

Words and artworks in the twelfth century and beyond.

The thirteenth-century manuscript Marcianus gr. 524 and
the twelfth-century dedicatory epigrams on works of art.

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Abstract

The thesis is divided into three sections. The first section discusses the manuscript Marcianus graecus 524, the second looks at the Greek text of the dedicatory epigrams on works of art from the same manuscript, and the third puts these texts in their context. In the first part, the compilation of the manuscript is analysed. I suggest that the manuscript was copied mainly by one individual scribe living in Constantinople at the end of the thirteenth century. He copied the quires individually, but at some point he put all these quires together, added new quires, and compiled an anthology of poetry. The scribe's connection to the Planudean School and the Petra monastery in Constantinople is discussed. Although their relationship remains inconclusive, the manuscript provides evidence regarding the literary interests of late-thirteenth-century intellectuals. The second part contains thirty-five unpublished dedicatory epigrams on works of art. New readings are offered for the text of previously published epigrams. The third section analyses the dedicatory epigrams on works of art in their context. The first chapter of this section discusses the epigrams as *Gebrauchstexte*, i.e. texts with a practical use. The difference between epigrams intended to be inscribed and epigrams intended to be performed is highlighted. In the next chapter of this part, *La poésie de l'objet*, the composition of the dedicatory epigrams is discussed. The conventional character of the epigrams suggests that the poetics express the ritual aspect of the epigram. The last chapter considers the texts from a more pragmatic angle. After a short discussion of the objects on which the epigrams were written, the mechanisms of the twelfth-century art market are presented based on evidence taken mainly from the epigrams. At the end of this part, conclusions are drawn on the understanding of these texts in the twelfth century.

Long Abstract

MS Marcianus Graecus 524 is one of the most famous middle-Byzantine manuscripts and contains prose and verse works from the middle Byzantine period. It is the major source for the speeches of Arethas of Caesaria, one of the best manuscripts for the *Geoponica*, a source for some of Michael Psellos' works and, most importantly, it includes a vast anthology of mainly Comnenian poetry. This thesis discusses Marcianus Graecus 524 as a manuscript, as well as the anonymous twelfth-century dedicatory epigrams on works of art that are included in the anthology. It was not possible to work on the epigrams without trying to solve critical questions on the manuscript and the compilation of the poetic anthology, as well as editing the unpublished poems. The way the poetic anthology was formed shows its value as a source. Thus, the thesis is divided into three distinct parts, which cover: (a) the manuscript; (b) the text; and (c) the context.

In the first part, I discuss the manuscript and its new composition. The results I present were collected during my two visits to Venice. The first available description of the manuscript is by Antonio Maria Zanetti in 1740. Then, in 1911, Spyridon Lambros published an extensive and detailed description of the contents and published some of the anonymous poems. In 1985, Elpidio Mioni included a new description in his catalogue of Greek manuscripts in the Biblioteca Marciana. The most recent discussions are by Paolo Odorico and Charis Mesis (2003) and Andreas Rhoby (2010).

Thirty-one gatherings of Arabic paper (from the Middle East) comprise the manuscript. The original binding is lost; it was re-bound in the sixteenth century, but the modern binding dates from between 1736 and 1741. Twelve different units can be found in the manuscript. These units can be distinguished on the basis of the content, the writing style, the paper, the ink and the quire signatures. Lambros argues that eight different scribes produced the manuscript, while Mioni observes seven different hands. Odorico and Mesis suggest five. My analysis of the script, however, shows there to be just one main copyist, Scribe A, who copied up to 83.9% of the text. Scribe A copied works on separate quires in different writing styles, probably at different moments. In addition, a contemporary of Scribe A, Scribe B,

copied just one quire and a fourteenth-century scribe added an anonymous treatise on the ten categories at the very end of the manuscript.

The new identification of the hands shows the units as they have been distinguished before as inadequate in presenting the way the manuscript came to its present form. The main scribe of manuscript copied spare quires ('production units') at different moments of his life ('production moments'). At some point he put them together and he added a quire copied by one of his contemporaries, as well as some blank quires. The same scribe copied poetry on the blank quires and wherever he had empty space on the written ones. This way he formed the *Anthologia Marciana*, a collection of poetry dating from between 1050 and 1200.

However, in their present arrangement, the quires do not represent their original order, which is shown by the contents and some of the codicological features of the manuscript. The arrangement of the quires shows how Scribe A worked. He first copied Theodore Balsamon's collection of poems (ff. 89–94), then he copied a part of Constantine Manasses' *Hodoiporikon* (ff. 94^v–96). Probably hoping to find a better copy, he left the verso of the last page of the first quire blank. Then, he copied Nicholas' Kallikles collection of poems (ff. 97–103^v) and he compiled a collection of mainly anonymous poetry from the second half of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth (*Sylloge A*, ff. 103^v–104^v, 1–3^v). The *Semeioma* by Andronikos Protekdikos follows (ff. 3^v–5), with the *Katomyomachia* by Theodore Prodromos after that (ff. 5–8^v). He re-copied three poems from the collection of Theodore Balsamon (ff. 8^v–9) and he continued by copying a poem on toothache (ff. 9–10^v) and Constantine Stilbes' poem on the great fire of 1197 (ff. 10^v–18). Subsequently, he compiled a collection of anonymous poetry dating from mainly (but not exclusively) the twelfth century (*Sylloge B*, ff. 18–23^v, 105–112^v, 115^v–120^v, 33^v–39^v, 192^v–193^v, 45^v–46^v). Finally, he compiled a smaller collection of eleventh- and twelfth-century poetry, where he re-copied some poems that he had previously included in his manuscript, as well as new poems (*Sylloge C*, ff. 180–182^v, 189^v). The three *Sylogae* consist of material that has been randomly collected from other manuscripts and the scribe did not arrange his material using clear criteria.

Scribe A copied the manuscript using elements of *fettaugenstill*, which are comparable to examples dating from around 1280 to 1290. On the basis of the writing style and the contents it is possible to assume that he worked in Constantinople. The scribe and the redactor of the anthology have many things in

common and thus it is possible to suggest that it is one and the same person. I was not able to ascertain the identity of Scribe A. There are some similarities with one of the hands associated with the school of Planoudes, but the hands are not identical. In the middle of the lower margin of f. 194 a small note is barely visible, which reads π[έ]τρα. If my reading is correct then a connection with the famous monastery of Petra is highly possible. Examples of hands dating to the period in question from the bibliographical workshop of the same manuscript are not available. However, in the early fourteenth-century list of commemorations from the same monastery, the name of Manuel Angelos appears. Manuel Angelos copied Josephus' Jewish-Roman history. He is not our scribe, but the hand of annotator a in his manuscript is similar to that of Scribe A. Nevertheless, it is not possible to prove that annotator a and Scribe A are the same person, since only a small sample of annotator a's handwriting is available today.

Scribe A, living at the time of the 'early Palaeologan Renaissance', decided to copy Comnenian poetry. Many collections were compiled at that time. Our scribe might have collected this poetry either to serve as examples of good poetry for his writings or in order to preserve what his ancestors produced before the disaster of 1204. Indeed, most of the manuscripts containing Comnenian literature date from around that time (late thirteenth to early fourteenth century). Furthermore, Comnenian buildings were heavily re-constructed at that time and Comnenian institutions were revived. This cultural tendency quickly started to fade and almost disappeared by the middle of the fourteenth century, as the terrible financial and political situation of Byzantium was obvious to everyone.

The second part of the thesis comprises: (a) an edition of thirty-six dedicatory epigrams on works of art which have not been published before; and (b) new readings of the already-published epigrams. The epigrams appearing in their first edited form are:

- 40. On an icon of our Saviour Jesus Christ.
- 41. On an icon of the Crucifixion of our Lord Jesus Christ adorned by Dryonites.
- 74. On an icon of the Crucifixion of Christ.
- 102. On the icon of St Anna when the empress was pregnant.
- 116. On an adorned icon of the Holy Mother of God.

- 118/340. On a golden patelion which was made by the sebastos Kalamanos and given to our holy emperor, on which various victories [of the emperor] against the barbarians in Hungary were depicted.
119. On an icon of Sts Theodores and of St Theodore Gabras...
243. On the oyster carved in stone, which is in the Great Palace.
245. On a lamp hung before the icon of the Crucifixion of Christ by protonobellisimos kyr Nicholas.
246. On the icon of Christ Περιβλεπτος adorned by Basil, on the back of which he himself was depicted.
256. Verses written on an icon of the Holy Resurrection of our Lord and true God Jesus Christ, painted by our most holy patriarch of Jerusalem kyr John, who became abbot of the monastery of St Diomedes, the so-called new Zion.
257. On an endyte of the holy altar given to the Stoudios monastery by the purple-born lady Anna.
258. On an adorned icon of St Nicholas.
259. On the icon of monk Neophytos on which the most Holy Mother of God and St Demetrios, who was supplicating our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, were (depicted).
265. On an icon of Saint, Apostle and Evangelist Luke.
269. On an adorned icon of St George.
277. On an adorned icon of St Nicholas.
278. On an icon of the Mother of God adorned by Skleros.
279. On the icon of the most Holy Mother of God adorned by Synaites.
281. On an icon of Chrysostomos.
282. On an enkolpion having Holy Stone from the tomb of Christ.
285. On the icons of Sts Theodores.
287. On the icon of the Mother of God, the All-Holy, our Lady.
291. On an icon of Christ given (to the monastery of St Paul) in Andrianoupolis.
292. On the icon of the Baptism of Christ given to the church of the Forerunner in Jordan by the Basilikos.
307. On the trikandylon hung in the church of Beros.
308. On an icon of St Paul the confessor.
309. On an icon of St Stephen, the protomartyr.
355. On an adorned icon of the most Holy Mother of God.
356. On an icon of St Theodore offered by kyr John Servlias.

358. On an icon of St John the Forerunner which has been adorned with gold by the emperor.
368. On an icon of St Pantoleon.
391. On the miracle of the five loaves.
402. On an icon of crucified Christ, (offered) by the patriarch of Jerusalem, kyr Ioannes.
403. On an icon of St Theodosios the Cenobiarch.
404. On an icon of St Saba
(Lambros' numbers: 40, 41, 100, 113, 115/330, no. 119 is not included in Lambros, 216, 218, 229, 230, 231, 232, 241, 245, 249, 250, 251, 253, 254, 257, 259, 279, 280, 281, 316, 317, 329, 352, 363, 364, 365).

The third part aims to put one hundred and eighteen twelfth-century dedicatory epigrams on works of art in their context. All the epigrams that are examined come from *Syllogae B* and *C* and they are anonymous. In this part, I adopt the principles of New Historicism and Archaeo-historicism, looking at this text using a sociological lens to place the donors mentioned in the epigrams on different levels and depicting their relationships in a social-network diagram (software: VennMaker). The levels are defined on the basis of their 'distance' from the emperor. The rest of this part looks at these texts from three different angles: (a) how the epigrams were used; (b) the literary characteristics of the dedicatory epigrams on works of art; and (c) the connection of the texts to the actual objects.

Given that the epigrams in the *Anthologia Marciana* have been copied from manuscripts, their original context has been lost for good. They were not meant to simply stay on paper, but rather to be used. The main text and titles (although not all titles are in agreement with the main texts) can help us to retrieve their intended original function and the occasion on which the epigram was first used. Epigrams were meant to be either inscribed (inscriptional) or performed (performative). Although some criteria for suggesting an inscriptional use of an epigram have been proposed by earlier scholarship, they cannot ensure that an epigram finally became a verse inscription. An epigram could have been written in a linear way or divided into smaller parts, with each part matching a depiction. Inscriptional epigrams also raise the question of literacy. A viewer – given that the inscription was accessible to him/her – needed to have a certain level of literacy in

order to read and understand an epigram. Given that the viewer was able to understand it, an inscriptional epigram can simply be a votive inscription, it can justify the occasion of the dedication, it can put into words the meaning of the pictorial composition, annotating the depiction and indicating to the viewer how they should approach the image, it can become a 'speech bubble' enlivening the image, and, finally, it can be an elaborate possessor's note, expressing the wishes and hopes of the donor. Even if the viewer was unable to understand an inscription, its very existence adds lustre to the work of art and to the status of the offering, possibly also figuring God or a saint as the 'eternal reader' of the donor's supplication.

Epigrams could have been performed at the moment of the donation, sent as letters together with the donation, or even performed in a literary circle. Some criteria for distinguishing performative epigrams are: (1) the content of the epigram; (2) the length of the epigram in comparison with similar objects; and (3) the occasion itself.

Epigrams could have been written on sacred objects or buildings (votive epigrams) or on secular objects (secular dedicatory epigrams). Both votive and secular dedicatory epigrams follow similar conventions for their composition. They have similar parts and specific ways that they present a donor, also using a specific vocabulary. After a statistical analysis, it has been concluded that the level of the donor actually affects the conventional character of the epigram. If the donor of an epigram comes from the higher echelons of society, it is more likely that the epigram will be less conventional. Furthermore, I link the conventional character of the dedicatory epigrams with their ceremonial significance, underlining the similarities between an inscriptional or performative epigram and a ceremony or a ritual.

Epigrams can sometimes help us to retrieve information on the appearance of the object. Unfortunately, the information they provide is never detailed enough to ensure a faithful reconstruction. Although it is difficult to comment on the physical appearance of the objects, it is possible to comment on the mechanisms for their production. Thus, my discussion of what I term the 'art market' looks systematically at the most important factors affecting the production of an object. The term 'art market' is doubtless anachronistic, and is used with caution, but it is legitimised by the two basic components of supply and demand. The decisive role

that the 'producers' (artists, donors, and poets) play places them at the centre of their market. This role and the relationships between them are examined. Furthermore, an object was shaped according to the aesthetic values of its time. The ecclesiastical framework was also important because of the prominent role of the Church. The political framework was especially important when it comes to objects depicting or being offered to the emperor. Finances are also critical for the production of an object: the cost of an object and its importance as an asset after being donated are my main concerns. Finally, adding an epigram to an object meant that the symbolic value of the object was increased.

In the appendices, a new detailed description of the manuscript can be found, as well as supporting material for the first part of the thesis.

Acknowledgements

As you set out for Ithaka
 hope the voyage is a long one,
 full of adventure, full of discovery.
 Laistrygonians and Cyclops,
 angry Poseidon—don't be afraid of them:
 you'll never find things like that on your way
 as long as you keep your thoughts raised high,
 as long as a rare excitement
 stirs your spirit and your body.
 Laistrygonians and Cyclops,
 wild Poseidon—you won't encounter them
 unless you bring them along inside your soul,
 unless your soul sets them up in front of you.

From K.P. Kavafis, *Ithaka* (transl. E. Keeley / P. Sherrard)

As I set out on my DPhil journey, I was hoping indeed for a voyage full of adventure and discovery. And this is exactly what it was. The voyage – thankfully – did not last long, just 2 years and 3 months, and I was able to surpass all the practical difficulties I encountered (which had little to do with my soul) thanks to all the people who contributed so much to my research. First and foremost, I must thank my χαλκέντερον supervisor Prof. Marc Lauxtermann, who shaped me as researcher. Many drafts and hours of discussion are the main things which have marked our relationship as teacher–student and colleagues over the last four and a half years.

I never felt alone in this journey. There were always people to help me and question my arguments. Dr Georgi Parpulov and Dr James Howard-Johnston were the first to question my skills as an art historian and social historian respectively. Mr Nigel Wilson and Prof. Marilena Maniaci questioned my aptitude as paleographer and codicologist. Prof. Elizabeth Jeffreys and Prof. Wolfram Hörandner, as the examiners of the thesis, questioned my entire final text. I am deeply indebted to them all for their help, advice and patience. Many more people contributed in one way or another over the last few years, and without their help this thesis would have been quite different: Prof. Michael Jeffreys, Prof. Averil Cameron, Dr Stratis Papaioannou, Dr Cathrine Holmes, Dr Niki Tsironis, Dr Ida Toth, Dr Anne McCabe, Dr Marina Bazzani, Dr Euthymios Rizos, Mr Andrew Honey, Mrs Maria Pasparaki, Dr Karolina Retali, Miss Miranda Williams and Miss Kirsty Stewart.

I am most grateful to Mr James Disley for meticulously and patiently checking my English.

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In order to start and complete the journey there were also material needs. This thesis would never have seen the light of day without the generous support of the A. Onassis Foundation and A.G. Leventis Foundation. I would also like to thank the Oxford Italian Association and the Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e post-bizantini for enabling me to spend more than a month in Venice examining the manuscript in the Biblioteca Marciana. I am also indebted to Keble College and the Keble Association for enabling me to buy and be trained in the use of FileMaker Pro. I would also like to extend my thanks to Dr Agamemnon Tselikas and the National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation for digitising the microfilm of the manuscript.

Above all, I would like to thank my parents, Andreas and Katerina, my brother, Giannis, and my friend for life, Piotr Orłowski, for standing by me each time everything seemed to fall apart and I feared the journey would never be completed. There will never be enough words to thank them.

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*Figs. 10, 16, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, and 41-49 originally included in the thesis cannot be made freely available via ORA because of copyright.

List of abbreviations

AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana.</i>
AG	H. Beckby, <i>Anthologia graeca</i> (4 vols., Munich, 1965–1968).
AHG	G. Schirò et alii, <i>Analecta hymnica graeca</i> (12 vols., Rome, 1966–1970).
BEIÜ 1	A. Rhoby, <i>Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung: Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken</i> (Vienna, 2009).
BEIÜ 2	A. Rhoby, <i>Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung: Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst</i> (Vienna, 2010).
BHG	F. Halkin, <i>Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca</i> (Brussels, 1957).
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen.</i>
BMFD	J. Thomas, A. Constantinides Hero and G. Constable (eds.), <i>Byzantine monastic foundation documents</i> (5 vols., Washington, D.C., 2000).
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies.</i>
BS	<i>Byzantine Studies.</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinischen Zeitschrift.</i>
Byzantium 2010	<i>Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag. 26 Februar bis 13. Juni 2010</i> (Bonn, 2010).
Byzantine Art	<i>Byzantine art : an european art. Ninth exhibition held under the auspices of the Council of Europe</i> (Athens, 1964).
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers.</i>
EO	<i>Échos d'Orient.</i>
F	Collectio metrica Laurentiana, in: P. Odorico, <i>Il prato e l'ape : il sapere sentenzioso del monaco Giovanni</i> (Vienna, 1986), pp. 64–118.
G	Georgides' collection, in: P. Odorico, <i>Il prato e l'ape : il sapere sentenzioso del monaco Giovanni</i> (Vienna, 1986), pp. 119–255.
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik.</i>
JÖBG	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft.</i>
IRAIK	<i>Izvestiia Russkogo arkheologicheskogo instituta v Konstantinopole.</i>
Kriaras	E. Kriaras, <i>Λεξικὸν τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημῶδους γραμματείας, 1100–1169</i> (Thessaloniki, 1968–).
Lampe	G.W.H. Lampe, <i>A patristic Greek lexicon</i> (Oxford, 1968).
LBG	E. Trapp et alii, <i>Lexikon zur byzantinischer Gräzitat besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts</i> (Vienna, 1994–).
LSJ	H.G. Liddell, R. Scott and H.S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English lexicon</i> (Oxford, 1996 ⁹).
NE	<i>Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων.</i>
PBW	<i>Prosopography of the Byzantine world</i> , http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk .
PG	J.P. Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i> (161 vols., Paris, 1857–66).
REB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines.</i>
RSBN	<i>Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici.</i>
<i>The Glory of Byzantium</i>	H.C. Evans – W.D. Wixom (eds.), <i>The glory of Byzantium: Art and culture of the Middle Byzantine era, A.D. 843–1261</i> (New York, 1997).
<i>Treasures of Heaven</i>	M. Bagnoli, H. Klein, C.G. Mann and J. Robinson (eds.), <i>Treasures of Heaven: Saints, relics and devotion in medieval Europe</i> (London, 2011).

TLG	<i>Thesaurus linguae graecae</i> , http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu .
WS	<i>Wiener Studien</i> .
δ	recensio Vaticano–Patmiaca, in: P. Odorico, <i>Il prato e l'ape : il sapere sentenzioso del monaco Giovanni</i> (Vienna, 1986), pp. 257–66.

* The numbering of a text indicated as 'no. + xxx' refers to the numbering of the works as indicated in Appendix A. The correspondence to Lambros' numbering can be found in the same Appendix. A new numbering is suggested, because Lambros' numbering has some flaws and inconsistencies.

Preface

Manuscript Marcianus graecus 524 preserves a great number of prose and poetic texts dating from the middle Byzantine period. Many of the (mainly anonymous) poetic texts have come down to us only in this manuscript. Although the significance of the manuscript is obvious, the way in which it was composed has been overlooked. Therefore, while I was planning originally to focus only on the dedicatory epigrams on works of art, I have also decided to discuss the composition of this manuscript. It is essential to understand how this anthology was compiled, in order to evaluate the significance of the poetic corpus. This discussion occupies the first part of the thesis, which continues and expands the work of my MPhil thesis.

The second part of the thesis focuses on the edition of dedicatory epigrams on works of art. In general, the scribe of the manuscript made very few mistakes and thus the transcriptions published by Spyridon Lambros in 1911 are adequate. Furthermore, there are newer editions for some of the epigrams. Therefore, for the published epigrams, I have only given readings that the manuscript offers and modern editors have misread. In this section, I also present an edition of thirty-four previously unpublished dedicatory epigrams on works of art. No English translation is included, since translations are cited in the third part wherever the Greek text is quoted.

Finally, the third part, following the principles of New Historicism, discusses the dedicatory epigrams on works of art included in this manuscript from the point of view of literature, art history and social history. Since, as is argued in the first part, the corpus selected from Marcianus gr. 524 is the random product of an anonymous anthologist, analysis of these texts will offer insights into the twelfth-century understanding of the epigram and its functions.

Part I

The manuscript:
Marcianus graecus 524

1. The manuscript and its descriptions

As the name implies, manuscript Marcianus gr. 524 is kept in the *Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana*, in Venice. Its provenance is unknown¹. It is deposited in the section of the library called *Thesaurus Antiquus* or *Fondo Antico*, which contains 625 manuscripts. These were the first acquisitions of the library and derive from the private collection of Cardinal Bessarion and the collections of Venetian nobles; all were to be found in the library before 1740, when the first systematic catalogue of the library was made by Antonio Maria Zanetti and Antonio Bongiovanni after the commission of Lorenzo Tiepolo². The manuscript cannot be found in the early inventories of Bessarion's library³. Most likely, it came to the library after 1679, i.e. after the composition of the manuscript catalogue by Ambrogio Gradenico⁴. The word *sei* (=six) is written on f. A in black ink⁵. This numbering also appears on other manuscripts, but it is not clear what it indicates. It might have been the collocation number of the manuscript at the old *Marciana*⁶.

A great number of both attributed and anonymous eleventh- and twelfth-century poems have been preserved in Marcianus gr. 524. In addition, it is also one of the major sources for Arethas' works, and it contains many works by Psellos⁷. The manner of its compilation remains quite enigmatic. The first description of the *Marcianus* was given in the catalogue of Anton Maria Zanetti and Antonio

* Chapters 1, 2, 4 and 7 of this first part of the thesis are based on material previously included in my MPhil thesis (Spingou 2010: 16-17, 18-21, 22-28, and 29-35 respectively).

¹ Mioni 1985: 399.

² Zanetti-Biongiiovanni 1740. See also Labowsky 1979: 105.

³ Dated between 1468 (=the act of donation) and c. 1575. Labowsky 1979: 443. On the vicissitudes of the collections in *Biblioteca Marciana* between the sixteenth and the early eighteenth century see Zorzi 1987: 173-250.

⁴ Ms. Marc. lat. XIV 20 (coll. 4323). Cf. Coggiola 1906: 107 (no. 163).

⁵ Above this indication someone wrote 8 in red pencil. It is not known either what this number is. On flyleaf I, number. XCII.7 can be found. This was added when the library was transferred to *Palazzo Ducale* in 1811.

⁶ The number on the *banco*. Information given to me from the library on January, the 17th 2011.

⁷ See Appendix B.

Bongiovanni⁸. The authors of the catalogue date the manuscript to around the fourteenth century⁹. They classify it as a *codex miscellaneus*, under the number 524. Although they refer in detail to the attributed works included in the manuscript, they do not record the anonymous poetic works¹⁰.

Almost two centuries later, the manuscript attracted the attention of two other scholars, Constantine Horna and Spyridon Lambros. Constantine Horna transcribed the entire manuscript between the years 1901 and 1903¹¹. However, although he published some of the attributed works, he never published the entire anthology¹². In 1911, Lambros published an extensive and detailed description of the contents, in which he also discussed the scribes and some of the codicological features. He believed that the manuscript dated from the second half of the thirteenth century¹³. He transcribed and published many of the anonymous epigrams and recorded fragments of others.

A subsequent detailed description was included in the catalogue of manuscripts of the *Biblioteca Marciana*, written by Elpidio Mioni in 1985¹⁴. His account provides a great deal of codicological information, and a full description of the contents, including the incipit and the number of verses of each anonymous epigram or poem. The date given in his catalogue ('saec. XIII in.') is a typographical error: in the palaeographical discussion of the manuscript he recognises that it is written in *fettagenstil*. As an excellent palaeographer, Mioni knew that manuscripts

⁸ Zanetti – Bongiovanni 1740: 282–3. Cf. the website of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

⁹ Cf. Kurtz 1903: XII; Horna 1903: 176.

¹⁰ Hence the Z (for Zanetti) in the catalogue number *Marcianus Graecus Z 524*. Librarians use the shelf mark (*collocazione*), which is 318.

¹¹ I have not been able to find this autograph copy. Eduard Kurtz (1903: 16) in the preface of the edition of Mitylenaios' poems thanks '*meines Freundes Dr Konstantin Horna*' for assisting him with the collation of the Italian manuscripts (among these manuscripts is also the *Marcianus*).

¹² Horna 1903: 177–202; Horna 1904: 325–45. Lambros 1911: 3–4.

¹³ Lambros 1911: 3.

¹⁴ Mioni 1985: 399–407.

written in *fettaugenstil* date from either the end of the thirteenth or most probably the beginning of the fourteenth century¹⁵.

The most recent discussion of the *Marcianus* is by Paolo Odorico and Charis Messis¹⁶. They provide a concise description of the manuscript (dating, composition, contents) and further discuss its composition. They also pose questions on the methodology of any future edition. They date the manuscript to the second half of the thirteenth century and they attribute its compilation to the activity of a schoolteacher¹⁷.

¹⁵ Cf. Rhoby 2010 (b): 114–5. See also De Groote 2012: XLVIII–XLIX; Diethart – Hörandner 2005: XXII; Duffy 1992: XV; O’Meara 1989: IX; Hunger 1968: 13. Antonio Garzya (1963: XI) places the copy of the manuscript in the thirteenth century.

¹⁶ Odorico – Messis 2003: 191–213.

¹⁷ Odorico – Messis 2003: 199–201.

2. General description

Thirty-one gatherings compose the manuscript¹⁸. Generally, non-watermarked paper has been used. Variations in the paper and the ink used will be examined later, and at this point only their common codicological features will be discussed.

The paper is, in general, yellowish to brownish, the *pâté* is either irregular or regular and the fibres are generally badly disintegrated¹⁹. Occasionally, it appears to have a rather glossy texture. It is not very transparent and the chain lines are not usually visible. The laid lines are visible, but it is impossible to take accurate measurements. There are no zigzags and the edges of the *folia* can be easily folded. The dimensions of the paper are approximately 320/358 to 500/514²⁰. The pen, although with many variations, is brown. Consistently, the poetry is presented in two columns and the prose text in one.

The manuscript has lost its original bookbinding. It is one of the volumes rebound under the supervision of the Procurator and Librarian Lorenzo Tiepolo (curator of the library between the years 1736 and 1741)²¹. The current pasteboards – which bear the symbol of Venice (the lion holding a book which reads P(ax) T(ibi) M(arce) E(vangelista) M(eus)) – are preserved from this eighteenth-century binding. However, the new binding follows an earlier, sixteenth-century bookbinding. This is suggested by the frontal flyleaves (the datable watermarks indicate a date between 1560 and 1595²²). The manuscript was sent for restoration to the monastery of

¹⁸ For a detailed description see Appendix A. On the quires see Appendix C.

¹⁹ For a detailed description see Appendix E.

²⁰ The paper has been trimmed in some points, thus the page width and height varies a bit (e.g. see traces in 46 and the half missing drawing in ff. 87–88^v).

²¹ Cf. Labowsky 1979: 29 (no. 82). Cf. Valentinelli 1868: I, 77.

²² Mošin 1973: 50–52 / nos. 1532–1578 (except 70, 73, 77). Type H IV 2f. The anchor watermark is typical for paper produced in the northern Italy, and especially Venetian. However, this does not suggest that the book-binding originates from there. Italian paper was exported in great quantities. The flyleaves I–IV date from the Tiepolo's bookbinding. Two more *folia* (i and ii) have been added after the recent restoration of the manuscript in 1964. Furthermore, the marbled papers which was

Praglia (in Padova) on 24 September 1964 and Gabriello di Rartompo started to work on it on 20 October of that year²³.

The manuscript is composed of different *layers* or *units* written at different times. Twelve such units constitute the manuscript. These can be distinguished on the basis of various codicological criteria, such as the content, the writing style, the paper, the ink and the quire signatures²⁴.

The first unit (ff. 1–23^v) includes poetry, and a note on the calculation of the hours. A quire signature can be found on f. 7^v. It reads ‘β’, which suggests that there is not only a folio missing, but also the whole first quire²⁵. However, this quire signature was erased by the scribe. Furthermore, while the quire signature on f. 16 reads ‘ε’, the quire signature in the second gathering (ff. 8–15) originally read ‘γ’, but this has been erased with a stroke and replaced with ‘δ’ (f. 8). At the end of the same quire (f. 15), the letter gamma was noted, but it is visible only with black light. These suggest that at least one other quire is missing.

In the first folio of the fourth gathering of the manuscript (f. 24), a prose text begins (*Ixeutica*) in a different ink colour and in a single column (because it is prose). No quire signature can be found. However, the scribe uses the same paper as for the final gathering of the first unit of the manuscript²⁶. I propose that the scribe wrote this gathering independently, but not very long after he had copied the first unit. This is the second unit: ff. 24–39^v. It contains a *paraphrasis* of the *Ixeutica* of Pseudo-Oppian²⁷, some excerpts from John Tzetzes’ commentary on *Lycophron*, and some

usually added on the inner side of the paste boards has been removed by the conservator, who added simple white papers (information kindly provided by the *Biblioteca Marciana*).

²³ Information given to me by officials of the *Biblioteca Marciana* on January the 19th 2011. I am most grateful to Dr Silvia Pugliese for her help.

²⁴ Five different series of quire numbers can be found (units I, IV, VIII, IX and XII). This is not unusual for manuscripts with mixed contents, for example see ms Barocci 131 (Wilson 1978: 154).

²⁵ Cf. Odorico – Mesis 2003: 194.

²⁶ See Appendix E.

²⁷ According to the editor of the *Ixeutica*, Antonio Garzya, ms. Scorialiensis Y.I.9 (ff. 185–197, de Andrés 1965: 91) is an apograph of our *Marcianus*. Interestingly, even the notes from Tzetzes’ *Commentary* on

additional epigrams and acclamations. At f. 27^v, a quire signature can be found. This time it reads ‘ζ’. However, even if the number continues the series, it cannot be supported that it continues straight from the previous one unit. It is placed at the middle of the quire, on the right upper margin. In unit A, the quire signatures were placed at the beginning or the end of the quire and in the middle of the bottom margin.

Ff. 40–46^v consists of a new unit (no. III). The paper is completely different. Its quality is poorer than that of the other units, being less elaborate, thick, with a rough and dull surface, and of a brownish colour. However, the text is carefully written in a deep brown colour. In contrast to the other gatherings, traces of ruling can also be found. Ff. 40–45 contains the commentary of Michael Psellos on Aristotle’s ten categories. The title on the first folio reads [Τοῦ] Ἀὐτοῦ (*of the same [author]*), which indicates that the preceding pages must have contained works by Psellos; in other words, there is a lacuna there. At the bottom of f. 45, a different hand had added more notes on the categories. In ff. 45^v–46^v, anonymous epigrams, which can be dated to the reign of Manuel Komnenos, can be found.

The fourth unit (ff. 47–88^v) consists of five quires, all numbered, and one *bifolium*. The same paper is used throughout the unit. The ink and the writing style change only in f. 88, line 15, when some verses have been added to the preceding *Epimerisms on Psalms* by George Choiroboskos.

At f. 89, the paper, the ink and the writing style change again. In ff. 89–96^v, poetic works have been copied, specifically a collection of poems by Theodore Balsamon and some verses from Manasses’ *Hodoiporikon* (vv. 1–269). The only blank page of the manuscript follows this last work. This quire is clearly a separate unit (no. V).

Lycophron after the *Ixeutica* can be found in the Escorial manuscript (Marc. gr. 524, f. 33^{r-v} cf. Scoral. Y.I.9, f. 197^{r-v}). Garzya 1960/61: 255; Garzya 1963: XI; Garzya 1957; di Domenico 1975: 50–1.

The sixth unit is comprised of two quires (ff. 97–112^v) written in the same ink but on different paper. The first quire of the unit contains a collection of poems by Nicholas Kallikles, three poems by Theodore Prodromos and some poems (unattributed in the manuscript) by Christopher Mitylenaios. The next quire includes various epigrams and an *ethopoia*.

The following quire (ff. 113–120^v) is also a distinct unit (no. VII). It is written in different ink and on different paper. It begins with a prose work, and some untitled philosophical and grammatical works (ff. 113–115^v). However, after f. 115^v, it contains poetic works.

The eighth unit (ff. 121–152^v) consists of four numbered quires, all on the same paper and in the same ink²⁸. It contains orations by Arethas of Caesarea.

Three quaternions and one trinion, all of the same paper, form the ninth unit (ff. 153–182)²⁹. Prose texts, specifically Psellos' works, are written on ff. 153–179^v, while in ff. 180–182^v the poetic works are copied in ink different from that used for the prose works.

The tenth unit (ff. 183–189^v) starts with anonymous commentaries on Aristotle's works. F. 189^v was initially blank, but an epigram was subsequently added. It is considered to be a different unit because a new prose work begins on the first page of the new gathering³⁰. It is written in different ink, on different paper, and is based on different ruling type to that employed previously.

A single bifolium (ff. 190–193^v) constitutes the eleventh unit. It begins with the *Geoponica* of Cassianus Bassus to which, at the end, some works in verse have been added. The paper and the ink are different to that of the previous unit. Some

²⁸ The second quire (ff. 129–136) is faultily assigned to 'α'. This is clearly a scribal mistake. The previous quire signature is written at the end of the gathering, while this is at the beginning, this could have confused the scribe and, not being careful enough, he copied the number from the previous page.

²⁹ Only the first two quires are numbered.

³⁰ A leaf is missing between 183^v and 184.

poems have been written out between the first excerpts from the *Geoponica*, in ff. 190–192, and those in ff. 194–292^v. This suggests that ff. 192^v–193^v were initially blank.

The last unit (no. XII) consists of twelve quires and two bifolia (ff. 194–292^v). The ink and the paper of the two first quires of the unit are similar to those of the previous unit, which again suggests that it was copied not long after the previous section. It contains excerpts from the *Geoponica* of Cassianus Bassus. On the final page (f. 292^v), a note on the ten categories has been copied. This unit is distinguished from the rest because of the new series of quire signatures³¹.

³¹ Quire signatures can be found in ff. 218 (δ), 226 (ε), 234 (στ), 241 (ζ), 273 (ια), 281 (ιγ) and 289 (ιγ). The numbering of the quires is correct, given the fact that the first quire is ff. 194–201. The ιγ in f. 281 is just a scribal mistake. In any case, the scribe uses the same number (ιγ) in order to number the last bifolia, which are clearly the end of the work.

3. The paper

In general, different oriental papers have been used throughout the manuscript. No watermark can be found. Most importantly, the twenty laid lines of the papers used throughout the manuscript always measure less than 34 mm (if measurable), as expected of papers originating in the Middle East³². The dimensions, as also mentioned before, are approximately 320/358 to 500/514 mm, which is similar to the average format of paper from the same area³³. The lack of a zigzag is also an indication that the paper is Arabic from the Middle East rather than Arabic from Spain³⁴. Some additional criteria for determining the provenance of the paper are the invisibility of the chain lines, the colour of the paper, which varies from brownish to yellowish³⁵, the *souple* formatting, and the straight or curved laid lines³⁶. Finally, on the basis of the laid lines, the paper can be classified as 1/1. This type of paper was also used for the thirteenth-century manuscript of the *Etymologicum Magnum* (1273)³⁷.

Elpidio Mioni dedicates only a sentence to the paper³⁸ and Spyridon Lambros only occasionally refers to the paper, and then only briefly³⁹. He mentions the paper for the first time in reference to his section four (ff. 89–120). He considers that different papers consist this unit. For his fifth section (ff. 121–152) and sixth section (ff. 153–179), Lambros comments that the paper is rough. He finds that the paper in the seventh section (ff. 180–189) varies. Unfortunately, he did not take into

³² Irigoín 1950: 198. On the particular characteristics of the eastern paper without watermarks see: Hunger 1995: 28. On the features of the paper from the Middle-East see: Humbert 1998. For the description I have also used: Irigoín 1993; Irigoín 1991; Humbert – Bavaveas 1990.

³³ According to Monique Zerdoun (in Géhin 2005: 27), the dimensions of the paper made in the Middle East vary between 320/380 to 490/560 mm; but according to Jean Irigoín (1950: 197) between 320/365 to 496/512.

³⁴ Canart, di Zio, Polistena and Scialanga 2008: 1015.

³⁵ Not yellow which is near to white, as is usual for Italian paper.

³⁶ Cf. Irigoín 1950: 196.

³⁷ Humbert 1998: 17–8, 28. Astruc – Géhin 1989.

³⁸ *Chartae orientales parvi pretii iniurias temporis haud paucas passae sunt*, Mioni 1985: 399.

³⁹ Lambros 1911: 190–1.

consideration the quires' divisions when dividing the manuscript into sections and thus these sections are hardly plausible: sections, according to his description, start in the middle of a quire and quires appear to consist of different papers.

In general, small differentiations among the paper types can be found. The criteria for distinguishing the papers are mainly the texture of the folia, the colour, the p  t   and the transparency. To these criteria can be added the measurement of the twenty laid lines, although the numbers of the chain lines (whenever they are visible) are hardly measurable. Even if the numbers given in the Appendix E are as accurate as possible, they are never precise enough to support any possible division between them. The only conclusion from these measurements is that the 20 laid lines measure between 26 mm and 36 mm, as is usual for regular non-watermarked paper from the West or the East (but not from Egypt or Syria)⁴⁰.

Twelve different papers can be found in the manuscript. The distinctive features of each paper are given in the Appendix E. Here, I would like only to note that paper a and paper b are generally difficult to distinguish. Only their texture differs: paper a is duller than b and b is more glossy than a. Generally, paper changes usually when the content changes. The only exception is ff. 194–292, which contains only the *Geoponica*, although the change in the paper for such a long section is reasonable. Spyridon Lambros has also proposed that the paper of ff. 153–179 is the same as the one used for ff. 121–152. True enough, the colour of pages 152^v and 153 is quite similar. However, the similarity in colour exists only if it will be compared to f. 152^v, but not to 152 or to 145 (the first folio of the quire). Furthermore, the laid lines of the wire used for paper f are much more visible than the laid lines in paper g. The surface is also glossier in paper g than f. Thus, it can be assumed that the similarity in the colour is due to the general features of the Arabic paper and of the circumstances surrounding the preservation of the manuscript.

⁴⁰ Zerdoun 2005: 31.

4. The scribes

The first description of the manuscript by Zanetti and Bongiovanni does not refer to the handwriting. Spyridon Lambros, in the first systematic examination of the manuscript, distinguishes eight different hands⁴¹. He distinguishes the hands on the basis of the ink used and the general layout⁴².

Elpidio Mioni also observes seven different hands, this time in a slightly different arrangement⁴³. Unlike Lambros, he states clearly that Scribe A wrote folia 45^v–46^v, 88 (after line 13) – 120^v, and 190–193^v (i.e. the pages that Lambros does not comment on) and ff. 180–182^v (attributed to Scribe F by Lambros). He also believes that Scribe B also wrote from f. 121 up to f. 150^v (instead of only ff. 121–152^v, as Lambros suggested) and ff. 178, line 2–179^v. Then, Mioni states that Scribe E wrote ff. 151–154^v and 183–189 (and not ff. 153–179, as Lambros stated). Finally, he sees Scribe F as having copied ff. 155–178, line 9 and 183–189 (rather than ff. 180 to 189, as Lambros argued).

Paolo Odorico and Charis Messis, with the help of Brigitte Mondrain⁴⁴, mainly follow Mioni's observations⁴⁵. They further suggest that Scribe A was the scribe of the folia 121–152^v (Mioni believes that Scribe D wrote ff. 121–150^v and Scribe E ff. 151–152^v), 189^v (neither Lambros nor Mioni comment on this page, which contains just four lines), and 194–292 (attributed to Scribe G by all previous scholars). They also note that hands D and A are admittedly very similar.

⁴¹ A: 1–39^v, 89–120; B: 40–45, 190–193^v; B*: 45^v–46; C: 47–88; D: 121–152; E: 153–179; F: 180–189; G: 194–292^v.

