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.


(6) Cappadocia, Sinassos, church of the Holy Apostles, 10th C. Fragmentary inscription on a depiction of the Pentecost, inc. ἐβεν ἐπὶ δίκαιος ἔνθετος ἐπνοη, 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. Gregoire, 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]


(11) Istanbul, Hagia Sophia, after the earthquake of 869. Four epigrams, two on the south tympanum and two on the north tympanum. Some traces


(13) Istanbul, monastery of Lips, 907. The fragmentary inscription is divided into three texts. Inc. [...] (ἐ)κ πόθου, 2 vv.; μητῆ Θεοῦ νεόν, 4 vv; and ναὸς τὸ δόχον, 2 vv. Ed. C. MANGO and E. HAWKINS, DOP 18 (1964) 300–301. [p. 164]


Rodrigo


(32) Istanbul, 867–886. Inc. σὺν τῆς θαλάσσης, 4 vv. Ed. CIG 8687 and Van Millingen 1899: 186. For the date, see Mango 1951: 56, no. 16.


other public constructions


(39) Karacaköy, Thrace, reign of Basil II. Inc. θαύμαστὸν 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?


(42) Silivri (Selymbria), reconstruction of a tower, 9th–11th C. Inc. ξάλλαστον 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*


(45) Chambéry, ivory diptych, 10th C. Inc. ἐν ἄγγιαλας σε, 10 vv. Ed. Goldschmidt & Weitzmann 1930–34: II, no. 222a–d. See the catalogue of the

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


(49) Dresden, ivory slab, mid 10th C. Inc. σκεϕτικος θεουγυγον, 2 vv. Ed. Goldschmidt & Weitzmann 1930–34: II, no. 45. The same text can be found on an ivory in Venice: see no. 67.


(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. Θεός μην ἐξείπν, 9 vv. and inc. ο;base2232; κάλλος εἴρεν, 8 vv. Ed. Frolow 1961: 233–236 (no. 135). The text that runs around the borders of the staurotheca (ο;base2232; κάλλος εἴρεν) 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 mittelmärkische Kirchengeschichte 37 (1985) 11–31 as well as J. Koder, in Markopoulos 1989: 165–184. See also Boura 1989: 410–434 and Horandner 2003–04.

(53) Lorch, staurotheca, 10th C. Inc. ὢνης τὸ λαμμαρόν, 10 vv. Ed. CIG 8807 and Frolow 1961: 229 (no. 126). [p. 164]


(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. Volumninis secundii pars prima. Rome 1888, 33 (no. 82). The text can be found in the famous collection of inscriptions in the codex Einsiedlen-sis 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 igna S(an)(ti) Petri ТΟΝΘΕΟΝΛΟΓΟΝΘΕΝΣΕ-ΧΡΥΣΤΙΝΘΕΟΤΑΥΠΙΤΟΠΙΤΡΑΝΕΝΘΕΒΗΚΩΣ ΟΥΚΟΝΟΥΜ (which A. Kirchhoff (the editor of CIG), following Mabillon, Vetera Anlecta, IV, 505 (not available to me), prints as follows: [...] τὸν Θεὸν λόγον / Θεάθει χρυσό τὴν θεόφρατον πέτραν, / ἐν ἀ βεβής σοὶ κλωσμέ(να)). The study by M.P. Ballanovich, Atti dell’Istituto Veneto 151 (1992–93) 1103–1128, was not available to me; see Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum 43 (1993) 228 (no. 672).


the emperor, Frolow assigns the inscription to the tenth century, but Guillou asserts that the script dates from the eleventh century.


(70) Vienna, ivory slab, mid 10th C. Inc. ὅς αὐτάδελφοι, 2 vv. Ed. Goldschmidt & Weitzmann 1930–34: II, no. 44.

(71) Warsaw, ivory diptych, date: 10th C. Two inscriptions. Inc. ὅφως ὅπως τὰ φρατά, 4 vv. and έξ τοῦ τεχνίου, 4 vv. Ed. P. Rutkowska, Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie 6 (1965) 92–115. For the date, see A. Cutler,
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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. ἡσυχία πύργων, 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 μνημεία, 5 vv., and inc. τρίτος δὲ Λουκᾶς, 5 vv. Ed. Soden 1902: 379 (nos. 10 and 11) and Komini 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. ὑφνόν προφήτα, 12 vv; inc. ψυχής τὸ λαμπρόν, 12 vv; and inc. ἄφθατος 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.


(76) Paris, ms. Coisl. gr. 195 (10th C.). Illuminated Gospels. The ms. contains the following four captions: inc. γράφει Θεού σαρκόσως, 2 vv. (Matthew); ὁ θεός ἐπιγνώμην, 2 vv. (Mark); ὁ θεός τοῦ βιότου, 2 vv. (Luke); and ἄρχετες Ἐφεσίων, 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

(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. Kominiæ, Σύμμετρα 1 (1966) 22–34, and idem. Πατμιακή Βιβλιοθήκη. Athens 1988, I, 82–90. Fol. 4r: 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 σταυροῦν ἀναζωντες. Ed. I. Σακκαλιάν, Πατμιακή Βιβλιοθήκη. Athens 1890, 20.


