

APPENDIX VIII

Verse Inscriptions

The following list of verse inscriptions presents the texts I have come across in the course of preparing this book. It is meant as a supplement to the present study. It is emphatically not an epigraphic survey. The list is by no means exhaustive; to repeat the words of Mango 1951: 52, “I can claim no degree of completeness as the material is very scattered and there are few bibliographical aids”. I am most grateful to Wolfram Hörandner, who is currently preparing a corpus of verse inscriptions, for allowing me access to his file cards and for checking the data of the following list. Needless to say, the responsibility for the remaining errors and omissions is entirely my own.

The list comprises not only inscriptions in stone or precious metals, but also texts on wall paintings, icons and miniatures. Inscriptions on lead seals are not mentioned because of the problems involved in establishing an accurate date for metrical seals. Epigraphical texts mentioned in Byzantine sources, which can no longer be found *in situ* (for instance, the verse inscriptions of the *Pege* [AP I, 109–114] or the epigrams inscribed on the door panels in the monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai [ed. Ševčenko 1998]), are not included. The list is divided into three parts that correspond with chapters 5, 7 and 8: epigrams on works of art, epitaphs and gnomic epigrams, respectively. In the brief bibliography attached to each entry I only mention the editions that were available to me, and I only refer to publications dealing with the inscriptions themselves. Occasionally I add some comments of my own: these are printed in small type. Page numbers between square brackets refer to the pages where a given verse inscription is discussed in more detail.

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epigrams on works of art

For the sake of convenience the following list of verse inscriptions on works of art is divided into five sections: epigrams on churches and monasteries, city walls, other public constructions, small artefacts and miniatures.

churches and monasteries

- (1) Aphrodisias, church of St. Barbara and St. Anastasia, 9th–10th C. Inc. [...]*δε ναὸν τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων*, 2 vv, fragmentary. Ed. CH. ROUECHÉ, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity. The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions including Texts from the Excavations conducted by K.T. ERIM.* Leeds 1989, 165 (no. 108).
- (2) Behram (Assos), church of St. Cornelius, 9th–10th C. Inc. *ναοῦ τὸ σαθρόν*, 8 vv. Ed. GRÉGOIRE 1922: no. 1.
- (3) Cappadocia, Göreme, New Church of Tokali Kilise, 953–963. Inc. *σὸν ναὸν ἱεῖρ[...]*, 20 vv, fragmentary. Ed. JERPHANION 1925–42: I, 2, 304–307 (no. 34). For the date, see N. THIERRY, in: MARKOPOULOS 1989: 217–233. See V. GRUMEL, *EO* 32 (1933) 357–360, A. WHARTON EPSTEIN, *Tokali Kilise. Tenth-century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappadocia.* Washington, D.C., 1986, 33, 36 and 79–80, and MAGUIRE 1996: 6–7.
- (4) Cappadocia, Göreme, Kiličlar Kilise, 10th C. Inc. *ἐν γῆ κατελθόν*, 9 vv. Ed. JERPHANION 1925–42: I, 1, 229–230 and 603 (no. 26a).
- (5) Cappadocia, Hasan Dağı, Balli Kilise, 10th C. Inc. *χαίροις Γαβριήλ*, 4 vv. Ed. N. THIERRY, in: MARKOPOULOS 1989: 238–243. [pp. 165–166]
- (6) Cappadocia, Sinassos, church of the Holy Apostles, 10th C. Fragmentary inscription on a depiction of the Pentecost, inc. *εβεν ἐπ' ὄλκαδος ἔνφυτος ὕπνος*, probably six verses. This is a copy of a late antique verse inscription that was once to be found in the church of St. Basil in nearby Caesarea: *AP* I, 92. Ed. H. GRÉGOIRE, *Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique* 52 (1909) 164–166. See R. CORMACK, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 30 (1967) 24. [pp. 92–93]
- (7) Cappadocia, Sinassos, chapel of St. Basil, 9th–10th C. Three verses (followed by prose). The first verse and the first half of the second verse are illegible. Verse 2, second half: *τῆς ἐνδό[ξου] οἰκίας*. Ed. JERPHANION 1925–42: II, 1, 109–110 (no. 141). See D.I. PALLAS, *Byz* 48 (1978) 210–211 and A. WHARTON EPSTEIN, in: *Iconoclasm*, eds. A.A. BRYER & J. HERRIN. Birmingham 1977, 106.
- (8) Colophon, church of the Holy Virgin, 959–960. Inc. *δέξαι Δέσποινα*, 3 vv. Ed. GRÉGOIRE 1922: no. 95.
- (9) Hosios Loukas, katholikon, third quarter of 10th C. Two inscriptions. Inc. *Χριστέ μοι δίδου*, 3 vv, and inc. *Λουκᾶ τρισιμάχαρ*, 4 vv. Ed. E. ΣΤΙΚΑΣ, *Τὸ οἰκοδομικὸν χρονικὸν τῆς μονῆς Ὁσίου Λουκᾶ Φωκίδος.* Athens 1970, 25.
- (10) Istanbul, Hagia Sophia, apse, 867. Inc. *ἄς οἱ πλάνοι καθεῖλον*, 2 vv. *AP* I, 1. Some letters still visible. Text also transmitted in mss. Ed. MERCATI 1922: 280–282. [pp. 32, 92, 94–97, 106 and 273]
- (11) Istanbul, Hagia Sophia, after the earthquake of 869. Four epigrams, two on the south tympanum and two on the north tympanum. Some traces

