

DEMETRIOS C. AGORITSAS  
(University of Ioannina, Greece)

## MARIA ANGELINA DOUKAINA PALAIOLOGINA AND HER DEPICTIONS IN POST-BYZANTINE MURAL PAINTINGS

The Serbian *Despot* of Ioannina Thomas Preljubović and his wife Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina were frequently connected with religious endowments and artefacts that were donated in churches and monasteries. One of them, an icon of the “Doubting Thomas” with the depiction of Maria Palaiologina among the Apostles, was donated by Maria to the monastery of Metamorphosis (Great Meteoron) most probably in the memory of her husband Thomas. This rare iconographic type is traced in post-byzantine painted monuments in Epirus, Thessaly and Macedonia from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. The transmission of the above iconography is due to the spiritual and artistic influence of two important monastic centers, the Philanthropenos monastery in Ioannina and the Varlaam monastery in Meteora region, whose founders – the Philanthropenos and Apsaras families – were strongly connected to the Serbian rulers of Ioannina and especially Maria Palaiologina.

*Keywords:* Ioannina, Epirus, Meteora, mural paintings, post-byzantine art, Chronicle of Ioannina, Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina, *Despot* Thomas Preljubović.

Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina, daughter of the Greek-Serbian ruler of Thessaly and Epirus Symeon Uroš Palaiologos and sister of John-Joasaph, second founder (*ktitor*) of the monastery of Metamorphosis (Great Meteoron) in Thessaly, was married –presumably in 1362, at the early age of twelve years- to Thomas Preljubović, son of the Serbian noble Gregory Preljubović and future ruler (*Despot*) of Ioannina, in Epirus (1366/67-1384). After the murder of Thomas by his guards in 1384 (Dec. 23), Maria, who remained sole Queen (*βασίλισσα*) in Ioannina, got married (1385) to the Florentine nobleman Esau de Buondelmonti, whom Thomas had captured in 1379, and lived for ten more years († 1394, Dec. 28).<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> On Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina and Thomas Preljubović see *PLP*, 21393, 23721; See also S. C. *Estopañán*, Bizancio y España. El legado de la Basílica María y de los despotas Thomas y Esau de

Palaiologina's life is known by the so called '*Chronicle of Ioannina*' or *Sygramma Historicon* and Laonicus Chalcocondyles.<sup>2</sup> Both of them give us contradictory accounts as the '*Chronicle of Ioannina*', which was written in the early years of fifteenth century in the environment of the local Metropolis of Ioannina, is quite in favour of Palaiologina calling her "τῆς χρυσῆς, τῷ ὄντι Ἄγγελίνης" (golden, angel-like indeed), "ἡ ἀγαθὴ τῷ ὄντι γε κυρία εὐσεβεστάτη βασίλισσα" (kind and pious Queen),<sup>3</sup> while Chalcocondyles describes her as an immoral and "lecherous" woman (ἀκόλαστος), and puts the blame for Tomas's assassination on her and on her lover Esau.<sup>4</sup>

During her life, Maria Palaiologina alone or with her husband Thomas Preljubović became founder and patron of the church of Theotokos Gavaliotissa in Voderona (Verona),<sup>5</sup> while at the same time made a number of donations in religious institutions such as the monasteries of Great Lavra, Chilandar and Vatopedi in Mount Athos<sup>6</sup> as well the Metamorphosis monastery (Great Meteoron) in Thessaly.<sup>7</sup> Besides,

---

Joannina, I, Barcelona 1943; G. Ch. Soulis, *The Serbs in Byzantium during the Reign of Tsar Stephen Dušan (1331-1355) and his Successors* (Εταιρεία Φίλων του Λαού, ΚΕΒ 2), Athens 1995, 221-222, 236-249; D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479*, Cambridge 1984, 139-162, and C. Matanov, *The Phenomenon Thomas Preljubović*, in Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου, Arta 1992, 63-68.

<sup>2</sup> The basic edition of '*Chronicle of Ioannina*' remains that of L. Vranousis, *To Χρονικόν των Ιωαννίνων κατ' ανέκδοτον δημόδη επιτομήν, Επετηρίς του Μεσαιωνικού Αρχείου* 12 (1962) 57-115, text in pp. 74-101 (cited hereafter as '*Chronicle of Ioannina*'). On the work of Chalcocondyles see the edition of I. Bekker, *Λαονίκου Χαλκοκονδύλου Αθηναίου, Αποδείξεις ιστοριών δέκα* (CSHB), Bonn 1843, 210-212.

<sup>3</sup> '*Chronicle of Ioannina*', 86, § 16.24-25; *ibid.*, 94, § 28.19, § 29.4-5; *ibid.*, 95, § 30.13 and 98, § 36.3-4.

<sup>4</sup> Chalcocondyles, *op. cit.*, 212; cf. '*Chronicle of Ioannina*', § 16, 86.23-30, where Thomas's counselor Michael Apsaras accused Maria's morality "λόγοις σφαλεροῖς καὶ αἰσχροῖς".

<sup>5</sup> On Gavaliotissa and the donations of Thomas Preljubović and Maria Palaiologina see *Actes de Lavra III de 1329 à 1500* (Archives de l'Athos 10), ed. P. Lemerle et al., Paris 1979, 100-107, 225 (nos 146-147); *Th. Papazotos*, Ο Θωμάς Πρελιοπούβιτς και η Μαρία Παλαιολογίνα κτήτορες του ναού της Παναγίας Γαβαλιωτίσσης στα Βοδενά, *Κληρονομία* 13.2 (1981) 509-516; N. Radosević - G. Subotić, *Bogorodica Gavaliotisa u Vodenu*, *ZRVI* 27-28 (1989) 217-263; G. Subotić, Δώρα και δωρεές του δεσπότη Θωμά και της βασίλισσας Μαρίας Παλαιολογίνας, in Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου, Arta 1992, 69-71, and K. Loverdou-Tsigaridas, *Objets précieux de l'église de la Vierge Gavaliotissa au monastère de Lavra (Mont Athos)*, *Zograf* 26 (1997) 81-86; see now and F. Gargova, *Die Stiftungen des Despoten Thomas Preljubović und der Basilissa Maria Palaiologina - Memoria in Epirus in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, MA Thesis, University of Wien 2010, 27-33.

<sup>6</sup> G. Subotić, Η τέχνη των βυζαντινοσέρβων ευγενών στην Ελλάδα κατά τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες του ΙΔ' αιώνα, in *Byzantium and Serbia the 14th Century* (NHRF/IBR, International Symposium 3), Athens 1996, 176; *idem*, Δώρα και δωρεές, *op. cit.* 71; K. Loverdou-Tsigaridas, *Les œuvres d'arts mineures comme expression des relations du mont Athos avec l'aristocratie ecclésiastique et politique de Byzance*, ed. G. Galavaris, Athos, la Saint Montagne. Tradition et renouveau dans l'art (Athonika Symmeikta 10), Athènes 2007, 83, 85, 89, nos. 29-32, 47, and Gargova, *Stiftungen*, 46-51.

<sup>7</sup> For the donations of Maria Palaiologina in Great Meteoron in 1386 see D. Z. Sophianos, *To εκδοτήριο εξισαστικό και αποδεικτικό γράμμα της Μαρίας Αγγελίνας Δούκαινας Παλαιολογίνας*, edd. S. Kotzabassi - G. Mavromatis, *Realia Byzantina* (Byzantinisches Archiv 22), Berlin - New York 2009, 273-274; cf. and A. Rigo, La "Cronaca delle Meteore". La storia dei monasteri della Tessaglia tra XIII e XVI secolo (*Orientalia Venetiana* 8), Firenze 1999, 130.94-100. See also the studies of G. Subotić - I. Simonopetritis, *L'iconostase et les fresques de la fin du XIVe siècle dans le monastère de la Transfiguration aux Météores*, in *Actes du XVe Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines*, Athènes - Septembre 1976, II Art et Archéologie - Communications B, Athènes 1981, 751-758; Subotić, Η τέχνη, *op. cit.*, 174-176; *idem*, Δώρα και δωρεές, *op. cit.* 71-73; D. Z. Sophianos, Άγια Μετέωρα. Οδοπορικό, Holly Meteora 2012, 95;

according to the ‘*Chronicle of Ioannina*’ after the death of Thomas, Palaiologina “τοὺς πάντας εὐεργετεῖ” (benefits everyone), while Esau restored the ecclesiastical estates and the tenant farmers (*paroikoi*) to the Metropolis of Ioannina.<sup>8</sup>

While still in life Maria Palaiologina was depicted alone or with her first husband Thomas in three portable icons: a) the well known Cuenca diptych (housed now in the Episcopal Museum of Cuenca cathedral, Spain),<sup>9</sup> b) the so called “diptych” of Great Meteoron and c) an icon with the representation of the “Doubting of Thomas”;<sup>10</sup> the last two are now exposed in the Museum of the Metamorphosis monastery (Great Meteoron, Greece).

