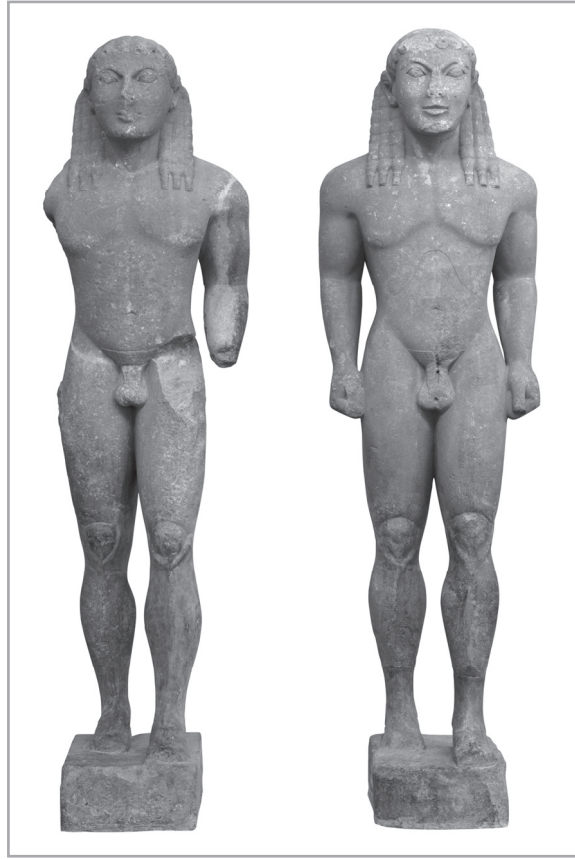


Fig. 4: *The two kouroi of Argos (c. 580 BC)..*

sculptor's abilities to be fully exploited. It has even been suggested that the composition of the pediment, which narrates Apollo's coming to Delphi in the company of young Athenians, both boys and girls, as described in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (the *Suppliants*), was created by the great sculptor Antenor. The political views of the Alcmaeonidae family and their initiative in funding the marble pediment has led to the theory that the sculptural representation possibly promotes the democratic regime.⁹

9. Amandry and Chamoux 1991, 54-56; Boardman 1982, 107, 185.

Undoubtedly, however, the Treasury of the Athenians (Fig. 5) is directly linked to the establishment of the Athenian democracy, and it is the only monument in Delphi that has been fully restored. The first restoration of the treasury took place in 1903-1906, under the auspices of the mayor Spyridon Merkouris, and the cost of restoration (20,000 drachmas) was covered by the Municipality of Athens.¹⁰ The treasury was dedicated immediately after the Battle of Marathon in 490 BC, while in contact with its southern wall, on a triangular plateau, the spoils from the battle were erected. The monument itself –an elegant building in the Doric style made of Parian marble– became, because of its external sculptural decoration, a monument of support to the new regime and proof of the political influence that Athens wanted to impose through artistic expression. The Athenians seem to have deliberately chosen to depict on the two sides of the treasury which were visible to the pilgrims of the sanctuary the Labours of Theseus, the hero of the newly established regime.¹¹



Fig. 5: *The Treasury of the Athenians (beginning of the 5th century BC).*

10. Kolonia 1992, 202. Subsequently, the second restoration of the treasury's epistyle followed in 2004, undertaken by the Services of the Greek Ministry of Culture.

11. Neer 2004, 63-67; Spivey 2004, 168-170.

The small temple-like buildings dedicated by Greek cities in Delphi are treasuries, and they both perpetuated the oracle's fame and power in the eyes of the numerous pilgrims and helped to publicize, both within and outside the borders of the Greek world, great achievements in sculpture and architecture. It is noteworthy that, in 2013, on the occasion of the investiture of Marseilles as the European Capital of Culture, an archaeological exhibition was organized in the honouree city on the Treasury of Marseilles, a magnificent building in the Ionic style with rare Aeolian capitals of the 6th century BC.¹²

As early as 1894, the sculptural works that came to light during the "Great Excavation", as the excavation conducted by the French Archaeological School between the years 1892-1902 is conventionally called, were greeted with enthusiasm by scholars. It must be noted that only for the acquisition of the Kastri village (Fig. 6), which during the more recent period had occupied almost all the archaeological site, the French state spent 500,000 francs. The negotiations lasted ten years, during which time the issue of the management of the country's cultural heritage and the rights of the foreign archaeological schools were extensively discussed. In the contract between the Greek and the French states for the excavation in Delphi, which followed the contract drawn up between Greece and Germany for the excavation of Olympia, the terms imposed established for the first time the new legal framework, which fully ensured Greece's sovereign rights over its monuments, such as the compulsory acquisition of the land to be excavated by the foreign schools on behalf of the Greek state, the preservation and safekeeping of the finds in the country, even the doubles, and the supervision of the foreign schools by the Archaeological Service.¹³ It is also worth noting that, during the Great Excavation, two fields of science –photography and topography– developed, and these were necessary for the documentation of the archaeological research and the architectural mapping of the monuments.

As previously mentioned, the discovery of innumerable masterpieces of Classical art played an indisputable role in the shaping of European cultural identity during the 19th century. Among the finds that came to light, the

12. On this occasion, both a catalogue and an important monograph on the monument were published. In addition, new studies and analyses were conducted on the restoration of the frieze and its original paint colours; Garsson 2013.

13. Picard 1992, 12-14.



Fig. 6: *Delphi before the expropriation of Kastri village.*

Hymn to Apollo attracted international interest because it was “the most authentic and most extensive example of ancient Greek music”. Its discovery resulted in extensive meetings and lectures, which were organized not only in Greece but around the world by the Greek diaspora, even in South Africa, as was published in the newspaper *Paliggenesia* on May 14, 1894. “The *Hymn* becomes for the Greeks a symbol of the country’s glorious past, which is presented to the European audience in order to consolidate their nation’s recognition”; even the sports conference held in 1894 by Pierre de Coubertin for the establishment of the international Olympic Games began with a performance of the *Hymn*.¹⁴

Of the Delphic masterpieces that amazed an international audience (through copies that were reproduced before the end of the 19th century and exhibited in the Louvre next to the Nike of Samothrace) was the sculptural decoration of the Treasury of the Siphnians (Fig. 7), a work dated to 530 BC. The sculptural decoration of the treasury’s external sides (with elaborate floral ornaments), the two fully adorned *korai* of the porch, the exquisite frieze with the assembly of the gods, the Trojan War and the

14. Kolonia 1992, 196-197.



Fig. 7: *The Treasury of the Siphnians. Detail of the eastern frieze.*

Gigantomachy have been recognized as the “triumph of the Ionic style” and the climax of Archaic art, which led to the dawn of an art dedicated to man, the art of the Classical period.¹⁵

The Charioteer (Fig. 8), a dedication of Polyzalus (the tyrant of Gela), constitutes an example *par excellence* of that period’s great sculpture.¹⁶ The statue was discovered in 1896 and constituted part of a larger composition, which was likely dedicated after the Pythian Games of 474 BC. The enthusiasm that followed the discovery was reasonable, since it was, at that time, the only known bronze statue in human size from Classical antiquity, a youth of noble descent with a “still movement that is breath-taking and a transparent look”, as G. Seferis describes him.¹⁷

During the Hellenistic period, according to the epigraphic evidence, and more precisely in 159/158 BC, Eumenes II of Pergamum contributed to the reconstruction of the theatre (Fig. 9), at the request of Delphi, by sending both financial aid and slaves.

15. Neer 2001, 273-344; Picard and de La Coste-Messeliere 1928.

16. Chamoux 1955.

17. Seferis 1984, 143.



Fig. 8: *The Charioteer of Delphi.*



Fig. 9: *The ancient theatre of Delphi.*

During the Roman period, Delphi was not short of great benefactions from the Roman emperors, who recognized the possibility of demonstrating their political and legislative work through preserving the old glory of the “world’s center”.¹⁸ An important benefactor for the Delphic sanctuary was the Roman general Titus Quintus Flamininus, who was victorious in the battle at Cynoscephalae against the king of Macedonia Philip V, and he was awarded the title “liberator of the Greek cities”. It is documented that he offered rich dedications at Delphi.