- discovered *in situ*. Texts also transmitted in mss. Inc. πατρὸς ἀκηράτου υἱέ, 3 vv; σοὶ τῷ κρατοῦντι, 3 vv; ἔργον ἀμίμητον, 3 vv; ἀψίδι χειρῶν, 3 vv. Ed. MERCATI 1922a: 282–286. For the date, see C. MANGO, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*. Dumbarton Oaks 1962, 63–66, and C. MANGO & E. HAWKINS, *DOP* 26 (1972) 37–41. [pp. 28 and 32]
- (12) Istanbul, Manganai district, church of Prophet Elijah, 867–886. The text is very fragmentary. Inc. (ὄσ)περ κάγώ πᾶς, 8 vv. Ed. H. GRÉGOIRE, *ZRVI* 1 (1952) 10–15 (repr. in: *Byz* 32 (1962) 45–52).
- (13) Istanbul, monastery of Lips, 907. The fragmentary inscription is divided into three texts. Inc. [...] (ἐ)κ πόθου, 2 vv; μητρὶ Θεοῦ νεών, 4 vv; and ναὸς τὸ δῶρον, 2 vv. Ed. C. MANGO and E. HAWKINS, *DOP* 18 (1964) 300–301. [p. 164]
- (14) Iznik, church of the Koimesis, end 7th C. Inc. [...]ον ἐγείρω σοι, Παρθένε, 4 vv. Ed. C. MANGO, *TM* 12 (1994) 350–353.
- (15) Naxos, church of the Panagia, 8th–9th C. Inc. τὸν πρὶν βραχύν τε, 8 vv. Ed. GRÉGOIRE 1922: no. 215bis. For the date, see P.G. ZERLENTHS, *BZ* 16 (1907) 285–286. V. RUGGIERI, *Byzantine Religious Architecture (582–867): its History and Structural Elements*. Rome 1991, 260, doubts whether the date is correct.
- (16) Rome, S. Maria Antiqua, 7th C. On a fresco depicting the trial of the Forty Martyrs the following text can be deciphered: [...] τῆς γραφῆς τῆς εἰκόνοσ / αἰτῶν βρω[...]. Ed. P.J. NORDHAGEN, *Studies in Byzantine Art and Early Medieval Painting*. London 1990, 220.
- (17) Skripou, church of the Koimesis, 873–874. Inc. οὐ φθόνος, οὐδὲ χρόνος, 12 vv. Ed. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1994. [pp. 119–120]
- (18) Thebes, church of St. Gregory, 872–873. Inc. τέρεμνον ὄνπερ, 5 vv. Ed. *CIG* 8686. See Σπ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, *NE* 11 (1914) 326–327 and Γ.Α. ΣΩΤΗΡΙΟΥ, *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερὶς* 1924, pp. 1–3.
- (19) Thessalonica, church of St. Demetrios, c. 630. Two inscriptions. Inc. ἐπὶ χρόνον Λέοντος, 2 vv, and inc. κτίστας θεωρεῖς, 4 vv. Ed. J.M. SPIESER, *TM* 5 (1973) 155–156 (nos. 6 and 7). See C. ΜΠΑΚΙΡΙΤΖΗΣ, *Βυζαντινά* 13, 2 (1985) 1055–1058.

city walls

- (20) Ankara, c. 859. Inc. δόξαν μεγίστην, 10 vv. Ed. GRÉGOIRE 1927–28: 437–439.
- (21) Ankara, c. 859. Inc. πένθει φθορεῖσα, 15 vv. Ed. GRÉGOIRE 1927–28: 439–442. [p. 161]
- (22) Antakya, end 10th C. Inc. περιτρέχων (...), 3 vv, fragmentary. Ed. G. DAGRON & D. FEISSEL, *TM* 9 (1985) 459 (no. 4).

- (23) Antalya, 909–910. Inc. ἀστοὶ πόλεως, 8 vv, with acrostic: αἰαστακτ (Ἀβάστακτος), the family name of the Lekapenoi). Ed. GRÉGOIRE 1922: no. 304. See G.E. BEAN, *Bulleten* 22 (1958) 44–45.
- (24) Antalya, 911–912. Inc. αἰ προνοία, 14 vv. Ed. GRÉGOIRE 1922: no. 302. [p. 115]
- (25) Antalya, 915–916. Inc. αἰ προνοία, 12 vv. Ed. GRÉGOIRE 1922: no. 303.
- (26) Bosuk Mesarlik, Phrygia, first half 10th C. Inc. τείχη φθαρέντα, 4 vv. Ed. W.M. CALDER, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, vol. I. Manchester 1928, 139, no. 259. See H. GRÉGOIRE, *Byz* 4 (1927–28) 699.
- (27) Istanbul, 813–820. Inc. Λέων σὺν Κωνσταντίνῳ, 2 vv. Ed. VAN MILLINGEN 1899: 98; B. MEYER-PLATH & A.M. SCHNEIDER, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*. Berlin 1943, 130 (no. 24, cf. nos. 7 and 18). For the date, see MANGO 1991: 243.
- (28) Istanbul, 829–842. Inc. σὲ Χριστὲ τείχος, 6 vv. Ed. *CIG* 8672 and VAN MILLINGEN 1899: 183. See MANGO 1951: 56, no. 31.
- (29) Istanbul, 856–866. Inc. [...]ων κραταιῶς δεσποσάντων τοῦ σ[...], 6 vv, fragmentary. Ed. VAN MILLINGEN 1899: 185 and C.G. CURTIS & S. ARISTARCHIS, Supplement to *EΦΣ* 16 (1885), no. 136. See MANGO 1951: 56, no. 27.
- (30) Istanbul, 856–866. Inc. [ὑπ]ηγετοῦντος, fragment. Ed. *CIG* 8692. See MANGO 1951: 56, no. 27.
- (31) Istanbul, 843–867. Inc. [...] τὸ πρὶν ἡμαυρω[μένον], 4 vv, fragmentary. Ed. C. MANGO, *Studies on Constantinople*. Aldershot 1993, no. II, pp. 317–323.
- (32) Istanbul, 867–886. Inc. ὄν τῆς θαλάσσης, 4 vv. Ed. *CIG* 8687 and VAN MILLINGEN 1899: 186. For the date, see MANGO 1951: 56, no. 16.
- (33) Istanbul, date: reign of Constantine VII or VIII. The text is fragmentary: [...] σὲ πῦρ τὸ θεῖον προσκυνῶν δὲ Χ(ριστ)έ [...] λάβοι τὸ κύρος γῆς ὅλης Κωνστα[ντινός] [...]σε καὶ νόες. Ed. C. MANGO, in: *Byzantine East, Latin West. Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*. Princeton 1995, 645–657, esp. p. 648.
- (34) Kavalla, 926. Inc. τὰ πρὶν φθαρέντα, 6 vv. Ed. S. REINACH, *BCH* 6 (1882) 267–275. See P. LEMERLE, *Philippe et la Macédoine orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine*. Paris 1945, 141.
- (35) Nesebur (Mesembria), 879–886. Inc. τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, 4 vv. Ed. N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, *BS/EB* 8, 11 & 12 (1981, 1984 & 1985) 269–273.

other public constructions

- (36) Bari, construction of fortress, 1011. Inc. κόπῳ τε πολλῶ, 15 vv. Ed. GUILLOU 1996: no. 143, cf. HÖRANDNER 1998: 313.