The Cuenca diptych consists of two panels richly decorated with silver, pearls and gemstones. In the centre of the left panel Theotokos is portrayed standing and holding the Christ Child. At Her feet and in smaller scale, *basilissa* Maria Palaiologina is illustrated kneeling and praying. On the frame of the icon, fourteen saints are depicted in bust. In the same way, in the centre of the right panel, Jesus Christ is depicted standing and holding in his right hand the book of Gospels. At His feet, *Despot* Thomas Preljubović was portrayed. His kneeling figure was erased, presumably after his assassination as an act of *damnatio memoriae* against a tyrant.<sup>11</sup> On the frame, similar to the left panel, fourteen more saints are depicted in bust. It should be noted that below each Saint’s bust there is a small slot in which relics of the portrayed saint had been placed. The depiction of *Despot* Thomas in the right panel allows us to date the Diptych *post* 1366/67 and *ante* December 1384.

Similar to the left panel of Cuenca diptych is the surviving panel of the “diptych” in Great Meteoron showing Theotokos with the child in her arms standing in

E. Vlachopoulou-Karabina, Ο βυζαντινός επιτάφιος του Μεγάλου Μετεώρου (τελευταίο τέταρτο 14ου αι.), Τρικαλινά 19 (1999) 307-330, and *Gargova*, Stiftungen, 35-37, 42-43.

<sup>8</sup> ‘*Chronicle of Ioannina*’, 94-95, § 28.21 and § 31.1-8.

<sup>9</sup> G. Ostrogorsky - Ph. Schweinfurth, Das Reliquiar der Despoten von Epirus, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 4 (1931) 165-172; J. Bermejo Díez, Das Reliquien Diptychon der Despoten von Epiros in der Kathedrale von Cuenca, ed. A. Legner, Die Parler und der schöne Stil, 1350-1400: Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern, 5.1, Resultatband der Ausstellung des Schnütgen-Museums in der Kunsthalle Köln, Cologne 1980, 13-19, and A. Martínez Sáez, El díptico bizantino de la Catedral de Cuenca, Cuenca 2004, and lately S. T. Brooks (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*. Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia), New York 2006, 52-53 (cited hereafter as Faith and Power), and *Gargova*, Stiftungen, 37-44.

<sup>10</sup> See N. A. Bees, Μετεώρου πίναξ αφιερωθείς υπό της βασιλίσσης Παλαιολογίνης, *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* 3 (1911) 177-185; A. Χυγορούλος, Νέαι Προσωπογραφίαι της Μαρίας Παλαιολογίνας και του Θωμά Πρελιούμποβιτς, *ΔΧΑΕ* 4 (1966) 53-70; P. Mijović, Les icônes avec les portraits de Toma Preljubović et de Marie Paléologine, *ZLU* 2 (1966) 183-197 (in Serbian with summary in French); Faith and Power, 51-52; M. Vassilaki, Female Piety, Devotion and Patronage: Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina of Ioannina and Helena Ugljesa of Serres, edd. J.-M. Spieser - E. Yota, Donations et Donateurs dans le monde byzantin, Actes du colloque international de l’Université de Fribourg, Fribourg 13-15 mars 2008 (Réalités Byzantines 14), Paris 2012, 23-25; *Gargova*, Stiftungen, 35-37 and *eadem*, The Meteora Icon of the Incredulity of Thomas Reconsidered, edd. L. Theis et al., Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond, Böhlau Verlag, Wien - Köln - Weimar 2013, 369-381.

<sup>11</sup> For the tyrannical rule of Thomas Preljubović, according to the ‘*Chronicle of Ioannina*’, see 80-81 (§ 10), 82 (§ 11), 89 (§ 21.24), 90-91 (§ 22-23), 95 (§ 31.22-23).

the centre, Maria Palaiologina kneeling at Theotokos feet and fourteen saints in bust around on the frame. However, some differences are traced between the two artefacts, as the artist of the Great Meteoron diptych is portraying more austere and less flabby figures without any exquisite decoration.<sup>12</sup>

The icon of Great Meteoron is not in a good state of preservation, as some of the saints' images are damaged, while all relics below each Saint's bust have been lost. Furthermore, the possibility of existence of a second, right panel in this icon as well as of a metallic, probably silver, cover has been questioned. As a matter of fact, besides the resemblance to the Cuenca diptych, there's no evidence to support that the icon of Great Meteoron had ever had a metallic cover and therefore was probably part of a diptych, like that of Cuenca;<sup>13</sup> In this case it might have been made *ca.* 1385, after Thomas' death, and it was probably donated by Maria Palaiologina to her brother Joasaph, who was a monk in the monastery of Metamorphosis, initially dedicated to the Theotokos Meteoritissa.

The third depiction of Maria Palaiologina, which is of great interest, is found in the icon of the "Doubting of Thomas" – "Ἡ ψυλάφῆσις | τοῦ Θωμᾶ" (38 x 31, 8 cm) (Fig. 1). The icon was found in the monastery's sacristy by N. A. Bees, paleographer and great researcher of the history of monasticism in Meteora, in December 1909.<sup>14</sup>

In the centre of the scene, following the Gospel (*John*, 20, 26-29), Christ is depicted in front of a domed building with closed door, characterized by its rich architectural decoration; He bends his body to the right and rises His right hand uncovering His wounded side. From both sides two groups of amazed and wondered Apostles are portrayed, five on the right side and six on the left. At the left of Christ's figure, apostle Thomas rushes to put his finger into Jesus wounded side. The iconography becomes complete by two more figures behind that of Apostle Thomas, a male and a female – the last one richly dressed with imperial clothes- which have been identified by some scholars as Maria Palaiologina and *Despot* of Ioannina Thomas Preljubović.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See M. Chatzidakis – D. Sofianos, *The Great Meteoron. History and Art*, Athens 1990, 55. According to L. Deriziotis, *Faith and Power*, 52, the Meteoron panel might have served as a model for the Cuenca diptych.

<sup>13</sup> Supposing that the Great Meteoron panel was part of a diptych it is possible that the *Despot* of Ioannina Thomas Preljubović was depicted in the right panel which most likely may have been destroyed after his death; cf. *Subotić*, *Η τέχνη*, op. cit., 175; *idem*, *Δώρα και δωρεές*, op. cit. 71, and *Sophianos*, *Άγια Μετέωρα*, op. cit., 75-76; see also *Vassilaki*, op. cit., 224-225.

<sup>14</sup> See N. A. Bees, *Έκθεσις παλαιογραφικών και τεχνικών ερευνών εν ταις μοναίς των Μετεώρων κατά τα έτη 1908 και 1909*, Athens 1910, 65; cf. *idem*, *Σύνταγμα επιγραφικών μνημείων Μετεώρων και της πέριξ χώρας μετά σχετικών αρχαιολογημάτων*, Βυζαντίς 1 (1909) 600. Nevertheless, *Bees* in *Έκθεσις*, op. cit. 65, gives a different, quite colourful, version of how he found the icon saying that it "was thrown and forgotten, dim because of drops of wax and dusty, in a secret niche of Meteoron monastery among skulls of dead".

<sup>15</sup> See *Xygopoulos*, op. cit. and *Chatzidakis – D. Sofianos*, op. cit., 53; cf. *Gargova*, *Stiftungen*, 43 sqq and *eadem*, *The Meteora Icon*, 370-372, according to whom if Thomas Preljubović is depicted among the Apostles, then he should be dressed with the *despotic regalia* and so this is a criterion for dating the icon after December 1384. See also *Vassilaki*, op. cit., 225. Elias Antonopoulos, however, gives an allegorical interpretation to the female figure of the Metamorphosis icon and identifies it with the "Renewal Sunday" (Καινή Κυριακή) or "Thomas Sunday". See E. Antonopoulos, *Βασιλική πομπή: Αλληγορικά πρόσωπα*

In the icon, the female figure that is considered to be Maria Palaiologina is standing among the Apostles and is portrayed in the same scale as them.<sup>16</sup> She is praying to resurrected Jesus not necessarily to forgive her own sins, but surely to forgive the sins of her husband Thomas Preljubović as He forgave the doubt of his student, Apostle Thomas. Christ indeed stretches His right hand upon Maria as a gesture of benediction; He almost touches her imperial crown showing in this manner His protection and recognition of her legitimacy as Queen of Ioannina or “Physical (i.e. legitimate) Lady” (τῆς φυσικῆς κυρίας)<sup>17</sup> or, according to Nancy Patterson-Ševčenko, of her faith, which was greater than that of her husband Thomas.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, the icon is certainly dated after December 1384, but there is no clear evidence whether it was Maria Palaiologina who ordered its construction, probably in the memory of Thomas Preljubović, and donated it in the monastery of Metamorphosis (Great Meteoron).

\* \* \*

The iconographic scheme of the “Doubting Thomas” apart of the well known icon of the Great Meteoron is traced – as it was said – in post-byzantine painted monuments in Epirus, Thessaly and W. Macedonia from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.

The first known monument where Palaiologina is portrayed among the Apostles in the depiction of the “Doubting Thomas” is the catholicon of the monastery of St. Nikolaos Philanthropenos (1542) on the island of the lake of Ioannina (Fig. 2). Its painted decoration was studied by M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, who found similarities in style with the famous post-byzantine painter Frangos Katelanos and she believes that the model for the depiction of the “Doubting Thomas” in the

---

στην Ανάσταση της Dečani, ΔΧΑΕ 17 (1993-1994) 87-98. This suggestion seems plausible, but the iconographic scheme in Great Meteoron icon is unique in byzantine art; the depiction of Maria Palaiologina in the icon resembles indeed with that in Cuenca diptych and the Great Meteoron panel, while the diffusion of the above iconography took place between the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries in monuments that were strongly connected and influenced by the artistic tradition of Ioannina and Meteora monasteries, indirectly affiliated with Maria Palaiologina. Recently *Gargova*, *The Meteora Icon*, 372-381, proposed a theological interpretation of the imperial figure (i.e. Maria Palaiologina) in post-Byzantine art, that of the Mother of God as Maria Regina.