⁴² B: ἡ γραφή τοῦ τμήματος τούτου εἶνε ἄλλης χειρὸς καὶ μελαντέρα τῆς τῶν f. 1–39^b; C: ἡ γραφή εἶνε κισρρά; D: ἡ δὲ γραφή πυκνοτέρα καὶ μελαντέρα; E: διάφορος εἶνε ἡ γραφή; F: κισροτέρα ἡ γραφή· ἀλλὰ καὶ μεταξύ τούτων διάφορα εἶνε τὰ φ. 183 κ.έ., δεικνύοντα γραφήν νεωτέραν πως καὶ μελαντέραν; G: εἶνε δὲ ἡ γραφή τούτων πυκνή καὶ κισρρά, ὁμοιάζουσα μᾶλλον πρὸς τὴν τοῦ γράψαντος τὸ πέμπτον τμήμα.

⁴³ Mioni 1985: 399. See table in Appendix I.

⁴⁴ Odorico – Messis 2003: 194, note 8.

⁴⁵ Odorico – Messis 2003: 194–7.

I would like to argue that one scribe is the main scribe of the manuscript, but he occasionally changes his writing style. In my view, Scribe A individually copied works at different moments of his life. At a certain point, he unified them in one manuscript, adding at least 23 gatherings, and copying prose (instructional) works and (court) poetry on the newest quires and wherever he had empty space in the existing ones. In order to support this view, I will try to follow the duct of the pen. The writing angle, the colour of the ink, the general layout and the writing style can be of a little help. Similar letter shapes and ligatures will be highlighted among the hands that have been identified by previous scholarship. For this purpose, a table can be found in Appendix J. The first section contains the most important common letter shapes used by the scribes as distinguished, and the second the most important common ligatures used by the scribes.

To begin with, the main scribe of the manuscript is Scribe A. All scholars agree that this individual copied ff. 1–39^v, 45 lines 28–34, 45^v–46^v, and 190–193^v. One can find many examples of *fettaugen* elements

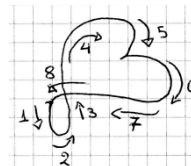


Fig. 1. Forming the *fettaugen* B (Scribe A)

and, more specifically, of the less calligraphic *fettaugenstil*⁴⁶. The lobe of the alpha is sometimes formed by an

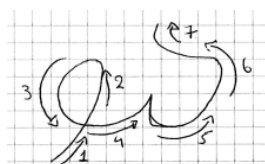


Fig. 2. The *fettaugen* omega (Scribe A)

exaggerated circular loop, which stands above

the level of the other letters. The forms of sigma and

omicron are similar. Furthermore, the lobes of the sometimes

outstanding omega are formed by a single curved stroke (fig. 2). The scribe writes the omega from left to right. Sometimes he even starts below the lower level of the first lobe. He then moves his pen roundly up to the right and he changes direction down to the left. The line meets the first part of the stroke. The stroke is slightly elevated, forming a small ascender in the middle of the letter. Continuing to the left,

⁴⁶ On the so-called *fettaugenstil* see Hunger 1972: 105–13; Hunger 1961 (a): 101–2.

it descends in a rounded way and it rises again directing to the left. It ends gently with a minim ascender. Other *fettaugen* elements are the lunate sigma with the exaggerated semicircular loop and the gross beta. The gross beta (fig. 1) is formed by a single stroke. The stroke starts from a point of the lower level of the letters. Then, moving lower to the right it forms an almost visible loop. It rises almost in a straight line, forming the 'back' of the letter. Moving again semi-circularly to the right, it forms the first loop of the beta. With a similar movement, but from right to left, the second loop of the beta is formed. The stroke meets the stem of the beta and it extends until the starting point. Sometimes, the stroke does not extend towards the starting point. Finally, the outstanding gamma is also a characteristic of *fettaugen* A. These are some of hand A's distinguishing features. After the second half of the thirteenth century, *fettaugenstil* appears in literary *codices* and not only as a chancery script⁴⁷. When the letter shapes are compared to facsimiles from late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts, a great number of similarities can be found within those manuscripts dating from 1280 to 1290. A prominent example is the case of Scribe B of manuscript Bodl. Roe 22. This manuscript dates from 1286, and is written exclusively on parchment⁴⁸. The major part of the manuscript contains the works of Nicetas Choniates. In Scribe B's rendition of *Panoplia Dogmatica*, most of the letters are identical to the writing style of our Scribe A. One can easily observe similarities between the two hands, especially in the forms of the letters beta, gamma, xi and omega, and in the ligature for $\sigma\nu$ ⁴⁹; even the flower-shape decorative separator is identical⁵⁰. The two hands have the same writing style,

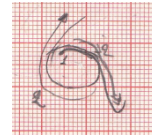


Fig. 3. The epsilon (Scribe A)

⁴⁷ Hunger 1972: 109.

⁴⁸ Coxe 1853: 483.

⁴⁹ See also Turyn 1980: 53–4 (plate 32) and Canart 2000: esp. 680.

⁵⁰ Cf. ff. 521^v and 544.

while their differences are mainly connected with the individual hand of each scribe⁵¹.

Scribe A also copied the poems in ff. 180–182 and 189^v. This is quite easily observable. The handwriting and the layout⁵² of the page are identical to that of ff. 1–39^v, 45^v–46^v, 89–120, 190–193^v. The ink is also highly similar.

Especially, the collection of poems by Balsamon and the excerpt from the *Hodoiporikon* by Manasses have been copied by the main scribe at roughly the same time as the main poetic compilations. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to speculate at what point exactly these pages were written.

Furthermore, Paolo Odorico and Charis Messis suggest that ff. 121–150^v and 194–292^v have also been copied by Scribe A⁵³. In my view, this suggestion should be considered a certainty. Even if the pen and the ink changes from f. 120 to f. 121, the hand of the copyist of ff. 121–152^v is identical to the handwriting of Scribe A. Similarities include the identical ligatures for alpha–rho, epsilon–iota (*fettaugenstil*), epsilon–rho and sigma–tau, the same duct of gamma, rho, xi and tau, the *fettaugen* omega and the beta, similar to the Latin ha and the uncial eta, the theta with its usual incomplete appearance, and the abbreviations for *καὶ* and *δε*⁵⁴. Some further observations, which reinforce the view that the copyist of these folia is Scribe A, are the use of light brown ink, which has also been used in ff. 33^v–39^v, and the lack of ruling, in contrast to the presence of pricking in ca. 19.1 x 12.8 (which is characteristic of Scribe A’s writing)⁵⁵. However, the letters become more compact and the overall appearance is ‘stuffed’.

⁵¹ F. 196^v of ms. Roe 22 makes the differences even clearer. Another feature, easy to be observed, is that the *dieresis* is not noted constantly above or even inside upsilon.

⁵² The written surface of the ff. 180 and 182^v measures between 13.5x21mm and the number of the lines per page varies between 33 and 36. F. 182^v is the only not fully written page.

⁵³ Odorico–Messis 2003: 197.

⁵⁴ Important to note is that something similar to the subscribed iota is seen under eta in f. 121. But this occurs only once and might be just a fibre.

⁵⁵ Cf. the pricking in units I and II. See p. 298–299.

If one compares the hand in ff. 194–292^v, line 8 and the handwriting of Scribe A, it becomes obvious that this is the work of the same person: the duct of each letter, the ligatures and the abbreviations are identical. In addition, the pages are copied in the same ink as ff. 190–193, which were certainly copied by Scribe A.

Moreover, Scribe A is clearly the copyist from f. 121^v onwards. The *fettaugen* beta, the outstanding gamma, the xi with the characteristic three loops, the gross omicron, upsilon and omega, the ligatures of epsilon–iota, epsilon–rho and epsilon–xi – all of these distinctive forms of hand A appear. Simultaneously, impressive forms have been used. Their duct suggest that Scribe A wrote them, but instead of following the ‘fashion’ of his time, he used his natural writing style (*écriture naturelle*⁵⁶). Indeed, after f. 127^v, the *fettaugen* letter shapes and the impressive types, which follow contemporary fashion, are eliminated. Characteristically, in f. 129^v, very few examples of the

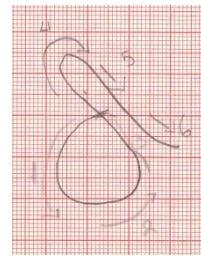


Fig. 4. The delta
(Scribe A)
cf. f. 153

gross letterforms can be found. Undoubtedly, the hand and the ink continue to f. 150^v. At f. 151, the scribe ‘re-changes’ his pen. The colour of the ink becomes darkest brown. The same scribe writes continuously, although the gross-*fettaugen* letter shapes become again prominent. There is no obvious reason why the scribe changed his style as the content continues. Herbert Hunger has named a change in writing style unaccompanied by a change in the content *Ductuswechsel*⁵⁷. This is not the only case that the scribe practices *pleionography* in the manuscript.

The ink continues from f. 152^v to 153, although a different production unit begins. The dark (almost black) brown ink continues to f. 153⁵⁸ and Scribe A’s *écriture*

⁵⁶ Cf. Mondrain 2007: esp. 188–96.

⁵⁷ Hunger 1991: 71–7.

⁵⁸ Lines 22–28 on f. 152^v must have been added in a later stage by scribe A. He uses a compact writing style and the same ink as in ff. 97–112^v.

naturale appears. Only the peculiar shape of delta (fig. 4) suggests a different scribe (see lines 8, 17, 20). The pen starts from a point where it would be almost the middle of the letter (ca. 2/3 of the total height of the letter). The stroke continues, forming a circular lobe. When the line meets the beginning of the stroke, it is lifted diagonally. When this elevated line reaches the width of the radius of the circular loop, the pen moves roundly, forming a small semicircular lobe. The edge of this lobe starts descending, connecting the letter to the next one. Furthermore, a very peculiar upsilon (fig. 5) appears in line 16. It is a semicircular single-stroke upsilon. The pen moves roundly and the end of the stroke is elevated somewhat. The final ascender continues horizontally to the right (almost in a flat way). The *dieresis* is noted at the middle of the semi-circle. However, these types of upsilon do not occur often, while most of the letter types come either from the *fettaugen* hand of Scribe A or the 'natural hand' of the same scribe⁵⁹. The writing style and the ink undoubtedly continue to f. 154^v.

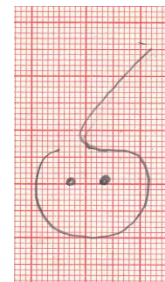


Fig. 5. The upsilon (Scribe A)

At f. 155, a new paragraph begins and Scribe A employs a new handwriting style. He has omitted all the *fettaugen* elements from his script and he writes more 'compactly' (f. 155, 36 lines are written in 19.2 cm, while in f. 154^v 33 lines are written in 20 cm). Turning the page, the next letter is again written by the '*fettaugen* A'. The strange delta occurs once more (f. 155^v, line 19) and the peculiar upsilon appears in a more compact way (f. 155^v, line 27). The *fettaugen* A continues to f. 159^v, although his pen becomes thinner towards the end. In f. 160, the work by Psellos on the rhetorical character of Gregory of Nazianzus begins. The writing style is undoubtedly that of Scribe A, although the script has become more compact and the use of *fettaugen* elements is eliminated. Indeed, after f. 162, the writing style looks

⁵⁹ E.g. see line 22.

similar to that used in f. 155. The pen and the hand continue to f. 178, line 10. On f. 178, lines 12 and 15 ff., another pen is used by the same scribe⁶⁰. The pen is slightly thinner and the ink is very dark brown (even darker than the ink employed at the beginning of the section). The handwriting is similar to that used in f. 177^v, but it is even closer to the writing style in f. 153 (e.g. the delta occurs twice in 178, line 28). This writing style and pen continue to f. 179^v, where the scribe leaves the work unfinished⁶¹.

In f. 183, another commentary on Aristotle begins. The layout is more relaxed (e.g. f. 183: 23 lines in 19.8 cm), the writing style looks more like *fettaugen* style, the pen is thin and the colour is blackish brown. In other words, the pen and the ink are approximate to ff. 153–159^v, although many of the exceptional types of Scribe A can be found. These include:

- the two-part and the cursive, rounded, alpha;
- the gross-*fettaugen*-mode beta and the beta with the main stroke and the small lobes on its endings;
- the outstanding gamma with the double line at the bottom and the curly ending (fig. 6);
- the cursive, round delta, of which the head stroke is connected to the following letter (cf. fig. 4);
- the epsilon formed by a broken stroke (fig. 3);
- the two distinct ways of forming the epsilon–iota;
- the single-stroke zeta;
- the cursive theta;
- the iota, which rises above the level of the other letters and has a *dieresis* on top⁶²;
- the habitual form of Scribe A for the abbreviations for $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ and $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$;
- the kappa and the lambda with curly endings;
- the nu, which is similar to the modern Latin vee (and, of course, a corresponding absence of the nu which is similar to the small mu);
- the rho with a curved stroke as the descender;
- the lunate sigma and the *fettaugen*, rounded, exaggerated, sigma;
- all the varieties of tau;
- the *fettaugen* upsilon with the close endings and with a *dieresis* on top (fig. 7);

⁶⁰ Interestingly the first line of the text is written in pen c1. The text continues from the previous line and to the next one.

⁶¹ The work breaks at the middle of the page, thus there is not a missing page.

⁶² See f. 183: $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\iota$.

- the cross-like psi;
- the chi with the curved edges; and
- the regular *fettaugen* omega as it has been described above⁶³.

Furthermore, the peculiar epsilon from f. 153 can be found in f. 187^v, line 11 and in f. 185^v, line 16, although most prominent is the *gross-fettaugen* epsilon. The same *fettaugen* epsilon appears in other sections copied by the same scribe (especially when he copies poetry). We can see the *écriture naturelle* of Scribe A, especially in, for example, f. 188, lines 3 and 10, or 183, lines 8 and 14. The ligatures starting with epsilon are occasionally drawn with a slightly different duct than in other sections. The two parts of the epsilon (the circular main body) and the small lobe at the top seem to have been drawn with two different movements of the pen. However, this type of ligature can be found also in f. 153^v, lines 33–35 and in f. 155, line 24. Finally, Scribe A wrote a marginal note in f. 184^v using ink similar to 1c.

A final remark on Scribe A's hand is that, when he copies poetry, he tries sometimes to be more decorative, especially at the end of the verse. Thus, the final lunate c, the ligatures of omicron-sigma and omicron-nu, the epsilon-iota and the epsilon become more prominent (see e.g. f. 95^v), either by magnifying their total shape or by elongating the ending of a stroke

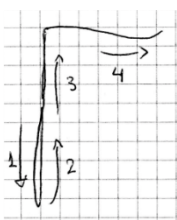


Fig. 6. Forming the gamma (Scribe A)



Fig. 7. Forming the epsilon (Scribe A)

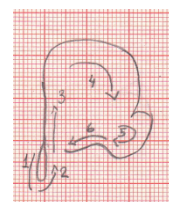


Fig. 8. Forming the *fettaugen* beta (Scribe A?)

The identification of Scribe A as the copyist of ff. 47–88, line 14 seems to be a little more complicated. The size of the letters is smaller in comparison to other examples of Scribe A's handwriting. For example, in f. 54, 40 lines are written in 20.5

⁶³ See especially ω in f. 183.

cm, meaning the average height of each line is 0.512 cm, whereas in f. 25, 28 lines are written in 18.8 cm, which gives us an average of 0.14 cm. Forms which are both similar and different to Scribe A's hand co-exist in the same folia. For example, the loops of xi have sharper endings than those of Scribe A's xi and the chi has straight descenders⁶⁴. Moreover, the *fettaugen* beta also appears to sometimes have a slightly different duct (as described at the beginning of the paragraph), but the stroke after forming the second loop becomes more curved and it does not necessarily meet the starting point. However, this type co-exists with the regular type for Scribe A (e.g. f. 75^v, line 16). The scribe of these folia also prefers the 'close' theta with the straight horizontal line in the middle, although as the pages go on the 'open' theta becomes prominent. In general then, after the first few pages, when the hand of the scribe has become more relaxed, we can say that the handwriting becomes very similar (but not absolutely identical) to that of Scribe A (*écriture naturelle*). Additional evidence for such identification can be found in the missing first letters, which should be written in red⁶⁵, the flower-shape separators, and also in the absence of ruling. However, it is not easy to judge whether it is the same scribe, but affected by the different layout, or a new scribe, contemporary to the first, that has written these pages. Some 'common' letters, as kappa, are different. The nu also appears sometimes as a small mu (f. 54, line 3). Scribe A's distinctive close epsilon does not appear in these pages. Of course, one can argue that this epsilon is indicative of Scribe A's *fettaugenstil*. However, whenever a bigger-than-regular epsilon appears (e.g. f. 55^v, line 39), there is a considerable distance between the two edges.

⁶⁴ Cf. σχη from f. 47, but in πενταχῶς the chi is formed as habitual for A. See also the different forms of beta in the same page.

⁶⁵ Cf. ff. 24^v–33^v.

Contemporaneous with the main scribe must be the hand of Scribe B⁶⁶. Some of the most characteristic letter shapes of the late thirteenth century appear. However, they are drawn by a different duct to that of Scribe A. For example, the gross beta of the *fettaugen-mode* again appears, though it is formed in a different way. It comprises a single stroke, which starts as a descender. It runs straight to the very upper possible level of the letters. In a rounded way, it is directed to the right, then it descends and forms the first loop of the beta. With a sudden movement of the pen – although without it having been lifted – the stroke rises a bit, but then falls again in a less rounded way than before. The stroke ends at the curly line, which, even though it is very near, does not touch the stem of the letter.

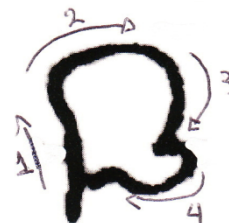


Fig. 9 . The fettaugen beta (Scribe B)

Generally speaking, Scribe B writes in a more curly and rounded way than Scribe A. Indeed, even the abbreviations for $\delta\epsilon$ and $\kappa\alpha\iota$ are written in a more curly way. The only evidence that could suggest that the same scribe copied these pages is the flower-like separators⁶⁷, the ligatures for eta–nu and tau–omicron and the half-drawn theta. That said, there are clearly more differences, and the few similarities there are are not enough to confirm that the copyist of the section is Scribe A, changing his writing style in order to write in a more ‘professional’ way. However, it is possible that the similarities could suggest that both scribes were members of the same school or scriptorial.

Finally, at the very end of the manuscript, in f. 292^v, lines 9–30⁶⁸, a new scribe appears (fig. 10). This Scribe C copied a part of a commentary on the ten categories

⁶⁶ See Appendix K.

⁶⁷ Cf. also ms. Roe 22, f. 544.

⁶⁸ See Appendix L.

of Aristotle, which has been preserved unfinished, because the next folio is missing. The script probably dates from the second quarter of the fourteenth century⁶⁹.

To sum up, Scribe A, a late thirteenth-century scribe, is the main scribe of the manuscript. He has copied almost 83.9% of the book (ca. 572 pages). He uses mainly three writing styles: (a) a fettaugen/ β - γ style (ff. 1-39^v, 88, line 130 -150^v, 155^v-178, 190-292); (b) a purely fettaugen style (ff. 151-154, 178, lines 12-14, 179^v, 183-189); and (c) a compact style (ff. 44-88, line 12). The elements of his *écriture naturelle*⁷⁰ are mixed with all the aforementioned styles and they give the strongest evidence that one person alone was the main scribe of the manuscript⁷¹. Scribe A also used a quire written by a certain Scribe B (1.7%), who was his contemporary. Finally a fourteenth-century scribe, Scribe C, added a commentary on Aristotle's ten categories in space left blank by Scribe A, on f. 292^v.

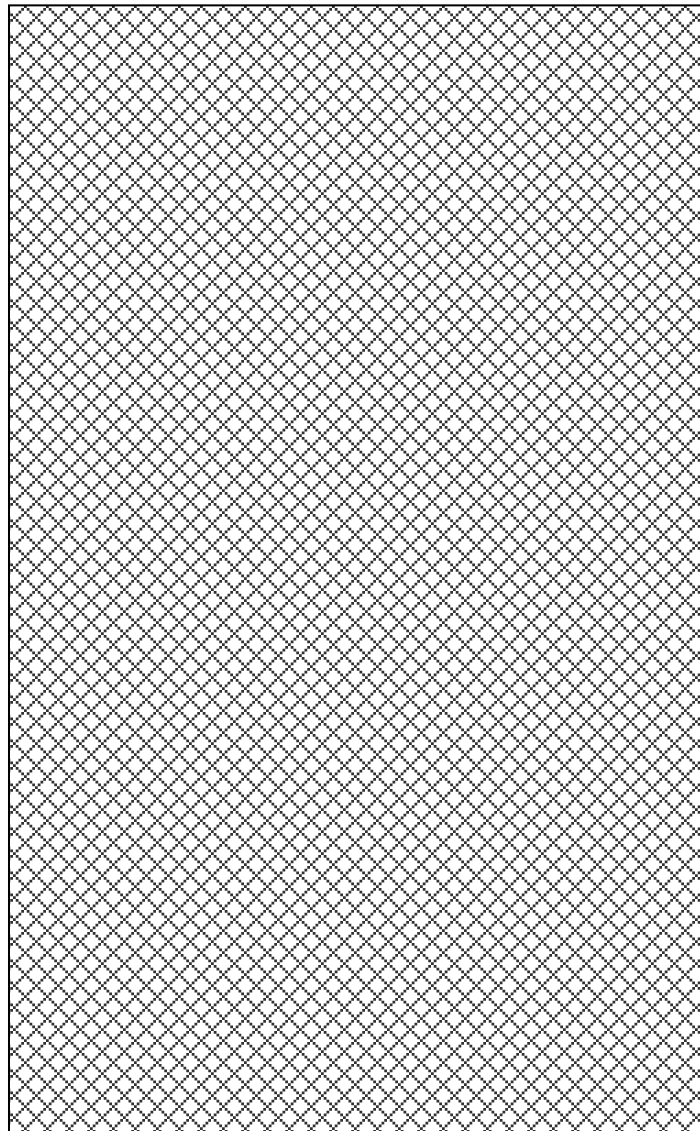


Fig. 10. Ms Marcianus gr. 524, , f. 292^v (Scribe C). *Biblioteca Marciana*^o

⁶⁹ Cf. Prato 1991: Tav. 12b and 13a.

⁷⁰ A good sample of his handwriting can be found in f. 155.

⁷¹ For comparable examples of digraphy from the fourteenth-century see Mondrain 2007: 188-196.

5. Reconstructions

It is hard to describe the production process of a manuscript such as the *Marcianus*. As stated before, *Marcianus* gr. 524 is a composite manuscript consisting of ‘layers’ like those described above⁷². The term *layers* may give an idea of what the manuscript look like, but it does not specify the process which the manuscript went through in order to acquire its modern form. The term *production unit* indicates the one or more gatherings, which were written for one and the same purpose by the same scribe, in the same ink, around the same time and (usually) on the same paper⁷³. The term *production moment* indicates a phase of the manuscript’s composition, the moment that something happened affecting its final appearance in this way.

The *production units* of this manuscript are almost same as the *layers* named before. In the cases of *layers* III, IX, X, and XII the production units can be defined only if the additional texts (various notes or anonymous poems) are excluded. The manuscript seems to have gone through two main production moments which have affected its final content, and two more which have affected just its final appearance.

The first production moment contains all the sub-moments of the production of units III (ff. 40–45, line 28), VIII (ff. 121–152^v), IX (ff. 153–179^{r-v}), and X (ff. 183–189). The copy of production unit VII (ff. 113–115, line 23) can be placed between this and the next production moment. In the next production moment, the copyist has written prose works and poetry. The use of a similar writing style and ink demonstrates that prose and poetry have been copied simultaneously.

⁷² See p. 12ff.

⁷³ For the characteristics of each unit see Appendix F.

It seems that the scribe, after copying some excerpts from the *Geoponica* in ff. 190–192, continues copying in the same pen the anonymous poems. Unfortunately, the small differences in the colour of the pen cannot indicate with certainty which section was written first. It can only be suggested that units II, XI and XII⁷⁴ and the insertion of the poetic texts (i.e. units I, V, VI, and the additions to the units III, IX and X) took place approximately at the same time. Additional evidence for such an arrangement is the use of paper a in sections I (ff. 1–15) and V (89–96), and of paper b in sections I (ff. 16–23), II (ff. 24–39^v), VI (ff. 47–88^v), XI (190–193^v) and XII (ff. 194–209).

Furthermore, as mentioned before, poetry was written simultaneously in the manuscript. Scribe A added seven quires only with poetry and he copied more poems wherever he found blank pages in the previous units. He seems to be cautiously aware of the fact that he was copying in separate quires. He tries to finish the short poetic texts at the end of each quire (see e.g. 23^v, 39^v, 104^v, 182^v, 193^v and especially 120^v, where he makes his writing even more compact⁷⁵). Interestingly, even if there are missing folia, text is missing only at the end of VIII and perhaps at the beginning of the manuscript before f. 1. This suggests that the scribe was aware of the independence of the quires.

The manuscript has a blank page only after Manasses' text and on f. 189^v he copies just one very short poem (4 lines in total) leaving most of the page blank. Perhaps he hoped that he would add more poems to the page at a later stage.

In brief, most of the main parts of the units have been written at different times or production moments. The following diagram (figs. 11–13) tries to render in

⁷⁴ It cannot be argued that this section was written in different moments. Indeed there are variegations to the colour of the pen. However, same papers were used for different quires of the section, but the content is consistent.

⁷⁵ A different case is the poem by Stilbes on the Great fire. The long poem continues to the next quire. Maybe because of this continuation of the poem he was careful to indicate the change of the quire (f. 16).

visual form the way the manuscript was constructed. At the first production moment, Scribe A and B copied works on independent quires (fig. 11). Scribe A has probably used a manuscript with the *Epimerisms to the Psalms* (Unit II), a manuscript with Arethas' speeches (Unit VIII) and another or the same with Psellos' works (Unit IX). He also kept a note on a gathering found on his desk with an anonymous commentary on Aristotle's *Little Physical Treatises* (Unit X). Scribe B copied the commentary on the ten categories. (Unit III). Scribe A copied the *Geoponica*, the *paraphrasis* of the *Ixeutica* and various grammatical notes (fig. 12). The same scribe copied the poetry on blank pages and wherever he had empty space in the written quires. Finally a fourteenth-century scribe added a commentary on Aristotle's Ten Categories (fig. 13).

The manuscript was constructed in three main phases or *production stages* (fig. 14). The term production stage indicates a phase in the manuscript's history that something affecting its final appearance took place. The principal scribe, Scribe A, is the main copyist and final redactor of the manuscript. In the first stage of production (*production stage A*), units were written in different production moments formed one manuscript. Around that time, the manuscript must have been bound for the first time. In the same production stage the fourteenth-century scribe added his notes at the very end of the manuscript. The manuscript was rebound in the sixteenth century, as suggested by the blank flyleaves at the beginning of the manuscript – production unit B. Finally, the manuscript was bound for the third time in the eighteenth century, when it came into the possession of *Biblioteca Marciana* – this is production stage C.

PRODUCTION STAGE A: 13TH-14TH CENTURY

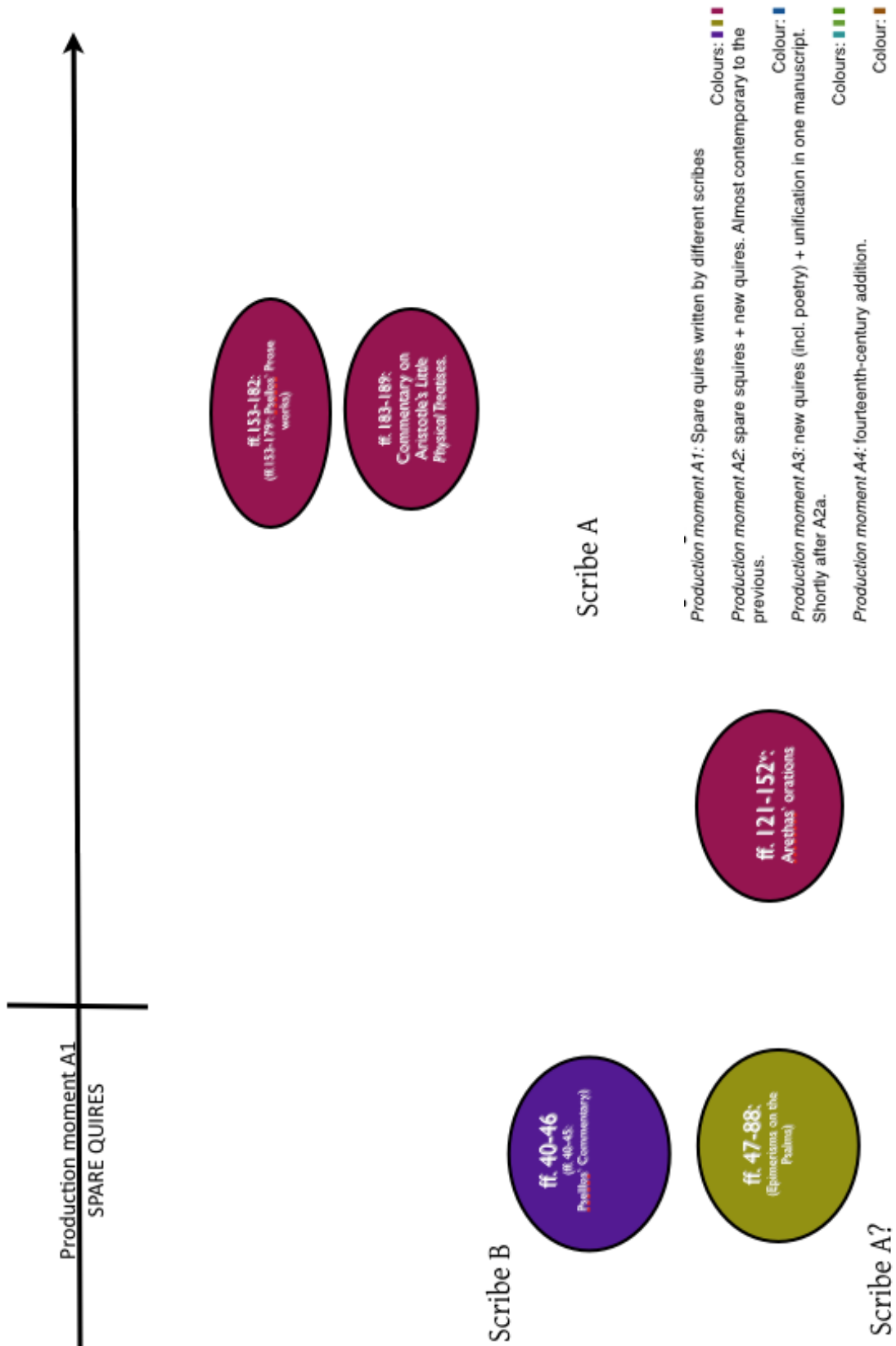


Fig. 11. Production moment A1.



Fig. 12. Production moment A2.

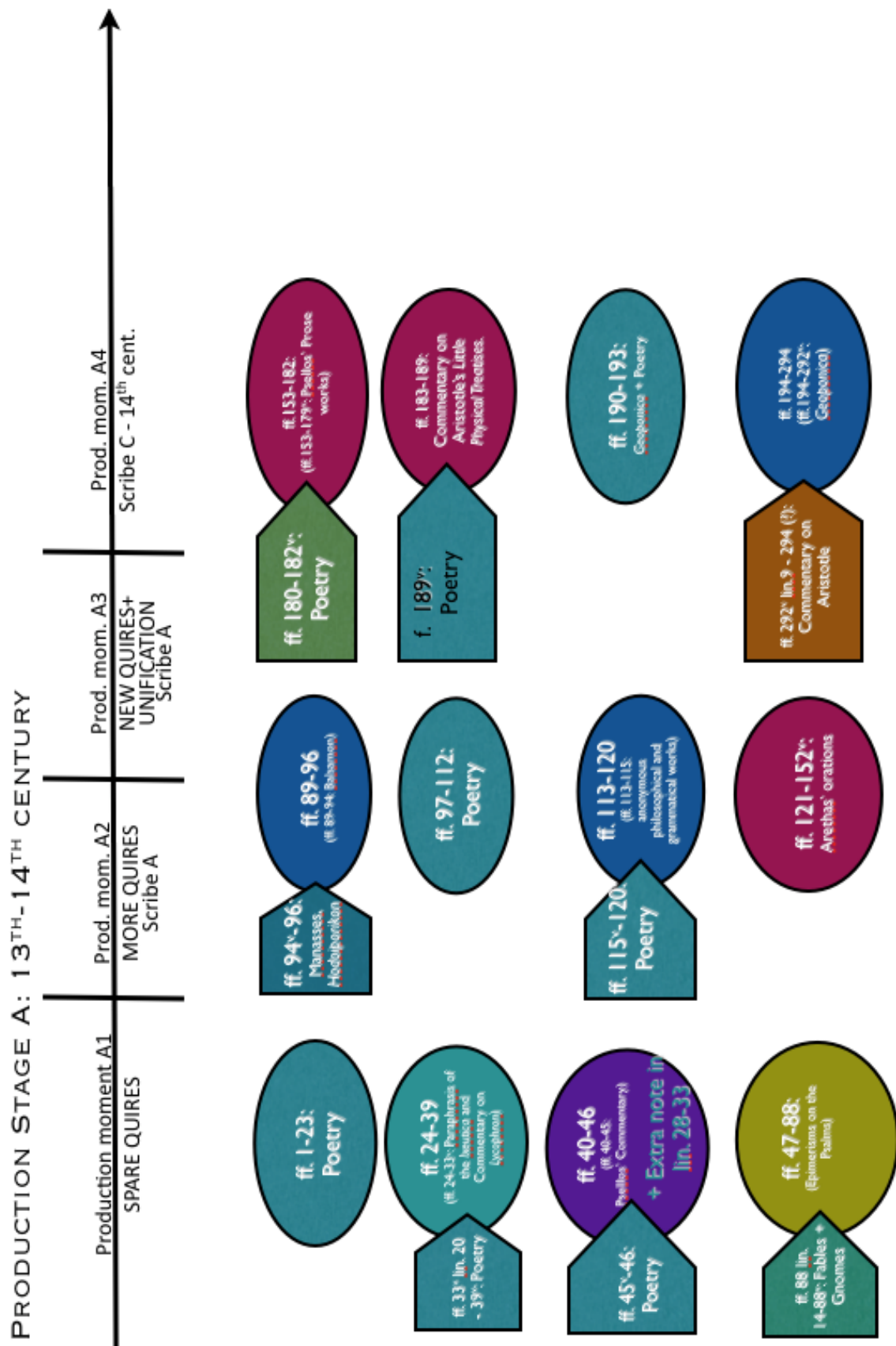


Fig. 13. Production moments A3 and A4.

PRODUCTION STAGES

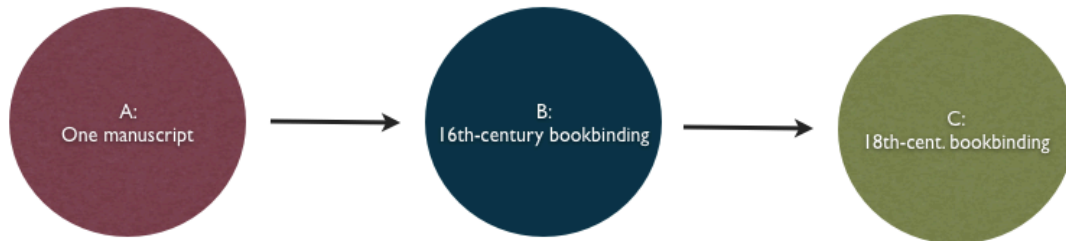


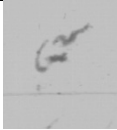


Fig. 14. Production stages.

6. A re-arrangement of the poetic compilation?

Since the original binding of the manuscript is not preserved, it is reasonable to discuss whether the original arrangement of the quires has been preserved. The quires of the production units copied in the first two production moments are usually numbered. They are placed in the right order. It is not possible to argue which production unit comes first, and, anyhow, this is of little importance, since the contents are in the right order. However, it is necessary to discuss whether the quires from the third moment of production were initially placed in a different order by the main Scribe, and redactor of the manuscript, A. It is unclear especially if the quires with the poetic works are in the right order. The discussion will be based on examination of the quire signatures, the ink, and the content.

The quires of four of the production units are numbered with quire signatures. Not all the quire signatures start from the beginning, since the scribe preferred to enumerate quires in which a single work is running continuously. For example, f. 128^v is the last folio of the first quire with the orations by Arethas of Caesaria and for this reason has been numbered by the scribe with

	f. 7 ^v
	f. 8
	f. 16
Fig. 15. Quire signatures	

α. Thus, quire signatures are occasionally found when he copies poetry, only when the poem continues to the next quire: this is the case at ff. 7^v–8, where *Katomyomachia* is copied, and at ff. 15^v–16, where Stilbes' poem on the great fire is written. However, whenever a quire breaks and the epigram or the poem is finished, usually the quire is not enumerated.

Quire signatures are noted at the end of each quire of the first unit. As shown in fig. 15, the first quire signature, on f. 7^v (last page of the quire), reads β'. It is written in the same ink as the text. The same scribe (ink a1a) wrote γ' at the beginning of the next quire (f. 8, first page of the quire). But then the same person, using ink a2c, erased both β' and γ', and wrote δ' at f. 8. Then, he writes ε' in ink a2c, at f. 16. The text continues from f. 7^v to 8 (*Katomyomachia*) and the text from f. 15^v continues to 16 (*Stilbes' Poem On The Great Fire*, without any gaps). However, a page and one or two quires appears to be missing before f. 1.

Unit no. VI is written in the same ink and on similar paper to unit no. I. More specifically, quire 97–104^v is written in paper a (identical to the paper used in quires 1–7 and 8–15). It contains the poems of Nicholas Kallikles (ff. 97 – 103^v, line 2), Theodore Prodromos (nos. 31, 53, 72 – ff. 103^v, line 3 and 104, line 23), and Christopher Mitylenaios (ff. 104, line 24 – 104^v). That is to say then, that it contains poetry other than the twelfth-century anonymous poems and epigrams. Furthermore, the decorative motives on f. 97 justify the stance that this quire was designed to be the first one of a new section.

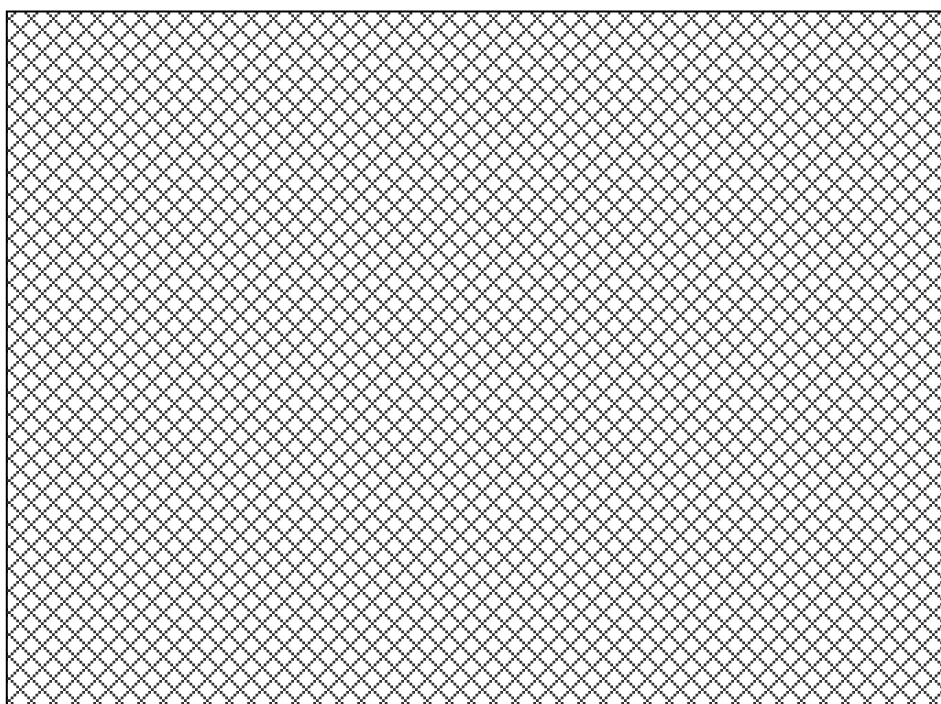


Fig.16: Ms Marc. gr. 524, ff. 96^v–97.

Turning now at the first unit, ff. 1–3^v contain poetry again different to the twelfth-century anonymous poems. Most of the verses on these pages are dedicated to the court of Constantine Monomachos and the emperor himself. A significant amount of this poetry is also work of Mitylenaios. Longest poems follow, and then (mainly after f. 18, line 23) twelfth-century anonymous poetry. It is highly possible that ff. 97–104^v preceded initially ff. 1–23^v, since the same paper and ink have been used. The bottom of the folia (where a quire signature was expected to be found) is damaged, and thus quire signatures are not visible. Due to the missing page before f. 1 and the poor condition of f. 1, codicological criteria, such as the measurements of the page, cannot be used to support the re-arrangement. The main reason for being hesitant to accept this could be because of the sequence of Mitylenaios' poems.

Folio 104^{r-v} contains the following sequence of Mitylenaios poems: nos. 138, 120, 121, 123, 125, 126, 127, 132, 134. In folio 1^v, poems 137, 141 and 51 are cited as in a random placement. But at ff. 2^{r-v} the sequence of the poems re-starts: nos. 42, 74, 75, 76, 80, 82, 89, 95, 98, 101, 112, 113 and 117.