(79) Rome, ms. Vat. gr. 1522 (second half of the 10th C.). Illuminated lectionary. On fols. 2r–3r, fol. 197v and fol. 197r we find three epigrams: οσιός ο Μωυσῆς, 22 vv.; ό τετωμόμος, 8 vv.; and οίτις πολεμός, 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 Graecæ. 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’Auto & A. Shirinian, RSBV, 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 Synaxarium 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. ἔντατα καὶ ὁ σαρκόμον. 28 vv. Ed. H. Delehaye, Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitane. Propylaeeum ad
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(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. ἀλλοι μὲν ἄλλοις, 7 vv. (fol. 2r) and inc. νῖκος λαοῖ ἀνθρώπων, 6 vv. (fol. 3r). 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. 11r); inc. ἐδειξεν Μωιῆς, 4 vv. (fol. 46v); inc. οἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς, 6 vv. (fol. 85v); inc. Μωιῆς ἀφθιμῶν, 6 vv. (fol. 116v); inc. ἐδειξεν ἢμᾶς, 4 vv. (fol. 155v); inc. Θεὸς χρωτάς διδωσάν, 6 vv. (fol. 206v); inc. ὁ μαρτυρῶν ὄντως, 6 vv. (fol. 263v); inc. ἕξ ὀφθάλμως μου, 6 vv. (fol. 281v); inc. πόλον ὁ κλεῖσσος, 6 vv. (fol. 302v); inc. σκόπει τὸ λύτρον, 6 vv. (fol. 383v); inc. τῶν Μακραβιῶν, 6 vv. (fol. 450v); inc. γεμνόν τὸν Ἰοβ, 4 vv. (fol. 461v); and inc. τίς σοῦ φόρος, προφῆτα, 6 vv. (fol. 487v). 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 Reginensis Graecus 1 B. Einführung von S. DUFRENNÉ & 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 OLSÊR 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 γενόσαρ ἀγράφωντες (sic) and translates “ancestor (…), we who do not write (…)”; read γενόσαρα γράφωντες and translate “we who depict the ancestor (…)”.

(pp. 44–45 and 191–196)

(82) Sofia, ms. Dujičev gr. 272 [Kosinitza 115] (9th C.). Illuminated Gospels. Inc. Μακραβιῶν ἐστὶν, 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. ΠΑΠΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, Supplement to ΕΦΣ 17 (1886) 27.

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epitaphs


(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 “ἀγγέλου προοδοσίας” refers to the Orthodox belief that angels guide the soul to the heavenly abodes: see DREW-BEAR & FOSS 1969: 81. Νεκρῶν in the fragment “οὐδα νεκρῶν τῷ βιω” is not a gen. pl. of νεκρός, as Roueché thinks, but a part. praes. act. of the verb νεκρῶ: cf. GUILLOU 1996: no. 191, v. 5: καὶ οὐδα νεκρόσαντα καὶ πρὸ θανάτου.


(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 ἐγὼν προλέγον, 7 vv. Ed. ŠEVČENKO 1987. [p. 120]


(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. θυγαγόν (?) θερίνον, 10 vv., with acrostic: θεοπεμπτοκ. Ed. Guillou 1996: no. 118, cf. Horandner 1998: 313. For the date, see Mango 1991: 243. [pp. 218–219]


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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: μνήμη θανάτου χρησμευέι τῷ βίῳ. See Θησεωσοφος τοῦ Ἀγίου Ὀρους. Thessalonica 1997, catalogue number 6.5, pp. 241–242 (description by Θ.Ν. Παζαράζ). Above the slab there is another inscription, which commemorates Andronikos II. However, as Horandner 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 superscript tau in το): 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 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. Prieger, BZ 21 (1912) 409 and S.G. Mercati, Bessarione 26 (1922) 219.

[pp. 243–244]


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).


Inscriptions 99a, 99b and 99c present many divergent readings. See, for instance, the first three verses: (99a) μηδείς τυφλούσθω τῇ ὀρέξει τοῦ πλούσου πολλοῦς γὰρ ἀπόλεξενος φιλός αὐτῆς ταύτην χοίρ. πηλός καὶ [. . .]; (99b) μηδείς τυφλούσθω τῇ ὀρέξει τοῦ πλούσου: πολλοῦς γὰρ ἀπέλεξεν οὐ μεταφράσεις ῥίον ταύτην χοίρ. πηλός καὶ [. . .]; (99c) μηδείς τυφλούσθω τῇ ὀρέξει τοῦ πλούσου πολλοῦς λοιμαίαν ἡ τοῦ κόσμου φῶς: ἡ αὐτῆς γὰρ ταύτην χοίρ. πηλός, γῇ ὑπάρχει.

[pp. 244–245]

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

gnomic epigrams (protreptic)

(102) Akhissar (the ancient Thyateira), 9th C. inc. τρόμῳ προβλέπε, 1 vv. 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.


(104) Little Prespa Lake, church of St. Achilleios, late 10th C. (according to some scholars; but the date is disputed), and Thessalonica, Panagia Chalkian, not long after 1028. inc. ὄρον τὸ βῆμα, 5 vv. Ed. N. Radošević-Maksimović, ZRVI 12 (1970) 9–13 and Horandner 1993: 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 Chalkian 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.