<sup>16</sup> The depiction of Maria Palaiologina, as big in size as the holy Apostles around her and almost in the same scale as the figure of Christ, can be explained by her highly ranked position as Queen and faithful Christian favored by God. See *N. Patterson-Ševčenko*, *Close Encounters: Contact between Holy Figures and the Faithful as represented in Byzantine Works of Art*, edd. *A. Guillou – J. Durand*, *Byzance et les images. Cycle de conférences organisé au musée du Louvre par le Service culturel du 5 octobre au 7 décembre 1992*, Paris 1994, 255-285.

<sup>17</sup> ‘*Chronicle of Ioannina*’, 86, § 16.25-26.

<sup>18</sup> *N. Patterson-Ševčenko*, *The Representation of Donors and Holy Figures on four Byzantine Icons*, ΔΧΑΕ 17 (1993-1994) 162-164. In the ‘*Chronicle of Ioannina*’, Thomas is called “μισόχριστος” (Christ hater) (82, § 11.16) and “ἐνθυμητικός τοῦ κακοῦ ... οὐ μὴν καὶ δαιμονιώδης” (bearing evil in his mind... and devilish) (84, § 14.10-12), who “παρεῖδε γὰρ τὰ ὄρια πατέρων ἁγίων, καὶ ὄλωσ ἐἰς ἀποστασίαν ἐτράπη” (ignored the limits –moral values- of the holy fathers and became apostate) (86, § 16.37-39). Inter alia the anonymous chronicler comments, after Thomas’ assassination, that “οὕτω γοῦν τιμῶσιν οἱ δαίμονες τοὺς τιμῶντας αὐτοῦς” (this is how demons honour those who honour demons) (94, § 29.16-17).

catholicon of Philanthropenos is the well known icon of Great Meteoron. Here, Maria Palaiologina is depicted at the edge of the left group of the Apostles dressed with imperial clothes but, contrary to the Great Meteoron icon, she is not receiving any blessing from Christ.<sup>19</sup>

Maria Palaiologina is also depicted in the mural painting of the “Doubting Thomas” above the south entrance in the main church of the catholicon of Hagioi Pantes, in Varlaam monastery ( Meteora), attributed to the paintbrush of Frangos Katelanos (1548, see Fig. 3). The depiction seems to be similar with that in the Philanthropenos catholicon, apart from Jesus’ position which can be paralleled with that in the icon of Great Meteoron.

The monastery of Metamorphosis in Zavorda, which lies 55 Km. SW of the city of Grevena (W. Macedonia), was built by hosios Nikanor in 1528 or *ca.* 1543/44.<sup>20</sup> The stylistic features of the wall paintings of the main church (catholicon) are related to the work of Frangos Katelanos who was also known by his work in the monasteries of Philanthropenos and Varlaam (Meteora), and therefore they can be dated during the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (*post* 1548).<sup>21</sup>

The depiction of the “Doubting Thomas” in the catholicon of Zavorda resembles that in the catholicon of Varlaam monastery, apart from Jesus right hand gesture that is similar to the depiction in Philanthropenos monastery (Fig. 4). It seems that the painter of Zavorda was aware of both monuments and managed to combine creatively their iconographic variations, shapes and forms into a new iconographic ensemble, characteristic of the so called “post-byzantine art of North Western Greece”.

The above mentioned type of the “Doubting Thomas” depiction is detected during the seventeenth century in three Thessalian monuments: in the church of the Nativity of Christ in Petrilo (Agrafa region, *post* 1662),<sup>22</sup> in the catholicon of the monastery of Hagia Trias in Meteora (1692) and in St. Demetrius chapel in the Kanalōn monastery (*ca.* 1689-1696). In Petrilo, it seems that the anonymous painter follows the artistic trends of the “post-byzantine art of North Western Greece”; thus, Christ has His right hand raised following the iconographic variation of the Philanthropenos

<sup>19</sup> M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής των Φιλανθρωπητών στο νησί των Ιωαννίνων*, Athens 2004, 51, 70, 90-91, pl. 55, and M. Garidis - A. Paliouras, *Μοναστήρια νήσου Ιωαννίνων: Ζωγραφική*, Ioannina 1993, 60, pl. 75, and 90, 226.

<sup>20</sup> S. Vogiatzes, *Συμβολή στην ιστορία της εκκλησιαστικής αρχιτεκτονικής της κεντρικής Ελλάδος κατά το 16ο αιώνα. Οι μονές Αγίου Βησσαρίωνος (Δούσικο) και Οσίου Νικάνορος (Ζάβορδα)*, (Τετράδια Βυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης 7), Athens 2000, 67-109 and in particular 71-72.

<sup>21</sup> However, according to an inscription above the rim of the dome, the murals were created some decades later, in the year ςρδ' (= 1595/6), see Vogiatzes, *op. cit.*, 75. On the artistic trends in the catholicon of Zavorda see M. Garidis, *Μεταβυζαντινή ζωγραφική (1450-1600). Η εντοχία ζωγραφική μετά την πτώση του Βυζαντίου στον ορθόδοξο κόσμο και στις χώρες υπό ξένη κυριαρχία*, Athens 2007, 261, 263-264, and A. Semoglou, *Η Μονή Βαρλαάμ των Μετεώρων. Ενδιάμεσος σταθμός στην καλλιτεχνική πορεία του Φράγγου Κατελλάνου*, Θεσσαλικό Ημερολόγιο 33 (1998) 185-192.

<sup>22</sup> St. Sdrolia, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του καθολικού της Μονής Πέτρας (1625) και η ζωγραφική των ναών των Αγράφων τον 17ο αιώνα*, Volos 2012, 208-209.

monastery (Fig. 5). On the contrary, the same fresco scene in the catholicon of Hagia Trias shows significant similarity with that in the catholicon of the neighboring monastery of Varlaam, where Christ is bending his right hand and blesses Maria Palaiologina (Fig. 6), whereas the naïf fresco of the “Doubting Thomas” in the Kanalōn monastery has many resemblances with the counterpart depictions in the monasteries of Varlaam and Hagia Trias.<sup>23</sup>

Finally, during the next century the scene of the “Doubting Thomas” with the depiction of Maria Palaiologina is detected in the churches of Hagia Theodora in Arta (early 18th cent.) and St. Nikolaos in Rendina (Agrafa region, *post* 1725) as well as in the catholicon of the Nativity of Theotokos monastery in Tsouka (in the district of Ioannina, 1779). In the case of the church of Hagia Theodora (see Fig. 7)<sup>24</sup> and in the catholicon of Tsouka,<sup>25</sup> the similarity of both scenes with that in the Philanthropenos monastery is obvious, while in the Thessalian monument of St. Nikolaos in Rendina (Fig. 8)<sup>26</sup> the same depiction follows that in the catholicon of Varlaam monastery mostly in the way figures are standing and secondarily in the color scale. Apart from the above monuments, no other depictions of this peculiar iconographic theme are known, but the possible existence of others which are unidentified is not to be excluded.

\* \* \*

The survival and the diffusion of the peculiar iconography of the “Doubting Thomas” with the female figure of Maria Palaiologina among the Apostles mainly in post-byzantine mural paintings, mostly in the region of Ioannina and W. Thessaly, has not been fully investigated and therefore, several questions are raised. Most of the scholars who have dealt with this issue believe that the archetype of this iconography is the well known icon of Great Meteoron.<sup>27</sup> It is however noticeable that in the above monastery in both mural paintings of “Doubting Thomas”, in the old and the new catholicon (1483 and 1552 respectively), there’s no depiction of Maria Palaiologina; it is therefore

<sup>23</sup> On this monastery see archimandrite *Ch. Toumbas* (ed.), *Η Ιερά Μητρόπολις Ελασσώνος. Οι Ενορίες, οι Ιερές Μονές και τα κειμήλιά τους*, Elassona 2007, 237-249.

<sup>24</sup> *B. N. Papadopoulou – A. L. Tsiara*, *Εικόνες της Άρτας. Η εκκλησιαστική ζωγραφική στην περιοχή της Άρτας κατά τους βυζαντινούς και μεταβυζαντινούς χρόνους*, Arta 2008, 220, 221, pl. 11, and fn. 13. According to the authors, it is not clear if the painter choose consciously to include Maria Palaiologina in the depiction of the “Doubting Thomas” or he simply imitated the archetype, i.e. the icon of the “Doubting Thomas” in the Great Meteoron, although the paintings of Hagia Theodora were influenced by those at the Philanthropenos monastery.

<sup>25</sup> On Tsouka Monastery see *D. Kamaroulis*, *Τα μοναστήρια της Ηπείρου*, I, Athens 1996, 451-455, and *Gr. Manopoulos*, *Επανεξέταση των επιγραφών των Καπεσοβιτών ζωγράφων*, *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά* 37 (2003) 308.

<sup>26</sup> *I. K. Tsiouris*, *Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας (1758) και η μνημειακή ζωγραφική του 18ου αιώνα στην περιοχή των Αγράφων*, Athens 2008, 122, 328 and 474, fig. 16.