Thus, the sequence of the one continues the other, but in reverse. This is not something peculiar for poetic collections or anthologies⁷⁶. Poems in anthologies do not have always to follow the sequence of the modern printed edition or of the main manuscript. The compiler can choose and re-arrange the epigrams of his prototype. Ff. 97–104 were preceded by ff. 89–96, which contain Balsamon's poetic collection and Manasses' *Hodoiporikon*. The imprint of the decorative cross of f. 97 on the otherwise blank f. 96^v gives evidence about the arrangement of the quires (f. 16). In other words, the scribe copied first single-author poetic collections and a long poem and subsequently he started compiling a poetic anthology. For this reason duplicates can be found. This explains the correction of the quire signatures. He had

⁷⁶ For example see how Constantine the Rhodian arranges the duplications in what is named as AP XV, Lauxtermann 2003: 117–8.

written independent quires and at the end he copied Balsamon's and Manasses' poetry. Placing this quire at the beginning of the manuscript he had to change the numbering of the quires of the compilation. At this point, he also added the red titles and capital letters, including the decorative motifs.

If ff. 97–104 were initially placed at the beginning of the first unit, ff. 105–112 have been placed at the end. As noted, ff. 18 (line 23) to ff. 23^v contain anonymous poetry, which – whenever possible – is datable to the twelfth century. The last title in f. 23^v reads *On St Barbara (Εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Βαρβάραν)* and five short epigrams (six to seven verses each) follow. Looking at the f. 105, there are seven more short epigrams dedicated to St Barbara. Again they are each six to seven verses long, but this time the manuscript does not offer any title. If one reads the verses dedicated to St Barbara together, from f. 23^v and f. 105, he or she will realise that these are not separate epigrams, but a poem with twelve stanzas. Finally, the fact that ff. 105–112^v contain only anonymous poems which generally date from the twelfth century corroborate the argument that f. 105 follows f. 23^v⁷⁷.

An additional argument for the re-arrangement of ff. 16–23^v and 105–112 are some codicological features. The measurements of the page are identical (25.5x16.8 cm), as is the written surface (19.1x13.1 cm). The overall appearance of the layout is similar to both pages, with f. 23^v containing 31 lines and f. 105 30 lines.

Then, the script from 112^v seems to continue first to ff. 115^v–120^v (written by a thick pen in a waterish brown ink), then to ff. 192^v to 193^v (continuing in the same thick pen with the waterish ink), to ff. 33^v, line 20 – 39^v (by a waterish ink which is fading) and finally to 45^v–46^v (by a pen which fades even more – so that at the end the writing becomes invisible). Unfortunately, on their own, ink hues and uniform content are insufficient to support this re-arrangement. However, should the

⁷⁷ Kallikles, *Poems* nos. 14 and 13 (nos. 267 and 268 of the description) are transmitted anonymously.

rearrangement be accepted, the scribe appears to have copied the poems as follows: he first added six quires (89–96, 97–104, 1–7, 8–15, 16–23, 105–112) at the beginning of his book and then he used gatherings with blank space on them (ff. 32–39^v and 40–46^v). The last gathering (ff. 40–46) is missing its final folio. The case of gatherings 190–193^v is also unique⁷⁸, because the scribe wrote some excerpts from *Geoponica* and then – with the same pen – continued writing the poems. In folio 8^v, the scribe mixes the poetic works with a short note on the calculations of hours (no. 33). It is also not the first time that instructional texts were copied together with this poetic compilation. On ff. 24–33^v, almost contemporaneously with the poetry the scribe wrote excerpts from the paraphrasis of the *Ixeutica* and of the commentary to *Lycophron*; on ff. 113–115 anonymous grammatical and philosophical texts precede the poems; and on ff. 40–45 Psellos’ commentary on Aristotle’s *Ten Categories* was also the initial content of the gathering.

To conclude, the suggested re-arrangement of the quires runs as follows:

Quires	Folia of the quires	Folia on which the work is written	Works
1	89–96	89–94	Nos. 134–179. Theodore Balsamon’s collection of poems
		94 ^v –96	No. 180. Constantine Manasses’ <i>Hodoiporikon</i> (unattributed)
2	97–104	97–103 ^v	Nos. 181–205. Nicholas Kallikles’ collection of poems
		103 ^v –104 ^v	Nos. 206–208. Theodore Prodromos (Poems and epigrams) Nos. 209–217. Christopher Mitylenaios (unattributed)
3	1–7	1–3 ^v	Nos. 1–11. Poetry from the court of Monomachos No. 12. Poem of the bishop of Adrianoupolis Nos. 13–15. Poetry by Psellos and Mitylenaios (unattributed) No. 16. Theophylaktos of Ohrid No. 17–30. Christopher Mitylenaios (unattributed)
		3 ^v –5	No. 31. Andronikos Protekdikos
		5–8 ^v	No. 32. Theodore Prodromos, <i>Katomyomachia</i>
4	8–15	8 ^v	[No. 33. Note on the calculation of the hours – Prose]
		8 ^v –9	Nos. 34–36. Theodore Balsamon (doublets)
		9–10 ^v	No. 37. Poem on tooth-ache
		10 ^v –15	No. 38. Constantine Stilbes’ poem on The great fire of

⁷⁸ Gathering 190–193^v was most probably misplaced an early stage and certainly by Scribe A. In the current placement, the gathering precedes longer passages from *Geoponica* (i.e. the same text to ff. 190–192) and so it plays the role of the beginning of the text. Interestingly the scribe in ff. 190–192 he uses occasionally red capitals. However, he does not continue the same in ff. 194–292. Red stars and crosses are noted at the beginning of f. 190 signifying that this was the beginning of a new volume. The stars are identical to those on f. 97 and they have been drawn in the same red ink.

5	16–23	16–18	1197
		18–20 ^v	Nos. 39–55. Epigrams on works of art
		20 ^v –22	Nos. 56–57. Poems for sevastokratorissa Eirene
		22–23 ^v	Nos. 58–65. Epigrams on works of art
		23 ^v	Nos. 66 and 218. Poem on St Barbara
105			
6	105–112	105–106	Nos. 219–246. Epigrams on Works of Art
		106 ^v –107	No. 247. Epitaphs
		107–111	Nos. 247–269. Epigrams on Works of Art and epitaphs (duplicates by Kallikles)
		111–112 ^v	Nos. 270–271. Ethopoiia and an epigram
7	113–120	115 ^v –116	Nos. 277–285. Epigrams on Works of Art
		116	No. 286. Deme-Hymn
		116 ^{r-v}	Nos. 287–288. Epitaphs
		116 ^v	No. 289. Poem for the son of Theodore Styppeiotes
		116 ^v –117 ^v	No. 290. Ethopoiia on the same subject
		117 ^v –120 ^v	Nos. 291–309. Epigrams on Works of Art and Epitaphs
8	32–39	33 ^v –34	Nos. 69–71. Epigrams on Works of Art
		34	No. 72. Deme-Hymn
		34–39	Nos. 73–102. Epigrams on Works of Art and Epitaphs
		39 ^{r-v}	No. 103. Deme-Hymn Nos. 104–105. Epigrams on Works of Art
9	190–194	192 ^v –193	Nos. 401–408. Epigrams on Works of Art and Epitaphs
		193 ^v	No. 409. Deme-Hymn
10	40–46	45 ^v –46 ^v	Nos. 108–119. Epigrams on Works of Art and Epitaphs

The poems in f. 180–182^v and 189^v are written by the same pen as the previous section, but at a slightly different time. Interestingly, Mitylenaios' poems re-appear. This time the sequence re-starts and some of them are the same as the poems which appear in f. 2^v and 104. More specifically, Mitylenaios' poems appear in two different 'contexts' in ff. 180^v–182^v: firstly they are written among anonymous twelfth-century epigrams⁷⁹ and then following Theodore Prodromos' and Psellos' epigrams⁸⁰. All the duplicates can be found in the first 'context'. Mitylenaios poems nos. 71, 89, 113, 123, 125, 126 and 134 are copied on f. 180^v. Thus, Mitylenaios' poems nos. 89 and 113 re-appear after f. 2^v and 123, 125, 126 and 134 after f. 104. The second⁸¹ and the fourth⁸² duplications are identical in both instances. The titles of the first⁸³, the

⁷⁹ Mitylenaios, *Poems*, 71, 89, 113, 123, 125, 126, 134. Nos. 360–366 of the description – f. 180^v.

⁸⁰ Mitylenaios, *Poems*, 3, 5, 21, 25, 29, 32, 35, 41, 53, 54. Nos. 384–397 of the description – ff. 182^{r-v}.

⁸¹ Christopher Mitylenaios, *Poems*, 113.

⁸² Christopher Mitylenaios, *Poems*, 125.

⁸³ Christopher Mitylenaios, *Poems*, 89.

third⁸⁴ and the sixth⁸⁵ of the duplicated poems are slightly different⁸⁶ and also differences can be seen in the main text⁸⁷. The fifth of the doublets has some minor variant readings in the main text⁸⁸. Indeed, the doublet on ff. 180^{r-v} should be considered as copies from the earlier folia. It is indicative that Marc de Groote does not use the doublets for his recent edition of Mitylenaios poems. On f. 181, another duplicate occurs. This time it is an anonymous epigram dedicated to a golden paten given to Manuel (no. 118/369).

In all, the re-arrangement of the quires demonstrate that three sub-collections or *syllogae* can be found in the *Marcianus*. The first *sylloge* contains eleventh and early twelfth century poetry (ff. 103^v-104^v and 1-5). The second *sylloge*, which is also the longest one, contains mainly twelfth-century court poetry (ff. 16-23^v, 105-120^v, 192^v-193^v, 33^v-39^v and 45^v-46^v). The third contains eleventh and twelfth-century poetry (180-182^v and 189^v). At section 8 of this first part, I will discuss in detail the way the *syllogae* were compiled and the profile of the redactor.

⁸⁴ Christopher Mitylenaios, *Poems*, 123.

⁸⁵ Christopher Mitylenaios, *Poems*, 134.

⁸⁶ Christopher Mitylenaios, *Poems*, 89 – *Εἰς τὸ τίμιον λείψανον τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος*, f. 3: *Εἰς τὸ τίμιον λείψανον τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος βλύζον τὸ ἀγίασμα*, f. 180^v. Christopher Mitylenaios, *Poems*, 123 – *Εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, f. 104^v: *Εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, f. 180^v. Christopher Mitylenaios, *Poems*, 134 – *Εἰς τὸν κατορρῦττοντα τὸ χρυσίον πλούσιον*, f. 104^v: *Εἰς πλούσιον τὸν κατορρῦττοντα τὸ χρυσίον*, f. 180^v.

⁸⁷ Christopher Mitylenaios, *Poems*, 89 – v. 3. *πάθει*, f. 3 : *πάθους*, f. 180^v. Christopher Mitylenaios, *Poems*, 123 – v. 3. *λέγε*, f. 104^v: *λόγε*, f. 180^v; v. 4. *κτίσιν*, f. 104^v: *κτίσι*, f. 180^v. However, they both share the mistaken reading *βροτὸν* instead of *βροτῶν* in v. 2. Christopher Mitylenaios, *Poems*, 134 – v. 1. *μνάς*, f. 104^v: *μνᾶς*, f. 180^v; v. 3. *σαυτὸν γῆ δέ*, f. 104^v: *σαυτῶ γῆ δε*, f. 180^v; v. 4. : *ὑπελθεῖν...μόνος*, f. 104^v: *ὑπελθῶν...πάλαι*, f. 180^v.

⁸⁸ Christopher Mitylenaios, *Poems*, 126 – v. 3. *ἀνέρχει*, f. 104^v: *ἀνέρχη*, f. 180^v (corrected from *ἀνέρξη* by the same scribe); v. 4. f. 180^v missed *ἅπαν* at the end of the verse.

7. Dating and place of origin of the manuscript

The style of the script of the main scribe and final redactor of the manuscript (*fettaugenstil* or *fettaugen-mode*) dates from the late thirteenth century or early fourteenth century, and is comparable with examples mainly from the period 1280–1290. Additionally, a late thirteenth-century date for the manuscript can be demonstrated on the basis of the paper used⁸⁹. It is generally agreed among palaeographers that oriental paper was in use until the last decades of the thirteenth century, when it was replaced by western paper (with watermarks)⁹⁰.

It is not entirely clear whether the writing style can be of help in determining the provenance of the manuscript. *Fettaugenstil* or *fettaugen-mode* is essentially a grandiose script – primarily from Constantinople – popular among scholars from the late thirteenth to the early fourteenth century⁹¹. Thus, on the basis of the *fettaugenstil* script, Alexander Turyn has tentatively suggested a Constantinopolitan origin for manuscript Bodl. Roe 22⁹². However, as many scholars moved from Constantinople to Thessaloniki and elsewhere⁹³, the writing style became widespread. As a result, the origins of the manuscript cannot be determined solely on the basis of palaeographical evidence.

However, the content of the manuscript itself strongly supports a Constantinopolitan origin. The poems and the prose works are all connected with the court of the Byzantine emperors. Thus, one might argue that only a person with a strong interest in Constantinople could have copied manuscript Marcianus gr. 524,

⁸⁹See pp. 9ff.

⁹⁰Canart 2008: 1130. The Italian paper started to be imported in the middle of the thirteenth century. It became predominant at the fourteenth century. Non-watermarked paper is only exceptionally used (e.g. ms. Bodl. Laud. Gr. 18, in which Arab paper was used). See Irigoin, Leclerc, Barrandon, Debrun and Schiffmacher 1977: 45. Irigoin 1950: 194 and Irigoin 1980: 9.

⁹¹Cf. Géhin 2005: 93. See also Pérez Martín 1997: 77.

⁹²Turyn 1980: 51.

⁹³Fryde 2000: 169.

the contents of which derive from a number of different manuscripts. These materials were certainly available in Constantinople in the late thirteenth century.

The final addition made by Scribe A is the anonymous poems, most of which date from the twelfth century. The titles of the poems are very explicit and sometimes include information which cannot be found in the manuscript. For this reason, a Constantinopolitan origin is plausible. The anthology ultimately goes back to a twelfth-century source; poems with detailed titles such as *On the encheirion of our Lord and God Jesus Christ which was commissioned by John Doukas, son of the Caesar Nikephoros Bryennios* could not have been copied *in situ*⁹⁴. The poem does not mention the ranks of John or Nikephoros; as a result, only someone who knew the exact reason for the composition of the epigram could have given the title. In other cases, the copyist has probably made additions, especially in the *lemmata*/titles of the poems. Notably, there is an epigram under the title: *On the triklinos, which is newly built by the emperor Manuel in order to serve as a refectory for the monks; there they have depicted along with him, his grandfather emperor Alexios, his father emperor John and the Bulgar-slayer Basil*. The noun 'Bulgar-slayer' is not mentioned in the body of the poem. As Paul Stephenson has shown, the legend of Basil as a Bulgar-slayer is a later development, more specifically after the rebellion of Peter and Asan in Bulgaria during the reign of Isaak II (1185–1195)⁹⁵. Thus, at least the modifier *Bulgar-slayer* is a later addition, which dates from the late twelfth or the thirteenth century⁹⁶.

The scribe includes collections of poems of well-known authors and prose works, but he also copies the anonymous poems in a sloppy way⁹⁷: he writes a manuscript for his own use, with things that he was interested in, either in terms of

⁹⁴ No. 63. Cf. some titles of Philes poems also provide additional information (Talbot 1999: 76).

⁹⁵ Stephenson 2003: 90–9, 136.

⁹⁶ Ibid 89–90. Most probably the scribe added this to existing title.

⁹⁷ Cf. the lack of ruling, the irregularity of the number of the lines, the fact that some of the poems are written as additions in already copied quires and the sloppy ff. 88^{r-v}.

heritage or literature or as models⁹⁸. Considering the various copied works, and the layout of the gatherings the manuscript was copied for private use: the scribe did not copy the works neatly and, thus, the manuscript was most probably not the product of a commission or intended to be placed into a library. The variations in the writing style are indicative of the different times at which the manuscript was copied. The various writing styles serve different purposes. For instance, the careful writing style and the numeration of the quires in ff. 121–152^v, where only Arethas' works are copied, demonstrate that these may have been written for a more *professional* use (perhaps for a potential client or for 'official' circulation). However, the anonymous poems and epigrams were copied by Scribe A as a personal reading.

⁹⁸ See p. 63ff.

8. A thirteenth-century anthology of poetry

There is no apparent pattern for arranging the poetry in the *Marcianus*. The redactor of the poetry did not arrange the selected poems on the basis of easily distinguishable criteria. Longer poems are mixed with epigrams on works of art, while epitaphs follow or precede deme-hymns. This ‘chaotic’ picture fits perfectly to the available single author collections of poetry⁹⁹, where no differentiation can be usually found between poems on *different subjects* (religious vs. secular), *genre* (e.g. epitaphs vs. epigrams on works of art) or written in *different rhythmical patterns* (dodecasyllable vs. political verse). Furthermore, the poetry is not chronologically arranged. For example, in f. 46^{r-v} the epigram for the amulet of Constantine Monomachos (no. 115) can be found among epigrams dating clearly from the reign of Manuel Komnenos. Another example comes from the epigrams for (possibly) the *ktetor* of Pammakaristos church Protosebastos and Megas Doux John Komnenos (nos. 50–51). The two epigrams are followed by an epigram for John Dalassenos datable between 1144/5 and 1151 (no. 52). This evidence suggests that what is preserved in the *Marcianus manuscript* is a personal anthology.

Names of authors are not consistently noted. Sometimes, the names of popular Byzantine authors, such as Psellos or Theodore Prodromos are given. However, once again, ascriptions to authors are not consistent. A reference to the authorship of the poetic collection of Theodore Balsamon or Nicholas Kallikles is made regarding only the first poem¹⁰⁰. The *Hodoiporikon* written by the well-known

⁹⁹ See Lauxtermann 2003: 68.

¹⁰⁰ No. 132: Στίχοι τοῦ γεγονότος χαρτοφύλακος νομοφύλακος πρώτου τῶν Βλαχερνῶν καὶ πρωτοσυγκέλλου κυροῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Βαλσαμῶν μετὰ δέ τινας χρόνους καὶ πατριάρχου Ἀντιοχείας εἰς τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἀπογυμνούμενον τὴν ἐσθῆτα παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ Πεντεφρῆ ὡς ἐρωτομανούσης. Theodore Balsamon, *Poems*, 1. Cf. no. 34: Τοῦ πατριάρχου Βαλσαμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰθίοπα Μωσῆν λογαριασθέντα καὶ λυπούμενον. Theodore Balsamon, *Poems*, 40. No. 179: Εἰς τὸν πέπλον τὸν κρεμασθέντα παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου σεβαστοῦ τοῦ Ἀρβαντηνοῦ εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον τὴν Ὁδηγήτριαν. Τοῦ Καλλικλέος. Kallikles, *Poems*, 1. Kallikles’ poems 13 and 14 re-appear anonymously in the same manuscript (nos. 268 and 267 respectively).

Constantine Manasses does not bear a title¹⁰¹. Yet full details are offered on the identity of the author of the poem on the Great Fire of 1197, Constantine Stilbes¹⁰². The inconsistency in mentioning the authors of the poetry corroborates the view that manuscript *Marcianus gr. 524* contains an anthology of poems of poetic text by various authors: the *Anthologia Marciana*. This anthology is formed by sub-collections of single or multiple authors and longer poems¹⁰³:

- a. the collection of Balsamon's poems (ff. 89–94, nos. 134–179);
- b. the *Hodoiporikon* of Constantine Manasses (ff. 94^v–96, no. 180);
- c. the collection of Kallikles' poems (ff. 97–103^v, nos. 179–203);
- d. *Sylloge A*: eleventh- and early twelfth-century unattributed poetry (ff. 103^v–104^v, nos. 204–215 and 1–3^v, nos. 1–30);
- e. Andronikos Protekdikos, *Semeioma* (ff. 3^v–5, 31);
- f. Theodore Prodromos, *Katomyomachia* (ff. 5–8^v, 32);
[A short note on the calculation of hours interrupts the flow of the poetic collection: f. 8^v, no. 33]
- g. Three epigrams by Theodore Balsamon (f. 9, nos. 34–36; doublets);
- h. Long poem on toothache (ff. 9–10^v, 37);
- i. Constantine Stilbes' poem on the Great Fire of 1197 (ff. 10^v–18, no. 38);
- j. *Sylloge B*: Twelfth-century poetry with some eleventh-century epigrams (ff. 18–23^v, nos. 39–66; ff. 105–112, nos. 218–272; ff. 115^v–120, nos. 277–309; ff. 192^v–194, nos. 401–409; ff. 33^v–39^v, nos. 70–105; ff. 45^v–46^v, nos. 108–119; (perhaps) f. 189^v, no. 370); and
- k. *Sylloge C*: eleventh- and twelfth-century poetry (ff. 180–182^v, nos. 365–397).

Long poems, acclamations and epitaphs have unarguably been copied from other manuscripts. The epigrams on works of art were also copied from manuscripts, and not directly from objects. As will be discussed in following chapters, the titles are very precise and give a great deal of information on the original context of the poetry. Sometimes titles are more related to the context of the donation than to the

¹⁰¹ See no. 178.

¹⁰² No. 38: Τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου μαῖστωρος καὶ διδασκάλου τοῦ Στιλβῆ στίχοι ἰαμβικοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ συμβάντι ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει θεηλάτῳ μεγάλῳ ἐμπρησμῷ μηνὶ Ἰουλίῳ κε' ἔτους ςψε'.

¹⁰³ On the arrangement of the quires see p. 30.

text. In many cases, the gift presented to a saint, Christ or God, is not the one mentioned in the title. Contrary the title may give additional information on the family of the donor or the event that led him or her to present his gift. In other words, the titles are more interested in the identity of the donors, than the objects. Furthermore, although the majority of the donors come from Constantinople, some donors come from overseas. For example, Theodore, a Russian prince, asked for an epigram for his amulet (no. 282). This observation strongly suggests that the texts – especially the anonymous ones – have been copied probably either directly from the private manuscripts of the authors or from their direct copies.

It is possible to imagine the thirteenth-century scribe in front of a pile of manuscripts and loose quires reading and copying poetry. He had manuscripts with works by Kallikles, Balsamon, Mitylenaios¹⁰⁴ and many other authors. Scribe A left a blank page after the half-finished Manasses' *Hodoiporikon*, because he was probably hoping to find a better manuscript with the verses missing from his exemplar. He read, selected, and copied, and even re-copied the poems of Kallikles, Balsamon and Mitylenaios¹⁰⁵.

A series of remarks leads to the conclusion that the redactor of the poetic anthology is Scribe A. The redactor collected the poetry most probably simultaneously, using the same irregular pattern. Scribe A also copied the poetry simultaneously: he uses the same ink and writing style throughout the poetic works. Furthermore, the small alterations in the titles, which probably date from the thirteenth century, demonstrate that the redactor had personal involvement in copying the poetry¹⁰⁶. Looking at the contents of both the manuscript and the poetic anthology, Scribe A and the compiler of the anthology were in Constantinople. The

¹⁰⁴ The manuscript that Scribe A used was most probably similar to the Grottaferrata manuscript. Lauxtermann 2003: 74–5.

¹⁰⁵ Some of their poems can be found twice in the manuscript. See p. 30ff.

¹⁰⁶ See p. 45.

copying style of the *Anthologia Marciana* demonstrates that it was intended for the scribe's personal use. However, the compilation of the same anthology also suggests that it was of personal interest to the compiler. In all, the profile of the compiler and that of the copyist coincide and, thus, it can be suggested that Scribe A is also the compiler of the anthology. Therefore, most possibly, Scribe A living in late thirteenth-century Constantinople decided to compile all this poetry in a manuscript written for his own use. In the following chapter, I will look at the context for such decision.

9. A manuscript in context

9.1. Marcianus gr. 524 and Planoudes

I have not been able to identify a hand identical to Scribe A among the known thirteenth-century scribes¹⁰⁷. The identity of the scribe remains obscure, although some characteristics of his profile can be shown. He was a learned man and so he may have worked as a professional scribe¹⁰⁸. He was interested in works with educational character, like the *Epimerisms*. However, this cannot prove that he was actually a teacher.

The late thirteenth century is the era of the famous early Palaeologan renaissance¹⁰⁹. People looked back to classical and late antiquity. The current scribe copied court poetry because he was interested in it¹¹⁰. The composition of the manuscript must be examined in the context of the intellectual background of the late thirteenth century. The scribe must have access to a library with manuscripts that contained court literature. He did not copy only the anonymous poetic compilations, but also Arethas' speeches, the letters by Psellos (both of them copied neatly), and also the poems by Kallikles and Balsamon connected to the aristocracy and the palace.

The late thirteenth century was the time at which Planoudes and his school were thriving¹¹¹. Planoudes compiled the so-called *Planudean Anthology*, based on the *Greek Anthology*¹¹². Even though there are many similarities between the writing style

¹⁰⁷ See list in Mergiali 1996: 43–8.

¹⁰⁸ See the professional manner in which he copied the Arethas works.

¹⁰⁹ Fryde 2000: esp. 91–102, 44–82; Ševčenko 1984: 144–71; Mergiali 1996: 34–62.

¹¹⁰ Cf. the case of ms. *Scor. Y. II. 10*, where 'anonymous late readers wrote exultant notes in the margins and praised the rhetorical works for their exceedingly beautiful style', Angelov 2007: 56.

¹¹¹ Pérez Martín 1997: 73–96; Mergiali 1996: 34–42; Constantinides 1982: 66–89.

¹¹² It was copied between 1299 and 1301. See Lauxtermann 2009: 43, note 8.

of Planoudes himself and of the scribes of the *Planudean School* and the handwriting of A, Planoudes is not the scribe.

I have compared Scribe A's handwriting to the famous Marcianus gr. 481 – the main manuscript of the *Planudean Anthology*. This manuscript dates between 1299 and 1301 and it is written carefully on parchment in Planoudes' hand¹¹³. The script appears to be non-*fettaugen* letter-shape. Only the (almost) *fettaugen* (but not gross) beta seems to be prominent¹¹⁴. Interestingly, this seems close to Scribe's A *fettaugen* beta¹¹⁵. The gamma (another characteristic letter-type of hand A) appears to be prominent in f. 20^v, but it is written in a different duct. However, many of the regular simple letters and ligatures seem identical. The main reasons for not identifying Planoudes as the scribe of the *Marcianus* are:

- a. The frequent capital-like delta;
- b. The systematic use of iota subscriptum (in Marc. gr. 524 this appears only occasionally¹¹⁶);
- c. The different xu and zeta;
- d. The semicircular stroke for xi and the curved head-stroke for tau;
- e. The kappa with the very straight stroke;
- f. The systematic use of the ligature for phi and rho (the rho is written on the extensive central stroke of phi);
- g. The lack of the characteristic for A 'close' epsilon;
- h. The systematic use of the ligature epsilon-iota (iota continues from the middle stroke of the epsilon) – Scribe A uses this only occasionally;
- i. The preference for the pi formed by two circles and of the mu-like nu;
- j. The open theta with the straight (opposite to the curved for A) ending.

Many letters and ligatures are similar to those of Scribe Xb of manuscript Laurentianus Plut. 59.30, a manuscript written and annotated in the milieu of Planudes¹¹⁷. Unfortunately, this does not place our scribe within a specific school.

¹¹³ Mioni 1985: 276–483.

¹¹⁴ E.g. Marc. gr. 481, f. 52, line 11; f. 53, line 4; f. 65, line 11 and f. 20^v in many lines).

¹¹⁵ E.g. Marc. gr. 524, f. 19^v and Marc. gr. 481, f. 65, line 11.

¹¹⁶ E.g. ff. 46^v, 115.

¹¹⁷ Cf. the letters β, γ, κ, ξ, τ, χ, the ligature for -ην and the abbreviation for καί. See Pérez Martín 1997: 77–80 and 91; Günther 1995: 73–7.

Most probably these similarities of writing style are related to the contemporary dating of the works.

9.2. Marcianus gr. 524 and the Prodromos Petra monastery

At the bottom of the f. 194 there is a small note, barely visible, written in the same ink as the text and placed where the quire signature was expected to be. It reads: π[έ]τρα (fig. 16). If this reading is correct, then the manuscript is possibly connected to the *Petra monastery* – the famous monastery in Constantinople, dedicated to John the Baptist.

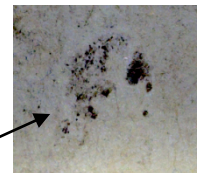
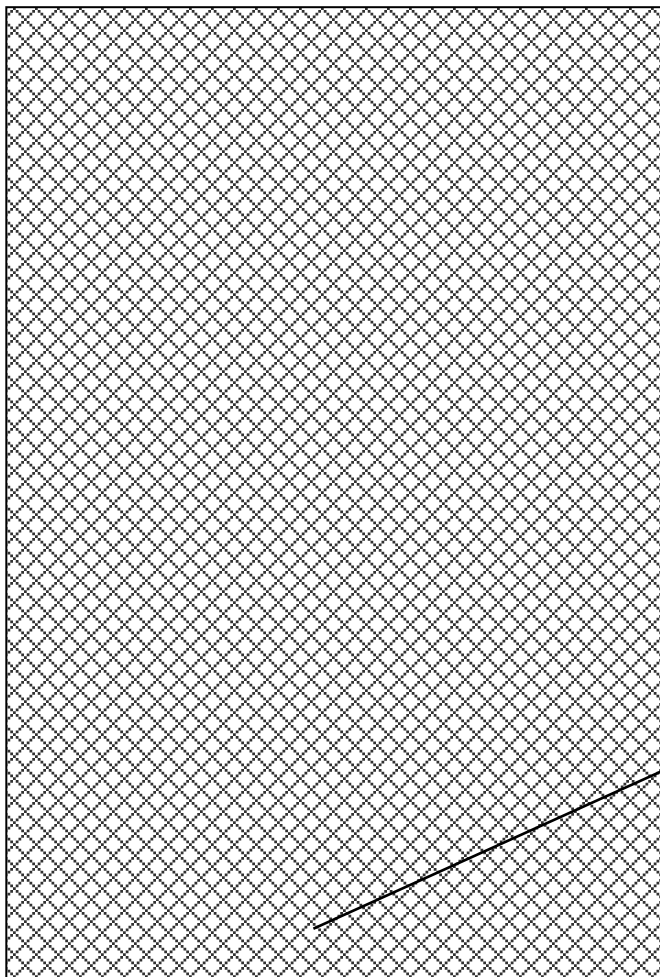


Fig. 17. Ms Marc. gr. 524, f. 194.
Biblioteca Marciana^o

A bifolium from manuscript Ambrosianus E 09 sup. (the testament of the ‘founder’ of Petra monastery) is the only example of late thirteenth-century hand coming from the Prodromos of Petra monastery, which was famous for its scriptorium. Even though it looks quite similar, it cannot be supported that the scribe is the same as *Marcianus*’ scribe A: it is a typical late thirteenth-century hand, with many features of *fettaugenstil*.

Even closer to the hand of Scribe A is the scribe of manuscript Laurentianus Plut. 69.23, Manuel Angelos¹¹⁸. Laurentianus Plut. 69.23 contains an epitome of Josephus' *Jewish-Roman History*¹¹⁹. According to the scribal note, Manuel Angelos was *λογιστῆς τῆς ἀύλης*¹²⁰. The hand of Manuel Angelos in Laurentianus Plut. 69.23 is very similar, but again it is not identical to the hand of our Scribe A. The writing style is the same, but the duct of the letters is different. *Fettaugen* beta and gamma give evidence for this distinction. Furthermore, Manuel Angelos consistently uses capital-like delta, while the scribe of *Marcianus* uses this type of delta only very rarely.

At the very last folio of Laurentianus Plut. 69.23 (where also the scribal note is offered), an annotator of the manuscript (=annotator a) has copied a poem without title or ascription¹²¹, the epigram to St Loupos by probably Theodore Prodromos¹²² and, anonymously, poem no. 99 by Christopher of Mitylene (fig. 18)¹²³. The hand of 'annotator a' in the Laurentianus is even more similar to that of our Scribe A. In the admittedly small example I have looked at, the duct of all the letters is the same: the rho with the

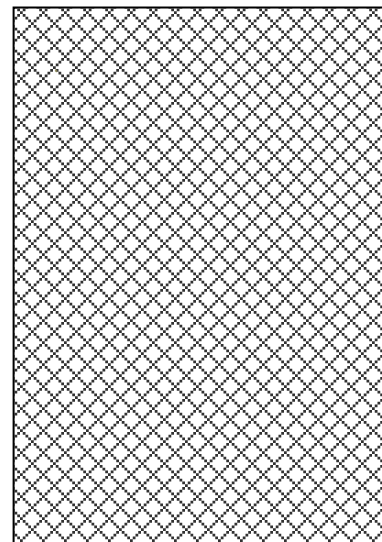


Fig. 18. Ms. Laur. Plut. 69.23, f. 317^v.

¹¹⁸ Although there is a scribal note at the end of the manuscript (f. 317^v), the exact date of the manuscript is not known. His monogram can be found on the 'menologion of Moscow' (Mosq. Synod. gr. 183), Oxonien. Corpus Christi 30 and Vat. gr. 799, D'Aiuto 2002: 199–205. On Manuel Angelos see also de Gregorio 2001: 178–9.

¹¹⁹ Bandini 1764: vol II, pp. 642–3. Bandini dates the manuscript to the fourteenth century.

¹²⁰ F. 317^v. The title must be *λογιστῆς τῆς ἀύλης*, but the note is written in dodecasyllable and so the scribe 'adjusted' the word to his needs. D'Aiuto 2002: 205–7.

¹²¹ Inc. *Πέφυκε διδάσκουσα τοῖς φιλοστόργοις* (cf. Bandini 1764: 642–3).

¹²² The poem is attributed to Theodore Prodromos in this manuscript (Hörandner 1974: no. 175, p. 60). However, it is included in the printed edition of Philes' poems (Miller 1857: LXXXII, p. 304). Its presence in this late thirteenth-century manuscript gives credence for the first attribution. See also D'Aiuto 2002: 226.

¹²³ The epigram bears the title: *Εἰς τινὰ φοβοῦντα ῥοῦχον θάλασσαν καὶ παλαιόθεν ἀντιστρέψαι αὐτό*. The Laurentianus offers different readings to the printed text (v. 1: *καινὸν* Laur. : *φρικτὸν* Kurtz; v. 4 *κᾶν* Laur. : *εἰ* Kurtz; v. 4. *ἀποξήσω* Laur. : *ἀποξύσω* Kurtz). The epigram is written by different hand (although very similar) to that of the main scribe. This hand, according to Francesco d' Aiuto (2002: 226), appears also in ff. 48^r and 49^v.

curved stroke as a descender, the phi of which the main stroke may or may not form a loop at the top, the (characteristic for Scribe A) *fettaugen* alpha, ligatures for epsilon–xi and epsilon–sigma appear. Only delta differs a bit. It is again a cursive round delta, but the head stroke is prolonged more to the bottom of the line before it will be connected to the next letter. Furthermore, ‘annotator a’ uses the pi with the two semicircular loops at the bottom, something that Scribe A uses very rarely. Unfortunately, the identification of the two scribes cannot be supported with certainty because of the small available sample: and some of the most characteristic letterforms of Scribe A (e.g. the ypsilon) do not appear in this small sample.

Interestingly enough, the name of Manuel Angelos (main copyist of Laurentianus Plut. 69.23) can be found in a fourteenth-century list of commemorations from Petra monastery. His name appears after that of empress Theodora Doukaina Komnene Palaiologina, wife of Michel VIII, who died on the 23rd of February 1303¹²⁴. Presumably Manuel Angelos must have died shortly after. A note written by a later hand at f. 321^v of ms. *Laurentianus Plut. 69.23* (the autograph of Manuel Angelos) suggests a further connection to the Petra monastery: *μηνὶ ἰαννουα)ρ(ίω) δ' ἡμ(έ)ρ(α) α' (ινδ.) ιβ' [έτε]λεύτησ[εν] ὁ περδικ(ά)ρ(ης) μα(νουήλ) καὶ ἐτάφ(η) [έ]ν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ προδρομοῦ* (on the fourth of January, at the twelfth indiction Manuel Perdikaris died and he was buried at the monastery of the Forerunner). Manuel Perdikaris is not attested to any other source. The note is written by a different hand. Giuseppe de Gregorio dates the note to the fourteenth century¹²⁵, while Francesco d’Aiuto, in his most recent article on Manuel Angelos, believes that the note refers to either 1299 or 1344¹²⁶.

¹²⁴ No. 76. Θεοδώρας τ(ῆς) δέσποιν(ας) τ(ῆς) παλαιολογίν(ας). No. 77. Μανουήλ τοῦ Ἀγγ(έ)λλ(ου). De Gregorio 2001: 161 (notes t and u), 178–179; D’Aiuto 2002: 212.

¹²⁵ De Gregorio 2001: 179.

¹²⁶ D’Aiuto 2002: 227. Unfortunately a photo of this folio is not offered.

Regrettably, it is not possible to know the exact nature of the connections of Manuel Angelos and annotator a to the Petra monastery. All the aforementioned information are just indications constructing a puzzle which is difficult to complete.

The writing style of ‘another’ scribe is similar to Scribe A (and especially to the writing style that he uses to copy the poems). His name is Joachim. He was a monk in Petra monastery, and he became abbot of the *Evergetis monastery* in the late thirteenth century. The available sample of his handwriting is very small, being just thirteen lines. It is a possession note found on the second flyleaf of ms. Marcianus

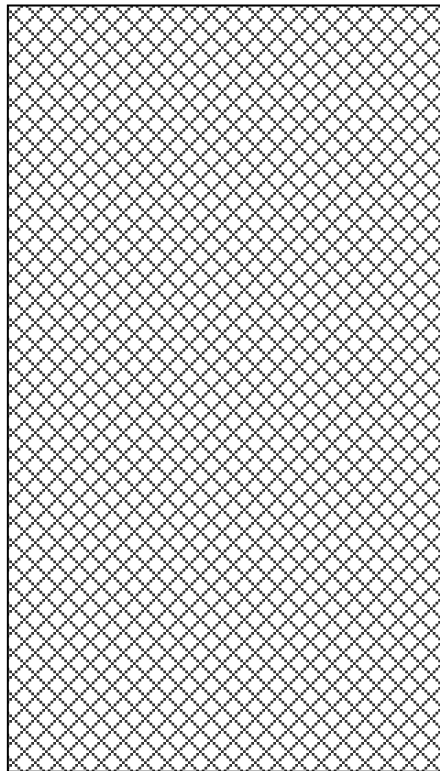


Fig. 19. Ms Marcianus gr. 494, notes from f. II. *Biblioteca Marciana*^o.

gr. 494. Joachim informs the reader that he is the abbot of the Evergetis monastery¹²⁷, but he undersigns: Ἰωακείμ ἱερομόναχος ὁ πετραῖος τοῦ Εὐεργέτου (Joachim Hieromonk, (originating) from the Petra monastery, (coming) from the Evergetis monastery). The manuscript was certainly deposited with the Petra monastery for some time¹²⁸. Joachim’s handwriting is sufficiently similar to the handwriting of the main scribe and especially the style he uses in order to copy the poetry and the *Geoponica*. This

¹²⁷ The possession note reads: Ἐνεχείρισα τοῖς τιμιωτάτοις μοναχοῖς τοῦς (sic) ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς μονῆς τοῦ [όσιου] Ἰακίνθου ὑπὲρ χρέους τῆς ἀνακάμψεως τὴν παροῦσαν βίβλον ἀντὶ ποτήριον ἀργυρόν, ἐπιτραχήλιον καὶ ὑπομάνικα ἐξάμιτα χρυσοκλαβαρικὰ κόκκινα, ποδέα ἐξάμιτος χρυσοκλαβαρικὴ κοκκίνη, ἔχουσα στήλην τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου μετὰ ἐνδύματος μεταξωτοῦ κιτρίνου, τέσσερα ποδέα ὀξυκάτος χρυσοκλαβαρικὴ ἔχουσα σταυρόν μετὰ ἐνδύματος κοκκίνου μεταξωτοῦ. Ταῦτα παρεδόθησαν παρ’ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἡγουμένου τοῦ σωτήρος Χριστοῦ τοῦ εὐεργέτου μοναχοῦ Ἰωακείμ ἐνώπιον διακόνου κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Γαβαλά, κυροῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Ξανθόπουλου τοῦ ἀπὸ αὐτῆς μονῆς ἱερομονάχου, κυροῦ Ἀθανασίου καὶ κυροῦ Γεωργίου διακόνου τοῦ Ἀπολωνιαδίτου (cf. Mioni 1985: 307).

¹²⁸ See note on the same flyleaf: Ἡ βίβλος αὕτη τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Προδρόμου τῆς κειμένης ἐγγηστα (sic) τοῦ Ἀετίου | ἀρχαῖκή (δὲ) τῆ μονῆ κλησις Πέτρα.

note probably dates from the late thirteenth century or the early fourteenth (exactly when our scribe compiled the manuscript)¹²⁹. But – alas! – again he is not our scribe. Many prominent letter types for Scribe A do not appear in the note (such as the *fettaugen* beta), while similar types to A differ in many ways. For example even if Scribe A's beta appears, Joachim's u-like beta is distinct. The omega is written by Joachim following a different duct (with smaller lobes and simple endings). Furthermore, the *fettaugen* epsilon is open on the top, and the ligature for epsilon iota does not have a curved ending.