- (37) Near Chalkis, repair of the road from Chalkis to Eretria, end 9th C. Inc. κύτος χαλινοῖ, 6 vv. Ed. *CIG* 8801 and COUGNY 1890: III, no. 259. For the date, see *ODB*, s.v. Chalkis in Greece. See E. MALAMUT, *Les îles de l'empire byzantin*. Paris 1988, I, 222.
- (38) Istanbul, Hippodrome, restoration of the "Colossus", 945–959. Inc. τὸ τετράπλευρον θαῦμα, 6 vv. Ed. *CIG* 8703. See A.H.M. JONES, in: *Preliminary Report upon the Excavations carried out in the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1927*, ed. S. CARSON. London 1928, 43–45. O. WULFF, *BZ* 7 (1898) 321, suggests that the author is Constantine the Rhodian.
- (39) Karacaköy, Thrace, reign of Basil II. Inc. θαυμαστόν ἔργον, 8 vv. Ed. ASDRACHA 1989–91: 306–309 (no. 89). It is not known what sort of building the "admirable work" Basil II ordered to repair may have been: a tower, a rampart, an aqueduct?
- (40) Padua, on a marble slab brought from the Peloponnesos, reign of Leo V or VI. Inc. ἀνάξ Λέων ἔστησε, 2 vv. Ed. D. FEISSEL & A. PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT, *TM* 9 (1985) 299–300 (no. 41), and GUILLOU 1996: no. 43, cf. HÖRANDNER 1998: 309. The text refers to a light beacon (used as a military warning system): see LEMERLE 1971: 154–155 and 156, n. 31.
- (41) Samos, Kastro Tigani, reconstruction of the fortress, reign of Theophilos. Inc. πᾶς ὁ παριῶν, 9 vv. Ed. A.M. SCHNEIDER, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung* 54 (1929) 139 (no. 12), and ΚΟΥΤΡΑΚΟΥ 1994: 143, n. 462. See E. MALAMUT, *Les îles de l'empire byzantin*. Paris 1988, I, 238. [pp. 271–273]
- (42) Silivri (Selymbria), reconstruction of a tower, 9th–11th C. Inc. κάλλιστον ὄντα, at least 12 vv. Ed. ASDRACHA 1989–91: 280–283 (no. 75). Given the title of the person responsible for the reconstruction of the tower, *spatharokandidatos*, a ninth-century date seems the most likely.

reliquaries, ivories, icons and other small artefacts

- (43) Arezzo, reliquary of the head of Symeon the Stylite, mid 10th C. Inc. στῦλος πυρὸς πρίν, 6 vv. Ed. E. FOLLIERI, *Byz* 35 (1965) 62–82 and GUILLOU 1996: no. 16, cf. HÖRANDNER 1998: 309. See BOURA 1989: 407–409.
- (44) Berlin, scepter top, 886–912. Several prose inscriptions and one verse inscription: λιταῖς φοιτητῶν, Χριστέ, ἡγοῦ σὺ δούλω. Ed. GOLDSCHMIDT & WEITZMANN 1930–34: II, no. 88. See A. ARNULF, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 32 (1990) 79.
- (45) Chambéry, ivory diptych, 10th C. Inc. ἐν ἀγκάλαις σε, 10 vv. Ed. GOLDSCHMIDT & WEITZMANN 1930–34: II, no. 222a–d. See the catalogue of the

exhibition: Byzance. L'art byzantin dans les collections françaises. Paris 1992, no. 174.

As for the date, the Chambéry diptych is similar to the Warsaw diptych (see no. 71), which is now dated to the tenth century.

- (46) Cîteaux, reliquary of the arm of John the Baptist, 957. The reliquary is lost. Inc. ἦν βάρβαρος χεῖρ, 5 vv. Ed. *CIG* 8786 and MERCATI 1970: II, 271–272.
- (47) Cortona, staurotheca, date: perhaps the reign of Nikephoros II, but probably the reign of Nikephoros III. Inc. καὶ πρὶν κραταῖϛ, 4 vv. Ed. FROLOW 1961: 239–241 (no. 146) and GUILLOU 1996: no. 15. For the date of the inscription, see A. CUTLER, in: *Scrittura, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio*. Spoleto 1991, II, 657–659. See also N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, in: *Peace and War in Byzantium. Essays in Honor of G.T. Dennis*. Washington, D.C., 1995, 77–86, and HÖRANDNER 2003–04.
- (48) Crete, reliquary of the head of St. Stephen, before 959. The reliquary is lost. Inc. τὴν σὴν κάραν πρώταθλε, 8 vv. Ed. FOLLIERI 1964a: 455–464. See V. LAURENT, *EEBS* 23 (1953) 193–196, and BOURA 1989: 407. [pp. 163–165]
- (49) Dresden, ivory slab, mid 10th C. Inc. σεῦτος θεουργόν, 2 vv. Ed. GOLDSCHMIDT & WEITZMANN 1930–34: II, no. 45. The same text can be found on an ivory in Venice: see no. 67.
- (50) Eregli (Herakleia in Thrace), reliquary of St. Glykeria, late 9th C. Decorated rectangular marble slab, probably the lid of a sarcophagus. Inc. ὁ τερπνὸς οὔτος, 8 vv. Ed. ASDRACHA 1989–91: 274–277 (no. 71) and fig. 105b. See also TH. BÜTTNER-WOBST, *BZ* 6 (1897) 96–99.
- (51) Geneva, cross of Leo Damakranites, end 10th or beginning 11th C. Inc. ἔργον φέριστον, 6 vv. Ed. A. BANK et al., *Geneva*, n.s., 28 (1980) 97–124. See L. BOURA, in: *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, eds. M. MULLETT & R. SCOTT. Birmingham 1981, 179–187; J.-M. CHEYNET, *BSI* 42 (1981) 197–202; and especially W. SEIBT, in: *Byzantios. Festschrift H. Hunger*. Vienna 1984, 301–310.
- (52) Limburg-an-der-Lahn, staurotheca, two inscriptions: one on the cross inside, date: 945–959, and another on the staurotheca itself, date: after 963. Inc. Θεὸς μὲν ἐξέτεινε, 9 vv. and inc. οὐ κάλλος εἶχεν, 8 vv. Ed. FROLOW 1961: 233–236 (no. 135). The text that runs around the borders of the staurotheca (οὐ κάλλος εἶχεν) should be read in the same order as most other Byzantine inscriptions: that is, top-right-left-bottom, see FOLLIERI 1964a: 447–455 and ŠEVČENKO 1998: 286. For a radically different opinion, see J. KODER, *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 37 (1985) 11–31 as well as J. KODER, in MARKOPOULOS 1989: 165–184. See also BOURA 1989: 410–434 and HÖRANDNER 2003–04.
- (53) Lorch, staurotheca, 10th C. Inc. ὕλης τὸ λαμπρόν, 10 vv. Ed. *CIG* 8807 and FROLOW 1961: 229 (no. 126). [p. 164]