In 168 BC, after the Battle of Pydna, the Roman *consul* Lucius Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus erected the final war monument of the sanctuary, a bronze statue the pedestal of which is decorated with the first historical relief in the history of art. It is a 10 m-high column, which was erected in front of the façade of Apollo’s temple. According to ancient sources, the relief, which is currently exhibited in the Museum of Delphi, depicted the historical battle between the Roman legions and the Macedonian phalanx.¹⁹

18. Parke 2000, 159-163.

19. Kahler 1965; Laroche and Jacquemin 1982, 207-212.

Repairs to the theatre, as well as the installation on the proscenium of a relief frieze depicting the Labours of Hercules took place in AD 67, probably on the occasion of Nero's visit to Delphi; that visit was also connected with the eccentric emperor's participation in the Pythian Games and his victory nomination (which was especially offensive to the games' ethics). Nero, despite stealing 500 bronze statues from Delphi in order to decorate his luxurious "golden house", helped rebuild the Delphic oracle and the theatre of Delphi to the sum of 100,000 *denarii*.²⁰

The philhellene emperor Hadrian visited the oracle twice, in AD 125 and 129; he spent large sums of money on reconstructing its monuments and provided for the reorganization of the institution of the Amphictyony.²¹ He also dedicated in the sanctuary one of the most beautiful statues of Antinous, his beloved companion who was untimely lost, with the characteristic melancholic look and the almost porcelain skin.²²

It should be noted that the donations made by wealthy Roman citizens were also important. The stadium of Delphi (Fig. 10), one of the best preserved monuments of its kind, hosted athletic games in the 3rd century AD, having assumed its current form sometime between AD 167 and 177 thanks to the sponsorship of the wealthy Athenian Herodes Atticus. Herodes Atticus funded the reconstruction of the stone bleachers for 6500 spectators and the construction of a monumental propylon with apsidal openings between the four columns, which form niches for honorary statues.²³

After the completion of the Great Excavation, on May 2, 1903, the first museum of Delphi was erected thanks to the generosity of Iphigeneia Syggrou. During its operation over more than 110 years, it was an ark of education and culture that spread the values and virtues of the ancient Greek spirit.²⁴ The Museum of Delphi was intrinsically linked with the archaeological site of Delphi, a monument which has been protected by UNESCO since 1987.

During the interwar period, the work of Angelos Sikelianos and his American wife, Eva Palmer, focused on the revival of the Delphic idea, i.e. the creation of a universal spiritual core with Delphi as its centre, in which the spiritual reclassification of the international society would prevail and

20. Kolonia 2013, 131-145.

21. Scott 2014, 234-237.

22. Amandry and Chamoux 1991, 133-135.

23. Perrier 2013, 155-163.

24. Kolonia 2006.



Fig. 10: *The Stadium of Delphi.*

peace for humanity might be accomplished.²⁵ As Eva describes in her autobiography, “a temple would be built in Delphi focused on education, economy and justice for the whole world”, with ancient drama being used as a vehicle for spreading this idea.²⁶

Sikelianos and Palmer spent most of Eva’s great fortune to achieve their purpose. In 1927 and 1930, during the Delphic festivals, Aeschylus’ *Prometheus Bound* and *Suppliants* were performed for the first time in modern history, in their natural space. Indeed, the planned Delphic festivals of 1929, which were cancelled due to the lack of state assistance, had the potential to create at Delphi an international exhibition of architecture, painting which would have blended ancient Greek art and folk creations with modern art.²⁷ The revival of the ancient drama performance in the places with the same view and acoustics, where they were born, along with the recognition of the significance of folklore as an inextricable part of Hellenism resulted in a new boost for Greek cultural issues and contributed

25. Giakoumatos 2002, 197.

26. Palmer-Sikelianou 1992, 82-83.

27. Giakoumatos 2002, 199-200.

to the creation of an important institution of modern Greece: the Athens and Epidaurus Festival.²⁸

Despite the fact that the dream of Angelos and Eva was not realized, the seeds of their idea, which were combined with the ideas emerging in Central Europe after the end of the First World War,²⁹ led during the 1950s to the creation of the European Cultural Centre of Delphi (ECCD) in a space granted by the Greek state. The ECCD, which is under the auspices of the Council of Europe, continues to develop important artistic and intellectual activities, mainly in connection with ancient drama, as a direct result of Sikelianos' and Palmer's efforts.

The last significant documented sponsorship in the Delphic sanctuary is that of the sisters Theodora and Polytimi Andriopoulou, who, through the DIAZOMA Association, donated €100,000, which was spent on a restoration study of the ancient theatre.

The operation of the Delphic oracle for more than 1000 years helped to shape the universal character of ancient Greek spirit through the spread and development of the arts, as well as the spread of humanitarian ideas. Values such as justice and democracy were largely formed in the oracle's space and then spread across the world during antiquity. The belief that the site was the centre of the world and its participation in the founding of colonies, the spread of the Greek language and Greek culture to the West, the acceptance of the two different natures of man necessary for a person's balance (as expressed through the convergence of the Apollonian and the Dionysian spirits), the promotion of piety as one of the most important virtues, making important political decisions during antiquity and the development of the institution of the Amphictyony are but a few of the tributes supporting the aforementioned reflection.

Delphi is an indicative case of an ancient sanctuary that was shaped by and that flourished thanks to the worshippers' offerings. These dedications provided it with prestige and also served as a means of spreading Delphic theological principles and, through this, spreading the principles and the views of a universal culture—that of Ancient Greece.

28. Tzermias 2002.

29. Giakoumatos 2002, 202.

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The A. G. Leventis Foundation as *choregos*

Charalambos Bakirtzis

Χορηγός: διδάσκαλος, και ό επιδούς τι τών ιδίων. τοῦ χοροῦ ἐξάρχων.

Ἡσύχιος, Γραμματικὸς *Ἀλεξανδρεὺς*

Στη διάρκεια τριάντα πέντε χρόνων συνεχούς και αμείωτης χορηγικής δραστηριότητας το Ίδρυμα Α. Γ. Λεβέντη παραμένει σταθερά προσανατολισμένο στους στόχους που έθεσε ο ιδρυτής του Αναστάσιος Γεώργιος Λεβέντης (1902-1978): να προσβλέπει με εμπιστοσύνη στην καλύτερη παιδεία και καλλιέργεια των νέων και να επιδιώκει την αποτελεσματική προστασία και πειστική ανάδειξη της πολιτιστικής και θρησκευτικής κληρονομιάς του απανταχού Ελληνισμού και της Κύπρου ειδικότερα. Επιπλέον, σε μία εποχή που χαρακτηρίζεται από δυσεπίλυτα οικολογικά προβλήματα, όπως η σημερινή, το ενδιαφέρον του Ίδρύματος για το φυσικό περιβάλλον και την υγεία γίνεται εντονότερο. Επίσης, σε καταστάσεις οικονομικής κρίσεως το Ίδρυμα, ως ζων οργανισμός, στρέφεται περισσότερο στην απάλυνση της ανέχειας και στην προστασία των δεινοπαθόντων. Στην πρακτική των χορηγιών το Ίδρυμα εκτιμά ότι εξίσου σημαντική με τη σύλληψη ενός προγράμματος είναι η συστηματική παρακολούθηση και η ολοκλήρωσή του. Γι' αυτό ενισχύει και υποστηρίζει όσους αγωνίζονται για την προαγωγή της αειφορίας. Αειφορία σημαίνει δημιουργία θέσεων εργασίας, δημιουργία εισοδήματος, μείωση της ανέχειας, μεταβίβαση δεξιοτήτων και προστιθέμενη αξία. Για αυτό και κάθε χορηγία οφείλει να παράγει το δικό της 'εισόδημα' δημιουργώντας την κατάλληλη δυναμική που θα υπηρετήσει έναν συνεχώς διευρυνόμενο αριθμό ανθρώπων.

Keywords

A. G. Leventis Foundation, Cyprus, cultural heritage, environmental protection, education, *choregos*

This article considers the activities—as a *choregos* (*choregia*; patronage)—of the foundation which bears the name of Anastasios G. Leventis. Anastasios Georgios Leventis came from Petra, in Solea, now an occupied village

in the district of Nicosia, Cyprus. He left as a young man and went to France and England, but it was in West Africa that he built a financially successful empire, thanks to his energy, vision, creativity and his goodwill towards others.¹ When he was in Africa, he remained in close contact with his Cypriot relations whilst simultaneously developing enduring bonds of trust and dedication with those who worked in his enterprises. An entrepreneur whose personal wealth grew rapidly, he was nevertheless a supporter of the independence movements in West Africa and won the confidence, respect, friendship and support of the local people. I am of the opinion that Leventis' attitude and amiability towards others was due to his roots in a classless, mainly agricultural, Cyprus, which was then under the colonial power of Britain and whose survival depended entirely on the hard work of its citizens, the Greek language, orthodoxy, solidarity and education.