A connection with the Petra monastery would seem rather peculiar initially, mainly because of the content of the manuscript. As noted before, Marcianus gr. 524 is a manuscript intended for the scribe's own use. The scribe is interested in grammatical, philosophical and highly secular texts. Thus, a monk is not an expected candidate for the composition of this manuscript with such content. However, it should be emphasized that the monastery of Prodhromos Petra was exceptional. This very rich monastery was located near to the Blachernae palace and the cistern of Aetios¹³⁰. It has been suggested that it was a late antique foundation¹³¹. However it appears in the historical sources for the first time at the eleventh century¹³², when John Mauropous wrote an *Encomion* to St Baras¹³³ (suggesting basically that the monastery was built by this Aegyptian monk¹³⁴).

¹²⁹Mioni proposes a fourteenth-century dating for the manuscript. However, the 'immature' *fettaugenstil* elements (see gamma or epsilon) do not support such dating.

¹³⁰Cataldi Palau 2008: 211. See also Janin 1936: 61–2. Cf. Asutay-Effenberger 2008: 105. The monastery was called 'Rich by God' – because as the founder's testament ordered (*Typikon of the Petra monastery*, l. 130–67) – the monastery did not possess anything (Majeska 1984: 340).

¹³¹Malamut 2001: 222–3; Janin 1969: 427–8. However, Michael Angold (1995: 275) suggests that this was mainly an oral tradition.

¹³²Cataldi Palau 2008: 209–10; De Gregorio 2001: 140, n. 80.

¹³³John Mauropous' *Encomion to St Baras*. The oration has come down to us in ms. Leimonos 43 (cf. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1884: 1, 53–4). This late twelfth – early thirteenth century manuscript was kept most probably in Petra (cf. Kakoulidi 1968: 12 and 13; for a short account of its history see Janin 1969: 421–9). Furthermore, the text is not included among the main collection of his works (the famous Vaticanus gr. 676). Finally, the name in the title reads: τοῦ Μαυροπόδου. This type requires a nominative such as Μαυροπόδης. Xavier Lequeux (2002: 104–7) unconvincingly argues that John Μαυροπόδης is the author of the *Encomion to St Baras* and not John Mauropous, as it was generally

Reading the *Encomion to St. John the Faster* by patriarch Kallistos (1350–1354 and 1355–1356), it is possible to decipher that before the eleventh century there was a small monastery (μονύδριον) – which might indicate a late antique establishment¹³⁵. When the fame of the eleventh-century John the Faster, who resided in the area reached the palace, Alexios Komnenos and his mother decided to help the establishment of the monastery¹³⁶. John the Faster established a vigorous monastic community¹³⁷ and a second, twelfth-century donor John Ioalites, originating from Constantinople¹³⁸, granted and sponsored the erection of additional buildings to the monastery¹³⁹.

The Petra monastery was closely connected to Manuel Komnenos' court. Eustathios of Thessaloniki refers to the following story: Manuel Komnenos wished to have his nuptial banquet at the palace, but there were not enough provisions.

believed. His main arguments are that in no other source is attested that John Mauropous was monk and archdeacon of the Petra monastery (as the title indicates), before he became metropolitan of Euchaita.

¹³⁴ Interestingly enough, the *Encomion to St Baras* (§ 1, p. 39) mentions that the ancient book, in which the life of St Baras was written, had been lost by the time he wrote his encomium: *Εἶχε μὲν γὰρ...ἀρχαϊκὴ τις βίβλος ἀνάγραπτα ὅσα τε περὶ τὸ γένος προσῆκε τῷ μακαρίῳ καὶ οἴους ἔσχηκε τοὺς γεννητόρας... ἢ τοιαύτη βίβλος ἀπόλωλε καὶ λήθης βυθοῖς ὅσον ἤδη τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπενεχθῆναι συνέβαινε*. Thus, he values the tradition as of utmost importance: *παλαιὰ δὲ τις παράδοσις ἀγραφος, τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀσφαλὲς καθ' ἑαυτὴν τῇ ἀρχαιότητι συντηρήσασα, μέχρι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς διαδέδοται ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τε προῖέναι* (*Encomion to St Baras*, § 2, p. 39).

¹³⁵ Cf. Malamut 2001: 221–3.

¹³⁶ *Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤδη πρὸς πλατυσμόν τε καὶ αὐξῆσιν ἡ ἀγία μονὴ ἡμῶν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιδέδωκε χάριτι, καὶ τῇ ἀντιλήψει τῆς θεοφυλάκτου ἀγίας ἡμῶν δεσποίνης καὶ μητρὸς τοῦ θεοστεφοῦς καὶ κρατίστου ἡμῶν βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ (Anna Dalassene), ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου δεσπότη καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Νικολάου (Nicholas Grammatikos, 1084–1111), Τυρίκον of Petra monastery, 350, 9–13. The manuscript gives the title *Ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ κτήτορος τῆς ὁσίας μονῆς τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου τῆς ἐπικεκλημένης τῆς Πέτρα* (sic). The testament is to be found in a bifolium (ff. 179–182) bounded together with gatherings of different paper in cod. Ambrosiano E 9 sup. (Turco 2001: 330). It seems probable that, at least this bifolium, was written in Petra monastery (Turco 2001: 333–4). The donation by Anna Dalassene probably refers to the construction of the church and of the aqueduct (cf. *Encomion to St John the Faster* 77, 18–24). Elizabeth Malamut (2001: 221) suggests that many architectural elements of the church date from the reign of Alexios I on the basis of the description of the monastery by Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo.*

¹³⁷ See *Encomion to St John the Faster* 77, 20–4.

¹³⁸ *Encomion to St John the Faster* 83, 26–32.

¹³⁹ *Encomion to St John the Faster* 84, 4–7: *καὶ προστίθησιν ἀσφαλῶς καὶ κατασκευάσματα ποιησάμενος, ὅσα περ ἤδη τοῖς ἄπασι καθορῶνται, ἀνά καὶ μονῆς τῆς τοῦ θείου ναοῦ ἐγκαθιδρύσεως καὶ συστάσεως καὶ ἐποικοδομῆς βραχέων τινῶν κελῶν καὶ μικροῦ περιβόλου*. It is useful to note that Ioalites was a high official of the Byzantine court and more specifically a *πρωτοασηκρήτις* (*Encomion to St John the Faster* 83, 28–31). This supports further the connection of the monastery to the palace from very early on. *Encomion to St John the Faster* 84, 33 – 85, 2: *καὶ γηροκομεῖον τὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἀσθενείας βοήθημα ἀνοικοδομήσειε καὶ τράπεζαν, προσέτι δὲ καὶ ἀρτοκοπεῖον, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ μαγειρεῖον*.

Thus, someone was sent to the monastery to ask for help. Finally, the monks provided all the necessities for the celebration¹⁴⁰. This fact substantiates the hypothesis that manuscripts containing at least Comnenian court poetry, can have been placed there from early on.

The monastery was most likely kept untouched during the Latin occupation of Constantinople. Although several scholars have argued for the opposite view¹⁴¹, the former suggestion is supported by a letter by Patriarch Germanos (1222–1240). In this letter, the Patriarch in exile urged the monks and the abbot to remain stable to their orthodox beliefs¹⁴². The editor of the letter, Joseph Gill, convincingly states that if the monks had lost the possession of the monastery, Germanos ‘would have dilated on that fact in more specific and emphatic terms’¹⁴³. Furthermore, a reference to Petra monastery is not to be found in any papal document of the period¹⁴⁴.

The monastery appears in the sources immediately after 1261. The late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (i.e. when our manuscript was written) seem to be a quite ‘vivid’ time for the Petra monastery and the role of the monastery was quite prominent¹⁴⁵. Events took place there. The ordination of George of Cyprus took place at the small church of the monastery in April of 1283¹⁴⁶, while Manuel Holobolos dedicated an epigram on an icon¹⁴⁷.

¹⁴⁰ Eustathios of Thessaloniki, *On the monastic life*, § 66, pp. 230–1.

¹⁴¹ See Janin 1969: 422; Asutay–Effenberger 2007: 198; Cataldi Palau 2008: 203; Malamut 2001: 225; Hörandner 1970: 117–8.

¹⁴² The title of the letter reads: Γερμανοῦ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου πρὸς τοὺς μοναχοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ μεγάλου ἐνδοξοτάτου προφήτου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου τῆς ἐπιλεγομένης Πέτρας ὅτε οὐκ ἐπέιθετο τοῖς δόγμασι τῶν Λατίνων (*Letter of Germanos, the most holy Patriarch to the monks of the monastery of the great and most renowned prophet, John the Baptist, of the place called Petra it was not yielding to the dogmas of the Latins*). *Letter of Patriarch Germanos*. Cf. De Gregorio 2001: 141–2 (note 81).

¹⁴³ Gill 1974: 139.

¹⁴⁴ To this last point Giuseppe de Gregorio (2001: 142, note 81) notes the monastery might be transformed to the Cistercian abbey of St Angelos of Petra, which is attested in Latin sources.

¹⁴⁵ See also the chrysobull of Andronikos Palaiologos (De Gregorio 2001: 144–6, Schreiner 1977/78).

¹⁴⁶ Pachymeres, *Historical Relations*, 3, 55, 24–29. Cf. Janin 1936: 57.

¹⁴⁷ De Gregorio 2001: 142–3. The epigram is preserved in the famous ms. Scor. Y.II.10. Another epigram is preserved in ms. Vind. med. gr. 32 (f. 1). It was most probably written during Holobolos’ residency at Petra (cf. Hörandner 1970: 116–7).

In the fourteenth century, a school was also attached to the monastery¹⁴⁸. The scriptorium of this monastery was of utmost importance. The first scribes coming from this monastery appear in the eleventh century¹⁴⁹. The scribal activity will continue from the twelfth century¹⁵⁰ through the fifteenth¹⁵¹. Unfortunately, even if names of eleventh, twelfth-, fourteenth-, and fifteenth- century scribes who worked for the monastery are known, names of the late thirteenth century have not come down to us. However, this does not mean that they did not exist. Regrettably, many questions have to remain open: Was there a school, influenced by the Planudean school, established as early as the late thirteenth century? Was there a fully functioning scriptorium, which by simply bad luck did not leave any trace behind? Were there individual scholars who were using the library of the monastery? And what was exactly in the library?

Interestingly, even if earlier manuscripts, especially from the eleventh and twelfth century, include mainly hagiographical texts and gospel books, at the beginning of the fourteenth century the scribes focus mainly on scientific texts. Annaclara Cataldi Palau has seen this as a consequence of the foundation of the hospital attached to the monastery¹⁵². However, as mentioned before, this is the time of the so-called 'Palaiologan renaissance' and so a scribe easily could turn his interest to – simply – the intellectual fashion of his time. To support this even more, the scribes of the Petra scriptorium in the fourteenth century were also highly interested in grammatical and philosophical works. A good example is that of the fourteenth century scribe and author from Petra monastery, Neophytos

¹⁴⁸ Cataldi Palau 2008 (a): 205; Cataldi Palau 2008 (b): 212. One of the most famous teachers of this school was John Chortasmenos (1370–1431).

¹⁴⁹ Kakoulidi 1968: 16–8.

¹⁵⁰ The scribal notes became more complicated at that time (Kakoulidi 1968: 18–24; Cataldi Palau 2008 (a): 201–3).

¹⁵¹ Cataldi Palau 2008 (a): 201–7; Kakoulidi 1968: 24–9.

¹⁵² Cataldi Palau 2008 (a): 212.

Prodromenos. He wrote theological¹⁵³, philosophical, medical, and grammatical treatises, and also some poetry¹⁵⁴. In other words, he was interested in subjects approximate of the *Marcianus*' contents. Interestingly enough, Neophytos also wrote (among other) a commentary on Aristotle's *Categories* (*Marcianus* includes excerpts from various *scholia* on the ten categories) and a short treatise on toothache (*Marcianus* contains an extensive poem on it)¹⁵⁵. Unfortunately, he cannot be our scribe simply because he lived later.

In summary then, there are several reasons to believe in a connection to the Petra monastery. Petra had very early connections to the palace, so it might be possible that books with court literature or even manuscripts from the imperial archives were deposited there, or indeed that the scribe had access to the imperial library. Moreover, scribes coming from this monastery were interested in texts similar to those in *Marcianus* gr. 524. Finally, late thirteenth-century and later writing styles originating/connected to this monastery are approximate to that of Scribe A. Scribes contemporary to Scribe A have a style that is similar to A's hand. At least one of these (which precedes Prodromenos) seems to have a possible connection to the scribe of *Marcianus* manuscript. All these factors make the puzzle difficult to solve, and the connection of the manuscript to Petra monastery although it seems possible remains uncertain. Only further research on late thirteenth century manuscripts and on the history of the monastery can give – at least partly – answers.

¹⁵³ Mainly hesychastic texts.

¹⁵⁴ For a full list see Kakoulidi 1968: 24–26.

¹⁵⁵ See mss. Paris. gr. 1928 (and Paris. gr. 1846) and Vatic. gr. 1018, see Cacouros 1998: 189–90.

9.3. Marcianus gr. 524 and the early Palaeologan renaissance

It is not surprising to find an anthology in a manuscript written for the scribe's personal use dating from the late thirteenth or the fourteenth century. Paul Canart enumerates at least seventy-six manuscripts with various anthologies which sometimes include also comments made by the scribe¹⁵⁶. Individual manuscripts can also be cited as examples. A parallel to Marcianus gr. 524, although dated to around sixty years later, is Parisinus gr. 1630. The Parisian manuscript contains excerpts from texts concerning medical and theological issues, natural science, and education, all copied by one scribe, Chariton, a copyist from the Hodegon monastery, active between 1319 and 1346. Immaculada Pérez Martín, who has recently discussed the Parisian manuscript, characterised it as a *personal encyclopaedia*¹⁵⁷. Chariton's manuscript is a good parallel to the Marcianus, since he not only copied prose text of clearly informative character, but he also added poetry wherever he had empty space – a practice also used by our Scribe A¹⁵⁸.

Poems and epigrams were frequently collected as examples of good poetry. Evidence for such a practice is given by a verse found in *Anthologia Marciana* and in an account of the dodecasyllable as a rhythmical structure, dating from the second half of the thirteenth-century, the treatise *On the four parts of speech* by Pseudo-Gregorios Pardos¹⁵⁹. The following verse is quoted as an example of brief but meaningful verse:

ἄνθραξ ἀθλητῆ ἄδωρον ἐκ Μονομάχου¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ Canart 2010.

¹⁵⁷ Pérez Martín 2011.

¹⁵⁸ Pérez Martín 2011: 379.

¹⁵⁹ It is not clear what the connection between the two treatises is (Hörandner 2012: 88). The account has been characterised as 'the most accurate account of the rhythmical structure of the dodecasyllable', Lauxtermann 1998: 11.

¹⁶⁰ No. 8. *The ruby is a gift of (Constantine) Monomachos to the athlete (of Christ)*. Hörandner 2012: 107 (l. 152) and 128. Cf. Joseph Rhakendytes, ch. 15, p. 562.

This verse can be found only on f. 1^v of the *Marcianus* (no. 8). It is highly uncertain whether the author of the account had direct access to the *Marcianus*. However, the existence of the epigram in this treatise makes plausible that our admittedly well-educated Scribe A aimed to use *Anthologia Marciana* as a reading of good poetry, or even as an example for his own poetry.

Furthermore, in order to understand what led Scribe A to compile the *Anthologia Marciana*, one should place the compilation in its cultural context. Even if any connection between the manuscript and the Planudean school or the Petra monastery is difficult to prove, one must consider that the late thirteenth century (the time of the so-called *early Palaeologan renaissance*) maintains the memory not only of antiquity but also of the last glimpses of pre-1204 court culture¹⁶¹. Trying to find further parallels to the composition of the *Marcianus*, I have looked at manuscripts Scorialiensis Y.II.10 (de Andrés 265)¹⁶² and Barocci 131¹⁶³. Both contain twelfth-century literature.

Manuscript Barocci 131 is a thirteenth-century manuscript (copied in the second half of the century) which contains a collection of late twelfth-century letters¹⁶⁴. In addition, the manuscript includes works by the same authors as are found in the *Marcianus*, including excerpts from the *Geoponica* and works by Michael Psellos, Theodore Prodromos, and Constantine Manasses.

¹⁶¹ On the Palaeologan renaissance see: Reynolds – Wilson 1974: 72–7; Fryde 2000: 144–57, 67–76. See also Mondrain 2007 (esp. 184–5) and Kotzabassi 2010.

¹⁶² de Andrés 1965: 120–31.

¹⁶³ Wilson 1978: 157–77. For the connection between the two manuscripts cf. the repeated works: (a) an oration under the name of Nikephoros Basilakes in Scor. Y.II.10; the same can be found in *Barocci* but under the name of Theodore Prodromos; (b) a monody by Italikos can also be found in both manuscripts (*Barocci* 131, ff. 230^v–213, and Scor. Y.II.10, ff. 342^v–343^v). See Gautier 1972: 9 and 11.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Angelov 2007: 56. Nigel Wilson places part of the copying activity possibly in the Nicaean court (Wilson 1996: 225; Wilson 1966: 305–6; Wilson 1978: 177; cf. Agapitos 2006: 53; Fryde 2000: 74). Henry Coxe (1853: 211) dates the manuscript to the early fourteenth century. True enough, according to the available descriptions the manuscript shares some features with the *Marcianus*, such as the lack of ruling and the kind of paper used (Coxe 1853: 211–30; Gautier 1972: 6–7).

Manuscript Scorialiensis Y.II.10 was copied by one scribe, perhaps in Nicaea¹⁶⁵. It contains mainly twelfth-century court orations. Even if this manuscript was copied in Nicaea, it was in continuous use, since an early fourteenth-century scribe added more rhetorical works from his era (namely orations by Holobolos, ff. 471^{r-v} and 472), as if he was trying to continue the earlier tradition. This is not the only example of twelfth-century works matched with later works. Manuscript Vindobonensis phil. gr. 321 is another example. This manuscript dates from the second half of the thirteenth century and comes from Constantinople. It contains works by court authors from the middle of the thirteenth century, matched with works by twelfth-century authors such as John Tzetzes, Euthymios Malakes, and George Tornikes¹⁶⁶.

The list of manuscripts dating between the late thirteenth century and the middle of the fourteenth century containing twelfth-century court literature can certainly be expanded¹⁶⁷: manuscripts Petropolitanus gr. 250 and Marcianus gr. XI 22 (with all its peculiarities¹⁶⁸) are some obvious candidates. Indeed, most of the manuscripts with late eleventh- or twelfth-century court poetry date from between the middle of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For example, eight of the ten manuscripts with poems by Nicholas Kallikles, and twenty-four of the thirty-four manuscripts containing the ‘historical poems’ of Theodore Prodromos date from between the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries¹⁶⁹. The main copy of the occasional poems by Manganeios Prodromos, manuscript Marcianus gr. XI.22, dates also from the late thirteenth century. In many cases, the scribes seem to be

¹⁶⁵ I have not seen the manuscript. I follow the information of the manuscripts catalogue of the Escorial library by Gregorio de Andrés.

¹⁶⁶ See Hunger 1961 (b): 409–18.

¹⁶⁷ At this point it has to be noted that especially the end of the thirteenth and fourteenth-century was an era rich of scribal activity in general. For a complete report see Mergiali 1996: 43–8.

¹⁶⁸ Mioni 1970: 116–31. Marc. gr. XI.22 consists of many ‘manuscripts’ bound in one volume. One of them is that with the poetry of Manganeios Prodromos. Recently, a text included in both Scor. Y.II.10 and Marc. gr. XI.22 is said to have the same archetype (Sideras 2010).

¹⁶⁹ Romano 1980: 43 and Hörandner 1994: 149–65 respectively.

interested also in eleventh century court poetry (especially dating from the second half), since poems are frequently copied together with works of eleventh-century court poets such as Christopher Mitylenaios¹⁷⁰.

A survey of the manuscripts with twelfth-century historiography demonstrates that the main copies of these works were produced between the middle of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. The main three manuscripts of the *Alexias* date from the first half of the fourteenth century¹⁷¹. The main manuscript containing the work of John Kinnamos also dates from between the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries¹⁷². Many of the manuscript of the verse *Brief Chronicle* by Constantine Manasses (and despite its meandric manuscript tradition)¹⁷³ date from between the late thirteenth century and the middle of the fourteenth century¹⁷⁴. The *History* of Niketas Choniates is preserved in sixteen manuscripts from either the late thirteenth century or the fourteenth century. Looking at letter collections, Eustratios Papaioannou in his recent article notes that eleventh- and twelfth-century letters are preserved in manuscripts from the late thirteenth or the

¹⁷⁰ Kurtz 1903: X. From the forty manuscripts used by Marc de Groote (2012: XXVII – LIII) for his recent edition only twelve include more than three epigrams. Eight manuscripts out of the twelve date from the middle thirteenth or the fourteenth centuries.

¹⁷¹ Paris. Coislianus 311 (XIV in.), Vat. gr. 981 (XIV in.), Paris. gr. 400 (1343/4). The *Alexiad* has been transmitted in nine manuscript in total. Five are late apographs (dating between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century) of the earlier manuscripts. One manuscript dates from the second half of the twelfth century (Laur. 70, 2). On the manuscript tradition see: Reinsch–Kambylis 2001: 13*–17*. To these manuscripts can be added the only manuscript with the *History* of Nikephoros Bryennios. This manuscript is now lost. It was initially in Toulouse, but then it was transported to Escorial (Beta II 23, de Andrés 87) and, unfortunately, burnt in the fire of 1651. This manuscript contained the *Alexiad* and the work of Bryennios. The first editor of Bryennios' *History*, reverent Pierre Poussines, describes the manuscript as an ancient manuscript written on non-watermarked paper. Thus, the manuscript most probably dated before the fourteenth century. Gautier 1975: 33–9.

¹⁷² Scor. Y. II.10 (s. XIII), Vat. gr. 163 (s. XIII), Vat. gr. 1409 (s. XIII). Neapolit. N.B. II AA 06 (s. XIV). The remaining six manuscripts date between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. For the list of manuscripts see the database *Pinakes* (<http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/>).

¹⁷³ See Lampsides 1996: LXXVII–XCVIII.

¹⁷⁴ Athen. EBE 108 (s. XIII), Biblioth. Royale 102 (11376) (s. XIII), Bibl. Commun. 93 (B 48) (s. XIV/XV), Πατριαρχική Βιβλιοθήκη, Σχολή Ἐμπορική, 151 (1319), Scoral. R III 17 (de Andrés 51) (s. XIV), Lond. Arund. 523 (1313), Βιβλιοθήκη Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κύπρου, Bibl. Arch. 10 (s. XIV), Bodl. Barocci 18 (s. XIV), Bodl. Barocci 25 (s. XIV), Barocci 197 (1343), Bodl. Canonici 23 (s. XIV), Bodl. Misc. 205 (s. XIV), Bodl. Thomae Roe 18b (1349), Paris. gr. 1140A (s. XIV), Paris. gr. 1803 (. XIV), Paris. suppl. gr. 1034 (1364), Paris. suppl. gr. 1202 (s. XIV), Biblioteca Casanatensis (S. Maria sopra Minerva), Casan. 1386 (s. XIV), Vallic. gr. 24 (s. XIII), Vat. Barber. 30 (s. XIII ex.), Vat. Palat. gr. 124 (s. XIV), Vat. Piens. gr. 45 (s. XIV), Vat. gr. 163 (s. XIII), Vat. gr. 170 (s. XIII/XIV), Vat. gr. 1409 (s. XIII ex.), Vat. gr. 1856 (s. XIV in.), Vat. gr. 1881 (s. XIII ex.), Marc. gr. 452 (s. XIV), Vind. hist. gr. 106 (s. XIV), Vind. medic. gr. 38 (s. XIV).

early fourteenth century¹⁷⁵. Finally, the Comnenian Romances have also been copied in manuscripts dating from the same time¹⁷⁶. These numbers are indicative of the literary interest of the early Palaeologan renaissance, but they are not indicative of the manuscript transmission in general since only very few manuscripts have come down to us, the moderns.

The cultural tendency of the post-1261 era to preserve and continue traditions from between 1050 and 1200 can be found elsewhere in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century cultural life. To begin with, after the re-conquest of Constantinople, Michael VIII started a major programme of repopulation of the city and renovation of the buildings damaged not only by the sacking but also by natural disasters (such as earthquakes) and the fires that had occurred in the last decades of the twelfth century¹⁷⁷. Moreover, Michael decided that he would like to use the Comnenian palace – the Blachernai palace – which is to be found to the north-west side of the city, instead of the traditional and central Great Palace. Although the renovation took no less than ten years and so in between Michael did use the Great Palace, he finally moved to the Comnenian palace¹⁷⁸.

Aristocrats also played their part in the reconstruction of the city. Individuals appear to renovate many Comnenian or other middle-Byzantine structures, after encouragement by Michael VIII. Among the restored structures is the lavish renovation of the church of Christ of Chora (Kariye Camii) by Theodore Metochites (1270–1332). In a *Deesis* mosaic (in the inner narthex of the church) commissioned by Metochites, Isaac Komnenos, third son of Alexios I Komnenos, is portrayed in gigantic dimensions supplicating Christ. Isaac was indeed the last

¹⁷⁵ Papaioannou 2012.

¹⁷⁶ Wilson 1966: 305; cf. Agapitos 2006: 53. It is uncertain whether Barocci 131 had been copied in Nicaea (see Wilson 1966: 306).

¹⁷⁷ Talbot 1993: 245–9.

¹⁷⁸ Talbot 1993: 250.

patron of the monastery before Metochites. Isaac's portrait was originally placed next to his tomb¹⁷⁹, but Metochites decided to make Isaac's portrait more prominent, by enlarging it and placing it on the narthex of the renovated church. The choice of Metochites for the pictorial representation of Isaac as the only pre-1204 patron strikes anyone familiar with the history of the monument since the first founder was considered to be Justinian¹⁸⁰. This tradition should have been known to Metochites since his protégé and monk of Chora, the historian Nikephoros Gregoras mentions Justinian as founder of the church¹⁸¹. In other words, Metochites by depicting Isaac aimed to promote the connection of Chora monastery (and thus of himself) to the Comnenian court.

The church of St Mary Pammakaristos (*Fetiye Camii*) is another Comnenian structure renovated by aristocrats living in the years of the early Palaeologan renaissance¹⁸². The church was established ex novo by members of the Comnenian imperial family in the twelfth century¹⁸³. In the early fourteenth century, the church was not only renovated by a nobleman and his wife (protostrator Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes and his wife Maria-Martha), but also a funerary chapel was added to the side of the church. The renovation of Tarchaneiotes did not essentially alter the decoration of the church and thus the Comnenian portraits could be seen there up to the sixteenth century¹⁸⁴. Interestingly enough, Tarchaneiotes was connected to

¹⁷⁹ Kosmosoteira typikon, § 89, cf. Ousterhout 1987: 21.

¹⁸⁰ Ousterhout 1987: 12–4 and 20. Underwood 1967: 46. Cf. Teteriatnikov 1996: 192.

¹⁸¹ *Historia Romana*, eds. I. Bekker and L. Schopen (vol. 1, Bonn, 1829) p. 459 ll. 6–7.

¹⁸² It is worth noting that neither of these two churches is mentioned in detail in the sources during the years of the Latin occupation (Belting, Mango and Mouriki 1978: 10; Ousterhout 1987: 32), but this does not necessarily mean that they were abandoned.

¹⁸³ Belting, Mango and Mouriki 1978: 4–5, 15.

¹⁸⁴ Glimpses of what remained from the Comnenian church, before its final alteration to Camii is offered by a description dating from between 1566/7 and 1588, preserved in ms. Trinity College Cant. 0.2.36, ff. 145–161 (Schreiner 1971). According to this description, an arcosolium with the tombs and the portraits of sebastos Andronikos Komnenos, son of the founders and his wife Eudokia Doukaina was placed at the narthex (§8). Further, the description mentions that the tomb of Alexios Komnenos was placed there (§18).

the intellectual circles of his time: a poem of the most prolific fourteenth-century court poet, Manuel Philes, is inscribed on the external cornices of the side chapel.

Ceremonial practices continued in relation to the Comnenian court and, more specifically, the ceremony of *prokypsis*, i.e. ‘the appearance made by the emperor and his family on a high platform, accompanied by music and the recitation of appropriate eulogies’¹⁸⁵. The technical term ‘*prokypsis*’ is first used in 1244 in Nicaea for a group of ceremonial poems by Nicholas Eirenikos¹⁸⁶. However, the beginnings of this ceremonial practice go back to the Comnenian court, most probably to the reign of Manuel Komnenos¹⁸⁷. *Prokypsis* would become the main ceremonial apparatus in the Palaeologan court. This alone does not prove anything, but it is part of the same attitude of the Palaeologan times to preserve/revive the immediate past. Perhaps influenced by the same mentality and not just by the conventions of the genre, Manuel Philes alludes in his epigrams to the works of his twelfth-century predecessors¹⁸⁸.

Furthermore, as Ruth Macrides has noted, many Comnenian institutions were restored at the time of Michael VIII – such as the school at the Orphanotropheion first established by Alexios I¹⁸⁹. Holobolos, for example, was the first holder of the title *rhetor*, a title which was to be found in ecclesiastical lists of offices from the twelfth century onwards¹⁹⁰. Also the rhetoric used for the renewal under Michael shows a clear connection with the Comnenian court. For example, Michael VIII is characterised as *ἐπιστημονάρχης* (a chief scientific expert) in order to

¹⁸⁵ Jeffreys 1985: 39. Cf. Heisenberg 1920: 85–97, esp. 88–9.

¹⁸⁶ Heisenberg 1920: 102–3 (cf. 97–9). Jeffreys 1985: 40.

¹⁸⁷ Heisenberg 1920: 92–5.

¹⁸⁸ E.g. Pietsch-Braounou 2011: nos. 52 and no. 362.

¹⁸⁹ Macrides 1994.

¹⁹⁰ Macrides 1980: 26–7.

defend his right to intervene in the ecclesiastical affairs. This term is used for the first time outside of its original monastic context for Manuel Komnenos¹⁹¹.

The cultural tendency described in this chapter weakened and finally stopped around the year 1350. The middle of the fourteenth century was a period of continuous distress for the already 'tired' empire. The prevalence of the Hesychasts and the long civil war between John IV Katakouzenos and John V Palaiologos, the black death which devastated Constantinople (1346–1349) and the unfortunate foreign policy of the empire inevitably changed the intellectual tendencies at the court. The very fact that Empress Anna, wife of Andronikos III and mother of John V Palaiologos, pawned the Byzantine crown jewels (for 30,000 Venetian ducats) in 1343 during the civil war highlights the alteration in the attitude towards the tradition but also the impoverishment of the empire.

The change in the cultural trends in the middle of the fourteenth century is not irrelevant to the gradual loss of optimism among the rhetoricians. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, they start seeing the tired empire but only after 1343 does the infirmity of the state become obvious to everyone. Before that, there was a certainty that the city of Byzantium 'would tighten her grip on the sceptres that she had passed for a short while to someone else' and that 'she would recover to hold even greater power than before'¹⁹².

In conclusion, after the re-conquest of Constantinople and up to the 1350s, the new dynasty, the aristocrats and the scholars – in short, the members of a Constantinopolitan elite – were trying not only to establish continuity with the pre-1204 status quo but also to preserve whatever was left in Constantinople. The *Marcianus* manuscript has its genesis in this mentality. It is a late thirteenth-century manuscript copied by one copyist who was also the initial redactor of the poetic

¹⁹¹ Macrides 1994: 273. See also Magdalino 1993: 284–5.

¹⁹² Gregory of Cyprus, *Encomion*, 321. See also Ševčenko 1961.

collection. This scribe wrote this manuscript for his personal use. The copyist was interested in protecting this poetry, either out of simple curiosity, because he was driven by the cultural need of his time, or even because he was trying to find inspiration for the poetry he was himself composing. It seems reasonable to assume that a desire to preserve, protect, and continue what his predecessors had produced before the capture of Constantinople in 1204 is what impelled him to copy the poetry wherever he had the space to do so.

Three hundred and thirty five anonymous or attributed short or longer poems and epigrams are included in the *Anthologia Marciana*; many of them do not survive in other manuscripts. In the following parts I will look at one hundred and eighteen anonymous epigrams on works of art from the *syllogae* A, B and C. In Part II, an edition of previously unpublished works will be provided along with new readings for the already published epigrams. Part III will try to put these epigrams in their context, examining them from the point of view of literature, art history, and social history.

Part II

The text:
Unpublished and published
epigrams

This second part of the thesis provides the text of the unpublished twelfth-century anonymous dedicatory epigrams on works of art and new readings for the published epigrams. For the extant printed editions of the epigrams please refer to the description of the manuscript in Appendix I.

The main scribe of the manuscript, Scribe A, copied the epigrams in two columns. The features of his handwriting have already been discussed in detail¹.

The manuscript usually offers good readings. The few mistakes are noted in the *apparatus criticus*. Unfortunately, we do not know enough about the rules of accentuation in Byzantine Greek. Therefore, I have preferred to keep the accentuation as it appears in the manuscript. For the convenience of the modern reader I have not retained the punctuation that appears in the manuscript.

Tabula Notarum in Apparatu Critico Adhibitarum

M = Marcianus gr. 524 (XIII s. ex.)

L = Sp. Lambros, ‘Ο Μαρκιανὸς κώδιξ 524’, *NE* 8 (1811), 5–59, 123–192.

MaN = P. Magdalino – R. Nelson, ‘The emperor in byzantine art of the twelfth century’, *BF* 8 (1982), 123–183.

P = T. Papamastorakis, ‘The display of accumulated wealth in luxury icons: gift-giving from the Byzantine aristocracy to God in the twelfth century’, in: M. Vassilaki (ed.), *Byzantine icons: art, technique and technology. 20-21 February 1998. Gennadius Library – The American school of classical studies*, Athens 2002, 35–47.

R = A. Rhoby, ‘The structure of inscriptional dedicatory epigrams in Byzantium’, in: Cl. Burini de Lorenzi – M. De Gaetano (eds.), *La poesia tardoantica e medievale. IV Convegno internazionale di studi. Perugia, 15-17 novembre 2007*, Alessandria 2010, 309–322.

V = I. Vassis, *Initia carminum Byzantinorum*, Berlin 2005.

add. = addidit

cod. = codex

coni. = coniecit

corr. = correxit

exp. = expunxit

fort. = fortasse

leg. = legit

m.c. = metri causa

om. = omisit

prop. = proposuit

s.s. = supra scriptum

¹ See p. 19ff.

I. Unpublished epigrams

No. 40. Ἐπὶ εἰκόνι τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

- Μή, Σῶτερ, ὥσπερ προσλαβὼν πρὶν σαρκίον,
 Θεὸς μὲν ἦσθα, σὺν βροτοῖς δ' ἀνεστρέφου,
 οὔτω σκιὰν νῦν ὑποδὺς τῶν χρωμάτων
 μένεις μὲν ἔμπνους, ὡς γραφεῖς δὲ λανθάνεις;
 5 ναὶ καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐνδέεις τῶν ἐμπνῶν.
 ἔγωγε μὴν πέφρικα προσψαύειν θέλων,
 «ἦψατό μου τίς;», μὴ πάλιν ὡς πρὶν φράσης
 οὔτω λέγειν πείθει με σοῦ τύπου πόθος
 οὔ πῦρ ἀνῆψα καρδίας ἐμῆς μέσον.
 10 πολὺν δ' ὑποστάς, ὥσπερ ἔμπορος, πόνον,
 ἐκτησάμην σέ, τὸν καλὸν μαργαρίτην·
 ὡς ἀκρογώνῳ προστυχῶν δέ σοι λίθῳ
 ψυχῆς ἐμῆς ἠδρασα τὸν πολὺν ἔρον.
 μικρὰν δὲ πυρσοῦ κρυφίου δεικνὺς φλόγα
 15 κοσμῶ τύπον σὸν μαργάροις, χρυσῶ, λίθοις,
 πορφυροφυοῦς παῖς Ἄννης, Ἰωάννης,
 ἀπὸ Στεφάνου Κοντοστεφάνων γένους.
 σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ χαλκοῦν τόξον ἐν μάχαις τίθει
 τὴν δεξιάν μου· καρδίας δὲ τὰς βάσεις
 20 σῆς ἰσχύος στήριζε τῷ στερρῷ λίθῳ.
 προσκομμάτων δε πάντα ἐξαίρων λίθους
 ἐξευμαρίζοις τοῦ βίου μοι τὰς τρίβους.
 εἰς κρίσεως θρόνον δε καθίσας τέλος
 ἔμοι τὸ νεῦμα συμπαθὲς κλῖνον τότε.

23 ἐς L | 24 κλῖνον ML.

7 Lc. 8:46 ; cf. Mc. 5:31 | 10–11 Cf. Mt. 13:45–46 | 12 Cf. 1Pet. 2:6 | 18 Ps. 17 (18):35 ; 2Reg. 22: 35 | 21
 1Pet. 2:8 ; Rom. 9:33 ; Is. 8:14.

Νο. 41. Εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς σταυρώσεως τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κοσμηθεῖσαν παρὰ τοῦ Δρυωνίτου.

Ἦκουσεν Ἀδὰμ σῶν ποδῶν ἦχον, Λόγε,
 ἦλοις δι' αὐτὸν ἐσφυρηλατημένων
 καὶ κρύπτεται σου τὴν παρουσίαν τρέμων.
 ἐκ δὲ ξύλου σὺ τὴν κεφαλὴν σου κλίνων
 5 ἕοικας αὐτὸν κἂν καλύπτεται βλέπειν·
 «οὐκ ἐκρύβη γὰρ ἀπὸ σοῦ», Δαβὶδ λέγει,
 «ὃ κρυφίως ἔπλασας αὐτὸς ὀστέον»·
 πλὴν κἂν ἀφυπνοῖς φύσεως θνήσκων νόμῳ,
 πλευρὰν ἐνύχθης ὡς ἀναστῆς ἐν τάχει
 10 καὶ χοῦν συνάξις εἰς νέαν Ἀδὰμ πλάσιν.
 σώζοις δὲ καμέ, Μιχαὴλ Δρυωνίτην,
 χρυσαργυροῦντα Γολγοθᾶ σου τὸν τύπον.

1 ἦκουσα L | 7 ὄν M.

4 Jo.19:30 | 6-7 Ps. 138 (139):15.

No. 74. Εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς σταυρώσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Ὡς ἐν ξύλῳ πρὶν, Σῶτερ, ἐσταυρωμένος
καὶ νεκρὸς ἦσθα καὶ Θεοῦ ζῶντος Λόγος,
οὕτω λογίζῃ καὶ γραφεὶς ἐκ χρωμάτων
ζῆν μὲν θεϊκῶς καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ τύπῳ,
5 φορεῖν δὲ νεκρὸν αὐτόχρομα σαρκίον,
ὡς εἶπερ ἡ χεὶρ ἢ διαγράψασά σε
ἐκ σαρκίνων ἔγραψε νεκρῶν χρωμάτων.
ἐκεῖνον οὖν αὐτόν σε πιστεύων βλέπειν
Μεσαρίτης σὸς οἰκέτης πιστὸς Λέων,
10 τὴν σὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν στέφει χρυσαργύρῳ
τὴν πρὶν ἀκανθόστεπτον ἰδοὺ καλλύνω·
τοῖς τιμιωτάτοις δε λαμπρύνω λίθοις
μνήμην ἀληθῆ τοῦ Λιθοστρώτου φέρων.
σὺ δ' ἀλλ' ἔκλινας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν ξύλῳ
15 καὶ «δεῦτε πρὸς με πάντες» ὡσπερὶ φράσας
αἰτοῦντι καὶ νῦν κλῖνον αὐτήν μοι, Λόγε,
καὶ κατανεύων τὴν παράκλησιν δέχου·
ἐμῶν δε παθῶν τὰς ἀκάνθας ἐκσπᾶσας,
θείας τρυφῆς δὸς ἐντρυφᾶν με τῇ χλόῃ.

| f. 35

1 post ξύλῳ ... M τινὶ prop. L σωτήρ ML ἐσταυρωμένος MV ἐστρωμένος L | 10 ἐκστέφει L | 14 σὺ
δαλλ' M ὁ κλίνας L | 15 ὡσπερὶ M corr. L.

11 Cf. Mc. 10:17 ; Jo. 19:5 | 13 Jo. 19:13 | 14 Jo. 19:30 | 15 Mt. 11:28.

No. 102. Εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς ἁγίας Ἄννης [τῆς] δεσποίνης ἐγκυμονούσης.

Τίκειν μὲν ἐκρίθησαν ἐν λύπαις τέκνα
 γυναιῖκες Εὔας δυσπαθοῦς θυγατέρες·
 σὺ δ' Ἄννα, Χριστοῦ μητρομῆτορ κοσμία,
 χαίρουσα τίκεις τῆς χαρᾶς τῆ[ν αἰτί]αν·
 5 στείρωσεως γὰρ τὴν ὑπὲρ φύσιν λύσιν
 ἔδει προελθεῖν τοῦ Ἰωα[κείμ]
 ὡς τὸν τόκον γοῦν εἶχες ἐξηλλαγμένον
 καὶ μετρίων ἂν ἠσθάνου τῶν ὠ[δί]νων·
 πάντως γὰρ ἂν καὶ τούτου προδραμεῖν ἔδει
 10 φρικτοῦ θυσιαστηρίου .κ.....
 αἰτῶ σε τοίνυν, πριγκίπων παῖς Μαρία
 Ῥώμης νέας ἄνασσα, ῥηγῶν ἐκ[γ]ό[ν]η
 κουφισμὸν εὐρεῖν τῆς βίας τῶν ὠδίνων
 ὥρας καλούσης ἐκτεκεῖν ἐν πορφύρᾳ
 15 καὶ κοινοχαρμόσυνον ἐμβρύου τόκον
 ἄνακτι δεῖξαι Μανουὴλ τῷ συζύγῳ.