- (54) Monte Cassino, staurotheca, 10th C. Inc. ξύλον τὸ λῦσαν, 3 vv. Ed. FROLOW 1961: 266–267 (no. 205) and GUILLOU 1996: no. 25, cf. HÖRANDNER 1998: 309. See H.M. WILLARD, *DOP* 30 (1976) 55–64 and HÖRANDNER 2003–04.
- (55) Padua, ink pot, 10th C. Two inscriptions. Inc. βαφῆς δοχεῖον, 1 v., and Λέων τὸ τεργνόν, 1 v. Ed. P. TOESCA, *L'Arte* 9 (1906) 34–44 and GUILLOU 1996: no. 45, cf. HÖRANDNER 1998: 309. See HÖRANDNER 1989: 150–151 and MAGUIRE 1994: 112–114.
- (56) Paris, triptych, mid 10th C. Inc. ὡς σὰρξ πέπονθας, ὡς Θεὸς παθῶν λύεις, 1 v. Ed. GOLDSCHMIDT & WEITZMANN 1930–34: II, no. 39.
- (57) Pavia, icon of St. Peter, date: 7th C.? The icon no longer exists. Inc. [...] τὸν Θεὸν λόγον, at least 3 verses. Ed. *CIG* 8816 and *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, ed. I.B. DE ROSSI. *Voluminis secundi pars prima*. Rome 1888, 33 (no. 82).
- The text can be found in the famous collection of inscriptions in the codex Einsiedlensis 326 (s. IX–X); this collection was probably put together around the year 800 by a monk of the monastery of Reichenau, who copied most of the inscriptions in Rome, but also a few (nos. 78–82) in Pavia (on his return voyage to Reichenau): see De Rossi, 9–17. The icon could be found in the church of St. Peter *in caelo aureo* in Pavia, a church that already existed in the early seventh century (the time of king Agilulf) and that was magnificently restored by the largesse of king Liutprand (712–744): see De Rossi, 33. The epigrapher, who very probably did not understand Greek, read the text as follows: Ded(icatio) in igona S(an)c(t)i Petri ΤΟΝΘΕΟΝΑΟΓΟΝΘΕΝΣΕΧΡΥΣΤΗΝΘΕΟΤΑΥΠΤΟΝΠΙΕΤΡΑΝΕΝΗΒΕΒΗΚΩΣ ΟΥΚΟΝΟΥΜ (which A. Kirchoff (the editor of *CIG*), following Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, IV, 505 (not available to me), prints as follows: [...] τὸν Θεὸν λόγον / θεᾶσθε χρυσοῦ τὴν θεόγλυπτον πέτραν, / ἐν ἧ βεβηκῶς οὐ κλονοῦμ[αι]). The study by M.P. BILLANOVICH, *Atti dell' Istituto Veneto* 151 (1992–93) 1103–1128, was not available to me; see *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 43 (1993) 228 (no. 672).
- (58) Rome, Palazzo Venezia, ivory box, 9th C. Two inscriptions, the first badly damaged. Inc. θησαυρὸς δώρων, 5 vv. (in its present state, but originally probably 6 vv.) and inc. χρυστευλόγητον, 2 vv. Ed. GOLDSCHMIDT & WEITZMANN 1930–34: I, no. 123 and GUILLOU 1996: no. 49. A. CUTLER & N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, *The Art Bulletin* 70 (1988) 77–87, propose a date around 900; H. MAGUIRE, *The Art Bulletin* 70 (1988) 89–93 and I. ΚΑΛΑΒΡΕΖΟΥ, in: ΜΑΡΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1989: 392–396, suggest that the box was manufactured during the reign of Basil I.
- (59) Rome, Palazzo Venezia, ivory triptych, mid 10th C. Five inscriptions. Inc. ὡς ἠπόρει χεῖρ, 6 vv; ἀναξ ὁ τεύξας, 2 vv; ἰδοῦ, πάρεστιν, 2 vv; μάργυς συναφθεῖς, 2 vv; and ἀρχιερεῖς τρεῖς, 2 vv. Ed. GOLDSCHMIDT & WEITZMANN 1930–34: II, no. 31, and GUILLOU 1996: no. 50.
- (60) Rome, Vatican, staurotheca, date: reign of Romanos I, II, III or IV. Inc. ὠραῖον εἰς ὄρασιν, 8 vv. Ed. FROLOW 1961: 231–233 (no. 134) and GUILLOU 1996: no. 52. See MERCATI 1970: II, 425–457. As for the identification of