The origins of Leventis' inclination towards patronage may be traced to his bonds with his family and nostalgia. While he was in Africa, he provided assistance to the villages in Cyprus which had links to his family, he supported young people in their studies and offered help to numerous people. After 1960, Anastasios Leventis changed. He proudly assisted the newly formed Republic of Cyprus, working closely with the president, Archbishop Makarios, in many fields, such as strengthening defences, and attending meetings of the United Nations General Assembly, bringing to bear his ties of friendship with African member countries of the UN.

One of the fruits of collaboration with Makarios was the foundation of the Old People's Home (Μέγαθρον Εὐγηρίας) in Nicosia, the first of its kind in Cyprus, in 1960, which was a model of social welfare and was of the Modernist style. Looking at the initial architectural plans for the home, we can discern evidence of Leventis' attitude towards work and patronage: the director's office did not have an outer office for a secretary, but it did have a small bedroom at the back, fitted out to allow the director to work 24 hours a day and not leave his post.

Leventis was a staunch supporter of the Department of Antiquities because he realized its significant role in establishing the reputation of Cyprus internationally as an independent state. The restoration of two important Byzantine monuments, the Monastery of Agios Chrysostomos Koutsoventis

1. For a brief account of the life of Anastasios Leventis, see *The A.G. Leventis Foundation* 1990, 7-8; *The A. G. Leventis Foundation* 1998, 12-15; Karageorghis 2010a, 35-38.

and that of the Panagia Apsinthiotissa in Sykhari, demonstrates the practicality and efficiency of the department.² He supported the first “Treasures of Cyprus” exhibition in its journey round the world; it was the first comprehensive exhibition of the cultural heritage of Cyprus and it had links with both Hellenism and European values.³

In Paris, he built up an impressive collection of paintings by French and European artists, and in Athens he established a collection of Modern Greek paintings; in Nicosia, he created an important collection with works of Cypriot painters.⁴ In this way, he became a serious collector of works of art.

The Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, the occupation of a large portion of the island, including his birthplace in Petra, and the refugee status imposed on a large part of the population constituted a heavy blow to Anastasios Leventis and he never returned to Cyprus thereafter. As the Cypriot representative to UNESCO, he condemned the destruction of the cultural heritage and monuments in the occupied territories and the brutal alteration of the features of the natural and cultural landscape. He exerted himself to the full in his quest to have returned those archaeological treasures which had been stolen, smuggled abroad and then sold.⁵ It seems that, at this time of despair, he came to realize fully the responsibility of being a patron of culture. He died in 1978, having made arrangements for the creation of a foundation which would bear his name and would have as its aims: the dissemination and study of Cyprus and Greek culture, the education of the young, and charity. The spirit of patronage which Anastasios Leventis exhibited likely derived from his desire to give himself to others and from his love of his homeland. However, it was in the years of the Republic of Cyprus that his faith in the above values was confirmed, as was his desire for their impact to be felt over time. It is worth noting that this is what Byzantine benefactors wanted and also the reason they took pains to ensure that their works would remain after their deaths: “I enjoy the most holy superior of the day, and all the monks of the monastery, to care for it, and to restore whatever damage they incur over the course of time” (ch. 72), wrote

2. *Annual Report* 1963, 11, 19; *Annual Report* 1964, 9, 15; *Annual Report* 1965, 9, 19.

3. *Trésors de Chypre*.

4. Arapoglou 1989 and 2012; Hatzaki 2013; Lambraki-Plaka 2012.

5. Committee for the Protection of the Cultural Heritage of Cyprus, *Cyprus: A Civilization Plundered*, Athens: The Hellenic Parliament, 1999.

Isaakios Komnenos, the founder of the Kosmosoteira monastery (Thrace), in 1151/1152.⁶

The A. G. Leventis Foundation acquired official status in May 1979, and its first president was Konstantinos (Dinos) Leventis, who was the nephew of Anastasios and a Cambridge graduate. With his faith in humanistic values and a gift for choosing capable associates and inspiring cooperation, he was able to bring focus to the aims of the foundation, as a patron (*choregos*), and broaden its activities, always within the context of its initial aims and the desire and will of the founder. This continuum and refusal to waver from its aims are the fundamental enduring features of a *choregos* such as the A. G. Leventis Foundation.

The foundation was set up, as previously mentioned, at a time of despair, when the people of Cyprus, after the Turkish invasion and the occupation of a large portion of the island, acquired a more profound sense and firmer grasp of their history and culture. This is why, in the initial years, the members of the board funnelled the activities of the foundation more towards mending injuries and salving wounded pride: historic churches were repaired, wall paintings and icons were preserved, woodcarvings were saved, artistic treasures which had been pillaged in the occupied territories of Cyprus after the invasion in 1974 and sold abroad were bought and repatriated, which brought international recognition and admiration to the small island.⁷

While the “Treasures of Cyprus” exhibition made the newly established island republic better known, the programme which followed dragged forgotten Cypriot antiquities out of museum vaults. It preserved them and exhibited them in the greatest museums, in the catalogues of which they were published (the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, the Antikensammlung, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Berlin, the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, the National Museum of Denmark, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, the National Museum of Ireland, the Classical Museum in University College Dublin, the British Museum in London, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Archaeological Museum in Odessa, the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, the Musée du Louvre in Paris, the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm, the Eretz Israel Museum in Tel Aviv, the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto and the Kunsthistorisches

6. Thomas and Constantinides-Hero 2001, 782-858.

7. Karageorghis 1990.

Museum in Vienna).⁸ This ambitious project illustrates the scale on which Dinos Leventis operated, though his achievements would not have been possible without the energy, unflagging efforts and expertise of Vassos Karageorghis, who was the director of the Foundation Anastasios G. Leventis from 1989 to 2010.

In order to achieve its aims, the foundation supported private individuals, institutions and international organizations such as UNESCO, Europa Nostra, the Commonwealth, the International Fund for Agricultural Development and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Heritage, in Rome. The foundation carried out an unprecedented amount of work, with an exceptionally small, but devoted, staff. It reduced to a minimum its administrative and running costs and avoided funding programmes which would have consumed a disproportionate proportion of its resources. In this way, these resources could be spread further, and it is no exaggeration to say that the Leventis Foundation left no stone unturned. A significant factor in its success as a patron has been its control of the implementation of programmes and their results. Without proper control, patronage can easily become lost in the system. Very few activities are actually implemented by the foundation itself and even these are through its subsidiaries in Nicosia (The Foundation Anastasios G. Leventis) and Nigeria. These include the running of the farm schools in Nigeria and the Corpus of Ancient Cypriot Literature in Nicosia,⁹ which is the only publishing arm of the foundation. Thus far, the publications of the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation number 141 titles, many of which were written by third parties who received funding from the foundation.¹⁰

Konstantinos Leventis, a restrained and measured person, who, in private, was proud to call himself a historian, departed this life at the age of 64 in 2002.¹¹ He was succeeded as president of the foundation by his brother Tassos (Anastasios Pavlos) Leventis, whose childhood was linked to the memories of the people and natural setting of West Africa. He studied in England and France, and focused on the ongoing study and protection of the environment.

8. Karageorghis 2004.

9. Voskos *et al.* 1995-2008.

10. See www.agleventisfoundation.org/publications.

11. Karageorghis 2010b, 39-45.

With simplicity, exactitude, organization and artistic sensitivity, Tassos Leventis systematized and modernized the activities of the A. G. Leventis Foundation, highlighting the combination of the protection of the archaeological, artistic and cultural heritage and of the natural environment as the primary orientation for our century. He emphasized the negative role of heedless development, but also the hope engendered among people by the progress of technology.¹²

Apart from quality and vision in education, philanthropy, the promotion of Cyprus and of Hellenism, protection of the cultural heritage and of the natural environment, the projects patronized by the foundation have to demonstrate their utility and ramifications on society. Over four decades, continuity, optimism and effectiveness created a sense of responsibility, and the foundation, as a patron, became clearer and more demanding regarding the sustainability of its programmes. Every act of patronage has to provide its own human “profit”, creating the appropriate dynamic to serve an ever-expanding number of people. The mission of the foundation is to respond to the needs of institutions, organizations and individuals who are active both within and beyond the bounds of the aims which have been agreed, and who are seeking not merely innovation but also continuity through sustainability.