<sup>27</sup> On this theme see *Aheimastou-Potamianou*, *op. cit.*, 91; *Papadopoulou – Tsiara*, *op. cit.*, 220, fn. 13. See also *Gargova*, *Stiftungen*, 45, and *eadem*, *The Meteora Icon*, 377-379, 381, who believes that the copy of the Great Meteoron icon in sixteenth century mural paintings constitutes conscious expression as well as memory of Maria’s legitimacy in the State (*Despotate*) of Ioannina.

worthy to wonder if a small artefact, like the Great Meteoron icon, is possible to have affected to such an extent post-byzantine iconography and moreover how the painters of the same scene in the Philanthropenos monastery in Ioannina knew this peculiar depiction, when they probably ignored the existence of the Great Meteoron icon.

It should be taken under consideration that the Great Meteoron icon of the “Doubting Thomas” as well as the Great Meteoron panel and the diptych of Cuenca were made by craftsmen in Ioannina, probably under the guidance and patronage of Maria Palaiologina while she was still alive. In addition the depiction of Palaiologina in all three artefacts showcases indirectly her piety as well as her legitimacy as *Queen* of Ioannina. Apparently, Maria Palaiologina had very good relations with the local Church of Ioannina as it can be seen from the warmly way the so called ‘*Chronicle of Ioannina*’ refers to her.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, the last one was most probably composed by a clergyman, member of the intellectual and spiritual circle of the Metropolis of Ioannina and in favour of Maria Palaiologina contributing thus to her public image and posthumous fame.<sup>29</sup>

Within this framework, it is reasonable to assume that it was in Ioannina where this iconographic synthesis of the “Doubting Thomas” was made and more likely depicted, in one of the city’s eminent churches, under the guidance of *basilissa* Maria Palaiologina *in memoriam* of her husband Thomas Preljubović- including herself among the Apostles.<sup>30</sup> The identification of this monument, that became the starting point of this iconographic tradition, still remains a *desideratum*. It is plausible to assume that this was a religious monument closely associated with *Despot* Thomas Preljubović and his wife Maria Palaiologina, which was still in use during the sixteenth century, such as the cathedral of Taxiarches (Archangel Michael), perhaps the church of Christ Pantocrator or even the church of Archimandreion.

The cathedral of Archangel Michael in the acropolis of Ioannina was erected by Michael I Komnenos Doukas (1205-1215) and perhaps was still in use during the sixteenth century.<sup>31</sup> Christ Pantocrator was another eminent church in the castle of Ioannina, probably catholicon of a monastery built or renovated by Thomas and where his tomb was located.<sup>32</sup> Finally, the church of Archimandreion was also the catholicon of

<sup>28</sup> See fn. 3 supra.

<sup>29</sup> See *D. Georgakopoulos*, Νέα στοιχεία για την παράδοση του Χρονικού των Ιωαννίνων, in *Ζ’ Συνάντηση Βυζαντινολόγων Ελλάδος και Κύπρου*, 20-23 Σεπτεμβρίου 2007, Komotene 2011, 316-318.

<sup>30</sup> Here, the question whether the figure Thomas Preljubović was also depicted in the iconographic archetype (later erased as a *damnatio memoriae*) or it was only Maria Palaiologina alone, praying for his soul in a depiction which referred indirectly to her husband and his betrayal, arises reasonably

<sup>31</sup> *L. Vranousis*, Ιστορικά και τοπογραφικά του μεσαιωνικού κάστρου των Ιωαννίνων, Athens 1968, 459(27)-469(37), believes that the cathedral of Archangel Michael was already in ruins by the end of the sixteenth century (*ante* 1596/7), while according to *M. Kordoses*, Τα βυζαντινά Γιάννενα. Κάστρο (πόλη) – ξώκαστρο, κοινωνία - διοίκηση - οικονομία, Athens, 2003, 116-117, it was in use until 1611, when the Christian population were expelled from the castle of Ioannina after the unsuccessful revolt of Dionysios Philosophos, ex metropolitan of Larissa.

<sup>32</sup> The anonymous composer of the ‘*Chronicle of Ioannina*’, 85, § 14.22-24, criticizes Thomas’s attitude to proceed in erection of churches, celebration of religious holidays and charities as hypocrisy (“καί ως πλάνος τάχα κτίζει καὶ ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἐορτάζει καὶ ψυχικὰ ποιεῖ”). On the discovery of his marble tomb



a homonymous monastery, from where abbot Gabriel, according to the ‘*Chronicle of Ioannina*’, was sent in 1382 in Thessalonike in order to receive the *despotic insignia* (τὰ δεσποτικά ἀξιώματα) from the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos on behalf of Thomas Preljubović, while a few years later (1386/87) he was nominated candidate metropolitan of Ioannina by *Despot* Esau de Buondelmonti and the clergymen of the local Church.<sup>33</sup> There is also an interesting reference in the so called ‘*Chronicle of Meteora*’ that Maria Palaiologina donated sacred vessels in the monastery of Metamorphosis (Great Meteoron) “ἐκ τοῦ μοναστηρίου τῶν Ἰωαννίνων, ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς κῦρ Θωμᾶ δεσπότης” (from the monastery of Ioannina and from her husband *Despot* Thomas), which is probably indentified with Archimandreion.<sup>34</sup>

The fresco decorations of the above monuments still existed during the sixteenth century and it is most probable that it was in one of these where the artistic workshops, like that of Frangos Katelanos, might had been influenced by the aforesaid local tradition of the depiction of the “Doubting Thomas”. This iconographic theme was either adopted without hesitation by the post-byzantine artists or it was indicated to them by their patrons, the prominent noble families of Ioannina, Philanthropenos and Apsaras, who were involved in public life from the early fourteenth to sixteenth centuries by holding public and church offices, and becoming founders and patrons of monasteries in the island of Ioannina (St. Nikolaos Philanthropenos, 1291/92 or 1301/2, and St. John the Baptist, 1506/7) and later in Thessaly (Meteora, Varlaam monastery, 1517).<sup>35</sup> Both families were, moreover, closely connected in one way or another either with the *Despot* of Ioannina Thomas Preljubović or with his wife Maria Palaiologina. It was indeed in the monastic libraries of Philanthropenos and Varlaam (founded by Nektarios and Theophanes Apsaras) where some of the older copies of the ‘*Chronicle of Ioannina*’ were kept, which demonstrates inter alia the relations of their families with *basilissa* of Ioannina Maria Palaiologina, as well as their strong interest in preserving the local historic memory combined with the prestige of their families.

On this basis, we assume that the Theban Frangos Katelanos, who is thought to have been the painter of the murals in the Philanthropenos monastery in 1542 and

---

in 1795, according to the narration of Kosmas Balanos see *Vranousis*, op. cit., 481 (49) - 495 (63); *idem*, 466(34) - 469(37), believes that the church of Christ Pantocrator was the cathedral of Ioannina for the period *post* 1430 until 1611.

<sup>33</sup> See ‘*Chronicle of Ioannina*’, 93, § 26.23-30; 96-97, §§ 33-34. On the Archimandreion see also *Sp. Lambros*, *Ηπειρωτικά: Το εν Ιωαννίνους Αρχιμανδρείον και οι εν αυτώ κώδικες, Νέος Ελληνομνήμων* 10 (1913) 398-418; *Kordoses*, op. cit., 105-118, 137-144 (where more bibliographic references), and *B. N. Papadopoulou*, *Βυζαντινή μαρμαρινή εικόνα της Παναγίας στο Αρχιμανδρείο των Ιωαννίνων*, in *Δώρον. Τιμητικός τόμος στον Καθηγητή Νίκο Νικονάνο*, Thessalonike 2006, 189-196.

<sup>34</sup> *Rigo*, op. cit., 130.98-99 and 160-162, see comments.

<sup>35</sup> On Philanthropenos family and their monastery see *C. N. Constantinides*, *Προσωπογραφικά της οικογένειας Φιλανθρωπηνών: ο στρατηγός Αλέξιος και ο ιερέας Μιχαήλ οι Φιλανθρωπηνοί* (13ος-14ος αι.), edd. *M. Garidis - A. Paliouras*, *Μοναστήρια νήσου Ιωαννίνων. Πρακτικά συμποσίου 700 χρόνια 1292-1992*, 29-31 Μαΐου 1992, Ioannina 1999, 517-527 with further references, while on Apsaras family see *D. C. Agoritsas*, *Αντώνιος Αψαράς, επίσκοπος Βελλάς, χορηγός των τοιχογραφιών της λιτής του καθολικού της Ιεράς Μονής Βαρλαάμ* (1565), *Ηπειρωτικό Ημερολόγιο* 31 (2012) 269-286.

a few years later of the main church in the catholicon of Varlaam monastery (1548), might not have seen the icon of the “Doubting Thomas” in Great Meteoron, but he knew this iconographic theme possibly from a similar depiction in Ioannina and he incorporated it in the iconographic program of the above monuments obeying apparently to the will of their donors and founders.