- the emperor, Frolov assigns the inscription to the tenth century, but Guillou asserts that the script dates from the eleventh century.
- (61) Sinai, monastery of St. Catherine, icon, 9th C. Inc. τίς οὐ κλονεῖται, 4 vv. Ed. K. WEITZMANN, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons. I. From the Sixth to the Tenth Century*. Princeton 1976, 82–83 (read (νε)ζρόν in v. 2 and σκεπ(όμενον) in v. 4). See K. CORRIGAN, in: *The Sacred Image East and West*, eds. R. OUSTERHOUT & L. BRUBAKER. Urbana 1995, 45–62.
- (62) Sinai, monastery of St. Catherine, niello cross, first half of the 9th C. Two verse inscriptions: inc. ἐν τῇ δυνάμει, 2 vv. and inc. κύριε ἄναξ, 2 vv. Ed. G. GALAVARIS, *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 41 (1999) 171–189, and HÖRANDNER 2003–04. [p. 44]
- (63) Stuttgart, ivory box, 10th C. Inc. ὁ μὴ μερισθεῖς, 3 vv. Ed. GOLDSCHMIDT-WEITZMANN 1930–34: II, no. 24.
- (64) Venice, staurotheca, 10th C. Inc. ὡς οἶα ποιεῖ, 4 vv. Ed. FROLOW 1961: 425–426 (no. 528) and GUILLOU 1996: no. 77, cf. HÖRANDNER 1998: 310. The donor can probably be identified with Constantine Lips.
- (65) Venice, reliquary of the Holy Blood, date: 10th C. Two inscriptions. Inc. τερπνὸν δοχεῖον, 2 vv. and inc. ἔχεις με φρουρόν, 1 v. Ed. PASINI 1885–87: 24–25 and 84, and GUILLOU 1996: no. 78, cf. HÖRANDNER 1998: 310. For the text of the first inscription and the order in which it should be read, see HÖRANDNER 1989: 151.
- (66) Venice, reliquary of the arm of St. George, 10th C. Inc. Γεωργίου λείψανον, 2 vv. Ed. PASINI 1885–87: 43–44 and GUILLOU 1996: no. 101, cf. HÖRANDNER 1998: 312. For the date, see HÖRANDNER 1989: 152–153.
- (67) Venice, ivory slab, mid 10th C. Inc. σκεῦος θεουργόν, 2 vv. Ed. GOLDSCHMIDT & WEITZMANN 1930–34: II, no. 43 and GUILLOU 1996: no. 76, cf. HÖRANDNER 1998: 310. The same text can be found on an ivory in Dresden: see no. 49.
- (68) Venice, chalice of Sisinnios, 962–963. Inc. Χριστὸς δίδωσιν, 1 v. Ed. PASINI 1885–87: 59 and GUILLOU 1996: no. 72. See M.C. ROSS, *GRBS* 2 (1959) 5–10; HAHNLOSER 1971: 67 (description by A. GRABAR); and HÖRANDNER 1989: 151–152.
- (69) Venice, paten, 963–985. Inc. πιστῶς καθαρθεῖς, 4 vv. Ed. PASINI 1885–87: 45 and GUILLOU 1996: no. 74. See HAHNLOSER 1971: 71–72 (description by A. GRABAR), M.C. ROSS, *Archaeology* 11 (1958) 271–275, and BOURA 1989: 409–410. [p. 155]
- (70) Vienna, ivory slab, mid 10th C. Inc. ὡς ἀπτάδελφου, 2 vv. Ed. GOLDSCHMIDT & WEITZMANN 1930–34: II, no. 44.
- (71) Warsaw, ivory diptych, date: 10th C. Two inscriptions. Inc. ὄρῳς ὅπως τὰ φοικιά, 4 vv. and ἐκ τοῦ τεχνίτου, 4 vv. Ed. P. RUTKOWSKA, *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 6 (1965) 92–115. For the date, see A. CUTLER,

The Hand of the Master. Craftmanship, Ivory, and Society in Byzantium (9th–11th Centuries). Princeton 1994, 201 and 235–236. [p. 169]

miniatures

- (72) Athos, ms. Pantokrator 61 (second half of the 9th C.). A marginal psalter with several miniatures, one of which depicts the iconoclast council of 815; next to this particular miniature a violently anti-iconoclastic poem can be found. The epigram is acephalous: inc. ἔστωτα πύργον, 14 vv. Ed. ŠEVČENKO 1965. [p. 283]
- (73) Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. W 524 (early 10th C.). Illuminated Gospels. Two captions that are meant to accompany the portraits of Mark listening to Peter and of Luke listening to Paul: inc. Πέτρου μνηθεῖς, 5 vv., and inc. τρίτος δὲ Λουκᾶς, 5 vv. Ed. SODEN 1902: 379 (nos. 10 and 11) and KOMINIS 1951: 268 (no. 7) and 271 (no. 4); see NELSON 1980: 76–78. Since the ms. has suffered some mutilation and lost some of its pages, the epigrams on Matthew and John are missing.
- (74) Florence, ms. Laur. V 9 (late 10th C.): the so-called Bible of Niketas. The ms. contains the texts of the four Major Prophets, plus an extensive commentary in the form of a catena. Each of the four books had a miniature depicting the respective prophet, but unfortunately only the portrait of Jeremiah is still extant. The epigrams that accompany the miniatures are the following four: inc. ἡ τῶν προφητῶν, 12 vv; inc. θρηγῶν προφήτα, 12 vv; inc. ψυχῆς τὸ λαμπρόν, 12 vv; and inc. ἄφραστος ἡ πρόνοια, 12 vv. Ed. BANDINI 1763–70: I, 19–21. See H. BELTING & G. CAVALLO, *Die Bibel des Niketas*. Wiesbaden 1979, and J. LOWDEN, *Illuminated Prophet Books. A Study of Byzantine Manuscripts of the Major and Minor Prophets*. University Park, Pennsylvania 1988, 19–20 and 85.
- (75) Paris, ms. Par. gr. 510 (date: c. 880–883). Illuminated manuscript of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos. Caption to a (badly damaged) miniature representing Basil I, Elijah and the archangel Michael: inc. [...] ἐμφανῶς [...], 4 vv. Caption to a miniature depicting Basil's wife, Eudokia Ingherina, and their sons: inc. εὐκληματοῦσαν, 4 vv. Ed. I. SPATHARAKIS, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*. Leiden 1976, 96–99. See S. DER NERSESSIAN, *DOP* 16 (1962) 197–208, I. KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER, *JÖB* 27 (1978) 19–24, and L. BRUBAKER, *DOP* 39 (1985) 1–13.
- (76) Paris, ms. Coisl. gr. 195 (10th C.). Illuminated Gospels. The ms. contains the following four captions: inc. γράψε Θεοῦ σαρκώσιος, 2 vv. (Matthew); οὐ κατ' ἐπονυμίην, 2 vv. (Mark); ἀθανάτου βίτσιου, 2 vv. (Luke); and ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐφέσιου, 2 vv. (John). These epigrams can be found in the Greek Anthology: *AP* I, 83, 85, 84 and 80. They are also to be found in