Through their inspiration, vision and courteousness, the two brothers, Dinos and Tassos, unobtrusively brought the A. G. Leventis Foundation beyond the borders of Cyprus and Greece and into the Middle East, North Africa, the Balkans, Europe and America, always approaching Greek culture with faith, optimism and hope. Those examining the achievements of the A. G. Leventis Foundation will see for themselves the multifaceted, socially beneficial work carried out under the patronage of the foundation.

Owing to limited space, I am unable to do more than mention briefly the activities of the A. G. Leventis Foundation. More information can be found in its publications on the twentieth and thirtieth anniversaries and in the annual reports.¹³

12. Anastasios P. Leventis, “Economics and the Environment: Business as Usual? A Charitable Foundation Faces the Question”, The 2011 Hubert Curien Memorial Lecture, Cyprus Institute, Nicosia, November 10, 2011.

13. There is a reference to the activities of the A. G. Leventis Foundation between the years 1979-2008 in the prologue of the 2nd edition of the 1st volume of *Ancient*

Staying faithful to its humanistic values, it has increased and systematized its scholarships for young people to study at the best universities abroad. After the foundation of the University of Cyprus (1989), it lost no time in supporting its activities and established the Leventis Research Programme, which aims to reinforce research in humanist fields.¹⁴

In Cyprus and Greece, it has supported archaeological research and preserved monuments, such as the restoration of the temple of Zeus and the Philipeion in Olympia.¹⁵ Through conferences and publications, the role of Cyprus in the evolution of the culture of the Eastern Mediterranean has been highlighted, as have its relations with the Aegean and the East in antiquity.¹⁶

The aim of the A. G. Leventis Foundation was to establish museums and libraries in Cyprus (the Museums of the Pancyprian Gymnasium, and the Palaihoiri Museum of Byzantine Heritage). An exceptional example is the very active Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia:¹⁷ the foundation played a major role in its establishment (in 1984) and, thereafter, its administration, purchasing and restoring two old historical houses in the centre of Nicosia and turning them into exhibition spaces. It has added to its collections and has undertaken the expenses of its academic staff, the periodic exhibitions and its educational and research programmes.

It has also provided support for museums and libraries in Greece, the renovation of the Odessa Archaeological Museum,¹⁸ the establishment of the Archaeological Museum in Cherson in the Crimea which could be, as the Archaeological Museum in Nessebar in Bulgaria,¹⁹ a museum of Ancient Greek colonization, as well as Modern Greek libraries in the Universities of Mariupol, Kharkov and Belgrade.

The foundation has staged large and important exhibitions in Helsinki, London, Los Angeles, New York, Paris, Rome, Washington DC and

Cypriot Literature, Nicosia 2008, pp. ix-xiv, as well as in the account given in *The A. G. Leventis Foundation* 1990; *The A.G. Leventis Foundation* 1998, and in Simpson 2010. Information is available also in the annual reports of *The A. G. Leventis Foundation: News and Grants* 2011, 2012 and 2013.

14. Gagatsis 2011.

15. Bakirtzis 2013a; Karageorghis 2010c, 285-287.

16. Karageorghis 2002.

17. Hadjigavriel 1989; Hadjigavriel and Poyiadji Richter 2006; Hadjigavriel and Theodotou 2009.

18. Karageorghis *et al.* 2001.

19. Kiyashkina *et al.* 2012, sponsored by the A. G. Leventis Foundation; Bakirtzis 2012.

elsewhere.²⁰ It has accorded a dominant position to Byzantium and supported the Orthodox Church through the restoration of monuments in Cyprus, Greece, Bulgaria and Belgorod, at the mouth of the River Dniester. It has also conserved wall paintings, such as those in the Monastery of Panagia Petritzonitissa at Batchkovo and in Lebanon,²¹ mural mosaics, such as those in Turabdin in southeast Turkey,²² icons from the Black Sea coast,²³ manuscripts, such as those of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, and other treasures in the Monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai. It has established ecclesiastical treasuries in the Monastery of Agios Ioannis Lampadistis at Kalopanagiotis, the Monastery of Panagia Chrysorogiatissa and the Monastery of Timios Stavros at Omodos, as well as other, smaller ones, in Lemythou village, for example.²⁴

The *Megale tou Genous Schole* (Great School of the Greek Nation) of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Greek Cathedral Church of Holy Wisdom (Agia Sofia) in London, Saint Etienne in Paris, the Orthodox Church of Estonia, the Patriarchate of Jerusalem,²⁵ the Patriarchate of Alexandria and All Africa, The Monastery of Agia Aikaterine in Sinai, the Metropolis of Memphis, Nigeria, and the Archdiocese of Kenya and Irinoupolis have all benefitted from the care of the foundation.

Concern for Greek culture, the Greek language and Greek diaspora communities led to an international support programme for Greek studies in many universities abroad and the establishment of chairs such as those at Cambridge, Oxford, London, Dublin and Mexico. In Mariupol, prizes are awarded for excellence in Greek to students and school children in annual competitions throughout the Ukraine, and support is also given to students writing theses on issues of Hellenism in faraway Azov.²⁶

20. Alekseyev 2006; *Athos: Monastic Life on the Holy Mountain*, Tennis Palace Art Museum in Helsinki, August 2006-January 2007; Childs *et al.* 2012; Cormack and Vassilaki 2009; Drandaki, Papanikola-Bakirtzi and Tourta 2013; Evans 2004; Godart 2013; Sophocleous 2000.

21. Bakalova *et al.* 2003; Zeina Sfeir, *If Walls Could Talk*, DVD produced by Conservation Sarl (2013) about the frescoes in the Maronite church of Mar Tadros in the village of Behdaidat in Mount Lebanon.

22. Karageorghis 2010e, 393-398.

23. Tourta 2011.

24. *Le trésor ecclésiastique du Monastère de Chrysorogiatissa*, published by A. G. Leventis Foundation, Nicosia, 2011.

25. Karageorghis and Bakirtzis 2010.

26. Bakirtzis 2010; Karageorghis 2010d, 376-379; Kutna 2013.

Farm schools were founded in Nigeria and Ghana, introducing innovative methods of training small farmers in improving productivity and environmental awareness. In Cyprus, the Laona programme has been able to demonstrate that protection of the environment is also economically viable. The protection of nature in the 20th century is inextricably linked to the protection of history and cultural heritage.²⁷ In a world which is dominated by technology and is changing its form and morals at a rapid rate, the preservation of our historic memory and of the natural environment have become humanist values.

Philanthropy characterizes all the activities of the foundation. In the field of health, it encourages research programmes and international cooperation efforts, is in touch with charitable organizations and supports significant medical programmes in Cyprus, Britain, Nigeria, Ghana, America and Bulgaria.

Beyond all this, the establishment and *avant garde* construction of the bioclimatic building of the A. G. Leventis Gallery in Nicosia, Cyprus, where the foundation's three art collections are housed (its doors opened to the public on March 25, 2014), has placed the A. G. Leventis Foundation firmly in the ranks of the great benefactors of Cyprus and patrons of Greek and European culture.²⁸ With the opening of the A. G. Leventis Gallery, another page is turned and a new chapter begins for the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation

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27. Bakirtzis 2013b, 19-21.

28. Hadjigavriel and Theodotou 2014; Schiza 2014.

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The ethical and operational framework of modern sponsorship

Peter Zounis

Η χορηγία είναι από τη φύση της ένα επικοινωνιακό εργαλείο, η λειτουργία της οποίας βασίζεται διεθνώς στην αρχή της αυτορρύθμισης και στον αμοιβαίο σεβασμό μεταξύ των συμβαλλόμενων μερών, χορηγών και χορηγουμένων – αποδεκτών της χορηγίας. Για την επιτυχία της συνεργασίας μεταξύ χορηγών και χορηγουμένων – αποδεκτών της χορηγίας, είναι πολύ σημαντικό οι σχέσεις και τα όρια των σχέσεων των συμβαλλομένων να διέπονται από συγκεκριμένους δεοντολογικούς κανόνες που θα βοηθούν τόσο στην αυτορρύθμιση όσο και στην επίλυση τυχόν διαφορών που θα προκύψουν στην πορεία της υλοποίησης της συνεργασίας τους. Μέσα από την διερεύνηση των διεθνών κανόνων χορηγικής δεοντολογίας (νέος “ενοποιημένος κώδικας Διαφήμισης και Πρακτικής Επικοινωνιακού Μάρκετινγκ” του Διεθνούς Εμπορικού Επιμελητηρίου, “Γενικές Αρχές για την καλή εφαρμογή της χορηγίας των τεχνών στην Ευρώπη” της CEREC (Ευρωπαϊκή Επιτροπή για την Προσέγγιση της Οικονομίας και του Πολιτισμού) καθώς και του θεσμικού πλαισίου της εθνικής πολιτιστικής χορηγικής νομοθεσίας (Νόμος 3525/2007 «Πολιτιστική Χορηγία») επιχειρείται να κωδικοποιηθούν οι κοινά παραδεκτές θεμελιώδεις δεοντολογικές αρχές που συντελούν στην εύρυθμη πορεία μιας χορηγικής συνεργασίας.