In the case of Varlaam monastery, the founders Theophanes and Nektarios Apsaras perhaps knew the existence of the aforementioned icon in the Great Meteoron, but we should keep in mind that Apsaras brothers became monks in the island of Ioannina and lived there for many years, close to the Philanthropenos monastery. So, with their choice, they might have wished to highlight their ties with homeland (Ioannina) and their family relations, three generations ago, with Maria Palaiologina in an attempt to show and compare their establishment to the neighboring monastery of Great Meteoron, whose second founder was Maria’s brother, the Greek-Serbian ex ruler of Thessaly John (Joasaph) Uroš Palaiologos.<sup>36</sup>

The depiction of the “Doubting Thomas” in the Monastery of Philanthropenos became therefore a model for the hagiographers in the Nativity of Christ in Petrilo, in Hagia Theodora in Arta and in the catholicon of Tsouka. On the other hand, Varlaam monastery may have influenced the similar scene in Hagia Trias monastery and probably the church of St. Nikolaos in Rendina, whose painter is said to have followed the artistic trends of the so called “School of North Western Greece”.<sup>37</sup> Finally, the painters of the fresco decoration in the monastery of Zavorda were certainly influenced by the style of decoration of the main churches in the Philanthropenos and Varlaam monasteries; besides, the close spiritual ties between the monks of Zavorda and those of Varlaam and Great Meteoron were well known.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> It seems that during the Ottoman period in the monastic community of Meteora local traditions had been developed attributing the foundation of some monasteries to Maria Palaiologina. In 1779, Swedish traveler J. J. Björnsthål writes unsubstantially that the sisters (sic) of prince John-Joasaph Uroš Palaiologos became nuns in the nearby of the Great Meteoron convent of Hypselotera; see *J. J. Björnsthål, Resa til Frankrike, Italien, Sweitz, Tyskland, Holland, England, Turkiet och Grekland*, 5, Stockholm 1783, 118; cf. *H. Holland, Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, &c. during the years 1812 and 1813*, London 1815, 240, who repeats what Björnsthål says. A similar tradition is mentioned later by F. Pouqueville, French diplomat in the court of Ali Pasha in Ioannina, that Palaiologina founded in 1436 (sic) the convent of Hagia Trias: “en 1436, Marie Paléologue bâtit pour des religieuses un autre convent qu’elle dédia à la Sainte-Trinite”, *F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, Voyage de la Grèce*, Paris <sup>2</sup>1826, 335; cf. *I. A. Leonardos, Νεωτάτη της Θεσσαλίας χωρογραφία*, Pest 1836, 72; *Arhimandrita Antonina*, Iz Rumelij, Sanktpeterburg 1866, 418, fn. 1, and *A. Ubicini, Lettres sur la Turquie*, 2, Les raïas, Paris 1854, 156. The above are not confirmed in other Greek sources and only in the case of Hypselotera we do know from a surviving letter of late fourteenth century (ca. 1380’s) that the abbot had addressed to Maria, wife of Alexios Angelos Philanthropenos, the *Caesar* of Thessaly, who held the title of «ἐπί τῆς κραπέζης» and was related to the Emperor (οἰκείος); see *PLP*, 29750, and *N. A. Bees, Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν των μονῶν των Μετεώρων, Βυζαντίς 1* (1909) 277, no. 7.

<sup>37</sup> See Tsiouris, *op. cit.*, 327-329.

<sup>38</sup> On the spiritual relations between the monastic community of Meteora and the founder of Zavorda monastery, hosios Nikanor, see his *Testament*; *N. P. Deliales, Το πρωτότυπον της διαθήκης του οσίου Νικάνωρος του Θεσσαλονικέως και τέσσερα άλλα ανέκδοτα κείμενα, Μακεδονικά 9* (1969) 243-265, esp. 249-250.

From the above, we can reasonably assume that the peculiar iconography of the “Doubting Thomas” in the fourteenth century icon of Great Meteoron was not probably the model for a number of mural depictions in post-byzantine monuments in the greater region of Ioannina and Thessaly during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. It is certain that we deal with a local iconographic tradition having as a starting point the city of Ioannina in the late fourteenth century and the *Queen* Maria Palaiologina as a source of inspiration who might have ordered such a depiction in memory of her husband Thomas Preljubović in one of the city’s religious monuments. It is reasonably certain that post-byzantine artists adopted the above model-depiction from similar depictions in the monasteries of Philanthropenos (Ioannina) and Varlaam ( Meteora) -carriers and continuators of the local cultural tradition of Ioannina- which shows both the radiance and the great influence exerted by these two great monastic centers in post-byzantine art and moreover the contribution of great artists, like Frangos Katelanos. However, if the presence of Maria Palaiologina in the depiction of the “Doubting Thomas” in the monasteries of Philanthropenos and Varlaam had to do with the maintenance of historic memory of the city and the medieval State of Ioannina as well as with the prestige of their founders and donors, her later depictions seem to be no less than a mechanical copying of the fresco decoration of some great monuments, points of reference in post-byzantine art, perhaps without any specific meaning or other historical or ideological connotation.

## ЛИСТА РЕФЕРЕНЦИ – LIST OF REFERENCES

### Извори – Primary Sources

- Actes de Lavra III de 1329 à 1500 (Archives de l’Athos 10), ed. *P. Lemerle et al.*, Paris 1979.
- Bees N. A.*, Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν των μονών των Μετεώρων, Βυζαντίς 1 (1909) 191-392 [*Bees N. A.*, Symbolē eis tēn istorian tōn monōn tōn Meteōrōn, Byzantis 1 (1909) 191-392].
- Bees N. A.*, Σύνταγμα επιγραφικών μνημείων Μετεώρων και της περίξ χώρας μετά σχετικών αρχαιολογημάτων, Βυζαντίς 1 (1909) 557-626 [*Bees N. A.*, Syntagma epigraphikōn mnēmeiōn Meteōrōn kai tēs perix chōras meta schetikōn archaiologēmatōn, Byzantis 1 (1909) 557-626].
- Deliales N. P.*, Το πρωτότυπον της διαθήκης του οσίου Νικάνορος του Θεσσαλονικέως και τέσσερα άλλα ανέκδοτα κείμενα, Μακεδονικά 9 (1969) 243-265 [*Deliales N. P.*, Το πρότοτυρον tēs diathēkēs tou hosiou Nikanoros tou Thessalonikeōs kai tessera alla anekdota keimena, Makedonika 9 (1969) 243-265].
- Laonici Chalcocondylae Atheniensis Historiarum (CSHB), ed. *I. Bekker*, Bonn 1843.
- Rigo A.*, La “Cronaca delle Meteore”. La storia dei monasteri della Tessaglia tra XIII e XVI secolo (Orientalia Venetiana 8), Firenze 1999.
- Sophianos D. Z.*, Το εκδοτήριο εξισαστικό και αποδεικτικό γράμμα της Μαρίας Αγγελίνας Δούκαινας Παλαιολογίνας, edd. *S. Kotzabassi – G. Mavromatis*, Realia Byzantina (Byzantinisches Archiv 22), Berlin - New York 2009, 267-282 [*Sophianos D. Z.*, Το εκδοτήριο exisastiko kai apodeiktiko gramma tēs Marias Angelinas Doukainas Palaiologinas, edd. *S. Kotzabassi - G. Mavromatis*, Realia Byzantina (Byzantinisches Archiv 22), Berlin - New York 2009, 267-282].
- Vranousis L.*, Το Χρονικόν των Ιωαννίνων κατ’ ανέκδοτον δημόδη επιτομήν, Επετηρίς του Μεσαιωνικού Αρχείου 12 (1962) 57-115 [*Vranousis L.*, Το Chronikon tōn Iōanninōn kat’ anekdoton dēmōdē epitōmēn, Hepetēris tou Mesaiōnikou Archeiou 12 (1962) 57-115].