- another illuminated Gospel Book: Laura A 12 (s. XI). See NELSON 1980: 78, 88, n. 16 and n. 17 [pp. 357–358].
- (77) Patmos, monastery of St. John the Theologian, ms. 33 (a. 941). Italian manuscript (copied in Reggio di Calabria): it contains the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzos; see A. ΚΟΜΙΝΗΣ, *Σύμμεικτα* I (1966) 22–34, and idem, *Πατμιακή Βιβλιοθήκη*, Athens 1988, I, 82–90. Fol. 4^r: picture of a cross ornamented with leaf-shoots, peacocks, and so forth; the cross itself is inscribed. The inscription is an epigram of 15 vv.: inc. οἱ σταυρὸν ἀσπάζοντες. Ed. I. ΣΑΚΚΕΛΙΩΝ, *Πατμιακή Βιβλιοθήκη*, Athens 1890, 20.
- (78) Princeton, Univ. Libr. cod. Garrett I (late 9th C.). Illuminated Gospels. Description of the ms. by B.A. VILEISIS, in: G. VIKAN, *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections. An Exhibition in honor of Kurt Weitzmann*. Princeton 1973, 56–57. On fig. 2, the portrait of Luke bears an inscription: 4 vv., inc. μέγας [...ἰ]ατρὸς καὶ ζωγράφος. According to NELSON 1980: 95, the miniatures of the three other evangelists also have metrical captions.
- (79) Rome, ms. Vat. gr. 1522 (second half of the 10th C.). Illuminated lectionary. On fols. 2^r–3^v, fol. 197^r and fol. 197^v we find three epigrams: σαφῶς ὁ Μωσῆς, 22 vv.; ὁ τετραμόρφος, 8 vv.; and οὗτος παλαιός, 5 vv. All three epigrams are written in gold uncial letters and are framed by two arches, adorned with images of birds (mainly eagles) and flowers. The second and third epigrams were edited by C. GIANNELLI, *Codices Vaticani Graeci* (cod. 1485–1683). Vatican 1950, 69; the first one was edited by B. DE MONTFAUCON, *Palaeographia Graeca*. Paris 1708, 228 (on the basis of Par. gr. 278, a ms. that is similar to Vat. gr. 1522). For a new edition of the three epigrams (based not only on Vat. gr. 1522 and Par. gr. 278, but also on Vat. gr. 1145), see F. D' AIUTO & A. SIRINIAN, *RSBN*, n.s., 36 (1999) 121–169. For the date of the manuscript, see P. CANART, in: *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito. Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca*, vols. I–III, ed. G. PRATO. Florence 2000, 681. See also NELSON 1980: 28–29 and 48, n. 69–75, and G. GALAVARIS, *The Illustrations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels*. Vienna 1979, 92–93 and 124.
- (80) Rome, ms. Vat. gr. 1613 (date: after 979): the so-called Menologion of Basil II (though it is in fact a version of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*). The ms. has hundreds of miniatures. For some unknown reason the illuminators of the ms. did not produce the full-page miniature which the dedicatory epigram on page A describes in great detail and which should have been painted on the next page: see I. ŠEVČENKO, *DOP* 19 (1962) 271–274 (repr. in: idem, *Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World*. London 1982, no. XI). Inc. ἐνταῦθα νῦν σκόπησον, 28 vv. Ed. H. DELEHAYE, *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*. Propylaeum ad

Acta Sanctorum Novembris. Brussels 1902, pp. XXV–XXVI. For the date, see S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Byz* 15 (1940–41) 104–125. [p. 280]

- (81) Rome, ms. Vat. Reg. gr. 1 (c. 940–950): the so-called Bible of Leo Sakellarios. The ms. is renowned for its full-page miniatures that serve as frontispieces to the books of Genesis through Psalms. Epigrams are written on the frames of these miniatures. There are three dedicatory epigrams: one book epigram (see next appendix: no. 13) and two captions to miniatures, inc. ἄλλοι μὲν ἄλλως, 7 vv. (fol. 2^v) and inc. νίκος λαοῦ μοχθηροῦς, 6 vv. (fol. 3^r). Furthermore, there are thirteen epigrams that refer to the scene portrayed in the miniature they accompany: inc. τὸν χοῦν ὁ τῆς γῆς, 6 vv. (fol. II^r); inc. ἔδειξεν Μωσῆς, 4 vv. (fol. 46^v); inc. οἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς, 6 vv. (fol. 85^v); inc. Μωσῆς ἀριθμῶν, 6 vv. (fol. 116^r); inc. ἔδειξεν ἡμῖν, 4 vv. (fol. 155^v); inc. Θεὸς κριτὰς δίδωσιν, 6 vv. (fol. 206^r); inc. ὁ μικρὸς ὄντως, 6 vv. (fol. 263^r); inc. ἐξ ὀσφύος μου, 6 vv. (fol. 281^v); inc. πόλον ὁ κλείσας, 6 vv. (fol. 302^v); inc. σκόπει τὸ λύτρον, 6 vv. (fol. 383^r); inc. τῶν Μακκαβαίων, 6 vv. (fol. 450^v); inc. γυμνὸν τὸν Ἰώβ, 4 vv. (fol. 461^v); and inc. τίς σοῦ φράσαι, προφήτα, 6 vv. (fol. 487^v). Ed. MATHEWS 1977: 124–132. For the identification of the donor and the date of the manuscript, see MANGO 1969. See also: Die Bibel des Patricius Leo. Codex Regimensis Graecus I B. Einführung von S. DUFRENNE & P. CANART. Zurich 1988 (on p. 66 they argue that the ms. was not written in the 940s, but some twenty to thirty years earlier). For some interesting comments on the epigrams, see OLSTER 1994.

The edition by Mathews is unreliable. Cyril Mango has announced that he is preparing a new edition, which will be published, together with contributions by P. Canart, S. Dufrenne and I. Hutter, in a volume dedicated to the Leo Bible. As long as this new edition is not yet on the market, we have to make do with Mathews' idiosyncratic readings. To give an example, on pp. 132–133 he prints γεννήτωρ ἀγράφοντες (sic) and translates "ancestor (...), we who do not write (...)": read γεννήτορα γράφοντες and translate "we who depict the ancestor (...)".

[pp. 44–45 and 191–196]

- (82) Sofia, ms. Dujčev gr. 272 [Kosinitza 115] (9th C.). Illuminated Gospels. Inc. Ματθαῖος ἐστίν, 3 vv. (originally 4 vv., but the last line has been cut away). Ed. A. DŽUROVA, *BollGrott* 44 (1990) 191 and pl. 6. See also A. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, Supplement to *ΕΦΣ* 17 (1886) 27.
- (83) Venice, ms. Marc. gr. Z 17 (1001–1005): the so-called Psalter of Basil II. A poem on fol. II^v that corresponds with a miniature on fol. III^r (depicting Basil II, archangels, military saints, and Christ above): inc. τὸ θαῦμα καινόν, 11 vv. Ed. I. ŠEVČENKO, *DOP* 19 (1962) 271–272 and n. 92 (repr. in: idem, *Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World*. London 1982, no. XI) and CH. WALTER, in: *L'art byzantin au début du XIV^e siècle*. Belgrade 1978, 193–195 (repr. in: idem, *Prayer and Power in Byzantine and Papal Imagery*. London 1993, no. IV). For the date, see

A. CUTLER, *Arte Veneta* 30 (1976) 9–19 and 31 (1977) 9–15 (repr. in: idem, *Imagery and Ideology in Byzantine Art*. London, 1992, no. III). See also A. CUTLER, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium*. Paris 1984, 115–119.