Keywords

Sponsorship, cultural sponsorship, ethical rules, sponsors, sponsored parties

Introduction

Sponsorship is a modern and dynamic instrument for financing cultural institutions (organizations and units). Sponsorship can, in a targeted way, transfer resources from the private (business) to the public and social sectors, which play a significant role in culture and the arts. Sponsorship is a multidimensional and complex concept, which is examined and analysed in terms of its etymological interpretation and interdisciplinary performance.¹

1. Gantzias 2010.

For sponsorship to operate, it is necessary for the corporate sponsors and sponsored parties—the recipients of sponsorship—to work together. The degree of cooperation and understanding between them will largely determine the success of the project, and, to assure its continuance, it is useful to have clear and detailed ethical rules determining their relationships and limits.

The meaning and importance of sponsorship and cultural sponsorship

First, we need to clearly define the concepts of sponsorship and cultural sponsorship, which have often become the unwitting subjects of misinterpretation and abuse in Greece. According to Professor George Gantzias,² sponsorship is a form of “interactive cultural exchange”, a “business practice of corporate social responsibility” and an “alternative investment”.

The word sponsorship derives from the verb to sponsor, which in Ancient Greek means someone who leads the chorus (a group of dancers and singers who narrate stories in verse form).³ Essentially, it means the act of a citizen, in most cases an Athenian, in financially supporting dramatic performances in the context of major religious celebrations (Dionysia, Panathenaea, Eleusinian Mysteries, Linea, Anthestiria, etc.). Pascale G. Quester and Beverly Thompson⁴ believe that the Anglo-Saxon word for sponsorship derives from the Greek word sponsorship (*choregia*).

According to Steve Sleight,⁵ sponsorship is a business relationship between a provider of funds, resources or services and an individual, event or organization which offers in return some rights and associations that may be used for commercial advantage. The professor of marketing at University College Dublin Tony Meenaghan⁶ defines sponsorship as the investment of money or in kind in an activity in return for access to the exploitable commercial advantages associated with this activity.

According to the integrated Code of Advertising and Marketing Communications Practice of the International Chamber of Commerce (Advertising and Marketing Communication Practice Consolidated ICC

2. Op. cit.

3. Skaltsa 1992.

4. Quester and Thompson 2001.

5. Sleight 1989.

6. Meenaghan 1991.

Code), sponsorship is a commercial agreement whereby the sponsor (company (corporation) or entity (legal person)), to the mutual benefit of sponsor and sponsored party, agrees to provide financial or other support to the sponsorship party (natural person (individual) or legal entity (legal person)) in order to establish an association between the sponsor's image, products or services and a sponsorship property (e.g. event organization, individual (artist, athlete, etc.)) in return for the right to promote this association and/or for the certain agreed direct or indirect benefits.⁷

The Association of Business Sponsorship of the Arts (ABSA) in Great Britain defines the sponsorship of the arts and culture (arts sponsorship) as the payment of money or delivery of goods or services from a business in a cultural organization (arts organization) to highlight the name of the products or services of the firm.⁸

From the Greek side, it is worth mentioning the definition given in 1990 at the international conference in Athens "Modern sponsor and the arts" by Thales Koutoupis,⁹ a distinguished professional in the field of communication and public relations: sponsorship (social) is the funding and support of non-profit organizations and/or activities on social issues, by private companies (compensated solely by social beneficence), which transfer resources from the private to the public and social sectors.

The sponsoring of arts and culture is constantly changing, and it is challenging to find one definition to cover every aspect of this reality. Definitions inevitably risk generality, owing to brevity, and cannot adequately encompass every parameter. The parameters usually omitted, according to Matoula Skaltsa,¹⁰ are:

- Sponsorship can establish, strengthen or restore the image and identity of the company.
- Sponsorship can support the company's advertising strategy.
- Sponsorship can be part of a company's policy in the field of public relations, cultivating good relations both between staff and, outside the company, society at large.
- Sponsorship can attract a new or specific audience.
- Sponsorship can promote sales.

7. International Chamber of Commerce 2011.

8. Allen 1990.

9. Koutoupis 1996.

10. Skaltsa 1992.

In Article 1 of Law 3525/2007 “Cultural Sponsorship”, the Ministry of Culture determined for the first time in a legal text that cultural sponsorship means a pecuniary or other financial benefit in kind of intangible goods or services by the natural or legal persons, domestic or foreign, to support specific cultural activities or other actions of the recipient of the sponsorship in return for the promotion of the social profile and beneficence of the sponsor.

The sponsorship of arts and culture is a successful means of transferring resources from the private to the public and social sectors; it is a cultural activity that arises from an “element of sociability”.¹¹ In particular, the main purpose of this tool is to support cultural events in conjunction with the corporate and product-name promotion of sponsors.

The institutional framework for the functioning of cultural sponsorship in Greece

A positive and important step towards creating an integrated institutional framework for sponsorship in Greece is the law on “Cultural Sponsorship” (Law 3525/2007). This law created for the first time in Greece a broader institutional framework for sponsorship and particularly for cultural sponsorship by founding new institutions: an office of sponsorship, sponsorship council and a special evaluation committee to monetize the value of sponsorships in kind (i.e. intangible goods or services offered as cultural sponsorships), define the key points needed to draw up a cultural sponsorship contract and establish the institution of the annual sponsorship awards.

According to Professor George Gantzias,¹² the Ministry of Culture and policymakers understood the need to develop a new institutional framework for sponsorship and, therefore, created Law 3525/2007 for cultural sponsorship, which acts as the starting point in the future development of an integrated legislative framework for all categories of sponsorship in Greece. It is significant that Professor George Gantzias,¹³ even before the enactment of this Act, noted the need for a single legislative and regulatory framework, which will define sponsorship as a form of funding.

11. Koutoupis 2005.

12. Gatzias 2010.

13. Gatzias 2006.

This new law and data on the relationships between the state, sponsors and sponsored parties (recipients of sponsorship) underscore the following:

- The financial or other economic benefits in kind (intangible goods or services) offered as cultural sponsorship in accordance with the provisions of Law 3525/2007 are fully deductible from the taxable income of the taxpayer or the gross income of the company offering sponsorship where the removable total does not exceed 10% of the total taxable income or the net profits arising from the company's books (Article 12, as amended by paragraph 4 of Article 11 of the Law 3842/2010).
- The communicative dimension of sponsorship, following the definition of cultural sponsorship referred to in the first article of the law, is recognized.
- The definition of cultural sponsorship in kind (i.e. intangible goods and services) (Article 1), which, up to this point had not been clearly identified in Greek legislation, fiscal and other, is recognized.
- Sponsorship is distinguished from other relative concepts such as donation, grants, advertising and sales promotion (Article 3).
- The main elements (principles, contents of contract, report and contract termination) needed to obtain a cultural sponsorship contract (Articles 5, 6, 7 and 8) are clearly defined.
- The state (Ministry of Culture) praises cultural sponsors. Specifically, the sponsors, according to the value of their sponsorship, can be classified by the Ministry of Culture into four categories (great sponsor, sponsor, supporter and friend) to be awarded praise (Article 9).
- Sponsorship awards are introduced by the state as an ethical mechanism to reward sponsors and enhance the sponsorship institution (Article 10).

The fundamental ethical rules of sponsorship

General

The existence of ethical rules and principles within business, social and cultural life is definitely a step forward and allows for more qualitative relationships to develop between stakeholders and partner organizations.

For successful cooperation between sponsors and sponsored parties (recipients of sponsorship), it is very important to clearly define relationships and the boundaries of relationships between the parties. These must be

governed by ethical rules to help resolve any disputes arising during the course of implementing the sponsorship.