### Λιτεράτυρα – Secondary Works

- Acheimastou-Potamianou M.*, Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής των Φιλανθρωπητών στο νησί των Ιωαννίνων, Athens 2004 [*Acheimastou-Potamianou M.*, Hoi toichographiēs tēs monēs tōn Philanthrōpētōn sto nēsi tōn Iōanninōn, Athens 2004].
- Agoritsas D. C.*, Αντώνιος Αψαράς, επίσκοπος Βελλάς, χορηγός των τοιχογραφιών της λιτής του καθολικού της Ιεράς Μονής Βαρλαάμ (1565), *Ηπειρωτικό Ημερολόγιο* 31 (2012) 269-286 [*Agoritsas D. C.*, Antōnios Apsaras, episkopos Vellas, chorēgos tōn toichographiōn tēs litēs tou katholikou tēs hieras Monēs Varlaam (1565), *Epeirōtiko Hēmerologio* 31 (2012) 269-286].
- Antonopoulos E.*, Βασιλική πομπή: Αλληγορικά πρόσωπα στην Ανάσταση της Dečani, *ΔΧΑΕ* 17 (1993-1994) 87-98 [*Antonopoulos E.*, Vasilikē pompē: allēgorika prosōpa stēn Anastasē tēs Dečani, *DChAE* 17 (1993-1994) 87-98].
- Arhimandrita Antonina*, Iz Rumelij, Sanktpeterburg 1866.
- Bees N. A.*, Έκθεσις παλαιογραφικών και τεχνικών ερευνών εν ταις μοναίς των Μετεώρων κατά τα έτη 1908 και 1909, Athens 1910 (*Bees N. A.*, Ekthesis palaiographikōn kai technikōn ereunōn en tais monais tōn Meteōrōn kata ta etē 1908-1909, Athens 1910).
- Bees N. A.*, Μετεώρου πίναξ αφιερωθείς υπό της βασιλίσσης Παλαιολογίνης, *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* 3 (1911) 177-185 [*Bees N. A.*, Meteōrou pinax aphierōtheis ypo tēs vasilissēs Palaiologinēs, *Archaialogikē Ephēmeris* 3 (1911), 177-185].
- Bermejo Díez J.*, Das Reliquien Diptychon der Despoten von Epiros in der Kathedrale von Cuenca, ed. A. Legner, Die Parler und der schöne Stil, 1350-1400: Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern, 5.1, Resultatband der Ausstellung des Schnütgen-Museums in der Kunsthalle Köln, Cologne 1980, 13-19.
- Björnståhl J. J.*, Resa til Frankrike, Italien, Sweitz, Tyskland, Holland, England, Turkiet och Grekland, 5, Stockholm 1783.
- Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557). Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture, ed. S. T. Brooks, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia), New York 2006.
- Chatzidakis M.* – *Sofianos D.*, The Great Meteoron. History and Art, Athens 1990.
- Constantinides C. N.*, Προσωπογραφικά της οικογένειας Φιλανθρωπητών: ο στρατηγός Αλέξιος και ο ιερέας Μιχαήλ οι Φιλανθρωπηνοί (13ος-14ος αι.), edd. *M. Garidis* - *A. Paliouras*, Μοναστήρια νήσου Ιωαννίνων. Πρακτικά συμποσίου 700 χρόνια 1292-1992, 29-31 Μαΐου 1992, Ioannina 1999, 517-527 [*Constantinides C. N.*, Prosōpographica tēs oikogeneias tōn Philanthrōpētōn: ho stratēgos Alexios kai ho hierreas Michaēl hoi Philanthrōpēnoi (13os-14os ai.), edd. *M. Garidis* - *A. Paliouras*, Monastēria nēsou Iōanninōn. Praktika symposiou 700 chronia 1292-1992, 29-31 Maiou 1992, Iōannina 1999, 517-527].
- Estopañán S. C.*, Bizancio y España. El legado de la Basilissa María y de los dēspotas Thomas y Esaú de Joannina, I, Barcelona 1943.
- Gargova F.*, Die Stiftungen des Despoten Thomas Preljubović und der Basilissa Maria Palaiologina – Memoria in Epirus in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts, MA Thesis, University of Wien 2010.
- Gargova F.*, The Meteora Icon of the Incredulity of Thomas Reconsidered, edd. *L. Theis et al.*, Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond, Böhlau Verlag Wien – Köln – Weimar 2013, 369-381.
- Garidis M.*, Μεταβυζαντινή ζωγραφική (1450-1600). Η εντοίχια ζωγραφική μετά την πτώση του Βυζαντίου στον ορθόδοξο κόσμο και στις χώρες υπό ξένη κυριαρχία, Athens 2007 [*Garidis M.*, Metabyzantinē zōgraphikē (1450-1600). Hē entoichia zōgraphikē meta tēn ptōsē tou Byzantiou ston orthodoxo kosmo kai stis chōres ypo xenē kyriarchia, Athens 2007].
- Garidis M.* - *Paliouras A.*, Μοναστήρια νήσου Ιωαννίνων: Ζωγραφική, Ioannina 1993 [*Garidis M.* - *Paliouras A.*, Monastēria nēsou Iōanninōn: Zōgraphikē, Iōannina 1993].
- Georgakopoulos D.*, Νέα στοιχεία για την παράδοση του Χρονικού των Ιωαννίνων, in Ζ' Συνάντηση Βυζαντινολόγων Ελλάδος και Κύπρου, 20-23 Σεπτεμβρίου 2007, Komotene 2011, 316-318 [*Georgakopoulos D.*, Nea stoicheia gia tēn paradōsē tou Chronikou tōn Iōanninōn, in 8<sup>th</sup> Synantisē Vyzantinologōn Hellados kai Kyprou, 20-23 Sept. 2007, Komotēnē 2011, 316-318].

- Holland H.*, Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, &c. during the years 1812 and 1813, London 1815.
- Kamaroulias D.*, Τα μοναστήρια της Ηπείρου, I, Athens 1996 [*Kamaroulias D.*, Τα monastēria tēs Epeirou, I, Athens 1996].
- Kordoses M.*, Τα βυζαντινά Γιάννενα. Κάστρο (πόλη) – ξώκαστρο, κοινωνία - διοίκηση - οικονομία, Athens, 2003 [*Kordoses M.*, Τα byzantina Giannena. Kastro (polē) – xōkastro, koinōnia – dioikēsē - oikonomia, Athens, 2003].
- Lambros Sp.*, Ηπειρωτικά: Το εν Ιωαννίνους Αρχιμανδρείον και οι εν αυτό κώδικες, Νέος Έλληνομνήμων 10 (1913) 398-418 [*Lambros Sp.*, Epeirōtika : To en Iōanninois Archimandreion kai hoi en autō kōdikēs, Neos Hellēnomnēmōn 10 (1913) 398-418].
- Leonardos I. A.*, Νεωτάτη τῆς Θεσσαλίας χωρογραφία, Pest 1836 [*Leonardos I. A.*, Neōtatē tēs Thessalias chōrographia, Pest 1836].
- Loverdou-Tsigaridas K.*, Les œuvres d'arts mineurs comme expression des relations du mont Athos avec l'aristocratie ecclésiastique et politique de Byzance, ed. G. Galavaris, Athos, la Saint Montagne. Tradition et renouveau dans l'art (Athonika Symmeikta 10), Athènes 2007, 63-96.
- Loverdou-Tsigaridas K.*, Objets précieux de l'église de la Vierge Gavalitissa au monastère de Lavra (Mont Athos), Zograf 26 (1997) 81-86.
- Manopoulos Gr.*, Επανεξέταση των επιγραφών των Καπεσοβιτών ζωγράφων, Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά 37 (2003) 299-317 [*Manopoulos Gr.*, Epanexetasē tōn epigraphōn tōn Kapesovitōn zōgraphōn, Epeirōtika Chronika 37 (2003) 299-317].
- Martínez Sáez A.*, El díptico bizantino de la Catedral de Cuenca, Cuenca <sup>2</sup>2004.
- Matanov C.*, The Phenomenon Thomas Preljubović, in Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου, Arta 1992, 63-68 (*Matanov C.*, The Phenomenon Thomas Preljubović, in Praktika Diethnous Symposiou gia to Despotato tēs Epeirou, Arta 1992, 63-68).
- Mijović P.*, Les icônes avec les portraits de Toma Preljubović et de Marie Paléologue, ZLU 2 (1966) 183-197.
- Nicol D. M.*, The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479, Cambridge 1984, 139-162.
- Ostrogorsky G.* - *Schweinfurth Ph.*, Das Reliquiar der Despoten von Epirus, Seminarium Kondakovianum 4 (1931) 165-172.
- Papadopoulou B. N.*, Βυζαντινή μαρμαρίνη εικόνα της Παναγίας στο Αρχιμανδρείο των Ιωαννίνων, in Δώρα. Τιμητικός τόμος στον Καθηγητή Νίκο Νικονάνο, Thessalonike 2006, 189-196 [*Papadopoulou B. N.*, Byzantinē marmarinē eikona tēs Panagias sto Archimandreio tōn Iōanninōn, in Dōron. Timētikos tomos ston Kathēgētē Niko Nikonano, Thessalonikē 2006, 189-196].
- Papadopoulou B. N.* - *Tsiara A. L.*, Εικόνες της Άρτας. Η εκκλησιαστική ζωγραφική στην περιοχή της Άρτας κατά τους βυζαντινούς και μεταβυζαντινούς χρόνους, Arta 2008 [*Papadopoulou B. N.* - *Tsiara A. L.*, Eikones tēs Artas. Hē ecclēsiastikē zōgraphikē stēn periochē tēs Artas kata tous Byzantinous kai metabyzantinous chronous, Arta 2008].
- Papazotos Th.*, Ο Θωμάς Πρελιούμποβιτς και η Μαρία Παλαιολογίνα κήτορες του ναού της Παναγίας Γαβαλιωτίσσης στα Βοδενά, Κληρονομία 13.2 (1981) 509-516 [*Papazotos Th.*, Ho Thōmas Preljubović kai hē Maria Palaiologina ktētores to naou tēs Panagias Gavalitissēs sta Vodena, Kleronomia 13.2 (1981) 509-516].
- Patterson-Ševčenko N.*, Close Encounters: Contact between Holy Figures and the Faithful as represented in Byzantine Works of Art, edd. A. Guillou - J. Durand, Byzance et les images. Cycle de conférences organisé au musée du Louvre par le Service culturel du 5 octobre au 7 décembre 1992, Paris 1994, 255-285.
- Patterson-Ševčenko N.*, The Representation of Donors and Holy Figures on four Byzantine Icons, DChAE 17 (1993-1994) 157-164.
- Pouqueville F. C. H. L.*, Voyage de la Grèce, Paris <sup>2</sup>1826.
- Radošević N.* - *Subotić G.*, Bogorodica Gavalitissa u Vodenu, ZRVI 27-28 (1989) 217-263.