Title Ἄννης τ.....ης λεγομένης L | 2 δυσπαθοῦς... L | 4 τίκεις τῆς... L | 5-6 om L | 8 ὠ..νων M
 ὠ[δί]νων L | 10 φρικτοῦ... L | 12 ἐκ.ό.η M ἐκγόνη L | 15 ἐκβρύειν L | 16 δέξαι L.

No. 116. *Εἰς εἰκόνα κοσμηθεῖσαν τῆς ἀγίας Θεοτόκου.*

- Τοῦ σοῦ μὲν ὕψους ἄξιον κόσμον, Κόρη,
 ὡς οὐρανοστήρικτος οὐχ εὐρύης κλίμαξ·
 τί καὶ γὰρ ἄν τις ἀντιμετρήσαιτό σοι;
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ταπείνωσις ἄρρητος λόγῳ
- 5 τοῦ πρὸς σὲ φρικτῶς συγκαταβάντος Λόγου
 δόξης ἐπεβράβευσε τὴν τόσην χάριν,
 νέμου τὸν Υἱόν, τὸν Θεόν σου καὶ βρέφος·
 καὶ συμμετριάσασα συμπαθεῖ νόμῳ
 τὸ βραχὺ δῶρον ὡς πολύσταθμον δέχου,
- 10 ζυγῷ ταλαντεύουσα φιλανθρωπίας
 τὴν πίστιν ἅμα καὶ τὸν ἐν σπλάχνοις πόθον.
 χρυσάργυρον γοῦν κόσμον εἰσδεδεγμένη
 οὐκ εἰς ἀμοιβὴν ἀλλ' εἰς σὴν χάριν δίδου
 τῆς δεξιᾶς σου τὴν ἐν ἅπασι σκέπην.
- 15 σὸς οἰκέτης αἰτῶ σε Ῥογέρος Λέων,
 πάππου σεβαστοῦ παγκλεοῦς προηγμένος,
 πατρὸς δὲ λαμπροῦ πρωτονωβελλισίμου,
 λατινογλώσσους ἐκμεταφράζων φράσεις,
 σὺν Εἰρήνῃ δὲ τῇ βοηθῷ τοῦ βίου,
- 20 ἧς Ἰασίται τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγέται.
 νῦν μὲν νόσων ἔξαγε, πᾶν θλίβον λύε,
 καλῶν ἀπάντων ἐγκατάκλυζε βρύσεις·
 τέλος δ' ἐπιβράβευε καὶ σκηνὴν μίαν
 τρυφῆς παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀεὶβλαστον χλόην.

No. 118/340. Ἐπὶ πατελίῳ χρυσῷ γεγονότι παρὰ τοῦ σεβαστοῦ τοῦ Καλαμάνου καὶ δοθέντι τῷ ἀγίῳ ἡμῶν βασιλεῖ ὅπερ εἶχεν εἰκονισμένα διάφορα κατὰ τὴν Οὐγγρίαν τρόπαια.

Φωνὴν μὲν Ἴστρος ἐκ Δαυίδ προσλαμβάνων
κράζει Μανουήλ αὐτάνακτος τὸ κράτος.
Ἴστρου δὲ τύπον ἐν κρατῆρι χρυσέῳ
γράψας σεβαστὸς δουκόπαις Καλαμάνος,
5 ἐκ παιονικῶν ῥηγικῶν ῥιζωμάτων,
καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτῷ μυριανδραγαθίας
φωνὴν ἀνυψοῦν χρυσέαν τοῦτον θέλει
καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ δουλικὸν δῶρον φέρει.

L1 = Lambros 1911: no. 115 (pp. 129–30), fragments from vv. 1–4.

L2 = Lambros 1911: no. 330 (pp. 175–6).

M1 = Marc. gr. 524, f. 46^v.

M2 = Marc. gr. 524, f. 181.

Title ὅπερ εἶχεν M1: [ἔχοντι] L1 κατὰ τὴν Οὐγγρίαν M1M2L2: κατὰ [βαρβάρων;] add. L1 Ἐπὶ πατελίῳ χρυσῷ ἐν ᾧ εἰκονίσθησαν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Οὐγγρίαν τρόπαια τοῦ βασιλέως M2L2 | 1 προσλαμβάνειν L1 | 7 φωνῆ...χρυσέα M1 | 9 δουλικὸν L2.

1 Cf. Ps. 113a (114): 3.

No. 119. Ἐπὶ εἰκονίσματι τῶν ἀγίων Θεοδώρων καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀγίου Θεοδώρου τοῦ Γαβρᾶ τοῦ ἐν τᾷ...τ...σι...ων ἀναρτηθέντι.

Οἷς κλήσεως Θεοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ κοινωνία
συναίρ...ως ἐστὶ γὰρ ἕκτασιν
καὶ μαρτυρικῶν ἄθλων κοινεν..... ,
τριάς ἀθλητῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεοδώρων,
5 ὑμᾶς συνάπτω καὶ γραφῇ τῶν εἰκόνων
καινὸν δὲ τ...εγ. δουλικὸν φέρων [γέρ]ας,
ὡς στρατηγέτης ἐκ ,μαχῶν νίκην φέροις
ἐπ.....ως συμβεβασιλευκόσι
προπαπτικὸν δὲ σοὶ Γαβρᾶ τρέφω πόθον
10 ἀπέκγονος σὸς πατρόθεν

σὺν τοῖς συνάθλοις τοιγαροῦν μοι συμμάχει
κα.αν...αχας θλίψεων νόσων ρύου.

Title τοῦ ἐν τᾷ...τ...σι βαρβάρων M? βαρδαρων ss M? | 1 κλήσις fort. | 5 γράφω M? | 7 σφαγῶν M?.

No. 243. Ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ παλατίῳ ἐγγεγλυμμένῳ [ὁ]στρείῳ ἐν λίθῳ.

Ἔοικεν ὡς φύουσιν ὑδάτων δίχα
 ὄστρεια λίθοι δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ κειμένου·
 ὁρῶν γὰρ αὐτὸ μὴ λελαξεῦσθαι κρίνω,
 ἐπεὶ πλανᾶ μου τὴν θεάν ὁ λατύπος
 5 ἀποστρακώσας τῇ τέχνῃ καὶ τὸν λίθον.

Title .στρείῳ M [γα]στρείῳ L.

No. 245. Εἰς κανδύλαν ἀναρτηθεῖσαν εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς σταυρώσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρὰ τοῦ πρωτονωβελλισίμου κυροῦ Νικολάου.

Σταυρῷ δύνας, ἤλιε τῆς δόξης, Λόγε,
 ἤλιον ἡμφίασας ἔνδυμα σκότους,
 ὡς δ' ἀπὸ Θαιμᾶν ὄρθιος λάμπας τάφου
 φῶς γνώσεως ἠῦγασας ἀνθρώπων γένει.
 5 πόθου δ' ἐγὼ πῦρ δεικνύων ἐγκαρδίου
 πίστει προαρτῶ λυχνίας φωτοτρόφους
 σταυρώσεως σῆς Γολγοθᾶ θείῳ τύπῳ.
 σὺ δ' εὐφροσύνης ἀντιλάμπεις φῶς μέγα
 Μαυροκατακαλῶν μὲ σὸν δοῦλον σκέπων
 10 αὐχοῦντα τιμὴν πρωτονωβελλισίμου,
 τὸν Νικόλαον, καὶ τρυφᾶν τέλος δίδου
 σὺν Εὐφροσύνῃ δουκοβλάστῳ συζύγῳ,
 ἡμῶν τὲ τέκνοις τῆς Ἐδέμ χλόης μέσον.

Title κανδήλαν L ἄνω^β M ἄνω^μ (= πρωτονοβελισίμου) L | 10 πρωτονωβελλισίμου L | 14 ἡμῶν τε L.

3. Hab. 3:3.

No. 246. *Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Περιβλέπτου κοσμηθεῖσαν παρὰ Βασιλείου, ἧς ὄπισθεν ὁ αὐτὸς εἰκονίσθη.*

Εἰ καὶ τύπου πίνακα κοσμῶν σε, Λόγε,
ὄπισθεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐμὴν γράφω θέαν
πιστὸς λάτρις σὸς Βασίλειος Σερβλίας,
ἀλλὰ τὸ δαυίδειον ἐξάδω μέλος·

- 5 «ἐπίφανόν μοι σὸν πρόσωπον, Παντάναξ,
ἰλαρὸν ὄμμα καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ῥέπων,
σωθήσομαι γάρ». ἀκοὰς δέ μοι δίδου
ἐμῶν προσευχῶν συμφερόντως εἰς τέλος·
ὄν γὰρ Χερουβὶμ οὐ στέγοντα προσβλέπειν
10 πρόσωπα κρύπτει τοῖς πτέρυξιν ἐν τρόμῳ,
πῶς οὐχ ὄραν ἂν καὶ γεγραμμένος τρέμω;
ὄπισθογραφῶν τοιγαροῦν μου τὸν τύπον
κάν τῆ γραφῆ σήμαντρα τοῦ φόβου φέρω.
σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ τὸ πρόσωπον οὐκ ἀποστρέφων,
15 χειρὸς χαρίζου δεξιᾶς μοι τὴν στάσιν,
ὅταν καθίσῃς εἰς περίβλεπτον θρόνον
κοινήν ἀνεγκλήτευτον ἐξάγων κρίσιν.

Title παρὰ βασιλέως ML | 4 ἐξάδω ML | 11 οὐχ' M τρέμων M.

5 Ps. 79 (80): 4, 8, 20 ; cf. Ps. 66 (67):2 ; Ps. 30 (31):17 | 7 Ps. 79 (80): 4,8, 20 | 14 Cf. Ps. 43 (44):25 ; Ps. 87 (88):151.

No. 256. Στίχοι γραφέντες εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς ἀγίας ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἱστορηθεῖσαν παρὰ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ γεγονότος καθηγουμένου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἀγίου Διομήδους, τῆς λεγομένης νέας Ἱερουσαλήμ.

- «Πάλαι μὲν ὤκτειρησας, ὡς Δαυὶδ γράφει,
 Σιών ἀναστὰς ἐκ τάφου, Πλαστουργέ μου,
 λύσας δὲ νυκτὸς τῆς διωκ[τρί]ας σκότος
 ἀνῆψας ἡμῖν γνώσεως σὴν λαμπάδα
 5 νῦν δ' αὖθις ἡμᾶς ἄλλον ὤκτειρας τρόπον,
 Σιών παλαιᾶς ἐξάραντας εἰς νέαν,
 τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ δε τῆς νεωτέρας
 μονῆς φανέντας τῶν μοναστῶν προστάτας,
 εἰς λυχνίαν τέθεικας ἱεραρχίας,
 10 τῶν πατριαρχῶν ἐγκαθιδρύσας θρόνῳ
 Σιών γεραιᾶς ἔνθα τεχθεῖς Παρθένῳ,
 δράσας δὲ καινὰ καὶ φθονηθεῖς ἀδίκως,
 εἰς σταυρὸν ἤρθης, ἐκρύβης τάφου λίθῳ,
 πλὴν ἐξανέστης ὧν Θεὸς κὰν τῷ τάφῳ.
 15 νῦν δ' ἀλλὰ καὶ σὴν ἐν Σιών κληρουχίαν
 ἧς ἀρτίως τέθεικας ἡμᾶς ποιμένας
 ἤδη πεσοῦσαν ἐξανάστησον πάλιν
 καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ, καθὰ ταῖς μυροφόροις,
 πρόσσειπε χαίρειν τῆς ἐγέρσεως χάριν»
 20 Ἰωάννης σοι ταῦτα σὸς θύτης, Λόγε,
 ὁ πατριάρχης τῆς Σιών τῆς ἀγίας.

1 πάλιν L ὠκτείρησας ML | 3 διωκ...άς M | 13 ἤρθε M.

1 Ps. 101 (102) :14.

No. 257. *Εἰς ἐνδυτὴν τῆς ἀγίας Τραπεζῆς δοθεῖσαν τῇ μονῇ τῶν Στουδίου παρὰ τῆς πορφυρογεννήτου κυρᾶς Ἄννης.*

Σοὶ τῷ πρὸ πάθους ἐνδυθέντι πορφύραν
 ἐκ πορφύρας ὕφασμα προσφέρω, Λόγε,
 καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ὡς τάφον τὸν σὸν σκέπω.
 τὸ πρὶν δὲ Λιθόστρωτον ἐκτυπούμενη
 5 σταυρὸν τυπῶ σὸν μαργάροις, χρυσῶ, λίθοις.
 σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ τραπέζης με τῆς σῆς ἀξίου
 Ἄνναν Κομνηνὴν πορφυρανθῆ πατρόθεν
 Κοντοστεφάνω σὺν Στεφάνω συζύγῳ.

6 σοὶ L

1 Mc. 15:17 | 3 Cf. Mt. 27:59 (Mc. 15:46; Lc. 23:53) | 4 Jo. 19:13.

No. 258. *Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀγίου Νικολάου κοσμηθεῖσαν.*

Ἄν ἐζυγοστατεῖτο καρδίας πόθος,
 ἦν ἂν βαρυστάθμητος, ὃν πρὸς σὲ τρέφω,
 ἀρχιεράρχα Μυρέων, μυροβλύτα
 νῦν δ' ἀλλὰ μικροῖς τόνδε μετρῶ σταθμίοις
 5 χρυσαργυρῶν σου τὸν σεβάσμιον τύπον.
 αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πλάστιγγα τῶν σῶν χαρίτων,
 ὡς μέχρι μοι νῦν, ἀπαρέγκλιτον ῥέποις,
 τὴν ἄλμυρὰν γλύκαζε τοῦ βίου ζάλην,
 σαρκὸς νόσων ῥύου με καὶ ψυχῆς πλέον,
 10 τῶν συνθλιβόντων αἰθρίαζε τὸν γνόφον.
 ἂν χοῦν πατῶ γῆς, ἂν θαλάσσαις ἐμπλέω,
 ἔκτεινε χεῖρας καὶ διευθέτει σκέπων·
 Θεοῦ δέ με κρίνοντος ὀφθεῖς προστάτης
 σωτηρίαν δὸς τῷ Τζίρω Θεοδώρῳ.

No. 259. *Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ μοναχοῦ Νεοφύτου ἔχουσιν τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον καὶ τὸν ἅγιον Δημήτριον ἱκετεύοντας τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.*

Ἄνθος σε τὸ βλαστῆσαν ἐν κόσμῳ, Λόγε,
καὶ φυσικῆς ἀνευθεν ἰκμάδος γράφων
Νεόφυτος σὸς ἐν μονοτρόποις λάτρεις
καὶ τὴν ἀληθῆ ῥάβδον αὐτὴν ἐγγράφω
5 καὶ βλαστὸν ἄλλον μαρτυρικῆς ἀμπέλου,
οὔπερ θλιβέντος δακτύλοις λογχηφόροις
ἀείρροον τὸ μῦρον ὡς πηγῆς ῥέει,
δι' ὧν χλόην μοι τῆς Ἐδέμ κληῖρον δίδου.

2 φυσικῶς L.

No. 262. *Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου κοσμηθεῖσαν.*

«Ἐμπνουν ὀρῶ σε, μάρτυς· εἶχε γὰρ τάχα
χρώμασιν κερνᾶν καὶ ζωὴν ὁ ζωγράφος.
εἰ δ' οὐ λαλεῖν ἔοικας, ὡς δοκεῖν ἔχω,
ὡς πολλὰ καμῶν μαρτυρικοῖς ἐν πόνοις
5 καὶ πνευστιάσας τοῦ τροχοῦ τῆ συντάσει
καὶ τῷ πιεσμῷ τοῦ πρὸ τοῦ στήθους λίθου,
νῦν ἡσυχάζεις ἄσθμα συλλέγειν θέλων,
ὡς πρὸς Θεὸν σύμφωνα τῷ Παύλῳ φράσης·
«ἤνυσσα πάντα τῆς ἀθλήσεως δρόμον,
10 τῆς πίστεως ἄγρυπνος εὐρέθην φύλαξ,
δικαιοσύνης λείπεται γοῦν μοι στέφος».
καὶ τοῦτο μὲν χεῖρ τοῦ Θεοῦ δώσει τότε,
Γεώργιε· χρυσοῦν δε κόσμον ὃν φέρω
τοῦ πρὸς σὲ φίλτρου δεῖγμα γνησίως δέχου·
15 ὅταν δὲ Χριστῷ προστάλης σου τοὺς ἄθλους,
ὡς σῶν πόνων ἔπαθλον ἐξαίτει πλέον
ἐμοῦ τὸ λύτρον καὶ συνεύνου δεσπότη
πορφυροφυοῦς εὐσεβοῦς Ἀλεξίου
καὶ βασιλείας οὐρανῶν λάχος δίδου»
20 ἢ βασιλῆς αἰτῶ σε πιστῶς Εἰρήνη.

13. δὲ P | 16. δέξαιτο P | 18. εὐσεβῶς P

No. 265. Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Λουκᾶ.

«Ἦ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ζωγραφεῖ Λουκᾶς θέαν
 εἰς ἄκρον αὐτὸς ἠκριβωκῶς τὴν τέχνην,
 ἢ γοῦν γράφοντι συμπαρῆν τῷ ζωγράφῳ·
 οὕτω πρὸς ἐμφέρειαν ἐγράφη τύπος,
 5 ὡς ἄρα μικροῦ καὶ δοκεῖν ἔοικέ μοι
 ἔμπνουν μὲν εἶναι σῶμα, πλήν σιγᾶν ὄμωσ,
 ὡς πρὶν παρ' αὐτὴν Ἐμμαοὺς διατρίβων
 γραφὰς διανοίγοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Λόγου,
 ἢ νοῦν συνάγειν πρὸς γραφὴν προοιμίου
 10 εὐαγγελικῶν ἐνθέων ἐνταλμάτων
 σὺ δ' ἄλλὰ ῥήτορ καὶ κριτὰ καὶ ζωγράφε
 βίβλοις Θεοῦ με γράψον, εἰς ψυχῆς πλάκας
 τυπῶν τὸν αὐτοῦ σωστικώτατον φόβον,
 ὅταν καθίσῃς κρίσεως ἐπὶ θρόνου
 15 φανεῖς μεσίτης ὑπερήγορος πλέον»
 λιτάζεται Σγουρὸς σὲ νῦν Ἰωάννης
 ὁ καὶ νεουργὸς σοῦ σεβασμίου τόπου·
 εὐαγγελιστά, σύ δε τὴν χάριν νέμοις.

4 οὕτω M | 17 τύπου L.

7 Lc. 24:13 | 8 Lc. 24:27.

No. 269. Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου κοσμηθεῖσαν.

«Εἰς καρδίας γῆν σοῦ βαλὼν πόθου σπόρον,
 τῆς πίστεως δὲ τοῦτον ἀρδεύσας δρόσῳ
 καὶ ρίζαν ἐνθεῖς ἀρραγῆ τὴν ἐλπίδα,
 τὸν καρπὸν ἀδρὸν εὖρον εὐκαίρῳ χρόνῳ
 5 κτησάμενος σὴν προσκυνητὴν εἰκόνα
 ἢ καὶ πλέον σέ· χεῖρ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ τεχνίτου
 οὕτω πρὸς ἐμφέρειαν εἰκόνισέ σε.
 καὶ νῦν λίθοις σε, μαργάροις, χρυσῶ στέφῳ,
 Γεώργιε, ζέοντι καὶ θερμῶ πόθῳ·
 10 σὺ δ' ἄλλ' ὁ σῖτος τῆς Θεοῦ γεωργίας,
 ὃν οὐ κατηλόησεν ἡ τροχοῦ τάσις
 ἢ τῶν ξιφῶν στόμωσις ἢ βάρος λίθου,
 λαβῶν μικρὸν κάρπευμα μὴ μικρὸν κρίνης,
 τὸ φίλτρον εἰδῶς καὶ μετρῶν τοῦτο πλέον.
 15 λικμῶν δε μακρὰν πταισμάτων μου καλάμην,
 ἦν πυρὸς ὑπέκκαυμα συλλέξας φέρω,
 εἰς ἀποθήκας οὐρανῶν ἔνδον τίθει,
 σῖτον καθαρὸν σὴ χάριτι δεικνύων».
 Γεώργιος σοι ταῦτα Παλαιολόγος
 20 Δούκας Κομνηνὸς καὶ σεβαστὸς ἀξία.

1 καρδίαν τοῦ σοῦ L | 11 δι' οὐ M.

No. 277. *Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Νικολάου κοσμηθεῖσαν.*

Ἄν μηδὲν αἰτῶν μηδὲ λαμβάνων πάλαι,
 εὐεργετεῖν ἔτοιμον εἶχες καρδίαν,
 ἀρχιεράρχα Μυρέων, μυροβλύτα,
 νῦν, οἶδα, μᾶλλον συμπαθέστερος γένη
 5 χρυσάργυρον κόσμημα σοῦ λαβῶν τύπου,
 ὃ τοῦ πόθου μὲν ὑπεθερμάνθη ζέσει,
 ἐπ' ἀκμόνι δὲ πίστεως ἠδρασμένης
 ἐκ καρδιακῆς κατεχαλκεύθη σφύρας.
 οὐκοῦν ὁ τριῶν εὐρεθεὶς πρὶν ἐν μέσῳ
 10 οἷ κατέβησαν ζῶντες εἰς Ἄιδου γνόφον
 βίου δε φῶς κατεῖδον ἐν σοὶ δευτέρου
 (τοῦ ψαλμικοῦ ρηθέντος ἡμέρας βέλους),
 ὁ τρεῖς ἀθῶν τοῦ φθόνου κατακρίτους
 ἐν νυκτέροις ἄνακτος εὐσεβοῦς φόβοις,
 15 νυκτοδρομῶν δε καὶ σὺν ἀδρῶ χρυσίῳ
 νυμφοστολῶν τρεῖς ἀθλίου πατρὸς κόρας,
 μέσος παρ' ἡμᾶς δεῦρο καὶ νῦν τοὺς δύο,
 Γεώργιον με τὸν Σκυλίτζην ἐκ γένους,
 ἐξ Εὐγενειωτῶν δε τῆς ρίζης Ἄνναν,
 20 ἐμοὶ ζυγεῖσαν ὑπὸ σοὶ νυμφοστόλῳ
 γενοῦ δὲ φρουρὸς τοῦ βίου μὲν ἐν βίῳ
 ψυχὴν τε καὶ νοῦν καὶ τὸ κοινὸν σαρκίον,
 ἀμφοῖν φυλάττων ἀθιγῆ πάσης βλάβης·
 ἡμῶν διπλὴν τριάδα τηρῶν ὡς μίαν
 25 ὡς ὢν μαθητῆς τοῦ παρόντος ἐν μέσῳ
 δυοῖν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τριῶν συνηγμένων·
 ἐν τῇ κρίσει δὲ προστατήσας γνησίως
 φῶς Τριάδος δὸς τῆς μοναρχικῆς βλέπειν.

1 μηδὲν...μη δὲ M | 5 κόσμημα σου M corr. L | 7 ἄκμονος M | 12 ρυθέντος M.

12 Ps. 90 (91):5.

No. 278. *Εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς Θεοτόκου κοσμηθεῖσαν παρὰ τοῦ Σκληροῦ.*

Σοῦ καὶ τύποι στίλβοντες ἦσαν χρυσίω,
 τῆς χρυσέας νοῦν, χρυσέας τὸ σαρκίον
 στάμνος, κιβωτός, θυμιατήρ, λυχνία.
 τῆς πρωτοτύπου τοιγαροῦν σου τὸν τύπον,
 5 ἄνανδρε Μῆτερ, καλλύνω τῷ χρυσίω
 Κωνσταντῖνος σὸς λάτρης ἐκ Σκληρῶν γένους.
 σὺ δ' ἐν δοκιμῇ τοῦ πυρὸς τῶν πρακτέων
 χρυσόν με δεῖξον, καθαρόν, σεσωσμένον,
 ἄνθραξι σῆς χάριτος ἐκτεφροῦσά μου
 10 πᾶν ἔργον ὑπόχαλκον ὃ τρέφει φλόγας.

2 ναῦν M | 7 σύ δ' M | 10 φλόγα M φλόγας L.

No. 279. *Εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου κοσμηθεῖσαν παρὰ τοῦ Συναίτου.*

Ἐκ μαργαριτῶν, ἐκ λίθων, ἐκ χρυσοῦ,
 κοσμῶ τύπον σόν, ζῶσα χρυσοῦ λυχνία,
 Νικηφόρος σὸς οἰκέτης Συναίτης,
 εἰδὼς μὲν ὡς ἄξιον οὐδὲν εἰσφέρω,
 5 πλὴν ἵνα κἂν ἡ γλῶσσα μὴ λαλεῖν ἔχη,
 τὸ πρὸς σὲ φίλτρον ἐκβοῶσιν οἱ λίθοι.
 σὺ δ' ἐν βίῳ σκέποις με καὶ σώζεις τέλος.

Title Συναίτου L.

No. 281. *Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου.*

Ψυχὴν ἐμὴν ἄρδευε, πηγὴ χρυσέα.
 χρυσοῦ σφύρα, μάλαττε σιδηρᾶς φρένας.
 λόγων δὲ πυρὶ τῶν παθῶν ὕλας φλέγε,
 ὡς τοῦ πυρὸς κρίνοντος ὀφθῶ χρυσίον.

No. 282. *Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου.*

Εἰ μὴ μαθῶν ἦδριν σε, Μάξιμε, φθάσας,
 τμηθέντα γλῶσσαν ὑπὲρ ὀρθῶν δογμάτων,
 ἔκαρτέρουν ἂν σῶν ἐπακοῦσαι λόγων
 ἔμπνουν σε κρίνων κἂν δοκῆς γεγραμμένος.
 5 πλὴν πρὸς Θεόν μου καὶ σιγῶν ὑπερλάλει·
 ἀκούσεται γὰρ ὡς σιγῶντος Μωσέως.

No. 285. *Εἰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἁγίων Θεοδώρων.*

Εἰς πίστεως σύγκρατον ἀκραιφνῆ πόθον
 βάψας αὐλῶς τοῦ νοῶς τὴν γραφίδα
 ἐν καρδίας ἔγραψα πλαξὶ σαρκίνας
 ὑμᾶς, δυὰς σύναθλε τῶν Θεοδώρων,
 5 καὶ ταῖς νοηταῖς ἐγκατοπτεύω κόραις·
 διπλοῦς δὲ πλασθεὶς ἐκ νοῶς καὶ σαρκίου
 ἀναλόγως τὴν ὄψιν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν θέλω·
 ἐκ γοῦν ἐνύλων συγκραθέντων χρωμάτων
 συνεμμιγέντος αὐθις αὐτοῖς τοῦ πόθου
 10 ἐξεικονίζω τοὺς ὑμῶν θείους τύπους
 ὡς ἂν γραφέντας καὶ κατ' αἴσθησιν βλέπω.
 ὑμεῖς δὲ συμπράττοιτε παντὶ μοι βίῳ·
 διπλοῦς μὲν ἐχθροὺς ὁ Στρατηλάτης τρέπε
 τήρει δὲ Τήρων κυκλόθεν με καὶ σκέπε
 15 κἂν ἐμφανῶς τις, κἂν κρυφῆ βάλλειν θέλη,
 τέλος δὲ συνδραμόντες εἰς γνώμην μίαν
 βίβλω με προσγράψοιτε τῶν σωζομένων.

17 πρὸς γράψοιτε M.

No. 287. Εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς παναγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν.

Πολλάι, Σολομών φησι, τῶν θυγατέρων
 δύναμιν εἰργάσαντο, σὺ δὲ Παρθένε
 χάρισι πάσας ὑπερῆρας ποικίλαις,
 στείρας προέρχη, παρθένος συλλαμβάνεις,
 5 τίκεις Θεόν, τεκοῦσα παρθένος μένεις,
 θνήσκεις, πάλιν ζῆς ἐνθέῳ μεταστάσει.
 τί καινὸν εἶπερ ζῆν δοκεῖς γεγραμμένη;
 οὐ χρωμάτων· οἶμαι γὰρ ἐντέχνῳ κράσει
 θάλλειν τὸ σὸν πρόσωπον, ἐκ δὲ καρδίας
 10 κάλλει τρυφώσης τοῦ παρ' ἀγκάλαις βρέφους,
 ὡς νῦν ἐγὼ σου καὶ λόγους ἐκαρτέρουν
 εἰ μὴ τὸ μυστήριον ἐννοουμένην
 ἔγνωσεν σε σιγᾶν ὥσπερ ἐκθαμβουμένην.
 πλὴν ἀλλὰ κόσμον εὐμενῶς δεξαμένη
 15 πρωτοστράτορος δῶρον ἐξ Ἀλεξίου
 ὑπερλάλει μου μυστικωτέροις λόγοις.

| f. 116^v

1 Σολομών L | 6 ἐνθέῳ μεταστύπει M | 14 κόσμησον L | 16 ὑπεκλάλει L.

1-3 Pr. 31:29.

No. 291. Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοθεῖσαν ἐν Ἀδριανουπόλει.

«Ἐκ τοῦ διώκτου καὶ σπαράκτου μὲν πάλαι
 ἐσύστερον δὲ κήρυκος σοῦ γνησίου
 ἔχειν μαθὼν σε, τὸν θεάνθρωπον Λόγον,
 μέλλοντα παράκλητον εἰς τὸν Πατέρα
 5 (καὶ γὰρ Πατρί, Πνεύματι καὶ σαυτῷ, Λόγε,
 τῷ σῷ κατηλλάγημεν ἀρρήτῳ πάθει)
 τὸν σὸν γράφω πάναγνον ἐν πόθῳ τύπον
 περιγραφέντος ἐκ πάχους τοῦ σαρκίνου,
 κὰν οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ Θεὸς πάλιν μένης
 10 τὴν σὴν φυλάττων ἀπερίγραπτον φύσιν·
 πίστει δὲ τοῦτον προσφέρων ἐγκαρδίῳ
 ἀποστόλου σου προσκυρῶ μονῇ νέᾳ.
 σὺ γοῦν τὸ λύτρον, ὧνπερ ἡμάρτηκά σοι,
 ὅταν καθίσῃς εἰς κρίσιν, βράβευέ μοι.
 15 αἰτεῖ σε τοῦτο καὶ μοναστῶν τὸ στίφος
 οἳ καὶ καθυπέσχοντο λιτάς σοι φέρειν
 καθημέραν ἡμῶν τε μεμνησθαι, Λόγε,
 ἀραῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐμβαλόντες ἐνδίκαις
 εἰ μὴ πέρας διδοῦσι τοῖς δεδογμένοις».
 20 Νικόλαός σοι ταῦτα πιστὸς ἰκέτης
 πρωτονωβελλίσimos ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας,
 Μαυροκατακαλῶν δε πατρὸς ἐκ γένους,
 Εὐφροσύνη τε δουκικῆς ρίζης κλάδος
 πρωτοστράτορος Μιχαὴλ τὸ παππόθεν,
 25 ὃς αὐτανάσσης ἦν σύναιμος Εἰρήνης,
 Θεοδώρου δὲ πανσεβάστου πατρόθεν,
 οὓς σῶζε, Σῶτερ, πρὸς τρυφῆς φέρων χλόην
 Θεοδώρῳ συνάμα καὶ τῇ Μαρίᾳ
 τέκνοις συνάπτων εὐφροσύνης ἐν τόποις.

2 ἐσύστερον M | 9 μένεις M corr. M | 11 περιφέρων M | 17 μεμνησθαι M | 20 οἰκέτης L | 21
 πρωτονωβελλίσimos L | 22 δὲ L | 27 ἄς L.

5–6 Rom. 5:10.

No. 292. Εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ βαπτίσεως δοθεῖσαν εἰς τὸν ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ναὸν τοῦ Προδρόμου παρὰ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ.

Πρὶν μὲν κατιδὼν πῦρ θεϊκῆς οὐσίας
 ρείθροις μιγὲν σοῖς σαρκικῆς ὕλης πάχει,
 φόβῳ ταραχθεὶς ἐστράφης, Ἰορδάνη.
 νῦν δ' ἀλλὰ τὰ πραχθέντα σοὶ τότε βλέπων
 5 τύποις γραφέντα καρδίας πιστῆς πόθῳ
 πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν στράφηθι σὺν χαρᾷ πάλιν
 δαυτικῶς αἴρειν δε τὴν φωνὴν ἔχων,
 πάντων ποταμῶν μᾶλλον εὐλογωτέρως,
 ὡς τὸν Λόγον σχῶν ἔνδον ἐκπεπλυμένον
 10 φωνῆς βοῶντος δακτύλοις Ἰωάννου.
 αἴτει παρ' αὐτοῦ ψυχικὴν σωτηρίαν
 Κωνσταντίνῳ πληροῦντι βουλήν συζύγου,
 Ἀγγελοπώλων ἐκ γένους κατηγμένης,
 τῆς Ἑλένης, καὶ τόνδε τὸν θεῖον τύπον
 15 διδόντι δῶρον τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Προδρόμου
 ταῖς σαῖς παρ' ὄχθαις εὐσεβῶς ἰδρυμένη,
 ὡς ἂν τρυφῆς πίνωσι τῆς θείας ὕδωρ
 πηγῆς ποταμῶν ἐξ Ἑδέμ προηγμένων,
 κοινῶς μετ' αὐτοῦ σύζυγος τὲ καὶ τέκνα.

|f. 118

19. κοινὸς M.

7 Cf. Ps. 113a (114): 3 10 Mt. 3:3; Mc. 1:3; Lc. 3:4; Jn. 1:23.

* It is unclear from when this epigram dates. It could well date from the eleventh century, when the title of basilikos is prominent.

No. 307. Ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναρτηθέντι τρικανδήλῳ ἐν τῷ ναῶ τῶν Βήρου.

Πολλὰς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι καὶ νῦν μοι, μάκαρ,
 πηγὰς ἀνεστόμωσας εὐπραγημάτων.
 παντὸς φύλαξ ἄγρυπνος εὐρέθης βίου·
 τὸν παῖδα πρὶν ἤρπασας ἐξ Ἄδου πύλης,
 5 ἤγειρας ἐκ λίθων με νῦν τὸν πατέρα,
 ἔθραυσας ἐχθρὸν ὃς πέτραν μοι σκανδάλου
 ἐν ταῖς τρίβοις τέθεικεν ἢ μᾶλλον φόνου.
 κἂν πταισμάτων κύημα τὰ θλίβοντά με,
 τῶν γοῦν φθασάντων ὑπεραίρων τὴν χάριν
 10 (ὁ πρωτονοτάριος αἰτῶ καὶ πάλιν)
 μυροβλύτα, φρούρει με, παῖδας, ἐγγόνους,
 τέλος δὲ πᾶσι τῆς Ἐδὲμ κλῆρον νέμοις.

Title τρικανδύλω ML | 11.φρούρει με M | 12 τοῖς M.
 6 1Petr. 2:8.

No. 308. Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ.

Ῥυσθεῖσα δεινῆς καὶ πολυχρόνου νόσου
 ἢ μᾶλλον Ἄιδου τῶν πυλῶν ἐξηγμένη
 σαῖς, Παῦλε, λιταῖς, ὀρθοδοξίας στύλε,
 ἔγραψα μὲν σε πίστεως τῷ καλάμῳ
 5 φίλτρου βαφαῖς χρώσασα καρδίας μέσον.
 πλήν καθορᾶν θέλουσα καὶ σαρκὸς κόραις,
 Εὐδοκία Δούκαινα σὸν γράφω τύπον
 μίξασα τοῖς χρώμασι καὶ νῦν τὸν πόθον.
 σὺ δ' ἐν βίῳ μὲν προστάτει μου καὶ σκέπε,
 10 τέλος δὲ τρυφῆς ἐγκατασκήνου χλόη.

1 Ῥυσθεῖσα M corr. L | 4 ἐγράψαμέν M.

No. 309. *Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου τοῦ πρωτομάρτυρος.*

Τὸν δίχα χειρὸς ἐξ ὄρους τετμημένον
 λίθον, τὸν ἀκρόγωνον, ἐν ψυχῇ φέρων,
 ὃς συνδέτης ὑπῆρξε κόσμων τῶν δύο
 εἰς σταυρὸν ἄρθεις ἐν λιθοστρώτῳ τόπῳ,
 5 στέγεις δι' αὐτὸν μυρίων βολὰς λίθων
 καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς λιθίνων ἐκ βαθμίδων
 μαρτυρίου κλίμακα καινὴν πηγνύεις.
 οὐκοῦν στέφος νῦν ἀντὶ τῶν λιθασμάτων
 οὐκ ἐκ λίθων σοι τιμίῳν προσεπλάκη,
 10 ἀλλ' ἐκ χαρίτων Πνεύματος τρισολβίων.
 Βασίλειος δὲ Καρύκης, πιστὸς λάτρις,
 πέτραν πόθου σου καρδίᾳ προσεδράσας,
 σῆς εἰκόνοσ πίνακα χρυσῷ καλλύνει.
 σὺ δ' ἐν βίῳ, πρῶταθλε, προστάτης γίνου,
 15 [καὶ] μακρὰν αὐτοῦ δυσχερὲς πᾶν ἐκτρέποις,
 ἐν τῇ κρίσει δὲ τὴν Ἐδὲμ κληρὸν νέμοις.

1 τε σκημένοις L | 6 λιθίκων M | 12 πέτρα M πέτρα L πόλου L σοῦ L | 13 [..]ς M σῆς L | 14 πρωστάτης M
 corr.M | 15 καὶ ante μακρὰν add. L.

2 1Pet. 2:6 | 4Jo. 19:13.

No. 355. *Ἐπὶ εἰκόνι τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου κοσμηθείσῃ.*

Αὐτάγαθόν σε καὶ φιλεύσπλαγχνον φύσει
 σὸς οἶδε λάτρις μυστικὸς Νικηφόρος
 ψυχῆς δὲ πολλὴν τὴν πεποιθήσιν τρέφων
 προβάλλεται πρέσβιν με σοὶ τὴν μητέρα,
 5 πλαστοουργὲ κοινέ, κἂν διεπλάσθης θέλων
 ἐξ αἱμάτων μου σαρκίου λαβῶν φύσιν.
 χεῖρας σε λοιπὸν ἠγκαλισμένας βλέπων
 πρεσβευτικῶς πρὸς ὕψος ἐκτεταμένας
 ὡς υἱὸς αἰδέσθητι μητρικὸς λόγους,
 10 ὡς δ' οὖν Θεὸς βράβευε τῶν εὐχῶν πέρας
 καὶ πταισμάτων δούς μυριοπλόκων λύσιν
 σκηνοῦντα τοῦτον εἰς Ἐδὲμ δεῖξον χλόην.

1 φύ M φύσει L | 6 φύσις M | 10 ταῖς εὐχαῖς M | 11 λύσις M | 12 δεῖξαι L.

No. 356. Ἐπὶ εἰκόνι τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου κοσμηθεῖση παρὰ τοῦ Σερβλίου κυροῦ Ἰωάννου.

- «Πρὸς δωρεῶν θάλασσαν ὧν ἔσχον, μάκαρ,
 σοῦ προστατοῦντος, ὦ Θεοῦ δῶρον μέγα,
 βράνις τὸ δῶρον ἐκ δὲ φίλτρου καρδίας.
 σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ συνήθως με καὶ πάλιν σκέποις,
 5 διδοὺς Μανουήλ, αὐτάνακτος Αὐσόνων,
 εὐεργεσιῶν τὰς βρύσεις ἀειρρόους,
 φαίνων δὲ πάσαις ὡς λύχνος μου ταῖς τρίβοις,
 συνεκστρατεύων, συμμαχῶν, νόσους λύων,
 τέλος δε τρυφῆς ἐγκατοικίζων χλόη».
 10 Ἰωάννης σὸς δοῦλος αἰτῶ Σερβλίας.

Title κομισθείση M corr. κομισθείση M | 7 λίχνος M.

No. 358. Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου δεθεῖσαν διὰ χρυσίου παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.

- Ὅ τὰς καμήλου τρίχας εἰς σκέπην ἔχων,
 ὄσφυν δὲ σὴν δέρματι λεπτῶ συνδέων,
 βαπτιστὰ Χριστοῦ χρύσειον κόσμον δέχου
 δι' οὗ Μανουήλ, πορφυρανθῆς αὐτάναξ,
 5 καταγλαΐζει σὸν σεβάσμιον τύπον
 μονῆ δὲ τῆ σῆ πίστεως δῶρον νέμει
 ὡς σὺ μὲν αὐτῶ πρὸς Θεὸν μέσος γίνου,
 ὁ τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ νέου νόμου μέσος,
 κάν οὐρανοῖς σχεῖν τὴν βασιλειον στάσιν,
 10 τὸ δ' εὐλογοῦν σε τῶν μονοτρόπων στίφος
 ὄρων τὸ δῶρον καὶ διὰ μνήμης φέρον,
 Θεὸν δυσωπῆ τοῦ δεδωκότος χάριν.

|180^v

Title δεθεῖσαν M corr. L | 7 μῆσος M | 9 βασιλειον M.

1 Mt. 3:4; Mc. 1:6.

No. 368. Ἐπὶ εἰκόνι τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος.