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epitaphs

- (84) Afyon, 8th–9th C. Inc. τὸ τρισήμιον, 17 vv. Ed. DREW-BEAR & FOSS 1969. For the date, see MANGO 1991: 245. [pp. 216–217]
- (85) Ankara, 9th–10th C. Inc. ἐπιστάμενος, 19 vv, with acrostic: ευσταθιος τουρμαρχης. Ed. GRÉGOIRE 1927–28: 449–452. [p. 216]
- (86) Aphrodisias, 10th C. Some fragments of a metrical epitaph. The text cannot be reconstructed. Ed. CH. ROUECHÉ, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity. The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions including Texts from the Excavations conducted by K.T. ERIM*. Leeds 1989, 159 (no. 99). The fragment “ἀγγέλων πρωτοστάτης” refers to the Orthodox belief that angels guide the soul to the heavenly abodes: see DREW-BEAR & FOSS 1969: 81. Νεκρῶν in the fragment “σῶμα νεκρῶν τῷ βίῳ” is not a gen. pl. of νεκρός, as Roueché thinks, but a part. praes. act. of the verb νεκρόω: cf. GUILLOU 1996: no. 191, v. 5: καὶ σῶμα νεκρώσαντα καὶ πρὸ θανάτου.
- (87) Cappadocia, Zelve, Hermitage of Symeon, early 10th C. Inc. βρέφος ἐπλάσθη, 11 vv. Ed. JERPHANION 1925–42: I, 2, 580 (no. 111). [pp. 217–218]
- (88) Erenköy (on the Asiatic shore, not far from Fenerbahçe): probably the site of the monastery of Galakrenai. Date: 901–907 or 912–925. Inc. τύμβος ἐγῶν προλέγων, 7 vv. Ed. ŠEVČENKO 1987. [p. 120]
- (89) Istanbul, chapel of Christ Chalkites, 976. Epitaph of John Tzimiskes, at least one verse of which was still visible in the early 18th C.: κατὰ Σκυθῶν ἔπνευσας θεομὸν ἐν μάχαις. Ed. TH. SMITH, *Opuscula*. Rotterdam 1716, 121. See C. MANGO, *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople*. Copenhagen 1959, 166–167, and MANGO 1995: 116 and n. 46. [pp. 239–240]
- (90) Istanbul, monastery of Myrelaion, 9th–10th C. (according to the editor, but possibly slightly later). Two tiny fragments that belong together: μνην εσ[...]δε τὴν σεβασμίαν / [...]ως κἂν ἔσχεσ ἀλ[...]ν χούν καὶ μόνον and τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ γὰρ χεῖρ φέρει τοῦ δεσπότη. Ed. W.H. BUCKLER, *Byz* 8 (1933) 175–176: nos. 1 and 3. See D. TALBOT RICE, *Byz* 8 (1933) 153.
- (91) Ravenna, between 625 and 642–643. Inc. [...]εν σῶμα κρύπτεται κάτ[ω], 11 vv. Ed. GUILLOU 1996: no. 108, cf. HÖRANDNER 1998: 312–313.
- (92) Ravenna, S. Vitale, 642–643. Inc. ἐνταῦθα κεῖται, 12 vv. Ed. GUILLOU 1996: no. 109, cf. HÖRANDNER 1998: 313. [pp. 221–223]

- (93) Rome, S. Giorgio in Velabro, first half 10th C. Inc. Ἰωάννου πατριαρχουόντος, 19 vv, with acrostic: ιωαννου αρχιπρεσβυτε, and with a heading attached to the poem (!): Ἰω(άννου) ἀρχιπρ[εσβυτέρου γέν]να και βίος ὑπὸ ἀκροσ(τί)χ(ων). Only the first seven verses can still be read. Ed. GUILLOU 1996: no. 115, cf. HÖRANDNER 1998: 313. [p. 216]
- (94) Rome, S. Giorgio in Velabro, first half 10th C. The inscription is almost illegible. Inc. τα[...], 21 vv, with acrostic: τυμβος ιωαννου αρχιπρεσ. Ed. GUILLOU 1996: no. 116. See also G. COZZA-LUZI, Velabrensia. *Bessarione* 6 (1899–1900) 58–95, at pp. 87–89, who deciphers more letters than Guillou does. [p. 216]
- (95) Rome, S. Giorgio in Velabro, 9th–10th C. Four fragments. Fragments I and II are almost intact. Fragments III and IV are the left side and the right side of the bottom part of the inscription, respectively; circa 5 letters of each line are lost in the gap between frs. III and IV. Inc. θεογῶον (?) θρηῖνον, 10 vv, with acrostic: θεοπεμπτου. Ed. GUILLOU 1996: no. 118, cf. HÖRANDNER 1998: 313. For the date, see MANGO 1991: 243. [pp. 218–219]
- (96) Wondrous Mountain (Saman Daği), near Antioch, monastery of St. Symeon the Stylite the Younger, at the east end of the so-called *Martyrium* (to the south of the main church). The epitaph dates from the 8th C. or later. Inc. πεσόντα δεῦθο, 2 vv. Ed. J.P. REY-COQUAIS, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 52 (1991–92) 214–216 (no. III). For the date, see D. FEISSEL, *REG* 109 (1996) 646–647 (no. 470). See also J. LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, *Itinéraires archéologiques dans la région d'Antioche. Recherches sur le monastère et sur l'iconographie de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune*. Brussels 1967, 127–128.