- Sdrolia St.*, Οι τοιχογραφίες του καθολικού της Μονής Πέτρας (1625) και η ζωγραφική των ναών των Αγράφων τον 17ο αιώνα, Volos 2012 [*Sdrolia St.*, Hoi toichographies tou catholikou tēs Monēs Petras (1625) kai hē zōgraphikē tōn naōn tōn Agraphōn ton 17o aiōna, Volos 2012].
- Semoglou A.*, Η Μονή Βαρλαάμ των Μετεώρων. Ενδιάμεσος σταθμός στην καλλιτεχνική πορεία του Φράγγου Κατελλάνου, Θεσσαλικό Ημερολόγιο 33 (1998) 185-192 [*A. Semoglou*, Hē Monē Varlaam tōn Meteōrōn. Endiamesos stathmos stēn kallitechnikē poreia tou Fragou Katellanou, Thessaliko Hēmerologio 33 (1998) 185-192].
- Sophianos D. Z.*, Άγια Μετέωρα. Οδοιπορικό, Holly Meteora <sup>2</sup>2012 [*Sophianos D. Z.*, Hagia Meteōra. Hodoiporiko, Holly Meteora <sup>2</sup>2012].
- Soulis G. Ch.*, The Serbs in Byzantium during the Reign of Tsar Stephen Dušan (1331-1355) and his Succesors (Εταιρεία Φίλων του Λαού, ΚΕΒ 2), Athens 1995.
- Subotić G.*, Δώρα και δωρεές του δεσπότη Θωμά και της βασίλισσας Μαρίας Παλαιολογίνας, in Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου, Arta 1992, 69-86 (*Subotić G.*, Dōra kai dorees tou Despotē Thōma kai tēs vasilissas Marias Palaiologinas, in Praktika Diethnous Symposiou gia to Despotato tēs Epeirou, Arta 1992, 69-86).
- Subotić G.*, Η τέχνη των βυζαντινοσέρβων ευγενών στην Ελλάδα κατά τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες του ΙΔ' αιώνα, in Byzantium and Serbia the 14th Century (NHRF/IBR, International Symposium 3), Athens 1996, 169-179 [*Subotić G.*, Hē technē tōn byzantinosevōn eugenōn stēn Hellada kata tis teleutaies dekaeties tou 14ou aiōna, in Byzantium and Serbia the 14th Century (NHRF/IBR, International Symposium 3), Athens 1996, 169-179].
- Subotić G. – Simonopetritis I.*, L'iconostase et les fresques de la fin du XIVe siècle dans le monastère de la Transfiguration aux Météores, in Actes du XVe Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines, Athènes –Septembre 1976, II Art et Archéologie – Communications B, Athènes 1981, 751-758.
- Toumbas Ch.*, archimandrite (ed.), Η Ιερά Μητρόπολις Ελασσώνας. Οι Ενορίες, οι Ιερές Μονές και τα κειμήλιά τους, Elassona 2007 [*Toumbas Ch.*, archimandrite (ed.), Hē Hiera Mētropolis Elassōnas. Hoi Enories, hoi Hieres Mones kai ta keimēlia tous, Elassona 2007].
- Tsiouris I. C.*, Οι τοιχογραφίες της μονής Αγίας Τριάδος Δρακότρυπας (1758) και η μνημειακή ζωγραφική του 18ου αιώνα στην περιοχή των Αγράφων, Athens 2008 [*Tsiouris I. C.*, Hoi toichographies tēs monēs Hagias Triados Drakotrypas (1758) kai hē mnēmeiakē zōgraphikē tou 18ou aiōna stēn periochē tōn Agraphōn, Athens 2008].
- Ubicini A.*, Lettres sur la Turquie, 2, Les raïas, Paris 1854.
- Vassilaki M.*, Female Piety, Devotion and Patronage: Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina of Ioannina and Helena Ugljesa of Serres, edd. *J.-M. Spieser - E. Yota*, Donations et Donateurs dans le monde byzantin, Actes du colloque international de l'Université de Fribourg, Fribourg 13-15 mars 2008 (Réalités Byzantines 14), Paris 2012, 221-234.
- Vlachopoulou-Karabina E.*, Ο βυζαντινός επιτάφιος του Μεγάλου Μετεώρου (τελευταίο τέταρτο 14ου αι.), Τρικαλινά 19 (1999) 307-330 [*Vlachopoulou-Karabina E.*, Ho byzantinos epitaphios tou Megalou Meteōrou (teleutaio tetarto tou 14ou ai.), Trikalina 19 (1999) 307-330].
- Vogiatzes S.*, Συμβολή στην ιστορία της εκκλησιαστικής αρχιτεκτονικής της κεντρικής Ελλάδος κατά το 16ο αιώνα. Οι μονές Αγίου Βησσαρίωνος (Δούσικο) και Οσίου Νικάνορος (Ζάβορδα), (Τετράδια Βυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης 7), Athens 2000 [*Vogiatzes S.*, Symbolē stēn historia tēs ekklesiastikēs architektonikēs tēs kendrikēs Hellados kata to 16o aiōna. Hoi mones Hagiou Bēssariōnos (Dousiko) kai Hosiou Nikanoros (Zavorda), (Tetradia Byzantinēs Archaiologias kai Technēs 7), Athens 2000].
- Vranousis L.*, Ιστορικά και τοπογραφικά του μεσαιωνικού κάστρου των Ιωαννίνων, Athens 1968 [*L. Vranousis*, Historica kai topographica tou mesaiōnikou kastrou tōn Iōanninōn, Athens 1968].
- Xygoopoulos A.*, Νέαι Προσωπογραφίαι της Μαρίας Παλαιολογίνας και του Θωμά Πρελιούμποβιτς, ΔΧΑΕ 4 (1966) 53-70 [*Xygoopoulos A.*, Neai Prosōpographiae tēs Marias Palaiologinas kai tou Thōma Preljubović, DChAE 4 (1966) 53-70].

Димитрис К. Аџориџас  
(Универзитет у Јањини, Грчка)

### МАРИЈА АНГЕЛИНА ДУКЕНА ПАЛЕОЛОГИНА И ЊЕНЕ ПРЕДСТАВЕ У ПОСТ-ВИЗАНТИЈСКОМ ЗИДНОМ СЛИКАРСТВУ

Српски *десјоџи* Јањине Тома Прељубовић и његова жена *царица* Марија Ангелина Дукена Палеологина често су повезивани током друге половине XIV века са религиозним уздарјима и рукотворинама које су биле дароване црквама и манастирима у Јањини, Тесалији и Македонији (Бер-Воден и Света Гора). Добро је позната икона „Неверног Томе“ са представом Марије Палеологине међу апостолима, коју је Марија даровала Манастиру Преображења (Велики Метеор), највероватније у знак сећања на свог мужа Тому (после децембра 1384. године).

Трагови ретког иконографског типа поменути иконе проналазе се поново у поствизантиским сликаним споменицима у Епиру, Тесалији и Македонији од XVI до XVIII века. Многи савремени научници верују да је архетип ове иконографије био мала икона „Неверног Томе“ у Манастиру Велики Метеор. Ипак, за преношење овог специфичног иконографског споја највише је заслужан суховни и уметнички утицај два важна монашка центра, Манастира Филантропин на Јањинском острву (1542. година) и Манастира Варлаам у Метеорима (1548. година), чији су оснивачи – племићке породице Филантропин и Апсара – некада били у снажној вези са српским владарима Јањине и посебно са *царицом* Маријом Палологином († 1394, 28. децембра). У том оквиру, разумно је претпоставити да је управо Јањина била место где је поменути иконографски спој начињен и највероватније насликан у једној од истакнутијих градских цркава под надзором Марије Палеологине у спомен на њеног мужа Тому Прељубовића.

Уметничко задржавање успомене на Палеологину у споменицима XVI века у манастирима Филантропину и Варлааму било је престижно и допринело је историјском памћењу, док су позније представе таквог типа „Неверног Томе“ током XVII и XVIII века у тесалским и епирским споменицима биле не више од имитација старијих значајних фреско украса без икаквог посебног значења или друге историјске или идеолошке поруке.



Fig. 1. Greece, Meteora, Transfiguration Monastery,  
Icon of the "Doubting Thomas", last quarter of the 14th century (post 1384).