Ἄναργύρωσ μὲν πρὶν παρεῖχες τὴν χάριν·
 νῦν δ' οὐ ποθῶν ἄργυρον, οὐδὲ χρυσίον,
 δίκην δὲ μὴ δοῦναι με τοῦ ψεύδους θέλων,
 νυκτὸς θροεῖς δοκοῦντα σὸν φιλεῖν τύπον
 5 πέπλον δὲ δεσμῶ συγκατίσχεσθαι ξένω,
 μνήμην ἕως ἔσχηκα τριχρόνου χρέους,
 ὃ νῦν περατῶ, Παντελεῆμον μάκαρ,
 Γεράσιμος σὸς τόνδε σοι κόσμον φέρων.

4 δοκοῦντος M.

No. 391. Εἰς τὸ θαῦμα τῶν πέντε ἄρτων.

Λαβῶν ἀφύρτως φύραμα τοῦ σαρκίου
 ἐκ παρθενικῶν ὑπεράγνων αἱμάτων,
 ὁ Πατὴρ Υἱὸς ἀχρόνου μητρὸς δίχα,
 ἄρτον σεαυτὸν οὐρανοῦ, Σωτήρ, λέγεις.
 5 ὡς ἄρτος οὖν ἔθρεψας ἄρτων πεντάδι
 ἄνδρας χιλίας πεντάκις μετρουμένους
 ἄνευ γυναικῶν συντραφεισῶν παιδίοις,
 καὶ νῦν τολοιπόν, ὡς διπλᾶς φέρων φύσεις,
 σῶμα μὲν ἄρτω τῷ καθ' ἡμέραν τρέφε,
 10 τὴν καρδίαν δὲ σοῦ στόματος τοῖς λόγοις.
 τέλος δὲ πάντας προσλαβὼν δαιτυμόνας
 τῆς σῆς τραπέζης, εἰς ἀείδρονον χλόην,
 κοινῶς τὸ καινὸν συμπίσις ἡμῖν πόμα.

4 Jn. 6: 32 | 5-7 Mt 14: 14-21.

No. 402. Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου, ἀπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων κυροῦ Ἰωάννου.

Κλίνας κεφαλὴν καὶ θανῶν ἐπὶ ξύλου,
 ὦ φρικτὲ νεκρέ, ζῶν Θεοῦ ζῶντος Λόγε,
 ἔοικας ὡς ἄνθρωπος αἴτησιν φέρειν
 τῷ πατρὶ τῷ σῶ τὴν βροτῶν σῶσαι φύσιν·

- 5 ἀρχιερεὺς γὰρ καὶ παράκλητος μέγας
 σύ, Σῶτερ, ὠφθης, ὡς ὁ σὸς Παῦλος γράφει.
 σὺ γοῦν ὁ θύσας καὶ τυθείς, Πλαστουργέ μου,
 τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σὴν σφαγὴν δεδεγμένος
 καὶ τὴν δέησιν ἣν δέδωκας λαμβάνων
- 10 ἔμοι τὸ λύτρον ὡς Θεὸς δῶρον νέμοις·
 τί γὰρ πλεόν τις εἰς ἴλασμά σοι φέρει
 ἢ τὸ προχυθὲν αἷμα [σοῦ] σταυρουμένου;
 τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ δε σοῦ τῆς ἀγίας
 θρόνῳ με σεπτῷ πατριαρχῶν ἰδρύσας,
- 15 κὰν οὐρανοῖς δὸς σοὶ θύειν ἐπαξίως
 καὶ τῆς τραπέζης συμμετασχεῖν τῆς ἄνω
 καὶ δοῦλον ὄντα προσλαβοῦ δαιτυμόνα
 τὸν πατριάρχην τῆς Σιών Ἰωάννην.

Title [τοῦ αὐτοῦ] add. L | 12 αἷμα M.

6 1Cor. 15: 5–8.

No. 403. *Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδοσίου τοῦ κοινοβιάρχου.*

Ψυχῆς, Θεοδόσιε, τῇ προθυμίᾳ
 τὴν σαρκὸς ἀσθένειαν ἐκνικᾶν θέλων,
 σχοῖνω σεαυτὸν ἐκκρεμῶν εὐχῆ πλέον.
 ἐντεῦθεν ἔλκεις καὶ κατάγεις ὑψόθεν
 5 πᾶσαν τελείαν ἐκ Θεοῦ θείαν δόσιν·
 ἄγγχεις δὲ Σατὰν καὶ διαιρεῖς παγίδας
 καὶ δαυϊτικῶς πρὸς Θεὸν λέγειν ἔχεις
 «ἐξιχνίασας τὴν ἐμὴν σχοῖνον, Λόγε».
 αὐτός δε κληρὸν τῆς Ἐδὲμ σκηνωμάτων
 10 ἐν σχοινίῳ σοι μυστικῶ μέγαν νέμει.
 τύπον δὲ τὸν σὸν ἐκ πόθου πολλοῦ γράφει
 ὁ πατριάρχης τῆς Σιῶν Ἰωάννης,
 ὃν καὶ σκέποις νῦν καὶ κατευθύνοις, Πάτερ,
 τέλος δὲ καὶ σύσκηνον αὐτὸς προσλάβοις.

Title [Τοῦ αὐτοῦ] add. L | 1 τὴν σαρκὸς post προθυμίᾳ exp. M.
 8 Ps. 138 (139):3.

No. 404. Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Σάβα.

Ἐκ πράξεων φῶς χρηματίσας ἐνθέων
ἔμπροσθεν ἐξέλαμψας ἀνθρώπων, Σάβα.

ὁ γοῦν ὁδηγῶν Ἰσραὴλ πυρὸς στύλῳ
καί σοι πυρὸς δείκνυσιν ἐξ ὕψους στῦλον

5 ἐστῶτα φρικτῶς ἐν θεοκτίστῳ τόπῳ

ἐν ᾧ μονὴν ἠδρασας αὐτὸς ἁγίαν.

ἄλλην κιβωτὸν σωστικὴν μονοτρόπων,

ἧς θρέμμα φανείς, ἧς προασκήσας πάλαι,

ὁ πατριάρχης τῆς Σιών Ἰωάννης,

10 σοῦ τὸν τύπον νῦν ἅμα τῷ στύλῳ γράφει

πῦρ δεικνύων κρύφιον οὗ τρέφει πόθον.

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σύ δ' ἄλλὰ ταύτην τὴν πυράφλεκτον βάτον

λίταζε φωτὸς λυχνίαν τὴν χρυσεάν

τὸ τρισσοφεγγές φῶς Θεοῦ τοῦτον βλέπειν

15 καί σοι συνεῖναι κὰν μοναῖς οὐρανίαις.

Title [τοῦ αὐτοῦ] add. L | 4 στῦλον M | 7 ἄλλην [δέ] κιβωτὸν συζῆν τῶν μονοτρόπων | 11 πόθου M corr
L | 12 πυρίφλεκτον L.

3 Ex. 13:21 ; Num. 14:14; 2Esdras 19:12.

II. New readings

- 43 2 πέτρας M: πέτρος L | 3 κατίσχυε M: κατίσχυσε L | 6 τοῦ Μογλένων M: τῶν Μογλένων L.
- 44 2 φορά M: φθορά L | 5 τοῦ Μογλένων M: τῶν Μογλένων L.
- 47 16 μακρὰν M: μακρὸν L.
- 52 10 πορφυρανθῆς M: πυρφυρανθῆς L | 18 κλίνας M: κλίναις L | 20 νέμοι M: νέμοις L.
- 59 20 δε M: δὲ N.
- 65 1 σοῦ ss. πόθου M | 10 ὄλης M: ὄδε L | 14 ὑπερ M : ὑπαρ L | 15. κριθέντά μοι M | 18 σεπτὴν M: πιστὴν L | 20 δὲ M: δε L | 27 τρέχων M: τρέχω L.
- 71 4 γῆς M: σῆς L.
- 75 8 λίχνος M λιχνος corr. M : λύχνος L.
- 79 Title νομῆς M: μονῆς L | 4 σὺ δ' ὁ στεγάζων M: σὺ δὲ στεγάζων L.
- 80 1 λόγου M: λόγε L | 6 ὡς M: καὶ L.
- 81 5 περιβλύζουσαν M: περιβλύζουσα M.
- 85 12 Ἀγγελοπωλων M: Ἀγγελοπούλων L.
- 88 3 ῥάκος M: ῥάκος L | 4. μικρὰν M: μακρὰν L | 7 τριττὰς ML: τριττῆς R.
- 89 3 Θεὸς γὰρ ἔστιν M : Θεὸς γὰρ ἔστιν L | 6 σε M : σοῦ L.
- 90 3 στιλπνότητος M: στιλπνότητα L | 20 ὡς δ' ἐξ M: ὡς ἐξ L.
- 91 6 ὠροφωσά M: ὠροφωσάμην L | 23 χλόην M: χάριν L.
- 92 2 ξυνεζύγη ML: συνεζύγη P | 3 αὐτοκρατοροῦντος M: αὐτοκρατοῦντος LP.
- 93 Title κοιμηθείσης M: κοσμηθείσης L Καματηροῦ κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου M: Καματηροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου L | 30 ἐκφλεγέντων M: ἐκτριβέντων L.
- 95 1 πρὶν M: πρὸς L | 3 Καματερός M: Καματηρὸς L | 4 λάτρης M: λάτρις L | 9 τὲ M: τε L.
- 96 9. τίς M: τῆς L.
- 97 14 ἅπαντας M: ἀπάντων L.
- 99 12 φίλτρον φλογὶ M: φίλτρον φλοξὶ L | 16 ξέω δὲ M : ξέω τὸ L | 19 φλόγας M: φλόγα L.
- 101 1 ἀγρίου τάσις M: ἀγρότου τάσις L | 10 χὼν M: σχὼν L | 14 ἀ..ξέων M: ἀναξέων L | 19 συμμέτρει M: συμμέλει L | 20 με M: σε L | 24 ἐπὰν M: ἐπεὶ L | 25 ἀφύκτου M: ἀφύκτως L | 29 ἔνδον ἐν..τ..θεὶς ἡγνισμένον M: ἔνδον ἐν...ἡγνοημένον L | 30 Χριστοῦ M: Χριστὲ L | 31 θείας M: θείοις L | 32 με M: μοι L.
- 109 1 προτεῖνεται μὲν M : προτείνει...μὲν L.
- 111 4 Συροπωλων M: Συροπώλων L | 7 παρθένου M: παρθένον L | 9 ἐκλελουμένων M: ἐκλαλουμένων L | 14 κατατρυφᾶν M: κατατρυφῶν L.
- 112 17 χύσεις M: λύσεις L | 24 γλυκυρρόους M: ὠκυρρόους L | 31 λ[ή]γειν M: λύειν L | 34 κρατυναι M: κρατῦναι L.

- 238 Title Τριαδίτζης M: Τριαδίτσης L | 1 Μανωέ M: Μανουέ L | 2 γί M: γίνεται L | 4 πῦρ M: πατήρ L | 5 σαῖς M: ταῖς L.
- 240 Title ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου M: ἀπὸ τοῦ κανικλείου L | 1 φέρω M: φέρων L.
- 246 Title καὶ ante τὴν add. MaN εὐλογουμένους M: εὐλογουμένην LMaN | 3 προσλαλεῖ M: προυλαλεῖ MaN | 4 ὡς M: καὶ MaN | 6 ἀπ' αὐτῶν M: ἀπάντων MaN | 10 διαδήλοντες M: διαγγείλοντες MaN | 14 τοὺς συντριβέντας ἐκδρομαῖς ML: τὴν συντριβὴν τῶν ἐκδρομῶν MaN | 17 κἂν ML: κὰν MaN | 18 πίστιν prap. L πόθῳ M corr.MaN | 19 Μανουήλ M: Μανουήλ MaN | 25 κεκραγῶς M: κεκρατῶς MaN | 27 συνῆψεν M: συνῆψε MN | 29 τῷ θρόνῳ M: τοῦ θρόνου MaN | 33 χεῖν M <ῒ>χεῖν MaN αὐτῶν M: αὐτοῦ MaN.
- 249 6 ἡ M: ἡ L | 15 ἐγκατεστηριγμένον M: ἐγκατεστηριγμένη L | 44 οὐκ τιννύει M: οὐ κτιννύει L | 56 δουλαγωγεῖ M: δουλαγωγεῖς L | 61 συγκεκραμένους M: συγκεκραμένον L.
- 261 4d διψᾶ M: διψεῖ L.
- 269 2 διαγράφων M: διαγράφεις LMaN | 11 συνεννοεῖν δε καὶ τι μοι M: συνεννοεῖν καὶ τί μοι MaN | 12 πάρεισιν M: γάρ εἰσιν MaN | 15 πόλου M: στόλου MaN | 16 κεφαλῶν M: κεφαλῆς MaN | 17 δάδας M: Δάκας MaN.
- 292 Title πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τάφον M: πρὸς τὸν Χριστοῦ τάφον L | 5 βασιλέως M: βασιλέα L | 12 βούλησι M βούλησιν L | 14 συμμερίσασθαι M: συμμετρίσασθαι L.
- 295 7 λόγου M: λόγον L.
- 303 12 ἄλλην M: ἄλλως L | 17 ζωῆς M: ζῆν L.
- 325 6 πάσαις M : πάσης L | 11 γ ss. post λ φάλαξιν M.
- 328 18 ταύτης M: ταύτην L.
- 341 1 Θεοῦ παῖ M: θεῶ πᾶν L ῶ παῖ MaN | 2 ἂν M MaN: ἄ L | 3 εἶ σὺ ML: ἐσὺ MaN δύς M: δύο L δῖς MaN | 6 ἐκπόρευσι M corrMaN | 7 πιστῶς M: πιστοῖς MaN μίαν M: μὰν MaN.
- 343 7 λοφ M: λόφους L | 10 θλάται M : θλᾶται L | 12 χρυσέων M: χρυσίων L.
- 344 6 ὠστρακώμενος M: ὠστρακωμένος L | 17 ἔσχον M: ἔσχεν L.
- 345 10 φρίττε, πίπτε, λείχε M: φρίττε, λείχε L πτέρνης M: πτέρνας L.
- 346 7 μαργάρων M: μαρμάρων L | 9 δύναμι σὲ M: δύναμίν σε L.
- 347 19 δε M: σε L | 20 διελθεῖν M: προελθεῖν L | 25 στίφει M: στέφει L.
- 376 1 [Π]ολλὰς M: ...ὸν (;) L | 10 οἶκε M: οἶκος L | 17 τρίβοις M: τρίβαις L | 20 ἐπεντρυφᾶν M: ἐπεντρυφῶν L.

Part III

The context:
Dedicatory epigrams
on works of art

1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction I: General remarks

The *Anthologia Marciana* includes poetry dating from the reign of Constantine Monomachos to the reign of Alexios III. However, in this thesis I have restricted the scope to only the anonymous dedicatory epigrams on works of art dating from the reign of Manuel Komnenos, which can be found in collections B and C. These texts amount to 118 epigrams.

The fact that they date mainly from the reign of Manuel Komnenos is not a coincidence. Rhetoric flourished in his court. Manuel himself is the second most praised emperor in Byzantine history¹. Poetry as a rhetorical device was performed in official and unofficial ceremonies: acclamations were sung by the *demes*, long ‘speeches’ (λόγοι) written in political verse and poems in dodecasyllables performed by the rhetors, while *ethopoiiai*, didactic poems, dramatic verse dialogues, historical texts, monodies and romances written in verse were read aloud in the ‘rhetorical *theatra*’². To this list of texts, epigrams must be added.

It is hard to define what a Byzantine epigram is³. Certainly, it is different to the modern perception of a *brief text which makes a point at the end*⁴. It has been defined as ‘either a “text written on (an object)” or a “text written next to a piece of literature”’.⁵ The work of Theodore Balsamon († after 1195) – a famous canonlawyer and scholar – provides a good example of the subjects of epigrams from the late

¹ Angelov 2007: 30.

² For a general introduction to Comnenian poetry see Lauxtermann 2004: 327–35. See also Jeffreys 2009: 222–5. On court poetry see Hörandner 2003.

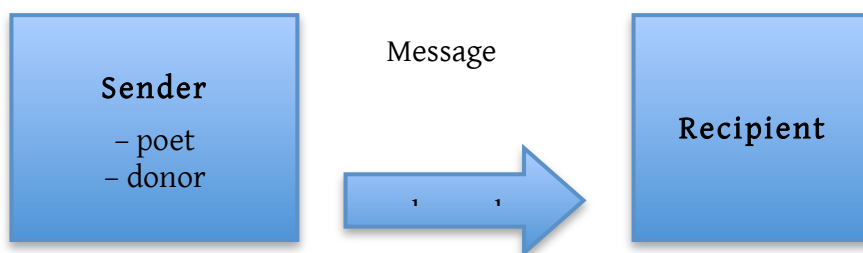
³ Lauxtermann 2003: 142–4.

⁴ *Ibid.* Cf. *OED*, s.v.

⁵ Lauxtermann 2003: 30.

middle Byzantine era. He wrote epitaphs⁶, book epigrams⁷ and epigrams on works of art⁸. It is this last category of poetry that I am most interested in. In his influential book, Marc Lauxtermann has defined the epigrams on works of art as a genre in its own right, ‘a kind of poetry that aims to express forms of the visual imagination and to render in words mental perceptions of the visible’⁹. The anonymous epigrams in the corpus at hand refer to all kind of objects: icons, frescoes, mosaics, encheiria, *enkolpia*, drinking cups, belts, swords, etc.

Epigrams on works of art (especially these concerning religious objects) are texts of communication not only between the divine and mortal world, but also between the members of a community. According to the basic scheme of communication, a sender transmits a message that passes through a specific channel and aims to reach a certain destination, the recipient. The sender creates and sends the message. The most obvious sender is the author, the poet. In the case of dedicatory epigrams, the donor as well as the poet sends the message. The donor is the instigator for the creation of the object as a gift with the expectation that a specific message will be transferred. Thus, the scheme becomes more elaborate:



⁶ E.g. Theodore Balsamon, *Epigrams*, XI: *Εἰς τὸν τάφον ἐντὸς ὄντα τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς ἀγίας Ἄννης τιμωμένης τῇ μονῇ τῶν Ὁδηγῶν*.

⁷ Balsamon, *Epigrams*, XXVIII and XXXIV.

⁸ On icons (*Epigrams*, I–VIII, XIV, XX (A–B), XXIV (A–B), XXIX, XXXV), on a basket (*Epigrams*, XVIII (A–C)), even on the inscription of the conciliar edict of 1166 erected in the nathex of Hagia Sophia (*Epigrams*, XXXII).

⁹ Lauxtermann 2003: 152.

It is hard to define the identity of the recipient. Following principles adopted from New Historicism¹⁰ and the related Archaeo-Historicism¹¹, epigrams – as with any kind of art of the past – can be seen through a double scope. On the one hand, the epigrams on works of art have been composed and interpreted in their time and place (in their original context). They have been written for (and hence they have been formed by) an audience¹² with a specific *cultural background*. On the other, they are interpreted in the time and place of their new receiver (the reader of the manuscript)¹³. Even if epigrams are events of a certain time, they will be perceived differently each time they are read, given that their context is ever-changing. The aim of this, third, part of the thesis is to reach as close as possible to the twelfth-century perception of these texts.

¹⁰ On New Historicism in Byzantine studies see Odorico–Agapitos 2002 – esp. Mullett 2002: 49–50. See the work done by Niels Gauls in his book (*Thomas Magistros und die spätbyzantinische Sophistik. Studien zum Humanismus urbaner Eliten in der frühen Palaiologenzeit*, Harrassowitz, 2011), Floris Bernard (2010) in his doctoral thesis (esp. pp. 6–11), and G.L. Conor (1999) in her article on the famous St Polyuktos inscription. For a general introduction to New Historicism see Gallagher–Greenblatt 2000.

¹¹ Archaeo–historicism is also a context–building approach to analysing a literary text. According to Robert Hume, the main representative of this theory, ‘Archaeo–historicism allow us to carry out interlinked activities: (1) we reconstruct historical contexts and (2) we can then employ those contexts to help us read texts in something like their original circumstances’ (Hume 1999: 188). Moreover, Archaeo–historicism attempts ‘to reconstruct specific contexts that permit the present-day interpreter to make sense of the cultural artefacts of the past and the conditions in which they are produced’ (ibid, 9). It is ‘devoted to the reconstruction of historical events and viewpoint from primary material’ (ibid, 10). The same scholar finds that New Historicism carries out ‘a text–based form of close reading, not as engaging in a serious attempt to investigate original contexts’ (ibid, 6). Furthermore, he criticises New Historicism as not systematic enough, finding that its representatives use a random and fragmental selection of background material (ibid, 6–7). Admittedly, both approaches (Archeo and New Historicism) are very close. True enough, New Historicism in contrast to Archaeo–historicism does not propose a specific interpretive method of literary texts (on the method of the Archaeo–Historicism, see ibid, 45–100). Instead, New Historicism is a collective term, open to any scholar who discusses literature in its historical context and as part of human activity (Shea 1993, s.v.); in other words, it covers any contextual approach to a text. An attempt to systematise New Historicism can be found in Gallagher–Greenblatt 2000. Another difference is that Archaeo–historicism pays more attention to facts and events. This is not so strictly specified by the New Historicists. Given that the main aim of both approaches is the contextual analysis of the text and that their differences are minor, it can be argued that Archaeo–historicism is simply a different label (cf. Hume 1999: 7).

¹² Cf. Spiegel 1990: 77. ‘All texts occupy determinate social spaces, both as products of the social world of authors and as textual agents at work in that world, with which they entertain often complex and contestatory relations. In that sense, texts both mirror and generate social realities, constitute the social and discursive formations which they may sustain, resist, contest, or seek to transform depending on the case at hand’.

¹³ Gallagher–Greenblatt 2000: 17.

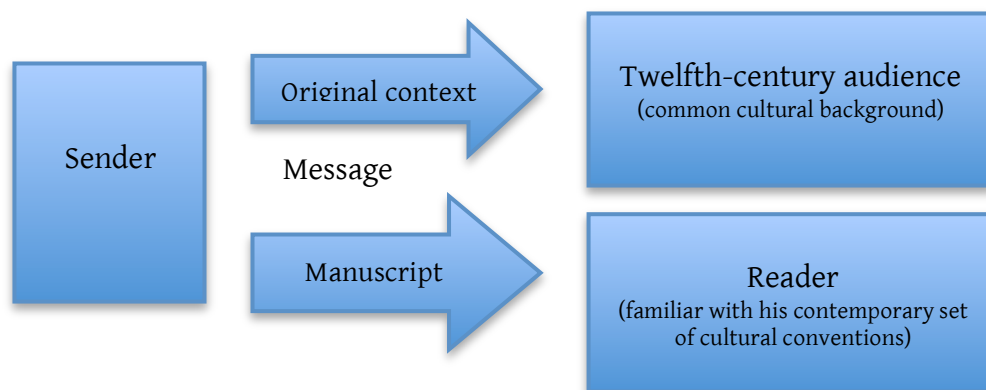
The collective term *cultural background* comprises two elements: the *individual* cultural background and the *common* cultural background. The *common cultural background* is formed by the historically conditioned conscience of a group, its common historically conditioned longings, and the accumulated knowledge about physical reality. These are transported from generation to generation via social learning. A sender is most probably familiar with his contemporary common cultural background; the poet and the donor of each object (if different from the poet) appeal to their contemporary audience. Due to a common cultural background, the audience of our epigrams has several common tools which it uses to perceive the world and our texts.

On the other hand, the *individual cultural background* dictates the final understanding of a literary work (as well as the world in general). It includes special/personal characteristics and other uncontrolled personal factors (e.g. the doubts and dreams of a person, his or her character as formed by the self and its environment). The example of multiculturalism illustrates this situation, as cross-cultural marriages were a familiar phenomenon in Manuel's court¹⁴. A person born to parents in a cross-cultural marriage is affected by the *cultural background* of both parents and by the place in which he or she grows up. However, the individual cultural background, being a completely random factor, cannot be discussed.

The following chapters seek to recover as much as possible of the original context of the epigrams and to understand the poetry on its own terms, taking into consideration the twelfth-century audience. Limitations and constraints are inherent in the nature of the research. The modern scholar does not only read the epigram in a different context from the original context (i.e. in a manuscript), but also he is familiar with a modern set of cultural conventions, different from the

¹⁴ See for example the genealogy of John Tzetzes (Gautier 1970).

twelfth-century reader. Thus, only a fraction of the original purpose of the text can be retrieved¹⁵, if one does not realise that the epigrams have been written from a different perspective than our own. A scholar must therefore enter a foreign horizon of expectations and, since past horizons no longer exists, has to try to reconstruct them¹⁶. Therefore, what is possible is to become familiar with cultural conventions and, based on them, to attempt to reconstruct a version of the original context. The following diagram summarises the main points:



Consequently, I will attempt to move from the text to the context, because ‘text affects context as emerging from it’¹⁷. Admittedly, the term *context* is ‘a vague concept’¹⁸. Robert Hume understands it as ‘the events, values, circumstances, judgements, and *Weltanschauung* of a particular past time and place’¹⁹. Similarly, David Myers sees the context as the social and political circumstances in which a text emerged²⁰. Gabrielle Spiegel, on the other hand, sees the context as being formed by different ‘texts of everyday life’, which have an *intertextual* connection²¹. Convincingly, Marc Lauxtermann notes: ‘[the term *context*] includes anything

¹⁵ Hume 1999: 46.

¹⁶ Hume 1999: 71.

¹⁷ Hume 1999: 36. He carries on saying: ‘applying context to text, one tends to look for a spectrum of “normal” assumptions and potential responses – that is to be conscious of the assumptions common to many readers. Going the other way, from text to context, helps sensitize us to the original, the abnormal, and the subversive: we become aware of the potential power of individual challenge to cultural norms’.

¹⁸ Cf. Lauxtermann 2003: 26.

¹⁹ Hume 1999: 2.

²⁰ Myers 1988–9: 27.

²¹ Spiegel 1990.

relevant to the text one is reading, but which is not expressed in so many words and is therefore not entirely self-evident. It involves a number of questions: when, where, by whom, for which audience, what genre, at which occasion, for which purpose and so forth²². Therefore, if the 'context' acquires this meaning as a word, then indeed the same 'can be used to generate plausible meanings within a historical setting'²³.

In this discussion, the context is understood as the network of signs formed in a specific time and place. It consists of three main components: the genre, the social world that gave birth to and initially interpreted these texts, and the object to which each epigram refers. In other words, elements from the aforementioned three components can form and affect a text equally.

The genre is determined mainly by the function of a text and the literary technique employed by the author. Furthermore, an author composes a text under the influence of his socio-economic surroundings and with the genre in mind. Every era 'demands' the composition of texts with specific characteristics. This is most applicable in the case of commissioned texts, which many of our epigrams are. Each text has to express a specific political and cultural ideology, as well as a social reality. Simultaneously, its perception is affected by the same parameters. The authors composed epigrams having in mind (even vaguely) a work of art and the specific occasion for which it was commissioned. Fortunately, all the epigrams discussed here are written on concrete objects. It is usually known who offered, why he or she offered a gift and what the donor expects in return.

This part of the thesis is structured around the ideas outlined above. The first chapter is an investigation of the practical use of the texts – their role as *Gebrauchstexte*. This term is discussed on the basis of the scheme of communication.

²² Lauxtermann 2003: 26.

²³ Hume 1999: 192.

Special attention is given to whether and how the epigrams might have been inscribed and the role the epigrams played. In order to understand this, examples from inscribed epigrams will be given. Then, epigrams intended for oral (public or private) performance will be discussed. The distinguishing characteristics of *performative* epigrams and the possible occasions on which they might have been performed will be presented. It will be suggested that such epigrams were written in order to accompany a donation and were either to be performed by the donor or sent as letters together with the gift. The second chapter focuses on the meaning of the term *dedicatory epigram*. It will be discussed how the poetics of a standardised genre connect the epigrams to their literary context. Conventions of the genre are important in order to approach the meaning and the practical function of the text²⁴. Specifically, models and patterns will be identified, as well as the structure of the text, the way the donor is introduced, and the narrative choices, while the language employed by the author will be analysed. Moreover, the aim of epigrams on works of art is much affected by donors' preferences, while their overall significance is determined by a ritualistic aspect embedded in the texts. In the next chapter, the focus moves from the texts to the objects these texts accompany. First, the objects are discussed. Epigrams were connected to everything from objects of minor art, like a belt or a sword, to buildings' façades. Then, the discussion moves on to their production, covering the twelfth-century art market with its components and how the commissioner influenced the production of the objects, as well as the texts. Donors and artists – the 'producers' – are at the very heart of the art market. Important features of the economic, political and ecclesiastical frameworks will be discussed and the aesthetic demands expressed in the epigrams will be analysed in

²⁴ Cf. Hume 1999: 73–4.

their context. Finally, the importance of the epigrams in terms of the symbolic value of the objects will be examined.

The multilevel reading of the corpus of epigrams aims to help us better understand the dedicatory epigrams on works of art by placing them in their original socio-historical and cultural contexts. The ultimate goal of this discussion is to approach as much as possible the mechanisms for the production of the texts and the conception of the twelfth-century recipient of the epigram.

Since my point of view has a clearly sociological basis, a second introductory section follows. This section describes briefly the social world in which the epigrams have been produced.

1.2. Introduction II: The social network of the donors

This section aims to give a general picture of the social network of the donors. Prosopographical details of the donors are mentioned throughout the thesis. Thus, details for only a very few donors will be given here. The diagram at the end of this section aims to represent in an economical way the interconnections between the donors. It has been created with the help of VennMaker, a network-mapping software tool developed by the University of Trier²⁵. The diagram shows the social distance of the donors from the emperor at, roughly, the moment of the commission of the epigram.

The central ‘actor’ of the plan is Emperor Manuel Komnenos, since most of the epigrams of the corpus at hand are datable to his reign. Emperors Alexios (1081–1118) and John II Komnenos (1118–1143) and their wives also appear in the diagram, mainly in order to help illustrate the interconnections between the donors. It should also be noted that only ‘actors’ important for understanding the social network of the donors are placed in the diagram, even if they are mentioned in other sources a not in our corpus. One can easily note the missing members of the imperial family, such as several sons and daughters of Alexios I and John II. Donors of epigrams who lived in the early twelfth century and are actively connected to donors from after 1143 are also included in the diagram (fig. 22)²⁶.

In total, 115 actors have been placed around the ‘main actor’, Manuel Komnenos (the star in the middle of the circle). The actors include the donors (yellow circle)²⁷, members of the donors’ family that are mentioned in the epigrams

²⁵ <http://www.vennmaker.com>.

²⁶ That is John Komnenos (Varzos 1984: no. 23) and his wife (nos 50 and 51), Alexios, son of John II Komnenos (no. 260) and the epigrams by Eirene Dokeiane Komnene (nos 252 and 261; Varzos 1984: no. 61). Uncertain is also the identification of the donors of nos. 82 (Eirene Doukaina, Eirene/Piroska or Eirene/Bertha?), and 304 (1131, according to Oikonomides 2001).

²⁷ For the identification of the donors/actors, I have generally followed Polemis 1968, Varzos 1984, and Magdalino 1993. PBW was also an extremely useful tool. For some of the donors special studies were available. These studies are noted in the footnotes of chapter 3.3 and the one at hand.

(‘secondary donors’ – blue circle), members of the family of the donors that are not mentioned in the epigrams (white circle), and intellectuals (white triangles). Most of the categories are self-explanatory. ‘Secondary donors’ are usually members of the donor’s family mentioned in the final supplication²⁸, while ‘intellectuals’ include twelfth-century authors of court literature who are known to have connections with other actors (including John Tzetzes, Theodore Prodromos, Manganeios Prodromos, John Glykas, Eustathios of Thessaloniki, Gregory Antiochos, Theodore Balsamon, Euthymios Malakes, Constantine Manasses)²⁹. Two actors are noted as unspecified: Nikephoros Serblias and Stephanos Meles. Nikephoros Serblias was the *mystikos* of Manuel Komnenos³⁰. He is not a donor of one of the objects. However, one of the donors is John Serblias. We are missing other information about John, except his surname. Most possibly, Nikephoros and John (who also supplicates the emperor) were somehow related, although it is impossible to state exactly what the connection was³¹. They were most likely members of the same family, but nothing more than this. The same unspecified family connection is true for *logothetes* Stephanos Meles³² and Andrianos Meles³³.

The actors are connected mainly by relations of kinship (up to a third degree), which is mentioned or not in the epigram. Spouses and husbands are noted with a blue line, while children, parents, nieces, and nephews are connected with a red line. If their relationship is mentioned in the epigram then the line is continuous and if not it is dashed. The actors connected to the emperors because of their position in the imperial administration are noted with the relationship ‘ruling

²⁸ See pp. 212ff.

²⁹ For the social network of Theodore Prodromos, see Magdalino 1993: 510 and Grünbart 2005; of Manganeios Prodromos, see Magdalino 1993: 510–1; of John Tzetzes, see Grünbart 1996 and 2005.

³⁰ Magdalino 1984 (c): 232.

³¹ One more member of the Serblias family, Basil, appears as the donor in no. 244.

³² Theodore Prodromos, *Poems*, no. 69.

³³ No. 251.

class' (bright purple). A good idea of who were the influential members of the Byzantine court is given by the list of the participants in the synods of 1166³⁴. These are noted with a bright green dashed line. 'Intellectual relationships' connect the donors between themselves or with famous *literati* (green dashed line). They include letter exchange or dedication of literary works. Sometimes it is not possible to establish what the connection between two actors is. For example, Constantine, the husband of Eirene from the Angelos family, made a series of donations to the monastery of St John the Forerunner in Jordan. The monastery of St John was renovated by Manuel Komnenos³⁵. Therefore, Constantine must have a connection to this fact and to the emperor, perhaps being one of his soldiers. Andronikos Kontostephanos, son of the secondary donor Stephanos Kontostephanos³⁶, became monk in the monastery that Nikephoros the mystikos founded in the time of Manuel³⁷. Again, unfortunately nothing is known of the connection between the two men. The connection between the emperor and John Chrysorophites is also uncertain. However, Chrysorophites commissioned a portrait of the emperor and his wife. Chrysorophites was clearly hoping to be favoured by the emperor.

The circle is divided into four levels and two sectors. Each sector notes whether a donor comes from the secular or a monastic/ecclesiastic sphere. Secular sector includes also people who received the monastic habit in a late stage of their lives. The epigrams (and the donations) signify the transition³⁸.

The levels for the three sectors are: (a) level 0: 'the Palace'; (b) level 1.1: people with strong affinity to the palace; (c) level 1.2: the inner circle/governing elite; (d) level 2: mainly members of the low aristocracy; (e) level X: unspecified, and

³⁴ See Magdalino 1993: 504–7.

³⁵ See p. 214, note 224.

³⁶ No. 257.

³⁷ Magdalino 1993: 245.

³⁸ See p. 203.

(f) level 1*: local notables³⁹. Each level denotes the distance of an individual from the emperor. For the taxonomy of the ‘actors’, three main criteria are used: (a) the importance of the family in the Comnenian court; (b) the rank or the title of an individual; and, when the two are not available, (c) the approximate value of the offering (which is subsequently indicative of the financial power of the donor). The diagram does not aim to locate the position of each actor with absolute accuracy, but more to give the general picture. A more detailed arrangement of the ‘actors’ in social levels is impossible. Ranks or titles do not always guarantee the connection of an individual to the emperor since this was also a matter of personal favouritism on behalf of the emperor. Furthermore, the preferences of the emperor changed over time⁴⁰.

The *Palace* (level 0) includes the emperor(s) and first-degree relatives. The *second circle* (level 1.1) comprises individuals with strong affinity to the Palace. They are members of the upper echelons of society, mainly members of the families of Komnenos and Doukas and their husbands/wives. The individuals are distant no more than three generations from their contemporary reigning emperor. For example, John Doukas Komnenos was the younger son of Anna Komnene, daughter of Alexios I, and Nikephoros Bryennios⁴¹. When the epigram was written, his cousin, Manuel Komnenos, was reigning. It is therefore reasonable to include him in this level. *Sebastoi*, *protosebastoi*, *pansebastoi* *sebastoi*, and *sebastokratores*, such as Andronikos Doukas Kamateros and George Palaiologos Doukas Komnenos, are also

³⁹ The suggested classification is parallel to National Statistic Socio-economics stratification (<http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/classifications/current-standard-classifications/soc2010/soc2010-volume-3-ns-sec--rebased-on-soc2010--user-manual/index.html>).

⁴⁰ This time-factor is not illustrated in the diagram, since only the moment of the dedication is considered. Paul Magdalino (1993: 180–227 (esp. 183–4) in his magisterial book discusses these parameters in detail.

⁴¹ Varzos 1984: no. 66. See also epigram no. 63.

included in this level⁴². *Mystikoi*, since they had an increasing importance at the court of Manuel, also had a very strong affinity to the emperor⁴³.

The inner circle/governing elite (level 1.2) includes high-ranking officials and members of other well-known families, such as the Kamateros⁴⁴, Kontostephanos⁴⁵, and Gabras⁴⁶. Between the high-ranking officials in this level is *protonobelissimos* Nicholas Mavrokatakalon⁴⁷, the *ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου* Theodore Styppeiotes⁴⁸, and Michael Alousianos Hagiotheodorites⁴⁹. Nikephoros Sinaites appears as the addressee in one of Michael Glykas' letters as *οἰκειώτατος ἄνθρωπος* of the emperor – someone 'near' the emperor⁵⁰.

Individuals placed in level 2 do not bear a title or do not come from a noble family and therefore they are placed at a distance from the emperor. They are not members of the core of the aristocracy, but they cannot be included among the lowest echelons of the society. For example, epigram no. 265 does not mention anything else other than the name and the surname of John Sgouros⁵¹. A twelfth-century seal was owned by the notary John Sgouros. Perhaps it is the same John Sgouros, although this cannot be supported with certainty⁵². Maria Xerena

⁴² See Stiernon 1965 and Magdalino 1993: 180–1.

⁴³ On *mystikos*, see Magdalino 1984(c).

⁴⁴ On the Kamateros family, see A. Bucossi, 'The Kamateros family': <http://www.alessandrabucossi.biz/the%20kamateros%20family.html>

⁴⁵ On the Kontostephanos family, see H. Grégoire, 'Notes épigraphiques. XII. La famille des Kontostéphanes et le monastère d'Elegmi', *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique* 52 (1909), 152–60.

⁴⁶ No. 117. See Cheynet 1990: 221–2 and 417.

⁴⁷ The hierarchy of the ranks is not clear during the reign of Manuel, but *protonobelissimos* was certainly placed below *sebastos*. See Cheynet 1993 and especially Magdalino 1993: 183–4. Nicholas' marriage with a member of the family of the Doukas places him and his family in the upper middle class.

⁴⁸ Husband of Eudokia Doukaina – although he fell into disgrace after 1158/9. All the epigrams that he commissioned were written before his disgrace. Although the title of no. 65 refers to Theodore as *πρώην ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου*, the main text makes it clear that Theodore held this title at the moment of the dedication (v. 25: *τὴν ἀξίαν δε νῦν κανικλείου φέρων*). No. 65. See also Kresten 1978, Koufopoulou 1989.

⁴⁹ In other sources, he appears as *ὀρφανοτρόφος* and *λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου*. See Oikonomides 1976: 131. Kresten 1978: 97–9.

⁵⁰ No. 277. Glykas, *Questions on the Holy Scriptures*, no. 26. On *oikeios*, see Verpeaux 1965 (esp. p. 93) and Mullett 1988:14.

⁵¹ The Sgouroi family were influential especially in the region of Argolis. Magdalino 1993: 155.

⁵² *PBW* Ioannes 29325.

Melissene is also placed in this level, because of her origins. Maria came from either the family of Xeros or Melissenos and she was married to a member of either of the two families. The Melissenos family was one of the oldest families in the Byzantine aristocracy, but the family lost its power in the twelfth century⁵³. Similarly, the Xeroi were a strong family in the civil governing elite, which had lost a lot of its power by the twelfth century⁵⁴.

The epigrams are frequently the only source of information about their donors. The anonymous poet of no. 47 was also well-off financially, since he had his own *oikos*, and thus can be placed between levels 1.2 and 2⁵⁵. For other donors, the simple fact that they were able to afford a donation potentially places them automatically in level 2. Some of them come from well-known old aristocratic families, like the Skleros family⁵⁶, or bureaucratic families, like Leo Mesarites⁵⁷, and most probably can be placed on this level. However, nothing can be stated with certainty since further information is missing. The donors of ‘unspecified’ status are Michael Dryonites⁵⁸, Photios Dryonites⁵⁹, Basil Karykes⁶⁰, Bardas Liparites⁶¹, Andrianos Meles⁶², Theodore Tziros⁶³, and Gerasimos⁶⁴. The supplication for the emperor on behalf of John Serblias shows that he was connected to the emperor as a

⁵³ On the Melissenos and the relevant bibliography, see B. Krsmanović 2003, in: <http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=7976> (accessed 3 April 2012).

⁵⁴ See Kazhdan–Epstein 1985: 65. A. Kazhdan, *ODB*, s.v.

⁵⁵ On *oikos*, see Magdalino 1984 (a).

⁵⁶ No. 265.

⁵⁷ On Mesarites’ family, see Kazhdan–Franklin 1984 (b): 237. No. 74. John Tzetzes (*Letter*, 42) mentions as one of his intellectuals ‘allies’ an unspecified Mesarites. Could he be Leo Mesarites? Iordanes Ioannides (2001: 289, note 247) identifies him with Basil Mesarites, but this cannot be proved. See also Grünbart 1996: 196–7.