The sponsorship ethical rules in accordance with contemporary Greek and international data

Considering Law 3525/2007 “Cultural Sponsorship”, the ethical principles of the new “Integrated Code of Advertising and Marketing Communications Practice” (2011) of the International Chamber of Commerce (Advertising and Marketing Communication Practice Consolidated ICC Code), the General Principles for proper implementation of the sponsorship of the arts in Europe of CEREC (Comité Européenne pour le Rapprochement de l’Economie et de la Culture: European Committee for Business, Arts and Culture) and common international sponsorship practice, I think that the basic ethical principles (rules) that help and influence the proper course of sponsorship cooperation within both a Greek and international operational framework are:

1. Sponsorship must be clearly identified in the contractual obligations between the sponsor(s) and sponsored parties.
2. The terms of sponsorship agreements and contracts need to be legal, clear, honest and based mainly on good faith and mutual trust between sponsors and sponsored parties. Also, you must apply the principle of transparency. The rights and obligations of the parties (sponsors and sponsored parties) need to be captured with clarity and precision. Law 3525/2007 “Cultural sponsorship” recognizes in Articles 5 and 6 the importance of this principle and states that these obligations should be met through a contract.
3. The sponsorship agreement needs to be stated clearly and detail either the activity (cultural, social) undertaken to enhance the sponsor (or sponsors) or the specific purposes of the sponsored party undertaken to strengthen the sponsor (or sponsors).
4. In the case of multiple sponsorship (or co-sponsorship), the sponsored party should inform any potential sponsor of all the sponsors already a party to the sponsorship. The sponsored party should not accept a new sponsor without first ensuring that it does not conflict with any rights of sponsors who are already contracted and, where appropriate, informing the existing sponsors.
5. In the case of multiple sponsorship (or co-sponsorship), fairness must be ensured for all parties regardless of each sponsor’s

contribution, whether large or small. For multiple sponsorship (or co-sponsorship), the sponsorship contracts need to specify the rights, limits and obligations of each sponsor.

6. As part of the sponsorship, the sponsor is entitled to appear on promotional materials for an event.
7. As part of the sponsorship, the sponsor cannot, through its actions, cause damage to the reputation and prestige of the sponsored party. On the other hand, the sponsored party cannot, through its actions, obscure or distort the reputation and image of the sponsor.
8. Within each case of sponsorship, the sponsor must respect the right to autonomy and self-determination of each sponsored party regarding the handling of intellectual property and business. In particular, the sponsored party has an inalienable right to seek and require the sponsor to intervene in the implementation and curatorship of the sponsored project (cultural or social). A sponsor will trust a sponsored party because it appreciates its work (cultural and social). Any excessive intervention by the sponsor may alter the final outcome and have a negative impact on the image and reputation of the sponsor. Article 5 of Law 3525/2007 “Cultural Sponsorship” states that sole responsibility for the planning and implementation of the cultural activity lies with the recipient of the sponsorship, and the sponsor has no power to interfere in its form or content.
9. The sponsor should avoid excessive commercial exploitation of the name and logo of the sponsored party beyond the agreed limits of propriety. Also, the sponsored party should avoid excessive commercial exploitation of the name, logo and trademark of the sponsor beyond the agreed limits of propriety.
10. Sponsorship should not be conducted in such a way as to endanger artistic or historical objects. Sponsors should take particular care to safeguard the inherent artistic and cultural content of the property of the sponsored party.
11. The audience should be clearly informed of the existence of a sponsorship with respect to a particular event, activity, programme or person, and the sponsor’s own message should not be likely to cause offence.
12. The sponsor cannot take actions (advertising, promotions, etc.) that offend public decency and morality.

13. Sponsors and sponsored parties should avoid imitation of the representation of other sponsorships where such imitation might mislead or generate confusion, even if applied to non-competitive products, companies or events.

Conclusion

Ethics are not a luxury, as unfortunately has become the case in Greece, but, rather, are a means of qualitatively improving the cooperation framework between parties. If everyone involved understands the determined limits, it will result in a better, fairer and more efficient society.

The rules of ethics may not be a panacea to solving all problems arising during the implementation of cultural sponsorship, but they are definitely a benchmark and constitute a stable base for the implementation of cultural policy at both macro- and micro-levels with clear social and business conditions.

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Orphee Beinoglou SA and sponsorship

Dimitris Katsadakis

Η εταιρεία «Ορφεύς Βεϊνόγλου Α.Ε.» ιδρύθηκε το 1923 από τον Ορφέα Βεϊνόγλου, που ως πρόσφυγας έφτασε κυνηγημένος στην Ελλάδα από τη Σμύρνη. Οι νεότερες γενιές της οικογένειας, διατηρώντας τις οικογενειακές αρχές, έχουν αναπτύξει την εταιρεία σε Όμιλο Εταιρειών με δυναμική παρουσία στην Κύπρο, τη Βουλγαρία, τη Ρουμανία, τα Σκόπια και το Λίβανο. Ο Όμιλος, στις χώρες εκτός Ελλάδας, λειτουργεί με την επωνυμία *ORBIT (Orphee Beinoglou International Transport)* απασχολώντας περισσότερα από 800 άτομα. Η δραστηριότητα του Ομίλου στον χώρο των διεθνών μεταφορών έχει κύριο προσανατολισμό την ποιότητα και την εξειδίκευση σε τομείς μεταφοράς τόσο σε επίπεδο εμπορικών μεταφορών, όσο κυρίως σε επίπεδο Αρχαιοτήτων και Έργων Τέχνης, που προορίζονται για Εκθέσεις σε μουσεία όλου του κόσμου. Μέσα από αυτή την εξέλιξη στις δεκαετίες ύπαρξής της, η εταιρεία έχει συνδυάσει τις ανθρωπιστικές αρχές με την εμπορική δραστηριότητα και έχει κάνει προσπάθειες να συμβάλει με πράξεις χορηγίας στην ασφαλή και απρόσκοπτη μεταφορά πολύτιμων-ανεκτίμητων κειμηλίων, τόσο εντός των Ελληνικών συνόρων όσο και εκτός, δίνοντας συγχρόνως δυναμικό παρόν και με χορηγίες κοινωνικής ευθύνης.

Keywords

Orphee Beinoglou, sponsorship, transportation of antiquities and works of art

In the Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, aspects of the history and culture of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods are represented through objects of art, religious artefacts and pieces relating to everyday life.

The preservation of such an important museum, and also all other museums in Greece which contribute to the dissemination of culture nationally and internationally, is the responsibility not only of the state but also of the citizens. One way in which the work of museums can be preserved is through sponsorship. In the present work, the relationship between sponsorship and the museum is examined, concentrating specifically on the work of Orphee Beinoglou.

The company Orphee Beinoglou is a Greek family enterprise, founded in 1923 by Orphee Beinoglou, who arrived in Greece in 1922 as a refugee from Smyrna.

In the 1970s, the third generation of the family –i.e. the founder’s grandchildren– took over the company. Orphee Moschopoulos-Beinoglou managed the company, and his sister Zoe Moschopoulou-Katsadaki was second-in-command. By embracing three core principles (trust, quality and corporate responsibility), they transformed a small Greek company into the Balkan leader in transportation and logistics by developing ORBIT. ORBIT is a group of companies with a presence in Greece, Cyprus, Bulgaria, Romania, Skopje and Lebanon which employs more than 800 people. This group has undertaken pioneering work in almost all areas in which it operates, is an active member of all accredited world transport organizations and has been certified with more than 12 quality certificates for transportation safety.

The principles of the group have determined its actions in the field of social and corporate responsibility in three areas: charity, culture and sports. In the field of culture, the company contributes to the safe transportation of valuable –or even priceless– heirlooms both nationally and internationally. Antiquities are exhibited to the public in order that people from all over the world can learn about the past; in this way, the company preserves evidence of various ways of life and also illustrates the values of the past.

From the early 1980s onwards, the company focused on the transportation of antiquities and works of art. This interest has never been purely commercial: a parallel goal has always been to increase Greece’s visibility through the transfer of artworks. The company’s dedication to this cause is evident in the continuous improvement of its infrastructure and services.

Indeed, owing to their excellent reputation, the Ministry of Culture entrusted Orphee Beinoglou with the transportation of the priceless “Treasures of the Acropolis” to various major cities of the world. The Ministry of Culture was responsible for raising the maximum possible sponsorship in order that the construction of the new Acropolis Museum would become a reality.