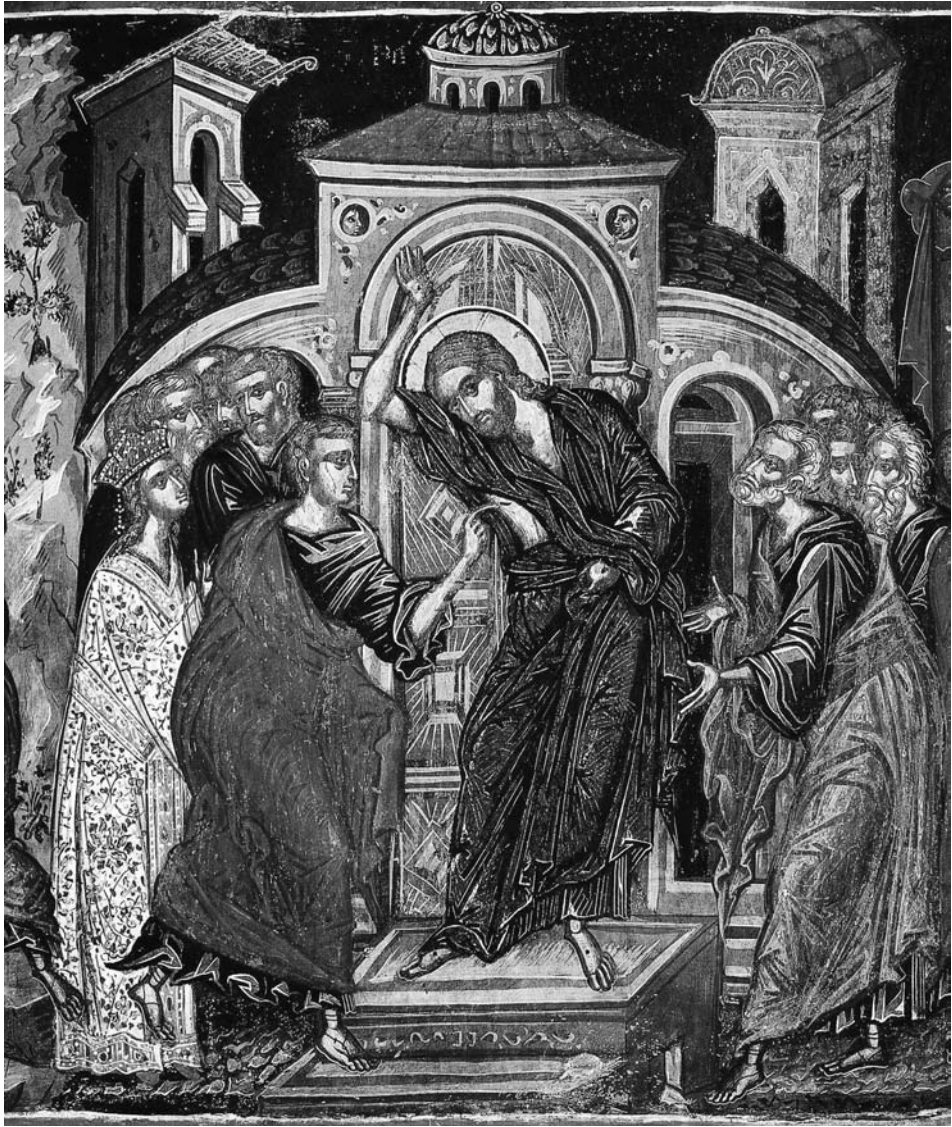


Fig. 2. Greece, Ioannina, Philanthropenos Monastery, 1542.



Fig. 3. Greece, Meteora, Varlaam Monastery, 1548.

Fig. 4. Greece, Macedonia, Zavorda Monastery, second half of the 16th century.



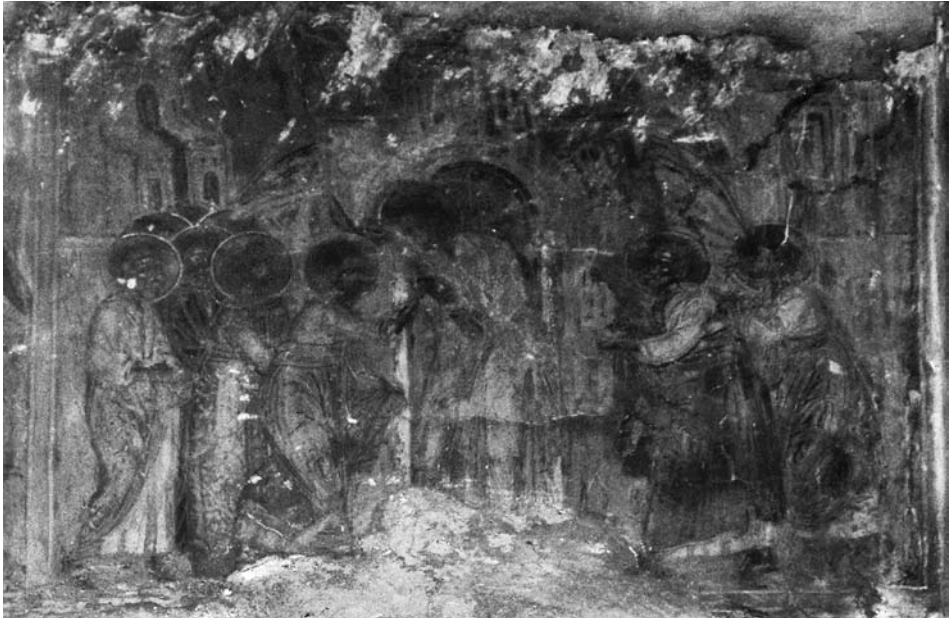
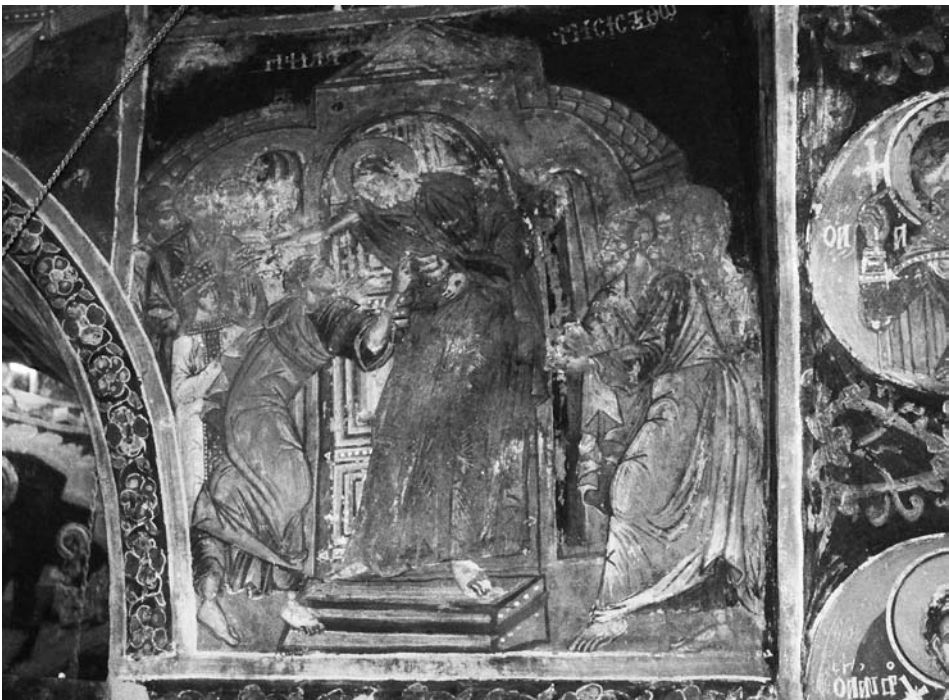


Fig. 5. Greece, Petrilo - Thessaly, Church of the Nativity of Christ, post 1662.

Fig. 6. Greece, Meteora, Hagia Trias Monastery, 1692.



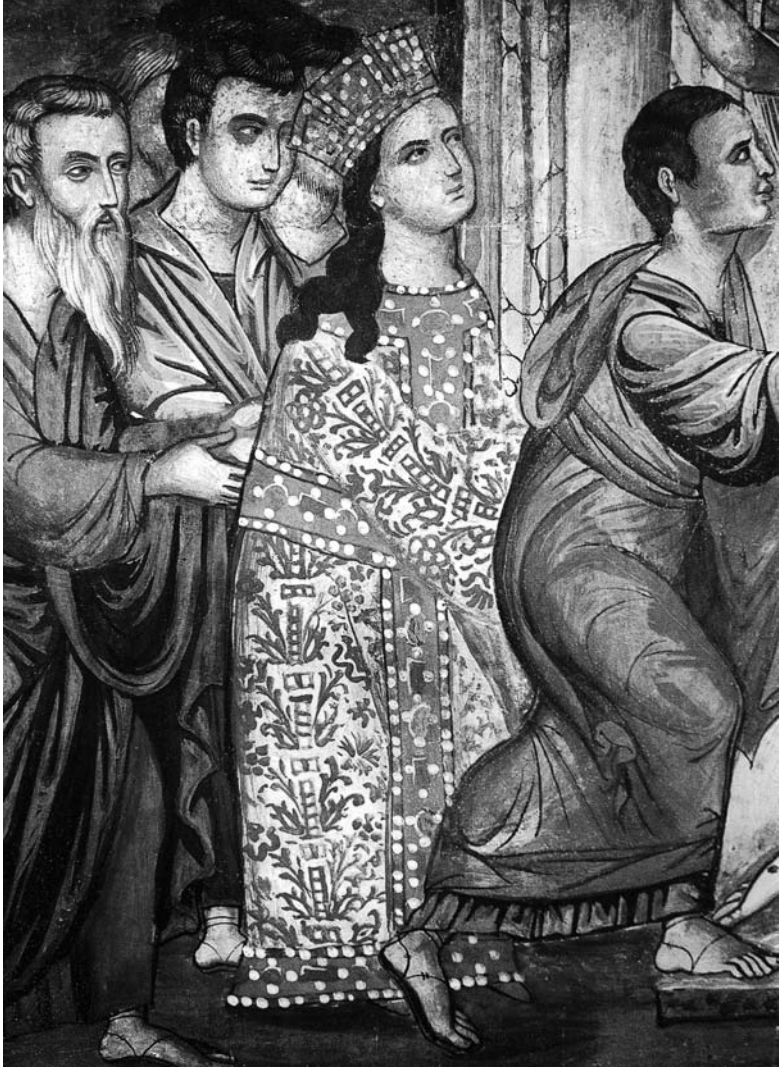


Fig. 7. Greece, Arta, Church of Hagia Theodora, early 18th century.



Fig. 8. Greece, Rendina - Thessaly, Church of St. Nikolaos, post 1725.