⁵⁸ No. 41.

⁵⁹ No. 91.

⁶⁰ No. 309. The last member of the Karykes family is the anonymous Karykes who rebelled against Alexios Komnenos in 1091/2, in Crete (Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, 9, 2, 1).

⁶¹ No. 64. The Liparites family had Georgian origins. See A. Kazhdan, *ODB* s.v. and W. Seibt, ‘Liparites als „byzantinischer“ Familienname in der Komnenenzeit’, in: *Dedicatio. Ist'oriul-pilologiuri dziebani (= Festschrift Mariam Lortkipanidze)* (Tbilisi 2001), pp. 123–131.

⁶² No. 253.

⁶³ No. 258.

⁶⁴ No. 368. Gerasimos was a popular monastic name. However, the epigram offers only the name of the donor, without further details.

beneficiary – he granted him a place in a monastery. Therefore, it is again reasonable to place him in the intermediates.

Foreign princes such as Boris Kalamanos and Theodore ‘from the family of the Russian kings’ are included in the level of local notables, since they come from foreign imperial families⁶⁵. Members of the local administration, such as Leo Sikoundenos, are also placed in this level⁶⁶. George Antiochites renovated a monastery⁶⁷. If Antiochites denotes his origin (i.e. he was from Antioch), and it is not his family name, then he should be identified with the patron of the mosaic in ‘Martorana’ (church of Santa Maria dell’Ammiraglio)⁶⁸. The following map shows their geographical spread.

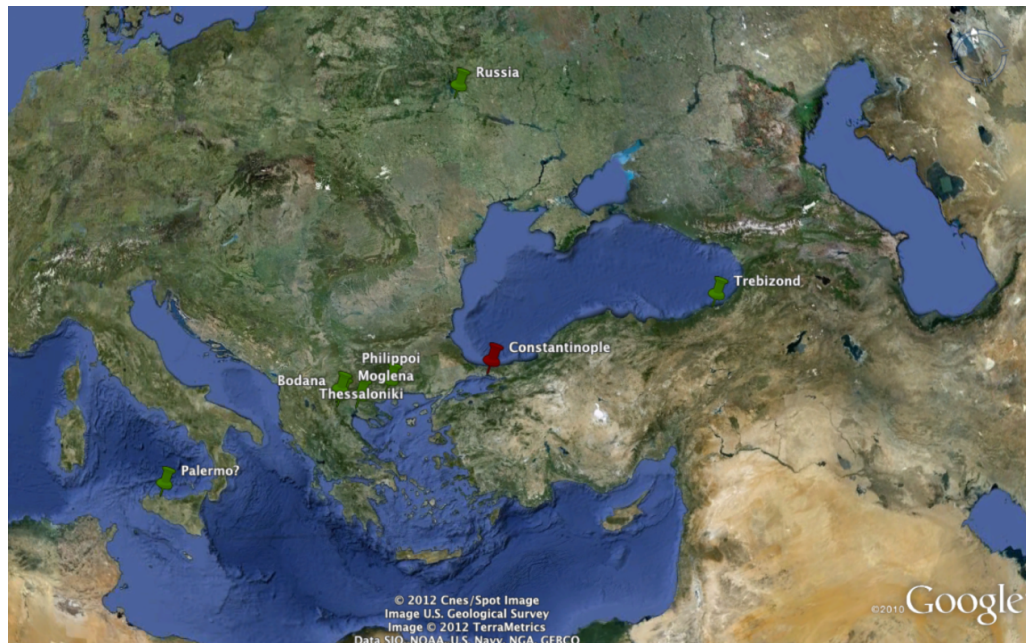


Fig. 20. The geographical spread of the donors.

Finally, a unique case in this corpus is that of the epigram on the refectory of St Mokios monastery. It appears to have been written at the instigation of the monks

⁶⁵ Boris Kalamanos, who acquired the title of *panhypersebastos* after his marriage to Anna Botaneiataina Doukaina Komnene (Varzos 1984: no. 99, see also p. 161). Theodore commissioned an epigram (no. 282) on an *enkolpion*.

⁶⁶ See p. 127.

⁶⁷ Nos. 79 and 80 has to be attributed also to George Antiochites’ instigation. The epigram has the title ‘on the same’ and does indeed refer to an entrance. This George perhaps can be identified as PBW George 20209, from the first half of the twelfth century. However, this identification cannot be proved.

⁶⁸ For the relevant bibliography on the epigram in Martorana and on George of Antioch, see BEIÜ 1: M5. The same possible identification is suggested by Rhozy 2010 (b): 122–3.

of the monastery, because of the benefactions they received from Emperor Manuel⁶⁹. However, it cannot be fully excluded that since the monastery was an imperial foundation, it was the ‘palace’ that commissioned the depictions and the epigrams.

In an ecclesiastical context, the levels, as shown in the diagram, correspond to the church hierarchy. The patriarch of Jerusalem, John IX Merkouropoulos is placed on level 1.1. John was a titular patriarch and thus he was residing in monastery of St Diomedes/New Zion, in Constantinople. Klemes, Luke and Neophytos, are placed on level 2, since they were simply monks. Three monastic/ecclesiastical donors do not reside in Constantinople and thus they are placed on level X: Gerasimos from Bodana/Edessa, Peter from Moglena and Theodore who was Metropolitan of Philippoi.

In sum, the dedicatory epigrams on works of art included in the *Anthologia Marciana* form a random sample through which to get a general idea about the social background of the people interested in the production of epigrams. A selection from these epigrams is included in the thesis. The selection was made on the basis of their date and their kind (epigrams on works of art). As is apparent from the following diagram, the majority of the donors can be placed in levels 0 and 1.1. This is not a surprise, since they had the financial power to ask for many and impressive donations. However, there is a good percentage of people who come from different backgrounds.

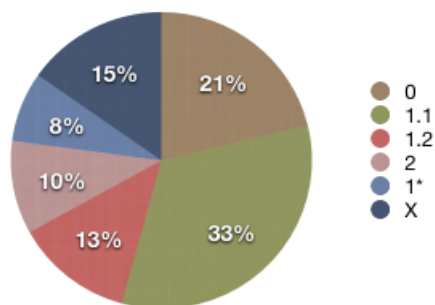


Fig. 21. Distribution of the donors

⁶⁹ No. 114, see p. 136. Cf. Maupous, *Poems*, no. 79 and Tsantilas 2005.

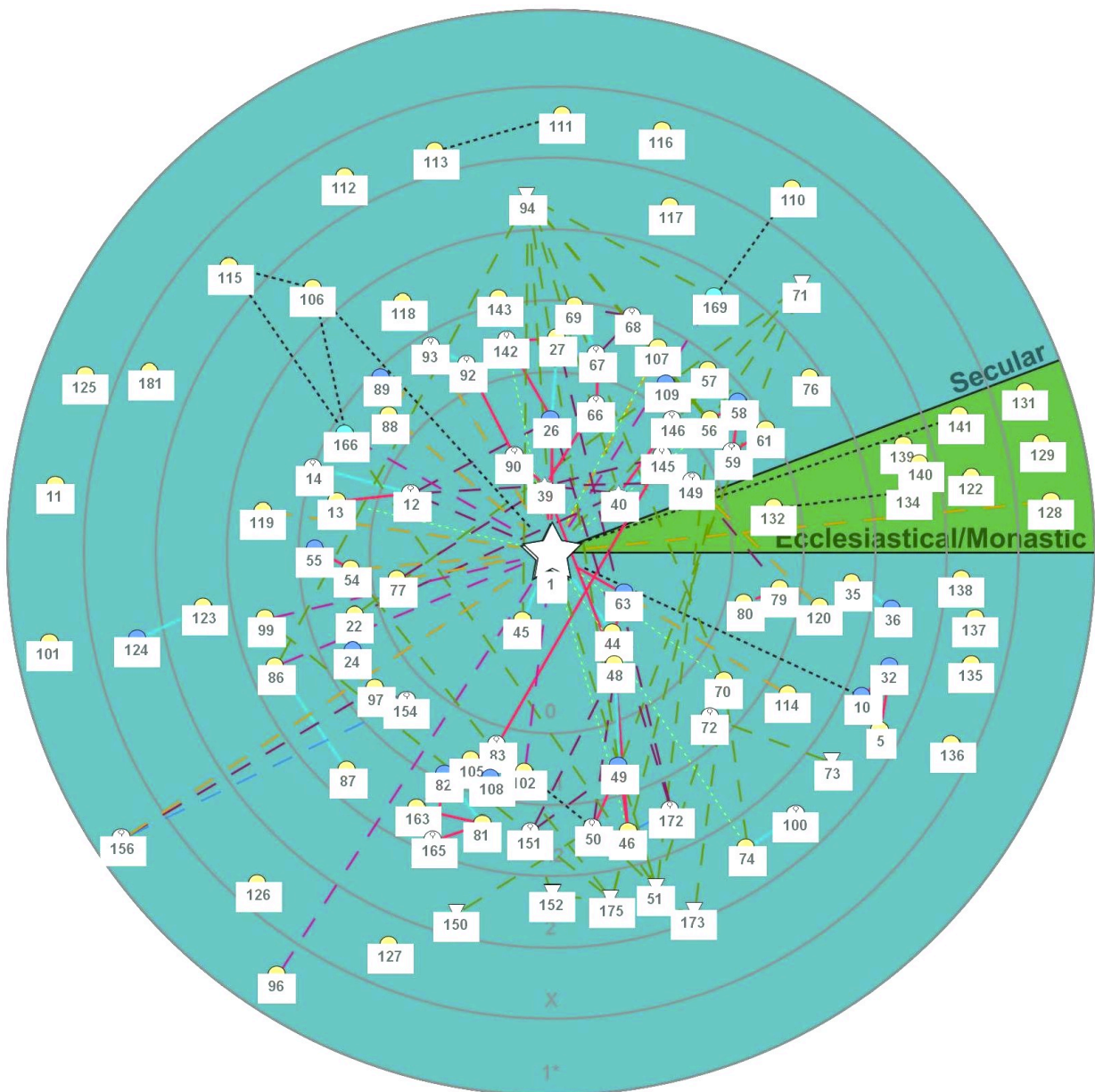


Fig. 22. The network of twelfth-century donors mentioned in the *Anthologia Marciana* (*Syllogae B & C*).

Legend

Actors

- ☆ Manuel I Komnenos
- Donor
- Secondary Donor
- ⊕ Family Member
- ⊗ Intellectual
- Unspecified

Relationship

- Wife or husband (mentioned in the epigram)
- ⋯ Wife or husband (not mentioned in the epigram)
- Family (mentioned in the epigram)
- ⋯ Family (not mentioned in the epigram)
- Events (mentioned or not in the epigram)
- ⋯ Intellectuals (not mentioned in the epigram)
- ⋯ Synods of 1166 (not mentioned in the epigram, cf. Magdalino 1993: 504-507)
- ⋯ Unspecified

Secular donors

Unique ID no	Actor	Epigram	Role
Level 0			
1	Manuel I Komnenos	39, 69, 70, 94, 249, 294, 358	Emperor
12	Anna Komnene (V 32)	(63)	Relative
26	Maria Komnene (V 75)	(52)	Second Donor
39	John II Komnenos		Emperor
40	Alexios I Komnenos	(emperor)	Emperor
44	Maria of Antioch	100, 102, 112, 374, 376	Donor
45	Eirene/Bertha	(82?), 260	Donor
48	Anna Komnene (V 77)	(40), (257)	Donor
52	John Komnenos (P 99)	50, 51	Donor
63	Alexios II Komnenos	(111)	Second Donor
66	Alexios Komnenos (son of John)	262	Relative
77	protosebastos protovestiarios John	111 (?)	Donor
90	Theodora Komnene (V 79)		Relative
146	Theodora Komnene (V 38)		Relative
149	Isaak Komnenos (V 12)		Relative
Level 1.1			
13	John Doukas Komnenos (66)	63	Donor
14	Nikephoros Bryennios	(63)	Relative
22	John Komnenos (V 23)	(50), (51)	Donor
24	Maria	50, 51	Second Donor
27	John Rogeros Dalasenos	52, 59	Donor
49	Stephanos Kontostephanos	(40), (257)	Second Donor
54	George Palaiologos Doukas Komnenos (V 191)	58, 240, 251, 255, 269	Donor
55	(Alexios) Palaiologos Doukas Komnenos	(240)	Second Donor
56	sebastokratorissa Eirene	378	Donor
57	Maria Doukaina (P 229)	71	Donor
58	Alexios Komnenos (V 132)	(71)	Second Donor
59	Andronikos Komnenos (V 76)	71	Relative
61	John Komnenos (V 128)	73	Donor
67	Maria Komnene (V 123)	(75), (287)	Relative
68	John Axouch		Relative
69	Alexios Axouch (V 123)	75, 287	Donor
70	Andronikos Doukas Kamateros (P 98)	83, 90, 93, 98 (?) 99	Donor
72	Jonh Doukas Kamateros (P 99)	(93)	Relative
79	Sophia Komnene (V 29)	254, 263	Donor
80	Eirene Dokeiane Komnene (V 61)	254, 263	Donor
82	Euphrosyne Doukaina	(245), (291)	Second Donor
83	protostrator Michael	(291)	Relative
88	John Komnenos (V 147)	367	Donor
89	Maria Doukaina (V 229)	(367)	Second Donor
92	Theodora Komnene (V 234)	373	Donor
93	Andronikos Lapardas	(373)	Relative
97	Constantine Kalamanos	118/369	Donor
102	Nikephoros mystikos	305, 355	Donor
105	Theodora Doukaina	76	Donor
107	Goudeles Tzykandeles	261	Donor

108	Theodore ?	54 (?), (76)	Second Donor
109	Eudokia Komnene	(261)	Second Donor
142	Andronikos Komnenos (V 124)	92	Relative
154	Anna Botaneiataina Doukaina Komnene		Relative
166	Nikephoros Serblias		Unspecified
Level 1.2			
35	Leo Rogeros	116	Donor
46	John Kontostephanos (V 133)	40	Donor
50	Andronikos Kontostephanos (V 135)		Relative
76	Michael Tatikios Komnenos	101	Donor
81	Nicholaos Mavrokatalon	245, 291	Donor
86	Theodore Styppeiotes	65	Donor
87	Eudokia Doukaina	308	Donor
99	Michael Alousianos Hagiotheodorites	42, 241	Donor
114	Constantine Tripsychos	97	Donor
118	Constantine Skleros	278	Donor
119	Nikephoros Sinaites	279	Donor
120	anonymous protonotarios	282	Donor
143	Eirene Doukaina (P 231)	92	Donor
151	Alexios Konstostephanos		Relative
163	Theodore Doukas (Mavrokatalon)	54	Donor
165	Maria Doukaina Mavrokatalon	(54)	Relative
169	Stephanos Meles		Unspecified
172	Theodora Rogeros Dalassene Komnene		Relative
Level 2			
5	Constantine (husband of Eleni)	85, 292, 293	Donor
10	Eleni from the Angelos family	(85), (292), (293)	Second Donor
32	Manuel (son of Eleni)	(293)	Second Donor
36	Eirene from the Iasites family	(116)	Second Donor
51	John Tzetzes		Intellectual
71	Manganeios Prodromos		Intellectual
73	Eustathios of Thessaloniki		Intellectual
74	George Skylitzes	277, 406	Donor
94	Theodore Prodromos		Intellectual
100	Anna from Eugeneiotes family	277	Relative
106	John Serblias	356	Donor
117	John Sgouros	265	Donor
123	Maria Xerena Melissene	381	Donor
150	Theodore Balsamon		Intellectual
152	Euthymios Malakes		Intellectual
173	Gregory Antiochos		Intellectual
175	Constantine Manasses		Intellectual
Level X			
110	Andrianos Meles	253	Donor
111	Michael Dryonites	41	Donor
112	Bardas Liparites	64	Donor
113	Photios Dryonites	91	Donor
115	Basil Serblias	246	Donor
116	Theodore Tziros	258	Donor
124	Michael (Xeros or Melissenos?)	(408)	Second Donor

126	Leo Mesarites	74	Donor
127	anonymous poet	47	Donor
135	Nicholas Mesopotamites	405	Donor
136	Euphemia from Kleronomos family	86	Donor
137	George Syropoulos	113	Donor
138	anonymous Xenos	81	Donor
175	Basil Karykes	309	Donor
Level 1*			
11	anonymous Gabras (Trebizond?)	119	Donor
96	Leo Sikoundenos (Thessaloniki)	61	Donor
101	Theodore (Russia)	282	Donor
125	George Antiochites (Sicily)	79	Donor
156	Boris Kalamanos (Hungary/Constantinople)		Relative

Ecclesiastical/Monastic donors

Unique ID number	Actor	Epigram	Role
Level 1.1			
132	patriarch of Jerusalem, John IX Merkouropoulos	256, 283, 402, 403, 404	Donor
Level 2			
134	Klemes	297, 401	Donor
139	Luke	89	Donor
140	Neophytos	259	Donor
Level X			
122	Gerasimos	368	Donor
141	John Chrysorophites	248	Donor
Level 1*			
128	Peter from Moglena	43, 44	Donor
129	Gerasimos from Bodana	46	Donor
131	Theodore, metropolitan of Philippi	62	Donor

* A reference to the standard prosopographical studies for the families of Doukas and Komnenos is noted only if there is a possibility of confusion.

P = D. Polemis, *The Doukai* (London, 1968).

V = K. Varzos, *Η γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών* (2 vols., Thessaloniki, 1984).

** Although an epigram might follow the conventions of dedicatory epigrams, the name of the donor or his title is not mentioned. Donors of such epigrams are not included in this discussion, since it is not possible to even roughly establish the date of the epigram.

2. Gebrauchstexte

Ἐπὶ εἰκόνι τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος.

Ἀναργύρωσ μὲν πρὶν παρείχεσ τὴν χάριν·
νῦν δ' οὐ ποθῶν ἄργυρον, οὐδὲ χρυσίον,
δίκην δὲ μὴ δοῦναι με τοῦ ψεύδους θέλων,
νυκτὸς θροεῖς δοκοῦντα σὸν φιλεῖν τύπον
5 πέπλον δὲ δεσμῶ συγκατίσχεσθαι ξένω,
μνήμην ἕως ἔσχηκα τριχρόνου χρέους,
ὃ νῦν περατῶ, Παντελεῆμον μάκαρ,
Γεράσιμος σὸς τόνδε σοι κόσμον φέρων.

On an icon of St Pantoleon.

In the past you conferred your favour for free, and now, not because you long for silver or gold, but because you do not wish to see me punished for lying to you, you disturb me during the night when (in my dreams) I seem to kiss your icon and to hold together its veil with a special bond [5], until I remember the debt that I have had for the last three years and which I, your Gerasimos, now settle by offering this ornament to you, blessed Pantoleon¹.

At an unspecified time in the twelfth century, an otherwise unknown Gerasimos offered gilded clasps for the *peplos* of the icon of St Pantoleon. The story is quite clear: Gerasimos had probably been healed by St Pantoleon² and, on this occasion, he had promised something in return. Three years after, St Pantoleon appeared in his dream asking Gerasimos to keep his promise and Gerasimos ‘paid off his debt’ by offering these clasps.

This epigram was written on a specific occasion (the offering of the clasps) and meant to be used as either as an inscription (hardly believable) or as a poem performed in front of the icon. Either way, the epigram is closely connected to the actual object. It becomes part of the icon (if inscribed) or of the process of the offering of these clasps (if performed).

The purpose of composition is usually reflected in epigrams. *Epigrams on works of art* in particular have a close connection with objects: either the epigram is part of an object or it refers to it³. Due to the utilitarian character of these epigrams,

¹ No. 368.

² St Pantoleon was considered as one of the healing saints (ἅγιοι Ἀνάργυροι).

³ Hörandner 1987: 236. For the term ‘Epigram on Works of Art’, see Lauxtermann 2003: 151–2.

these texts can be described as *texts intended for use* (*Gebrauchstexte* in German)⁴. After the year 600, epigrams lost the purely literary character they used to have in antiquity⁵. They came to reflect the occasion for which a text was produced⁶. Frequently, the occasion can be reconstructed with some degree of certainty on the basis of the information given or implied in the epigram⁷.

Some epigrams were inscribed on walls, on icons, and on various works of minor art, while others may have been performed. In an attempt to understand how they were initially connected with the object, I shall discuss their potential use in detail. Two categories will be identified: 1) *inscriptional* epigrams and 2) *performative* epigrams. The term *inscriptional* indicates that they were potentially used as inscriptions, but does not necessarily mean that they were actually inscribed⁸. The second term, *performative* epigram, similarly suggests that such epigrams were not necessarily intended to be inscribed, but to be performed within a literary circle or

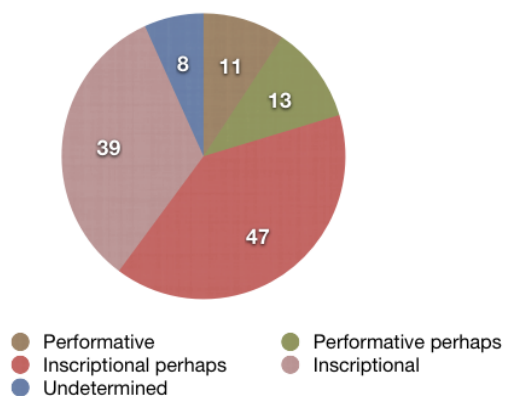


Fig. 23. Types of epigrams
(in absolute numbers)

at the moment of the donation. It should be noted that inscriptional epigrams – if inscribed – could have been read aloud by their viewers⁹. However, since they primarily served as verse inscription, they are classified as inscriptional. Indications in both the title and the main text allow us to

⁴ *Letteratio d'uso strumentale* or *Gebrauchsliteratur* or *littérature d'usage courant*. Garzya 1981: 263. For more details on epigrams, see Volpe Cacciatore 1982 and Hörandner 1987.

⁵ Lauxtermann 2003: 132. Volpe Cacciatore 1982: 16.

⁶ For more examples, see the following discussion and Hörandner 1987 and Volpe Cacciatore 1982.

⁷ Cf. Hörandner 1987: 240.

⁸ For more details on the term, see Lauxtermann 2003: 153.

⁹ See e.g. Papalexandrou 2001 (a), 2001 (b).

speculate as to their potential use each time. Up to 73% of our texts can be classified as inscriptional. Performative epigrams occur less frequently (up to 20%), while 7% of the epigrams do not yield any clues about their potential use.

2.1. Retrieving the original context: title and epigram

As stated earlier, the epigrams have been preserved only in manuscript form, and not *in situ*. Therefore, the titles and the main text of the epigrams are most helpful in order to retrieve their original context. They usually name the donor, refer to the object to which the epigram was assigned, and explain the circumstances of the commission. For example, epigram no. 47 of the *Anthologia Marciana* bears the title:

Εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου, γραφέντος ἄνωθεν τοῦ πυλῶνος τῆς τοῦ ποιήσαντος τοῦς παρόντας στίχους οἰκίας· ὅτε ἐμπρησμοῦ γεγονότος καὶ καυθέντων πάντων τῶν ἐταιρικῶν οἰκημάτων τῶν πλησιαζόντων τῷ ναῶ τοῦ ῥηθέντος ἁγίου τῷ συννηνωμένῳ τῇ τοιαύτῃ κατοικίᾳ, διεφυλάχθη αὕτη παντελῶς ἀβλαβής¹⁰.

On the depiction of St George who was depicted above the entrance of the house of the person who made these verses; (the depiction had been created) when the house remained wholly untouched by the fire, even though all the brothels that were near to the church of the aforementioned saint, which is situated next to this house, had been burnt.

The main text of the epigram informs the reader about the fire, but without providing as much detail as the title. St George is characterised as the *fireman* (*πυροσβέστης*), but the main text of the epigram roughly explains what has happened and how St George is connected to this fire. Moreover, even though main text and title do not name the donor, the title provides some hints on his identity and specifies where this depiction was placed. Even if the modern reader cannot be clear as to which church of St George the epigram refers¹¹, the twelfth-century reader could have been able to recognise the place¹².

¹⁰ No. 47.

¹¹ Peter Plank (1994: 177) has identified the church as the *katholikon* of the monastery of St George *Συκεώτης* or the church of St George of *Δεύτερον* (Janin 1933: 164–7; Janin 1969: 69 and 77–8). Plank does not give further explanation as to why he proposes this identification. R. Janin (1933) refers to eleven churches dedicated to St George in Constantinople or its nearby suburbs. The last attestation of the brothels of Constantinople is in the narration of Theophilos' reign (829–842) by Theophanes Continuatus (pp. 94–95, §8). They are placed near Zeugma, but they were apparently moved (although it is not specified to where). By the time of Theophilos, the place hosted the convent of *Μετάνοια*. Theophilos moved the convent and built a *ξενών* (Janin 1969: 391 and 434).

¹² The title of this epigram can be compared to the title of an epigram in the *Greek Anthology*:

The case of the epigram on the *enkolpion* (pendant) of Michael Alousianos Hagiotheodorites is equally interesting. All the available information about the object and the donor are found in the title, which reads:

Εἰς ἐγκόλπιον τοῦ Ἀλουσιάνου Μιχαήλ τοῦ γραμματικοῦ, τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου, τοῦ Ἀγιοθεοδωρίτου ἔχον τίμιον ξύλον τοῦ Σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ξύλον ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου¹³ ἔνθα ἐποιήσατο τὴν προσευχὴν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τοῦ πάθους, λίθους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ τάφου τῆς Θεοτόκου, τοῦ ὄρους τῶν Ἐλαιῶν, τοῦ τόπου τοῦ Γολγοθᾶ καὶ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Σινᾶ¹⁴.

On the enkolpion of the secretary and ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου Michael Alousianos Hagiotheodorites, which had Holy Wood from the cross of Christ, wood from the place at which Christ prayed on the night of the Passion, stones from the Holy Sepulchre of Christ, from the sepulchre of the Mother of God, from the mountain of the Olives, from the place (called) Golgotha and from mount Sinai.

The epigram itself, however, is only three verses long and provides a minimum of information, telling us only little about the relics that the amulet includes, but nothing about the possessor of the *enkolpion*¹⁵. The detailed title therefore not only provides specific information about the object, but also about the donor (and commissioner of the epigram). Without the title, therefore, it would be rather difficult for someone to decipher what the object was and what its original function was.

Additionally, in some epigrams the circumstances of the donation are defined. For example, the title of no. 85 makes clear that the icon was offered to the church of St John the Forerunner at the monastery of St John near the River Jordan. The

Εἰς ὑπέρθυρον οἴκου ἐν Κυζίκῳ σωθέντος ἀπὸ πυρός.

On the lintel of a house in Cyzicus which was saved from fire (AG I, 103).

Even if the epigram was copied *in situ* (Lauxtermann 2003: 73), it does not offer as much detail as the one from the *Anthologia Marciana*. The identity of the donor is not specified, while only a very general reference hints at the existence of a real house.

¹³ τάφου L.

¹⁴ No. 242 (cf. Horna 1906: 198). On reliquary *enkolpia* see Br. Pitarakis, 'Byzantine *Enkolpia*' in *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopedi: Enkolpia* (Mount Athos, 2001), p. 17 (cf. nos. 18, 51-2, 56, 64). A number of post-Byzantine *enkolpia* are known to be filled with various relics (see Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulou in the same volume, p. 25). See also Br. Pitarakis, *Les croix-reliquaires pectoraux byzantines en bronze* (Paris, 2006), pp. 108-22.

¹⁵ The text reads:

Τόπου προσευχῆς ἐκφυέν φέρω ξύλον
 Σταυροῦ τε Χριστοῦ, καὶ τάφου μητρὸς Λόγου,
 ὄρους Ἐλαιῶν, Γολγοθᾶ, Σινᾶ λίθους.

I carry the wood, which has sprung forth from the place of the prayer, the Cross of Christ, the sepulchre of the Mother of the Logos, the mountain of the Olives, the Golgotha, the Mount Sinai.

1. φέρων L.

title of epigram no. 52 specifies that the revetment offered to an icon of the Most-Holy Mother of God was made from the jewellery of the donor's late wife¹⁶.

Sometimes the main text provides additional information to the title. For example, no. 61 is entitled:

Ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ Θεσσαλονίκην νεουρηθέντι οἴκῳ τοῦ Σικουντηνοῦ Λέοντος, ἔχοντι διαφόρους παλαιὰς ἱστορίας καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα κῦρ Μανουῆλ τὸν Κομνηνόν.

On the newly built house of Leo Sikoundenos at Thessaloniki, which has pictures of various ancient [events], as well as the Emperor Manuel Komnenos.

The name of the donor is mentioned in both title and main text (v. 25), although Leo Sikoundenos is unfortunately not attested in any other source¹⁷. He was presumably a member of the well-known aristocratic family from Thessaloniki¹⁸. The epigram, although it does not say much on the identity of the donor, explains the 'ancient events' mentioned in the title. The first thirteen verses read:

Καινὸν τὸ βάθρον ὧδε τοῦ δόμου, ξένε,
 ἐκ τῶν ἄνω στήριγμα τοῖς κάτω νέμον·
 τῶν ἀρετῶν γὰρ ἐπερείδεται πλέον
 5 τοῖς ἐντὸς ἐκτὸς εἰκονισμένοις τύποις
 ἅς καὶ καθ' αὐτάς ζωγραφῶν ὁ τεχνίτης
 ἔργοις βεβαιοῖ σχημάτων τὸ ποικίλον,
 ἄνδρας γεραροῦς δεκτικούς τούτων γράφων·
 Μωσῆν θεόπτῃν ἐξ ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης
 τῷ συγγενεῖ θέλοντα συμπάσχειν ὄχλω,
 10 Αἰγυπτίων κτείνοντα τὴν εὐανδρίαν,
 πράως δὲ χορτάζοντα γογγυστῶν στόμα·
 καὶ τὰς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ στρατηγίας
 ὃς Ἰεριχὼ συγκαθαίρει τὴν τόσσην,
 φρονήσεως σύζυγον ἀνδρείαν φέρων.

New, oh stranger, are the foundations of this house, which provide support from above to the things below, resting rather upon the images of the virtues, which are depicted inside and outside: the artist has painted them individually, [5] so as to confirm their various shapes in practice, he has also depicted valiant men who were recipients of them [i.e. the virtues]: Moses, the prophet, who, because of his true love, wished to share the suffering of his kindred throng, who killed the army of the Egyptians [10] and who kindly fed the mouths of the moaners, and the generalship of Joshua, the son of Nun, who seized mighty Jericho, bearing courage combined with wisdom.

These verses give a hint as to what the representation of these 'ancient events' looked like. To begin with, the epigram states that personifications of the virtues

¹⁶ See also Pentcheva 2010 (a): 273, note 96.

¹⁷ Only a seal with his name has been preserved: Σφραγὶς Λέοντος τοῦ Σικουντηνοῦ (Rhoby 2010(b): 122).

¹⁸ Alexios Sikoundenos or Philanthropenos is mentioned by Eustathios of Thessaloniki in his work *On the Capture of Thessaloniki* (no. 60, 15). Furthermore, two more members of the Sikoundenos family are referenced at the beginning of the twelfth century in other sources: *tagmatophylax* Nicholas Sikoundenos (PBW Nicholaos 20112) and praetor Basileios Sikoundenos (PBW Basileios 2223).

(each one represented individually) were depicted inside and outside of the *oikos*¹⁹. Although depictions of the personified virtues can be found on small objects and in manuscript illuminations²⁰, similar wall paintings or mosaics have not, to my knowledge, been preserved from the twelfth century²¹.

In addition, Moses and Joshua were also portrayed and several scenes from the Old Testament were painted. The first is the crossing of the Red Sea²² and the second the feeding of the Israelites²³. Then, the destruction of Jericho follows the previous scenes²⁴. The depiction of the same image is found in the famous tenth-century *Roll of Joshua*, where Jericho is represented as a lamenting woman. It is also probable that the personifications of *φρόνησις* (prudence) and *ἀνδρεία* (courage) surround Joshua (cf. v. 14) in a similar way to that in which *προφητεία* (prophecy) and *σοφία* (wisdom) surround David in the famous *Paris Psalter*, also a product of the tenth century²⁵.

Comparable too is the case of epigram no. 251. The title reads:

Ἐπὶ τῇ νεουργηθείσῃ μονῇ ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου παρὰ τοῦ πανσεβάστου μεγάλου ἑταιρειάρχου, ἧς ἐν τῷ προνάῳ εἰκονίσθησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς, ἐξ ὧν ἡ σειρά τοῦ γένους τούτου κατάγεται, καὶ μερικὰ τινὰ κατορθώματα τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος κυροῦ Μανουήλ τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ.

On the monastery in honour of the Most-Holy Theotokos, rebuilt by the pansebastos megas hetaireiarches, in the narthex of which (monastery) the emperors, from whom his (the donor's) family descends, have been depicted, as well as some deeds of the purple-born Emperor Lord Manuel Komnenos.

The title informs the reader that a *pansebastos* and *megas hetaireiarches* has adorned the *πρόναον* of the monastery of the Mother of God that he renovated. It indicates that his imperial ancestors and some deeds of Manuel were depicted. The main text

¹⁹ Cf. Mango 1986: 225, note 201.

²⁰ See, for example, wisdom (*σοφία*) and courage (*ἀνδρεία*) depicted as young maidens on a brazier; Cormack–Vasilaki 2008: no. 176 (p. 206). Cf. Byzantium 2010: no. 496 (pp. 17 and 349–50).

²¹ Hörandner 2001: 124.

²² Exodus 15: 21–31.

²³ Exodus 16: 1–12.

²⁴ Joshua 6: 1–27.

²⁵ Ms. Paris. gr. 139, f. 7^v.

comes again to fill out the information given in the title. It makes clear that what the donor has commissioned was a mosaic²⁶. His identity is also specified:

*Γεώργιος γὰρ μέγας ἑταιρειάρχης,
σεβαστός, ἐκφύς Παλαιολόγων γένους,
Κομνηνοδοικῶν αὐτοκρατορεγγόνων,
τῇ μητρανάνδρω τόνδε προσφέρει Κόρη...²⁷*

For George, the megas hetaireiarches, sebastos, born from the family of the Palaiologoi, the grandson of the imperial line of the families of Komnenos and Doukas, offers this [church] to the Virgin, the Immaculate mother.

George Palaiologos Doukas Komnenos was one of the most prominent members of the Komnenian court²⁸. The monastery of the Theotokos is not specified, but Leo Megistos testifies to George's involvement in the renovation of the monastery of Hodegetria in Constantinople²⁹. The emperors who have been depicted as well as the 'imperial deeds', are enumerated in the main text of the epigram. Constantine X (1059–1067), Romanus IV (1068–1071), Michael VII (1071–1078), Nikephoros III (1078–1081), Alexius I (1081–1118), John II (1118–1143), and Manuel I Komnenos were portrayed³⁰. Although the text does not state it clearly, the donor was most probably portrayed bowing in front of Manuel³¹. The deeds of Manuel are depicted in six narrative scenes: he appears (a) to repel the sultan from Ikonion³², (b) to be wounded in his heel with an arrow and to punish the culprit³³, (c) to turn away the Turks³⁴, (d) to defeat the Hungarians and the Serbians³⁵, (e) to conquer Sirmion³⁶, and (f) to organise a splendid triumphal celebration in Constantinople³⁷.

²⁶ Vv. 2–3.

²⁷ Vv. 9–12.

²⁸ Lampsidis 1999: 137–42. Lampsidis 1970.

²⁹ Leo Megistos, *Monody*, 134. Cf. Lampsidis 1999: 136. Carr 1994: 95.

³⁰ Vv. 22–30.

³¹ Vv. 31–36. The references start with *πλὴν ἀλλά*, indicating transition to another subject (and probably depiction). These seven verses express gratitude on behalf of George for the imperial benefactions.

³² Vv. 37–39. Reference to the events of 1146.

³³ Vv. 40–44. Reference to the same campaign, in 1146 (Magdalino 1993: 442).

³⁴ Vv. 45–49. Reference to the same campaign.

³⁵ Vv. 50–53. Reference perhaps to the campaign of 1149–1150 (Magdalino 1993: 472).

³⁶ Vv. 54–56. Most probably a reference to the re-conquest of Sirmion in 1165 (Stephenson 2000: 255–6).

³⁷ Vv. 57–59. Kinnamos, *History*, 295 (transl. Brand, 187). Cf. Browning 1961: 195. The restoration of the church was probably finished in 1167, since George Palaiologos Doukas Komnenos died either at

In all instances, the epigrams refer to the depictions, but they do not expressively describe them. This is understandable, as they are not *ekphraseis* but texts with utilitarian use (*Gebrauchstext*); the epigram aims to accompany and to explain the images to the viewer. Although not intentionally, they do allude to their context. They are also mines of information, which can be exploited only by a close reading.

2.2. Inscriptural epigrams

As mentioned earlier, a series of indications and inferences can be used to ascertain the original use of each epigram. Usually, the title is only of little help, mainly because of the prominent use of the preposition *εἰς*. *Εἰς* must be translated as *on*, which means either *written/inscribed on* or *concerning the subject of* or even *addressed to*³⁸.

Furthermore, inscriptural use cannot be deduced simply by examining the length of the epigram, as long texts were indeed inscribed. Even if the seventy-six verses of the epigram in hexameter from St Polyuktos is a rather early example for our discussion, the 145 verses inscribed between 1139 and 1143 on the church of Christ Pantokrator, established by John II Komnenos and Eirene-Piroska, give us an example contemporaneous with the epigrams under discussion³⁹. Regrettably, the text of the Pantokrator inscription is not visible anymore and there is no information on the placement and the inscriptural features of the epigram. However, it serves to show that it is safe to say that an epigram could have been inscribed regardless of its length.

Emilie van Opstall proposed a series of criteria to indicate whether an epigram was intended for inscription. Specifically, she proposed that one should examine:

1. 'The contents'⁴⁰ (references to objects);
2. The language (deictics, adverbs or pronouns⁴¹);
3. The placing in the manuscript (together with similar poems);
4. The symmetrical nature of the composition (with parallels on icons)⁴².

³⁸ Cf. Bernard 2010: 66; Van Opstall 2008: 56; Talbot 1999: 76; Lauxtermann 2003: 152. See also no. 255: *Στίχοι γραφέντες εἰς ἐγχείριον τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας*. Cf. no. 256. Cf. Mitylenaios, *Poems*, no. 69: *Ἐπίγραμμα εἰς τοὺς στίχους περὶ τῆς εἰκόνης τοῦ ἁγίου Κύρου*.

³⁹ For more details on the text, see Moravcsik 1923: 43–7; cf. Lauxtermann 2003: 32 and Moravcsik 1923: 71. See also *BEIÜ* 1, no. 214.

⁴⁰ Cf. Hörandner 1987: 240 and 243; Lauxtermann 2003: 151–2.

⁴¹ On the use of deictics in non-inscriptural epigrams, see Bernard 2010: 63 and 66. The apostrophe to the passer-by is a *topos* even in antique literary epigrams (Laurens 1989: 50).

The third criterion is not applicable for our epigrams. The texts are, clearly, not arranged on the basis of how they were used: short epigrams on various subjects precede or follow long poems or deme-hymns⁴³.

The epigram on Leo Sikoundenos' house incorporates the first two (and strongest) criteria: (a) the epigram refers directly to the object (the depictions) and (b) it uses language appropriate for an inscription. The almost formulaic *ξένε* – *stranger* or *visitor* or simply *viewer*⁴⁴ – the demonstrative adverb *ᾧδε*, and the supplication on behalf of the donor at the end all suggest that it was probably composed to be inscribed on the façade of the *οἶκος*.

What is more, the reference to a specific date also increases the chances that an epigram was indeed inscribed. In the *Anthologia Marciana*, the date is mentioned in two epigrams. The first such epigram dates from 1176 and was inscribed on the cross, or the *staurotheke*, that Manuel took with him in his expedition against Ikonion. On this occasion, the year is specified on the basis of the year of the emperor's reign⁴⁵. The designation of the date using the regnal year is not common; most epigrams provide the year from the creation of the world. The second is a wall inscription at the monastery of the Holy Trinity at Bosphorus. The year of the establishment of the monastery is given, counting this time from the creation of the world: 6639 (=1130/1)⁴⁶.

The epigram on the cross erected in Hungary might be a good example of an inscriptional epigram, which never became a verse inscription⁴⁷. The epigram is an

⁴² Van Opstall 2008: 60; see also Talbot 1999: 76. Emilie van Opstall (2008: 59–60) also mentions that 'the presence of similar images in literature or iconography' can indicate the inscriptional use of the epigrams. However, it is not clear to me whether this is an actual indication of inscriptional use or a common motif in art and literature.

⁴³ For example, nos. 31, 38, 56, 359.

⁴⁴ On the emergence of the *ξένος* motif, see Tueller 2010: 51–2.

⁴⁵ No. 94, vv. 11–13.

⁴⁶ No. 306, vv. 8–13. See Oikonomides 2001: 267 and Magdalino–Nelson 1982: 146–7. On the chronologies in dedicatory inscriptions, see Rhoby 2010 (c): 314–5.