After the successful transportation of these priceless artefacts, the minister of culture Melina Mercouri honoured the president of the company, Mr Orphee Moschopoulos-Beinoglou, by asking him to stand beside her during the press conference she gave on August 4, 1988, about the new Acropolis Museum. There is insufficient space here to list all of the company’s transportation projects, but the following are indicative:

- The artworks for the exhibition “Classical Culture” in Berlin and Bonn;
- The “Mino’s Labyrinth” exhibition in Frankfurt;
- The transfer of Byzantine heirlooms in the “POST-BYZANTIUM” exhibition to New York;
- The transport of the “Treasures of Mount Athos” exhibition, which was held in 1997-1998 in Thessaloniki.

The company met demand and successfully and securely transported the “Treasures of Mount Athos” exhibition, thereby receiving congratulations and honours.

Orphee Beinoglou is proud to have contributed to increasing Greece’s international visibility by acting as sponsors for the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens. The company has been involved in more than 300 cultural exhibition; of these, the following are some recent exhibitions of particular note. The list of exhibitions in the field of culture that Orphee Beinoglou has been involved in and have contributed to their success far exceeds 300.

Certain recent exhibitions deserve special mention:

- “The great walk”, which was presented alongside the archaeological great walk in 2006;
- “Caravaggio and the 17th century” in 2006;
- “The woman in the worship and celebrations of Classical Athens”, which was exhibited at the Onassis Cultural Center in New York City in 2009;
- “Era – from Theogonia of Hesiod to Late Antiquity”, which was exhibited at the Museum of Cycladic Art in 2010;
- “Eretria, glances in the ancient city”, which was exhibited at the National Archaeological Museum in 2010;
- “Barren LINE”, which was exhibited at the Museum of Cycladic Art in 2012;
- “Olympia – myth, worship and games”, which was exhibited in Berlin in 2012 and in Doha in 2013;
- 4th biennale of contemporary art of Thessaloniki in 2013;
- Photobiennale – 22nd international photography meeting in 2014.

These are just some examples which emphasize that the will of the Greek people to promote their culture is powerful enough to overcome obstacles such as the economic crisis.

Finally, Orphee Beinoglou's most recent sponsorship, which was related to the exhibition "Leaving a mark on history. Treasures from the Greek museums", must be mentioned, albeit very briefly. This was organized by Dr Georgios Kakavas and was held in Philippopolis and Sofia, Bulgaria; treasures from the monetary, national archaeological and ten other Greek museums were put on display. This was a wonderful period exhibition, which was well-structured and which promoted Greek culture beyond Greece's borders; it was widely appreciated by the public and received praise from the media.

From the above discussion, it is clear that Orphee Beinoglou is trying to be involved in promoting Greece's international visibility and unique culture. Indeed, nowadays when so many countries are facing financial difficulties, private initiative and sponsorship is decisive in assisting cultural expression and creating an ecumenical spirit which respects and appreciates the history of all people.

Conclusions

Pantos A. Pantos

The following are some conclusions than can be drawn from the articles in this volume.

1. The institution of *choregia*, as with other forms of liturgies (*trierarchia* etc.), is an institution of Athenian democracy. Sponsorship under the oligarchic regimes either of Rome or Athens' neighbouring cities (Boeotia, Megara) clearly deviated from the Athenian model of the 5th century BC.
2. As time passed, the transformation of *choregia* into *agonothesia* and *euergesia* created a different model: namely that of a voluntary offer with a moral reward, which is sometimes inscribed in stone as an honorary inscription or a portrait (e.g. the *kosmetai*). There are, however, some exceptions: for example, a stoa is erected "on demand of our master" (*proconsul*).
3. During Hellenistic and Roman times, benefaction was directed towards utility works and certain events. However, according to those periods' ideals, the social and "political" status of the benefactor in society, during the Early Christian period—as the inscriptions on the mosaics from basilicas indicate—the money of wealthy men and women, and also of bishops, who gradually acquired more power, and even of the lower clergy, became more concerned with the glory of the new, unified state.
4. In the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, "sponsorship" took the form of charity "for ransom and [the] absolution of ... sins", as the *protospatharios ktetor* wrote in the inscription of the church of Skripou (Orchomenos), or of the construction of churches and monasteries, which provided, among other charitable services, care for the poor, the infirm and the elderly. When the *ktetors* were emperors (or members of their families) or members of the Byzantine aristocracy, their motives were not always, or only, altruistic.

5. During recent years, “sponsorship”, which has progressed beyond the confines of the patronage of rulers and kings, has undergone a type of renaissance, especially in America and in Europe. Does any connection remain with the distant past? There are some similarities in the social ties, in the “sponsor” being honourably credited with social benefaction and with sponsorship complementing –or acting as substitutes for– state care or funding by transferring funds from the private sector to areas of public and social interest. However, there are also some important differences between ancient and modern sponsorship. Sponsorship is optional and not a form of indirect taxation on the wealthy; the sponsor is usually not involved in the production, for example, of a cultural product; and sponsorship is not solely related, as it was in Classical Athens, to cultural events. Sponsorship in Classical Athens was offered by individuals whereas today it is mainly offered by companies (Corporate Social Responsibility is growing and constitutes sponsorship in its commercial form), and Athenian democracy officially honoured the sponsor by allowing him to erect a monument for the choregic tripod, the winning prize. Today, the sponsor is compensated through publicity.
6. In relation to modern Greece, the articles in this volume have outlined various cases of sponsorship and donations, and provided much food for thought for museum directors and other cultural organizations. Distinguished sponsors (the A. G. Leventis Foundation and the corporation Orphee Beinoglou International Transport) and associations (such as the Association of Ainianes of Ypati) have also been discussed. The Norwegian sponsorship experience has also been studied: this contribution was based on a survey of the business, the charitable and geographical distribution of private sponsorship in the country, and sponsorship in collaboration with non-governmental organizations as part of Corporate Social Responsibility. Issues of sponsorship ethics were highlighted, and also the few positives and the many problems that have arisen from the implementation of Law 3525/2007, as it stands, for “cultural sponsorship”.
7. In conclusion, the contribution of sponsorship to the economics of culture is particularly important, especially in a country that is going through a period of economic crisis. During such times, a country has to consider where its priorities lie, first providing “bread” to the masses, but also, at the same time, trying not to substitute “philosophy” with “spectacles”.

Greece has proven in the past that it has the ability to regenerate from its ashes, like the mythical Phoenix, thanks to those special institutions of social cohesion and benefaction, such as patriotism, conscientiousness, benevolence and –let us hope– the acknowledged social position of the modern “phylogenic” sponsors.



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Appendix

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

THE INSTITUTION OF SPONSORSHIP FROM ANCIENT TO MODERN TIMES

“For it is the duty of the wealthy to render service to the state”
(Demosthenes, *Against Phaenippus* 22)

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

THESSALONIKI, FEBRUARY 7-8, 2014

**AMPHITHEATRE “STEPHANOS DRAGOUMIS”
MUSEUM OF BYZANTINE CULTURE**

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 7

17:00-17:30 WELCOMING ADDRESSES

His Eminence, Metropolitan Anthimos of Thessaloniki
Apostolos Tzitzikostas, governor of Central Macedonia
Yiannis Boutaris, mayor of Thessaloniki
Dr Agathoniki Tsilipakou, director of the Museum of Byzantine Culture
Prof. Panos Dimas, director of the Norwegian Institute at Athens
Dr George Kakavas, director of the Numismatic Museum and of the
National Archaeological Museum

SESSION 1A:

SPONSORSHIP IN ANTIQUITY: The beginnings of sponsorship and
the place of sponsorship in Athenian democracy (late 6th to late 4th
century BC)

Chair: Αικατερίνη Ρωμοπούλου, Γεώργιος Κακαβάς, Αγαθονίκη Τσιλιπάκου, Γιάννης Ξυδόπουλος

- 17:30-17:50 Ingvar Maehle
Munificence in democratic and oligarchic systems of the ancient world: A comparative approach
- 17:50-18:10 Ανδρονίκη Μακρή
Η αρχαιολογία του θεσμού της χορηγίας στην Αθήνα των κλασσικών χρόνων
- 18:10-18:30 Ζωή Αγγελίδη
Ο θεσμός της χορηγίας στη δημοκρατική Αθήνα του 5ου και 4ου αιώνα π.Χ.
- 18:30-18:50 Ergün Lafli
The institution of choregos in Classical Athens

SESSION 1B:

SPONSORSHIP IN ANTIQUITY: The gradual spread of sponsorship from Athens to Aegina, Thebes, Orchomenos and other Greek cities on the mainland and in Asia Minor (early 3rd century BC to late 4th century AD). Functions of Athenian democracy in the institution of voluntary patronage (clientele) during Roman times (e.g. monuments, worship, Olympic Games). Sponsorship in Late Antiquity.