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gnomic epigrams (memento mori)

- (97) Athos, monastery of Xeropotamos, a marble slab dating from the late 10th century, which shows a peacock clutching an almost rectangular orb from which acanthus leaves shoot forth. The marble slab bears a verse inscription along the bottom: μνήνη θανάτου χρησαμεύει τῷ βίῳ. See Θεσσαυοὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁροῦς. Thessalonica 1997, catalogue number 6. 5, pp. 241–242 (description by Θ.Ν. ΠΑΖΑΡΑΣ). Above the slab there is another inscription, which commemorates Andronikos II. However, as Hörandner points out (in an e-mail, d.d. 10-10-2000), “es sieht so aus, als wären die beiden Inschriften gar nicht auf einem und demselben Stein angebracht (...). Die obere Inschrift (...) scheint, dem Photo nach zu schließen, auf einer anders-

farbigen, darunter liegenden Platte angebracht zu sein". The epigraphic script of the inscription at the bottom appears to date from the tenth century (despite the supra-script tau in τῶ): capital letters without accents or breathings, but with extensive use of serifs; an "archaic" square epsilon, but also a slender oval one with the horizontal stroke above the middle of the letter; a similar oval theta; a beta with the two loops separated, but without an extended horizontal bar at the base; for the rather unusual form of the alpha as well as for most of the letters, see the verse inscription on the relic of St. Symeon in Arezzo dating from the mid tenth century (no. 43). The marble slab can now be found on the exterior wall of the monastery; its original location is not known. The gnomic monostich is also known to have been inscribed in Palaeologan times on the Xyloporta (Odun Kapisi) in Constantinople: see MANGO 1951: 57 (no. 3); see also TH. PREGGER, *BZ* 21 (1912) 469 and S.G. MERCATI, *Bessarione* 26 (1922) 219. [pp. 243–244]

(98) Bari, Cathedral, early 11th C. Inc. [ἔκο]υσίως στέρξαισα, 7 vv. Ed. GUILLOU 1996: no. 144, cf. HÖRANDNER 1998: 313. See M. MATHIEU, *Byz* 23 (1953) 129–130. [pp. 245–246]

(99a) Cappadocia, Ihlara, Eğri Taş Kilisesi, 921–944. Inc. μηδεις τυφλούσθω. The text is fragmentary and difficult to decipher. Number of verses: 10 to 12. For the text of the inscription, see N. & M. THIERRY, *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce*. Paris 1963, 68–69 and pl. 37. For the date of the Eğri Taş Kilesesi, see N. OIKONOMIDES, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983) 501–506 and I. BALDICEANU-STEINHERR, *JÖB* 38 (1988) 395–420.

The text edited by the Thierry's on pp. 68–69 differs somewhat from what I read on pl. 37 (that is, as far as I can decipher the inscription).

(99b) Cappadocia, Selime, Kale Kilisesi, 11th C. Inc. μηδεις τυφούσθω. The text is fragmentary and hard to decipher. Number of verses: 10. For the text of the inscription, see J. LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, in: *Zetesis. Festschrift E. de Strycker*. Antwerpen-Utrecht 1973, 742, and L. RODLEY, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia*. Cambridge 1985, 73–74.

(99c) Panion, Thrace, a marble plaque (lost), 9th–11th C. Inc. μηδεις τυφλούτω, 6 vv. Ed. ASDRACHA 1989–91: 286–287 (no. 78).

Inscriptions 99a, 99b and 99c present many divergent readings. See, for instance, the first three verses: (99a) μηδεις τυφλούσθω τῆ ὀρέ[ξ]ει τοῦ πλούτου· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἀπόλε[σε φ]ιλ[αργ]υρία· ἢ σάρ[ξ] ταύτη χοῦς, πηλὸς καὶ [...]; (99b) μηδεις τυφούσθω τῆ ὀρέξει τοῦ πλ[ούτου]· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἀπέλεσεν ἢ φιλαργυρία· ἢ σάρξ γὰρ ταύτη χοῦς, πηλὸς καὶ [...]; (99c) μηδεις τυφλούτω τῆ ὀρέξει τοῦ πλούτου· πολλοὺς λυμáινει ἢ τοῦ κόσμου φιλία· ἢ σάρξ γὰρ ταύτη χοῦς, πηλὸς, γῆ ὑπάρχει.

[pp. 244–245]

(100) Cappadocia, Zelve, Hermitage of Symeon, early 10th C. The same text is inscribed in two different places. Inc. ὡς ὃδε κόσμος, 3 vv. Ed. JERPHANION 1925–42: I, 2, 573 (no. 106) and 575 (no. 110). [p. 245]

(101) Cappadocia, Zelve, Hermitage of Symeon, early 10th C. Inc. ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν, 2 vv. Ed. JERPHANION 1925–42: I, 2, 574 (no. 109).

gnomic epigrams (protreptic)

- (102) Akhissar (the ancient Thyateira), 9th C. Inc. τρόμφ πρόβλεπε, 1 v. Ed. GRÉGOIRE 1922: no. 328. For the date, see C. FOSS, *Ephesus after Antiquity: a Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*. Cambridge 1979, 115, n. 39.
- (103) Fetoka, Pontos region, church of the Holy Virgin, 933–934. Inc. [...] φρίπτων εἰσπορεύου ἐνθάδε, 5 vv. Ed. A. BRYER and D. WINFIELD, *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos*. Dumbarton Oaks 1985, vol. I, 330. See S. BALLANCE, *Anatolian Studies* 10 (1960) 167–169 and A. BRYER, *BMGS* 9 (1984–85) 213.
- (104) Little Prespa Lake, church of St. Achilleios, late 10th C. (according to some scholars; but the date is disputed), and Thessalonica, Panagia Chalkeon, not long after 1028. Inc. ὄρων τὸ βῆμα, 5 vv. Ed. N. RADOŠEVIĆ-MAKSIMOVIĆ, *ZRVI* 12 (1970) 9–13 and HÖRANDNER 1997: 437–439. See P. SPECK, *Hell* 20 (1967) 418–421. The epigram can also be found in several other Byzantine and post-Byzantine churches, often with considerable text variants: see the above-mentioned publications.
Given the date of the Panagia Chalkeon and given the immense popularity of the text and the fact that it can be found all over the Byzantine empire, there can be little doubt that the original epigram was composed well before the year 1000. Moreover, in the light of the epigram's popularity it seems very likely that it was originally inscribed in a monastic site or cult centre of great renown, from which it radiated and spread right across the Byzantine empire.
- (105) Selčuk, Basilica of St. John, early 9th C. Inc. φόβω πρόσελθε, 3 vv. Ed. C. FOSS, *Ephesus after Antiquity: a Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*. Cambridge 1979, 115. See N. ΒΕΗΣ, *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερὶς* 1953–54, pp. 273–274. [pp. 246–247]