Chair: Ναταλία Πούλου, Αθανασία Ψάλτη, Ergün Lafli, Ανδρονίκη Μακρή

- 19:00-19:20 Όλγα Κυριαζή, Εύη Τσώτα, Ιωάννης Φάππας
Ο θεσμός της χορηγίας στην αρχαία Βοιωτία
- 19:20-19:40 Στέλλα Δρένη
Η οικονομική και πολιτική εικόνα της πόλης κατά την αρχαιότητα μέσα από τις χορηγίες: Η περίπτωση των Μεγάρων

- 19:40-20:00 Δημήτρης Σούρλας
Η Χορηγία και τα αγωνιστικά μνημεία κατά την Ελληνιστική και Ρωμαϊκή Εποχή
- 20:00-20:20 Γιάννης Ξυδόπουλος
Ρωμαίοι και Έλληνες ευεργέτες των πόλεων της Μακεδονίας
- 20:20-20:40 Παναγιώτα Ασημακοπούλου-Ατζακά
Αφιερωματικές επιγραφές και απεικονίσεις χορηγών στα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα του ανατολικού κράτους κατά την ύστερη αρχαιότητα
- 20:40-21:00 Ιωάννης Χουλιάρης
Μια νέα παλαιοχριστιανική θέση στο Δρυμό Βόνιτσας. Οι μαρτυρίες των χορηγικών επιγραφών
- 21:00-21:20 DISCUSSION

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8

09:00-10:00 Guided tour of the Museum of Byzantine Culture

SESSION 2A:

SPONSORSHIP DURING THE MIDDLE AGES: Sponsors and patrons of the arts and artists in both the East and the West. Sponsors and donors in Byzantium (early 5th century AD to 1453)

Chair: Παναγιώτης Βοκοτόπουλος, Βασίλης Κατσαρός, Παναγιώτα Ασημακοπούλου-Ατζακά, Ναυσικά Πανσελήνου

- 10:10-10:30 Πηνελόπη Παναγιωτίδου
Αυτοκρατορικές χορηγίες κατά τη περίοδο της Εικονομαχίας: Η περίπτωση του Κωνσταντίνου Ε' (741-755) και της Ειρήνης της Αθηναίας (797-802)
- 10:30-10:50 Καλλιόπη Μαυρομμάτη
Η χορηγία βιβλίων στο Βυζάντιο (9ος - 15ος αι.)

- 10:50-11:10 Ελισάβετ Χατζηαντωνίου
Η άσκηση φιλανθρωπίας μέσω της ίδρυσης και ενίσχυσης μοναστηριακών και ευαγών ιδρυμάτων. Η μαρτυρία των κτητορικών Τυπικών και Διαθηκών (11ος-14ος αι.)
- 11:10-11:30 Ειρήνη Πάνου
Χορηγίες γυναικών σε εκκλησίες της Μακεδονίας κατά τη Μέση και Ύστερη Βυζαντινή περίοδο

SESSION 2B:

SPONSORSHIP DURING THE MIDDLE AGES: Sponsors and patrons of the arts and artists in both the East and the West. Sponsors and donors in Byzantium (early 5th century AD to 1453)

Chair: Χαράλαμπος Μπακιρτζής, Χαρά Κωνσταντινίδη, Αντώνης Κωτίδης, Alessandro Angelucci

- 11:40-12:00 Alessandro Angelucci
Was the Basileus sponsoring a plot? Michael VIII Paleologos and the uprising of the Sicilian Vespers between reality and myth
- 12:00-12:20 Leonela Fundic
Οι χορηγίες στο μεσαιωνικό Κράτος της Ηπείρου (1204-1318)
- 12:20-12:40 Αναστάσιος Τάντσης
Η χορηγία στην Παλαιολόγεια Κωνσταντινούπολη: Αξιοποίηση της πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς και πολιτική ιδεολογία
- 12:40-13:00 Αλεξάνδρα Κωσταρέλλη
Η χορηγία στη Νάξο. Οι μαρτυρίες των επιγραφών τοιχογραφημένων ναών του 14^{ου} αιώνα

13:00-13:20 DISCUSSION

SESSION 3A:**SPONSORSHIP IN THE 19TH, 20TH AND 21ST CENTURIES:**

Greek and international sponsorship. Sponsorship and donation. Sponsors and patrons in the Early Modern Greek state (1830-1900). Sponsorship and private–public partnerships. Cultural sponsorship of the Ministry of Culture (archaeological research, protection of antiquities, modern cultural heritage, public and private sectors). Private sponsorship and cultural and archaeological heritage (e.g. Onassis Foundation, A.G. Leventis Foundation). Sponsorship and Collectivity.

Chair: Θεοκλής-Πέτρος Ζούνης, Λίλα Ντε Τσάβες, Caroline Ditlev-Simonsen

- 16:20-16:40 Γρηγόρης Βαφειάδης
Οι Ιδιωτικές Δωρεές σε Μουσεία, Σημασία-Επικοινωνία-Ωφέλεια
- 16:40-17:00 Γεώργιος Κακαβάς
Χορηγοί και δωρητές σε δημόσια Μουσεία. Η περίπτωση του Νομισματικού Μουσείου
- 17:00-17:20 Φιλίππα Χορόζη
Η δημιουργία του Μουσείου Μπενάκη, ο δωρητής και τα ευρωπαϊκά πρότυπα
- 17:20-17:40 Αθανασία Ψάλτη
Ο θεσμός της χορηγίας στην ενίσχυση της οικουμενικότητας του ελληνικού πνεύματος. Η περίπτωση των Δελφών
- 17:40-18:00 Χαράλαμπος Μπακιρτζής
Το Ίδρυμα Α.Γ. Λεβέντη ως χορηγός
- 18:00-18:20 Μαρία Λαϊνά
Χορηγία και συλλογικότητες: Το παράδειγμα των Αινιάνων

SESSION 3B:

SPONSORSHIP TODAY AND ITS CONTEXT: The importance of sponsorship for the preservation and development of cultural institutions and services. Sponsorship from economic and communicative perspectives: implications for donors and recipients of grants. The cultural and social contributions of sponsorship: corporate strategies of the private sector. Gift and gift in return. Benefits for the sponsor and the sponsored. Commercial sponsorship. Non-governmental organizations and sponsorship.

Chair: Πάνος Δήμας, Πάντος Πάντος, Ingvar Maehle, Ιωακείμ Καλαμάρης

- 18:30-18:50 Caroline D. Ditlev-Simonsen
Beyond sponsorship-linked marketing: Cooperation with non-governmental organizations as part of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)
- 18:50-19:10 Anne Britt Gran
The logic of private sponsorship today: Business, charity and geographic gain
- 19:10-19:30 Θεοκλής-Πέτρος Ζούνης
Το δεοντολογικό πλαίσιο λειτουργίας της σύγχρονης χορηγίας
- 19:30-19:50 Ιωακείμ Καλαμάρης
Χορηγία. Η Οικονομία του Πολιτισμού
- 19:50-20:10 Δημήτρης Κατσαδάκης
Η εταιρεία «Ορφεύς Βεϊνόγλου Α.Ε.» ως χορηγός
- 20:10-20:30 DISCUSSION
- 20:30-21:00 CONCLUSIONS

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 9**EDUCATIONAL TRIP TO BULGARIA****07:00 DEPARTURE TO SOFIA**

Visit to the exhibition “Leaving a mark on history. Treasures from Greek museums” at the Archaeological Museum of Sofia, St Sophia’s church with the necropolis of Serdica, and the cathedral of Alexander Nevsky with the crypt.

ORGANIZERS

National Archaeological Museum, Athens

Numismatic Museum, Athens

Norwegian Institute at Athens

Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki

WITH THE SUPPORT OF

Holy Metropolis of Thessaloniki

Region of Central Macedonia

Municipality of Thessaloniki

Cultural Association of Hypati “The Aenianes”

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Prof. Panos Dimas, director of the Norwegian Institute at Athens
Dr Agathoniki Tsilipakou, director of the Museum of Byzantine Culture

Organization & editorial committee

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