⁴⁷ No. 376.

inscriptional epigram, since only demonstrative adverbs identify that it was erected at a specific place⁴⁸. The donor is *sebastos* Doukas and the offering dates most probably from around 1166⁴⁹. Indeed, Kinnamos confirms that, before leaving Hungary, John Doukas and the rest of the army erected a copper cross with an inscription on it. However, this inscription reported by Kinnamos differs from the one in the *Anthologia Marciana*: it consists of two elegiac distichs, in archaising style, with many Homeric forms⁵⁰. Although the erection of two crosses cannot be fully excluded, it is highly possible that two epigrams referring to the same object have been preserved. Also, it is not likely that the same object bore two epigrams, especially since they were written in completely different style. Hence, the four-verse epigram that Kinnamos refers to might actually be inscribed on the cross, and not the twenty-nine verses of the *Anthologia Marciana*⁵¹.

Different epigrams on the same subject were sometimes offered to donors so that they could choose the one they preferred. Henry Maguire has discussed the case of a series of epigrams from manuscript Athous Laura ω 126 on a silver bowl commissioned by Constantine Dalassenos⁵², and Marc Lauxtermann has commented on Balsamon's epigrams on a golden cup commissioned by Andronikos

⁴⁸ V. 4: ἐνταῦθα; v. 28: ὧδε. See also Lauxtermann 2003: 28.

⁴⁹ Moravcsik 1965: 25–7.

⁵⁰ Kinnamos, *History*, 261 (transl. Brand, 196 – with adaptations):
μέλλοντές τε ἤδη ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαίρειν σταυρόν χαλκοῦ πεποιημένον ἐνταῦθα
ἀναστήσαντες τοιάδε τινὰ ἔγραψαν.

Ἐνθάδε Παννονίης ποτὲ ἄκριτα φύλα γενέθλης
δεινὸς Ἄρης καὶ χεῖρ ἔκτανεν Αὐσονίων
Ῥώμης ὁππότε κλεινῆς δῖος ἄνασσε Μανουήλ
Κομνηνῶν κρατόρων εὐχος ἀριστονόων.

When they were about to set out from there, they erected a cross made of copper and inscribed on it this:

*Here terrible Ares and the hand of the Ausonians
slew countless tribes of the Pannonian race
when noble Manuel ruled renowned Rome,
the pride of the wise Comnenian kings.*

⁵¹ That said, twenty-nine verses is still a reasonable length for an epigram on a memorial cross. An epigram, consisting of seventeen verses, was inscribed on behalf of βασιλῆς Εἰρήνη Δούκαινα (ca. 1133/4) on a cross now in St Marco museum (BEIÜ 2, Me90).

⁵² Maguire 1996: 8–9.

Kontostephanos⁵³. The *Anthologia Marciana* offers at least one example of a series of epigrams which is ‘shuffling around the same words and conceits’⁵⁴. An anonymous poet wrote four epigrams on a drinking cup (*κωθώνιον*), which bore depictions of the personified virtues⁵⁵. Each epigram refers to the virtues⁵⁶, which are depicted around the vessel⁵⁷. All epigrams but one also refer to the donor, Eirene, and her mother, Sofia Komnene. The second epigram does not mention Eirene, since it plays with the concept of *σοφία* (wisdom), as the name of the mother of the donor and of one of the cardinal virtues. The third epigram has a unique archaising reference to Dionysus. At any rate, the message conveyed by each of the epigrams is identical and therefore it is reasonable to assume that the donor was asked to choose which one he would like to use as the verse inscription.

To sum up, an inscriptional epigram could quite possibly never have become a verse inscription. Practicalities or simply the donor’s choice could have defined its destiny.

⁵³ Lauxtermann 2003: 43.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ No. 263.

⁵⁶ A1:B1:C4:D3.

⁵⁷ A2:B1:C4:D3.

2.3. Inscribing an epigram

It is possible to sometimes decipher the spatial arrangement of an inscriptional epigram. A good example is provided by the epigram no. 114 entitled:

Ἐπὶ τρικλίνῳ νεουρηθέντι χάριν τραπέζης τῶν μοναχῶν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κῦρ Μανουήλ· ἔνθα εἰκονίσθησαν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς κῦρ Ἀλέξιος καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς κῦρ Ἰωάννης καὶ ὁ Βουλγαροκτόνος κῦρ Βασίλειος.

On the triklinos, renovated by the Emperor Manuel, in order to serve as a refectory for the monks; there, alongside him, his grandfather the Emperor Alexios, his father the Emperor John, and the Bulgar-slayer Basil have been depicted.

The epigram is datable to between 1169, the year of Alexios' birth, but before 1171, his coronation as co-emperor⁵⁸. The text is quite long (42 verses), but it is internally divided into groups of three to five verses. It could be supported that it was inscribed below various pictures, some of which are mentioned in the title, while others are known to have existed in monastic refectories. The exact position of the inscription is affected by factors not easily reflected in an epigram (e.g. the architectural plan of the refectory⁵⁹). The epigram reads:

Ἄν εἶχε κραυγὴν καὶ δομημάτων φύσις,
 πάντως ἂν εἶπεν ἡ μονὴ τοῦ Μωκίου
 τοῦ καὶ θύτου πρὶν καὶ τυθέντος ἐν τέλει,
 Σαμψῶν τὲ πηγῆς μυριοκρούνου μύρου
 5 ὡς «ἔπλασάν με χεῖρες αὐτοκρατόρων»
 καὶ γὰρ τετρακτὺς ὦδε τῶν βασιλέων
 γραφεῖσα τοὺς βλέποντας εἰς μνήμην ἄγει
 ὡς πρῶτα μὲν σκῆνωμα τῶν μονοτρόπων
 δείκνυσι Βασίλειος αὐτὴν αὐτάναξ,
 10 ὃς Βουλγάρων μάχαιραν ἠκονημένην
 ἤμειψεν εἰς ἄροτρον ἀστέκτω κράτει·
 Ἀλέξιος δὲ Κομνηνός, περσοκτόνος,
 εἰς κοινὸν αὐτοῦ ἐγκαθιστάνει βίον
 ζωαρκὲς ἅπαν ἀφθονωτάτως νέμων.
 15 Ἰωάννης τούτου δὲ παῖς ἐκ πορφύρας,
 ὁ σκυθοπερσόλεθρος, οὐ λήγει βρύων
 εὐεργεσιῶν μυριοτρόπους χύσεις.
 βλαστός δε τούτων, Μανουήλ αὐτοκράτωρ,
 πορφυροθαλής, οὗ μόνον κλῆσιν τρέμει
 20 Παίων, Ἰταλός, Δαλμάτης, Πέρσης, Σκύθης
 καὶ γῆς τετραμέρεια πλουτεῖ δεσπότην,
 εἰς πολλαπλοῦν μὲν τὰς δόσεις προσαυξάνει,
 δωροβρυτῶν ἄπαυστα τοῖς μονοτρόποις,
 τῶν δωρεῶν δε τὰς γλυκυρρούους φλέβας
 25 ἀειβρυτούσας ἐμβραβεύων τῷ χρόνῳ
 χριστοσφραγίστοις συμφραγνύς τοῖς θριγγίοις.

⁵⁸ Although Alexios is mentioned in the text, the title does not refer to him.

⁵⁹ The typical middle Byzantine refectory in Greece and Constantinople resembles a basilica church: a rectangular building, with a semi-circular or semi-hexagonal apse on its east or north end (Popović 1998: 292–8; Talbot 2007: 110; Orlandos 1958: 47–8).

ναοῦ τόσην στέγην δε κατερραγμένην,
 λίτραις ἑκατὸν ἀντερείδει χρυσίου·
 βάρθρων δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τοῦτον ἰστᾶ τὸν δόμον,
 30 ὡς ἂν ὅτε χρῆ τὴν φύσιν τῶν σωματῶν
 λήγειν τί μικρὸν τῶν θεαρέστων πόνων,
 τράπεζαν ἀρτύωσιν ἐν τούτῳ μίαν,
 εἰς ἀγάπης σύνδεσμον, εἰς ψυχῆς κρᾶσιν,
 ἀνθ' ὧν Θεὸς κράτος μὲν αὐτοῦ κρατύναι,
 35 οἰκουμένης δοίη δε τὴν μοναρχίαν,
 ὡς σκῆπτρα θήσει παλάμαις Ἀλεξίου,
 τοῦ πορφυρανθοῦς, ἀρτιβλαστήτου κλάδου,
 εἰρηνικὴν φέροντα πάντοθεν βᾶσιν,
 μεθ' ἡλίου γέροντος εὐτυχοῦς βίου,
 40 ὡς Παντάναξ δὲ συγκατατάξει τέλος
 τοῦς βασιλεῖς εἰς βασιλείαν μίαν
 αὐτοῦ τραπέζης προσλαβὼν δαιτυμόνας⁶⁰

If the nature of the buildings had a voice, the monastery of Saint Mokios, who first offered a sacrifice and was then himself sacrificed, and of Saint Sampson, who is the fountain of myrrh with unnumbered springs, would surely say that 'the hands of emperors founded me' [5]. For four emperors are depicted here to remind the viewers that Emperor Basil initially established this place as a home for monks, he, who by dint of his irresistible power transformed the sharpened sword of the Bulgars into a plough-share; [11] Alexios Komnenos, the killer of Persians, established a communal life for them, giving every necessity in abundance; John, the purple-born son, [15] the killer of Scythians and Persians, unceasingly poured out benefactions in uncountable ways; and their offspring, Emperor Manuel, born in purple, whose name alone terrifies the Paionian, the Italian, the Dalmatian, the Persian, the Scythian, [20] and whom the four parts of the Earth have as their lord, multiplies the gifts pouring forth gifts to the monks, providing the ever-gushing-forth, sweet-flowing veins of benefactions in time, [25] and securing them with cornices marked with the sign of Christ, he props up the great roof of the church, which had been destroyed, with a hundred pounds of gold. From the very foundations he erects the building, so that when it is necessary for the nature of bodies [30] to repose from the trials that please God, they will prepare a shared table there, in a bond of love, in a commixture of souls. In return for these may God strengthen his power and grant him absolute control of the Earth [35] that he, after many long and happy days of life, may hand over the scepters, founded on peace everywhere, to Alexios, the purple-blooming, the recent shoot. [39] And may God Almighty finally place the emperors together in one kingdom, receiving them as guests at His own table.

Given the content of the epigram, it is possible to divide it into units (vv. 1–4, 5–7, 8–11, 12–14, 15–17, 18–33, 34–39, 40–42). Each unit corresponds to a certain depiction. It is possible that readers would have been able to follow the epigram as they were moving across the refectory and seeing the pictures. The first four verses function as an introduction by the narrator of the epigram (i.e. whoever reads the poem). They also mention the monastery's patron saints, St Mokios and St Sampson⁶¹.

⁶⁰ 5 ἔπλασαν με L | 6 ὦδε ML | 17 χύσεις M λύσεις L | 24 ὠκυρρούς L | 26 χρυσοσφραγίστοις L | 27 καταρραγμένην ML | 31 λ[ή]γειν M λύειν L | 33 κρᾶσιν L | 34 κρατύναι M κρατῦναι L | 42 αὐτοῦ ML. Verse 41 lacks a syllable.

⁶¹ The relics of St Sampson were kept in the church of the St Mokios monastery. They were venerated especially by physicians who would march on St Sampson's feast day to the monastery. The church of St Mokios was built before the fifth century, at the place where St Mokios was martyred. Up to the beginning of the thirteenth century, it was one of the most impressive churches in Constantinople. As the epigram informs us, the monastic community was actually established during Basil's II reign (976–1025). Cf. Janin 1969: 354–6.

Generally, depictions of the patron saints were included in the pictorial programme of the refectories. Thus, it is reasonable to assume these verses were inscribed near the depictions of Ss Mokios and Sampson. The next three verses are transitional: the personified monastery starts speaking, introducing information about the emperor-founders of the monastery. It is not surprising to find the portrait of the founders of a monastery in its refectory⁶². As the title informs the reader, Basil II, Alexios I Komnenos, John II Komnenos and Manuel were depicted. Verses 8 to 11 explain that Basil was the founder of the monastery. Verses 12 to 14 are dedicated to Alexios and his connection to the monastery. Verses 15 to 17 highlight the activity of John as benefactor of the monastery. The longest section (vv. 18–33) is dedicated to Manuel, the mightiest of all emperors and the most important benefactor. From verse 34, the narrator supplicates God for Manuel and for his son, and heir to the throne, Alexios II (vv. 34–39), and for the salvation of the emperors' souls (vv. 40–42). The constant reference to the *trapeza* (table) might allude to the fact that this unit was inscribed (or painted) near a panel of the Last Supper (a customary depiction for monastic refectories)⁶³.

Another example of an inscriptional epigram that can be visualised is no. 69, on an altar cloth:

Εἰς τραπεζόφορον.

*Αὕτη μὲν ἡ τράπεζα τυποῖ καὶ φάτνην,
 ἐν ἧ ἑὸς νήπιος ὀφθεῖς ἐκλίθη,
 καὶ λατομητὸν παρὰ τῷ κήπῳ τάφον,
 ἐν ᾧ νεκρὸς ζῶν Χριστὸς ἐγκατεκρύβη.
 5 ταύτη δὲ τοῦτο πέπλον εἰς σκέπην φέρων
 πορφυροφυῆς Μανουήλ, μέγας ἄναξ,
 ὡς μὲν φάτνην ἔοικε κοσμεῖν σπαργάνοις,
 ὥσπερ δὲ τάφον συνελιγμῶ σινδόνοσ.
 σὺ δ' ἄλλ' ὁ τεχθεὶς καὶ τυθεὶς τὲ καὶ θύσας,*

⁶² See the portraits next to an inscription in the refectory of the monastery of St John the Theologian in Patmos, which has been identified as St Christodoulos (Orlandos 1970: 187; *BEIŪ* 1, no. 123). This identification, however, cannot be accepted wholeheartedly, since only very few iconographical programmes survived in middle Byzantine refectories. That of the monastic refectory of St John, though fragmentary, is one of the best examples.

⁶³ See Popović 1998: 299, Orlandos 1958: 50 and Talbot 2007: 111. Theodore Balsamon, *Poems*, nos. 7 and 8.

10 τοῦτον σκιάζων σοῖς μεταφρένοις δίδου
 συσχεῖν ὄλην γῆν τοῦ κράτους τῷ σπαρτίῳ.
 ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτην ἐν βαθεῖ γήρα λίποι
 ἄνακτι βλαστῶ πορφύρας Ἀλεξίῳ,
 τῆς σῆς τραπέζης προσλαβοῦ δαιτυμόνα.

On an altar cloth

This altar signifies both the crib, in which the infant God was seen to lie, and the stone tomb in the garden, in which Christ, living and dead, was hidden. [4] Offering this cloth as a cover for this [altar], Manuel, the purple-born, the great emperor, appears to adorn it like a crib with swaddling clothes, and like a grave with the wrapping of a shroud. But You, who were born and who have been sacrificed and who have offered a sacrifice, sheltering under Your shoulders, [10] grant that he may keep the whole Earth together with the rope of his power. And when in great old age, he leaves this [land] to Alexios, the emperor, the spring of purple, accept him as a guest at Your table.

The epigram was to be woven into an altar cloth with the depiction of the Nativity⁶⁴.

The words *αὕτη* and *ταύτη* demonstrate its inscriptional use (vv. 1 and 5) and the division of the verses may indicate that it was inscribed on the four edges of the fabric, in groups of three or four verses (vv. 1–4, 5–8, 9–11, 12–14)⁶⁵.

The perception of the altar cloth epigram must be different to the Mokios' epigram, because the first was exposed to public view while few people had access to the second. Regarding the Mokios' epigram, as Svetlana Popović has shown, monastic refectories had a strong commemorative character, since regular and commemorative rituals took place there⁶⁶. After a service, the visitor would have been invited to dine with the monks⁶⁷. The portraits of the emperor-beholders in this room would urge the viewer to remembrance (vv. 6–7), using the prescribed words. On the contrary, an altar cloth was visible only to the clergy. Furthermore, its visibility, even to the clergy, was restricted given the placement of the epigram on the four edges. Hence, the epigram probably had a purely ornamental function or, given its placement, was perhaps seen as a constant supplication to God. It was a

⁶⁴ For the term *τραπεζόφορον*, see Speck 1966: 338–40. The *Scriptor incertus* tells us Leo V once revered a similar *ἐνδυτή: καὶ προελθὼν τῇ Χριστοῦ γεννήσει ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ προσεκύνησεν τὴν ἐνδυτὴν τὴν ἔχουσαν τὴν ἀγίαν γέννησιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. And, on the day of Christmas, after proceeding (to the church), he (Leo) entered the Holy Altar, as is customary for emperors, and revered the altar cloth, which showed the Holy Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ. *Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio*, ed. I. Bekker, *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia* (Bonn, 1842), p. 356, 20–1; cf. Speck 1966: 371 (no. 61).*

⁶⁵ Magdalino 1993: 356.

⁶⁶ Popović 1998: 302.

⁶⁷ See Talbot 2007: 122.

supplication placed in the most important part of the church, addressed exclusively to Christ and close enough to God to ensure that the prayer for donor's salvation would be heard.

2.4. The function of inscriptional epigrams

The function of the epigrams is dependent on the viewers of the epigrams and their level of education. It is different for someone who can read and understand them and for someone who does not know how to read. The immediate audience of most of the epigrams – especially of those in public view – were people living in Constantinople and visitors. Most of the donors were members of the Constantinopolitan society, since either they had strong affinity to the Palace, or they were belonging to the inner circle of the emperor⁶⁸. Education was of the utmost importance in Manuel's court. In terms of locale, the main centre of education in the Byzantine Empire, at least in the twelfth century, was Constantinople. Nine great schools were located there⁶⁹ and extensive private tutoring was also offered. One of the private teachers was John Tzetzes, as his correspondence shows⁷⁰. Tzetzes reports that people went to Constantinople in order to study under a great teacher. He even reports that a converted Slav (his initial name was Sevlad/Vsevolad⁷¹) had been sent by the metropolitan of Drita, Leo Charsianitis. This Sevlad was meant to be Tzetzes' slave and pupil⁷². Moreover, the members of the court and officials working in the administration were supposed to be highly literate⁷³. Many of them had a respectable education, being trained in the *enkyklios paideia*⁷⁴. It is difficult to surmise how small or big this 'elite' was. Some numbers can be given only on the basis of the surviving material: Tzetzes' network

⁶⁸ See figs. 21 and 22.

⁶⁹ Magdalino 1993: 325–30. Cf. Vasilis Katsaros (1988: 208) argues that the patriarchate of Constantinople controlled five schools.

⁷⁰ E.g. the amusing letter no. 22.

⁷¹ Radošević 2001/02: 100–1. Shepard (1979: 221–7) suggests that he was of Russian origin but was living in Hungary.

⁷² See letters nos. 80 and 82. Translation and commentary in Shepard 1979: 196–9; 201 and 204. See also Radošević 2001/02: 100–1; Grünbart 1996: 195–6.

⁷³ Cf. Lemerle 1971: 255–6; Mullett 1990: 163 and 167–8; Holmes 2002: 7.

⁷⁴ Markopoulos 2005: 91–3.

includes fifty-one people⁷⁵; the letters of Malakes are addressed to at least another twenty-six recipients⁷⁶; the network of Theodore Prodromos included thirty people⁷⁷; the *Anthologia Marciana* testifies to sixty six donors and the poems of Manganeios Prodromos address eighteen people at the Comnenian court⁷⁸. These highly literate people formed an ‘intellectual elite’ able to understand (at least some) ancient texts and the conventions of court literature.

Reading skills alone were not enough to be able to understand our texts, however. The epigrams correspond to a high level of literacy. Evidence of a ‘low literary style’, such as words or grammatical forms of the demotic language, is absent in our epigrams⁷⁹. Instead, the syntax is quite complicated and the language is indeed elaborate and learned, with many *hapax legomena*,⁸⁰ although without resembling the style of hexametric poetry. Therefore, understanding of the epigrams is predicated on various factors. It is also difficult to speculate what was happening outside of this elite. We do not know the number of the people would have been interested in acquiring such education, the kind of education that would have been available to them and their ability in understanding different stylistic registers⁸¹.

It is true that the twelfth-century administration seems to have cared about the wider education of civilians. A telling example is the education provided to the orphans at the orphanage of St Paul in Constantinople⁸². Nonetheless, the level of

⁷⁵ Grünbart 2005: 312. Cf. Grünbart 1996.

⁷⁶ K.G. Bonis, *Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Μαλάκη μητροπολίτου Νεῶν Πατρῶν (Ἰπάτης) [δευτερον ἡμισυ ἰβ' ἑκατ.] τὰ σωζόμενα* (Athens, 1937), pp. 38–76.

⁷⁷ Grünbart 2005: 311.

⁷⁸ Cf. Magdalino 1993: 510–12.

⁷⁹ With the exception of the word *ἀπαλαρέα* in the title of no. 258 and the word *πατέλιον* in the title of 116/340. No. 344, 3 offers a type of *ἀντιβλεπτῶ*, which is to found mainly in twelfth-century court literature (Theodore Prodromos, *Historical Poems*, no. 15, 18 and no. 18, 34).

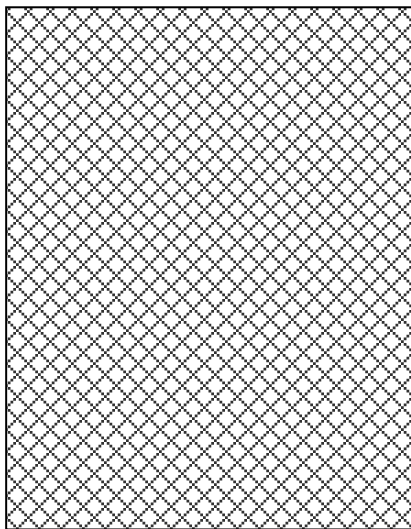
⁸⁰ See p. 218, note 243.

⁸¹ Cf. Browning 1993.

⁸² Oikonomides 1993: 253. See also Markopoulos 2005.

education of all the possible viewers of the epigrams is not possible to ascertain⁸³. Literacy in different levels of the society, inside and outside Constantinople, requires further research, something which is beyond the scope of the present study. Research so far has shown high levels of literacy, at least among the officials in most provinces⁸⁴. However, it is uncertain whether they were able to also understand epigrams written in high-brow style.

In order to understand the significance of the verse inscriptions, the possible perception of both highly educated and viewers with not enough education to simply read or even to understand the texts will be discussed. In this section the first case will be examined.



The function of an inscriptional epigram is a complex issue in general. As mentioned before, *inscriptional* epigrams did not necessarily become verse inscriptions. However, in this section I am looking at epigrams as they have been inscribed and the response of the literate and well educated viewer.

It is still a matter of discussion whether vocalised or silent reading was practised in Byzantium⁸⁵. Orality is generally a prominent element of the Byzantine reception of literary texts. Letters, for example, were read out loud and homilies and many rhetorical speeches, of course, address an audience⁸⁶. It would be rather surprising if metrical texts (such as these

⁸³ Magdalino 2000: 154.

⁸⁴ Cavallo 2008: 48; Cavallo 2006: 102–5. Cf. Mullett 1990: 163. See also the case of Smyrna (Oikonomides 1993, esp. 264–5) and monastic centres, such as Mount Athos (Oikonomides 1988: 174–5. See also Cavallo 2006: 108–9).

⁸⁵ On silent reading in Byzantium, see Kazhdan–Constable 1982: 104–5. For the opposite view, see Lauxtermann 2003: 55–7; Cavallo 2008: 82–3.

⁸⁶ Grünbart 2011: 215–9. Lauxtermann 2003: 56.

literary epigrams) had not been produced for both oral and written presentation. Metrical texts address primarily the ear and then the eye. Furthermore, inscriptions are suitable to be read aloud⁸⁷. Orientation and placement of inscribed epigrams in religious places is often such that it connects the movement of the viewer and the epigram⁸⁸. Such an example can be seen in the church of Panagia in Skripou, which has been extensively discussed by Amy Papalexandrou⁸⁹. A series of four large panels, one per façade, makes up the inscriptional material at Skripou. The inscriptions place the construction of the building in its socio-historical context. As Papalexandrou has argued, their locations suggest that ‘the medieval visitor was meant to circulate around the building, with the inscriptions directly involved in the process as stopping points along the way’⁹⁰. The viewer was interacting not only with the text of the inscription, but also with the inscription itself.

Similarly, when it comes to worship practices in connection with religious images, an icon rarely appeals to just the eyes. The practice of kissing the icon connects the worshiper with the object even further⁹¹, while the possible performance of the inscribed text in front of an icon could have been a further step in the worship process. The reader could have offered a supplication to the venerated saint using the prescribed words, or the depicted saint or earthly donor might even speak to the viewer using the words of the epigram⁹². For example, the viewer of the famous *Freising* icon (fig. 24) re-enacting the words of the donor Manuel Dishypatos commemorates the action of the donation and prays for the soul of the donor⁹³. The viewer uses the words of the inscribed epigram, i.e. words

⁸⁷ Cavallo 2008: 82.

⁸⁸ Cavallo 2008: 82–3.

⁸⁹ Papalexandrou 2001 (b): 264–8.

⁹⁰ Papalexandrou 2001 (b): 267.

⁹¹ Nelson 2001: 153.

⁹² Cf. Nelson 2007: 108 and 116.

⁹³ *BEIÚ* 2, Ik. 12.

approved by the donor. A different example comes from a later *Deesis icon* now in Vienna (*Gemäldegalerie*). St John the Forerunner holds a scroll. Using the words inscribed on the scroll, St John addresses Christ, expressing his petition on behalf of humankind⁹⁴. The viewer, reading aloud the words on the scroll, re-enacts the plea and St John speaks to Christ with the voice of the reader⁹⁵.

The role of an inscriptional epigram varies. Usually, the epigram is considered a dedication or votive inscription. In the epigrams of the corpus examined here, the donor frequently presents his pious oblation to a saint or to Christ or to the Virgin Mary and he asks in return for the salvation of his soul or his protection. For example, *sebastos* and *megas hetaireiarches* George Palaiologos Doukas Komnenos offered the Theotokos an *encheirion*, which most probably had the following epigram sewn on it:

Καὶ τοῦτο χρυσόστικτον εἰσφέρω πέπλον
ὡς βασιλίση πορφυρόχρουν σοι, Κόρη,
ἐκ καρδιακῆς αἱματηρᾶς μου κρόκης
καινῶς ὑφανθέν, μυστικῶς κεχρωσμένον.
5 σὺ γοῦν σεβαστὸν μέγαν ἔταιρειάρχην
Γεώργιον με Κομνηνὸν Δούκαν σκέποις⁹⁶.

To You, Maiden, as to a queen, I offer this cloth, gold-embroidered and purple in colour, newly woven and mysteriously dyed from the blood-stained texture of my heart. So, may You protect me, the sebastos and megas heteriarch George Komnenos Doukas.

This epigram is a votive inscription with a dedicatory character⁹⁷. The veil is an offering to the Virgin Mary and thus the epigram records the offering. In another example, Michael Dryonites, on the event of the dedication of an icon of the Crucifixion, asks Christ for the salvation of his soul⁹⁸.

In other instances, epigrams aim to record the background story of the dedication. Goudeles Tzykandeles offers an *encheirion* to the Theotokos, because

⁹⁴ BEIÜ 2, Ik. 47.

⁹⁵ Cf. Rhoby 2012: 738 who makes the point that biblical quotations were perhaps read aloud by the priest.

⁹⁶ No. 58.

⁹⁷ Cf. BEIÜ 2, Me47 and Me48.

⁹⁸ No. 41.

she has snatched him out of Hades⁹⁹. Theodore, metropolitan of Philippi, offers an encheirion to the icon of Sts. Peter and Paul, because he has been healed from an illness¹⁰⁰. The epigram *On the holy and life-giving cross made by our Holy Emperor during the expedition against Ikonion* illustrates also the occasion on which it was commissioned¹⁰¹. The epigram was most probably composed to be inscribed either on a gold cruciform *staurotheke*¹⁰² or on a gold cross, which contained fragments of the Holy Cross, nails and relics¹⁰³. It was commissioned in order to accompany Manuel – ‘the twice-purple-born scion of the family of the Komnenoi and Doukai’ – on his 1176 expedition against the sultan of Ikonion, Qilidj Arslan¹⁰⁴.

The narrator records the background to the commissioning of the artefact. Firstly, he refers to the emperor and his motives for going on expedition: he waged a war (or, preferably, he ‘organised a crusade’¹⁰⁵) against the Turks because of his religious feelings and because he could not bear the fact that an ‘unfaithful nation’ occupied the places which the ‘faithful Byzantines’ used to own¹⁰⁶. He gathered ‘a mighty throng from countless and countless battalions’ and waged war against the Turks in the thirty-fourth year of his reign. He followed the example of Constantine the Great, using the Holy Cross as a symbol for his expedition¹⁰⁷. The epigram finishes with an invocation to the Holy Cross and to the Christian army to defeat the enemies.

⁹⁹ No. 261.

¹⁰⁰ No. 62.

¹⁰¹ No. 94. See above, p. 132.

¹⁰² Vv. 14 and 17. Cf. Evans–Wixom 1997: 441; see also Frolov 1961: 342.

¹⁰³ Vv. 18–9.

¹⁰⁴ Vv. 8 and 12.

¹⁰⁵ Magdalino 1993: 95–8; Haldon 2001: 139–44.

¹⁰⁶ Vv. 7–8.

¹⁰⁷ See also the association between the decorative programmes of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, constructed by Constantine, and the *Pantocrator* monastery decorated by Manuel Komnenos (Ousterhout 2001: 149–50). Cf. the case of Basil I (Markopoulos 1994: 160–1).

An epigram can also indicate to the viewer what he or she should see. The narrator of the epigram *On Christ who was dragged to be crucified* makes an apostrophe to the viewer, saying:

σὺ δ' ἂν σιγῶντα τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον βλέπῃς,
μὴ τὴν γραφὴν γνῶς τῆς σιωπῆς αἰτίαν·
σιγᾶ γὰρ ὡσπερ καὶ κρίνοντος Πιλάτου,
ὡς οἶον ἔμπνους ἐγγραφεῖς τῷ τεχνίτῃ.

*And you, if you see the God-Word silent, do not think that the depiction is responsible for this silence. For He is silent, just as He was when Pilatos judged Him, and He is alive, as it were, in the artist's rendering*¹⁰⁸.

The narrator of the epigram asks the viewer to see something further, beyond the material world. The message of the image is thus better conveyed.

The role of an inscriptional epigram to lead the viewer to see a picture can be also understood by looking at a different source, Makrembolites' romance *Hysmine and Hysminias*. In the famous *ekphrasis* of the garden, Eros was depicted on a mosaic, with the depiction being accompanied by an inscription. The epigram reads:

Ἔρως τὸ μειράκιον ὄπλα, πῦρ φέρον,
τόξον, πτερόν, γύμνωσιν, ἰχθύων βέλος.

*This lad is Eros, with his sword, torch,
bow, arrows, nudity, a dart aimed at fishes*¹⁰⁹.

The main character, Hysminias, asks his friend Kratisthenes to think about the depiction and to try to understand the picture according to the epigram; he asks him to explain how the epigram is related to the depiction¹¹⁰. Then, his friend uses the words of the epigram in order to describe how he understands the picture:

*Eros is naked, he carries a sword, he carries fire, he is an archer, he winged. He wields his sword against men, fire against women, bows against wild beasts, wings against birds, his nudity against the denizens of the sea and against it in its entirety*¹¹¹.

The epigram *On the pictures of the emperors and Lord Alexios* is an excellent example from our corpus of an epigram which indicates to the viewer what he should see

¹⁰⁸ No. 296, 11–14.

¹⁰⁹ Makrembolites, *Hysmine and Hysminias*, 2, 10, 21–2 (transl. Jeffreys, p. 190). See also Roilos 2005: 148–50.

¹¹⁰ Makrembolites, *Hysmine and Hysminias*, 2, 11, 4–5 (transl. Jeffreys, p. 190): *Σύ μοι τὰ περὶ τὴν γραφὴν φιλοσόφει καὶ τῇ γραφῇ προσάρμοστε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα. Explain the meaning of the picture to me then and show how the epigram is relevant to it.*

¹¹¹ Makrembolites, *Hysmine and Hysminias*, 2, 11, 6–10 (transl. Jeffreys, p. 190).

and simultaneously enlivens the picture¹¹². It was commissioned by the *protosebastos protovestiaros* John Komnenos, the son of Andronikos Komnenos and Eirene¹¹³. The epigram most probably accompanied wall mosaics (vv. 1–3) depicting portraits of the imperial family on the façade of a church (v. 12). It is divided into two parts. In the first one, the narrator speaks to the viewer, indicating what he or she should see (vv. 1–31)¹¹⁴. One could see the portraits of the emperors Alexios I (vv. 14–5), John II (vv. 16–8), and Manuel I Komnenos (vv. 19–22). It is not clear exactly how the emperors were depicted. The patron was seen to bow before the emperors (v. 30)¹¹⁵. In this first part, Alexios is not mentioned, but if one considers the title and what is implied in vv. 48–50, it cannot be excluded that he was also portrayed. Thus, both epigram and image aim to express the idea of dynastic continuity¹¹⁶. The second part of the poem (vv. 32–51) functions as a ‘speech bubble’, indicating the words of the donor. The donor expresses his gratitude to the emperor-father (vv. 32–43) and, finally, makes a supplication to God for the emperor (vv. 44–51).

The epigram dictates to the viewer the correct way of viewing the pictures, explaining the identity of the depicted people and their deeds. The second part puts it differently, giving life to the image of the donor. The donor speaks in the first-person singular. He expresses his feelings not only with the position of his body (which can be visualised), but also with the words that he addresses to the emperor and which can be read in the epigram.

Another example of an epigram which is enlivening the picture is *On the icon of Christ Περιβλεπτος that had been adorned by Basil*¹¹⁷. The otherwise unknown Basil

¹¹² No. 73.

¹¹³ Varzos 1984: no. 128. Manganeios wrote poem no. 21 on the marriage of John, the son of Andronikos Komnenos (Varzos 1984: no. 76).

¹¹⁴ Vv. 14 (βλέπειν), 19 (ᾄψει), 24 (ξένε), 25 (σκόπει).

¹¹⁵ See Magdalino–Nelson 1982: 137.

¹¹⁶ Magdalino 1993: 180.

¹¹⁷ No. 244.

Serblias commissioned and offered some ornaments to an icon of Christ (in the type of *Peribleptos*). On the reverse of the icon, his portrait shows him bowing¹¹⁸. Basil, as the narrator, speaks directly to Christ, asking for the salvation of his soul. In vv. 10–13, he states:

πῶς οὐχ ὄραν ἄν καὶ γεγραμμένος τρέμω;
ὀπισθογραφῶν τοιγαροῦν μου τὸν τύπον
κάν τῇ γραφῇ σήμαντρα τοῦ φόβου φέρω.

Don't you see that, even if I am painted, I tremble? Thus, even if I paint my picture on the back (of your icon), I bear the signs of fear on the icon.

Basil appears to address Christ expressing his humility. Human eyes could hardly have access to this text. The epigram is a dedication note. The comment that the donor is depicted as trembling justifies the choice of the donor to depict himself on the back of the icon. From the available evidence, it seems that it was not customary for the donor to be depicted on the back of the icon. By addressing Christ, the donor justifies his action.

An inscriptional epigram can also be simply a possessor's note or devotional note. This seems to be the case also for most rather short epigrams on *enkolpia* (lockets with apotropaic character). The narrator frequently indicates the utility of the *enkolpion* for its possessor. Usually, he wishes that the saint depicted on the *enkolpion* may protect¹¹⁹ or help in life the commissioner of the epigram¹²⁰. In other instances, the epigram indicates why the owner carries the *enkolpion* on his chest¹²¹.

In rare cases, inscriptional epigrams may include 'friendly reminders' to the monks or curses to the future generations on behalf of the donors. For example, *protonobelissimos* Nicholas Mavrokatakalon is the major benefactor (if not *ktetor*) of a

¹¹⁸ To my knowledge, there is no surviving example of a donor's portrait on the back side of an icon from the middle Byzantine era. However, there are plenty of examples of portraits showing the donor to bow in front of a Saint, Christ or the Virgin Mary (see relevant examples in Patterson Ševčenko 1994; Weyl Carr 2006: esp. fig. I; Spatharakis 1976).

¹¹⁹ Nos. 42, 2; 405, 4.

¹²⁰ Nos. 82, 3–4; 283, 3–4.

¹²¹ Nos. 54, v. 3; 282, 2–3. A combination of the two is also possible (see no. 405, 4–6).

monastery in Andrianoupolis. In an epigram on an icon given to Andrianoupolis, he says:

«σύ γοῦν τὸ λύτρον, ὧνπερ ἡμάρτηκά σοι,
 ὅταν καθίσῃς εἰς κρίσιν, βράβευέ μοι.
 αἰτεῖ σε τοῦτο καὶ μοναστῶν τὸ στίφος
 οἱ καὶ καθυπέσχοντο λιτάς σοι φέρειν
 καθημέραν ἡμῶν τε μεμνήσθαι, Λόγε,
 ἀραῖς ἑαυτοῦς ἐμβαλόντες ἐνδίκαις
 εἰ μὴ πέρασ διδοῦσι τοῖς δεδογμένοις».

[...] Therefore, when You will sit to judge, may You grant forgiveness for my sins that I committed against you [14]. This too asks the throng of monk, who have promised to offer their prayers and to remember us every day, Logos, and are liable to just condemnation if they will not fulfill their promises ¹²².

The donor says clearly to the monks that they have to commemorate him and his family, otherwise they will have to face ‘the consequences’.

In conclusion then, the inscriptional epigram can simply be a votive inscription, it can justify the occasion of the dedication, it can put into words the meaning of the pictorial composition, annotating the depiction and indicating to the viewer how they should approach the image, it can become a ‘speech bubble’ enlivening the image, and, finally, it can be an elaborate possessor’s note, expressing the wishes and hopes of the donor.

¹²² No. 291, 13–19.

2.5. Text and image or 'text as image'?

At this point, one must ask whether the inscriptions were actually legible. This is not just a question based on the literacy level of the viewer¹²³, but also on the physical appearance of the inscription. Given that none of the epigrams of the examined corpus have been found *in situ*, I will therefore use as examples extant verse inscriptions in order to continue this discussion. These examples illustrate how inscriptional epigrams might have been seen by their contemporary audience.

True enough, inscriptions were not always written neatly enough to be legible. A good example of this is the gigantic inscription of the conciliar edict of 1166 placed in the narthex of Hagia Sophia. Cyril Mango estimated that the original total height of the inscription was 4.11/4.12 m and the original total width ca. 4.62 m¹²⁴. The inscription is carved in a cursive, elaborate (but not strictly archaising) hand, which uses a compact and concentrated script with plenty of ligatures and abbreviations¹²⁵. Thus, regardless of the literacy level of the viewer, the inscription must have been difficult to read¹²⁶.

The significance of the illegible monument can be understood only when placed in its historical context. A great controversy in 1166 was whether Christ's statement 'My Father is greater than I' (John 14:28) referred to his divine nature, to his human nature, or to the union of these two natures. According to Western theologians, Christ was inferior to his father in his humanity, but equal in his divinity. A Byzantine diplomat just returned from the West made fun of this belief. Manuel, on the other hand, found that the formula made sense and prevailed over a majority in a synod convened on 2 March 1166 to decide the issue. It is not a coincidence that Manuel appears as *ἐπιστημονάρχης* (disciplinarian of the church) at

¹²³ See Lauxtermann 2003: 271–3.

¹²⁴ Mango 1963: 322–3.

¹²⁵ For a full reproduction of the inscription, see Mango 1963: figs. 3–7.

¹²⁶ Cf. Mango 1991: 246.

that time¹²⁷. He actually tried to change his image in order to set himself above Constantinopolitan society¹²⁸. The property of those foolish enough to question the synod's decision was confiscated or they themselves were driven into exile. This controversy had an apparently political dimension: Alexios Kontostephanos, one of Manuel's nephews, was a leading dissenter from the emperor's doctrine¹²⁹. The Hagia Sophia inscription is, convincingly, a demonstration of the imperial power in both secular and ecclesiastical issues: the *intitulatio* occupies four lines and twenty-four adjectives are used in order to praise Manuel. Furthermore, the complexity of the letters, the size of the inscription and its placement before the entrance of the most important church in the Byzantine Empire would certainly impress even an illiterate worshiper.

This view is further confirmed by the reaction of the sultan Selim II, who saw the inscription in 1567. The sultan, 'seized with astonishment', asked the muftis about the purpose of the inscription. The muftis, also not able to read Greek, replied that these were certain 'secret and mysterious' sayings of Ali, Mohamed's son-in-law¹³⁰. This story, even if dates from a later period, confirms the feeling of awe inspired by the gigantic and perplexing inscription. As the reaction of the muftis suggests, the illiterate Byzantine viewer would understand that these are the words of the law-maker of the empire, the emperor, the representative of God on Earth.

It is not just the writing style but also the spatial arrangement that can constrain the viewer's ability to read inscriptions. In 2006, a twelfth-century enkolpion in the form of a triptych was published for the first time¹³¹. The twelve apostles are carved on the wings and the central panel has a *Deesis*. In addition to

¹²⁷ Angold 1995: 99.

¹²⁸ Angold 1995: 99–101.

¹²⁹ Magdalino 1993: 217.

¹³⁰ Mango 1963: 317–8.

¹³¹ Buckton–Hetherington 2006. It is made of gold and delicate enamel and measures 9.6 x 6 x 1.2 cm.

the Virgin Mary and St John (as was customary), the archangels Michael and Gabriel are also depicted. The donor, *proedros* Constantine, appears to bow in front of Christ. His figure connects to the central composition to the epigram, which is written on a band underneath the image:

Σῶσόν με, Σῶτερ, σὸν πρόεδρον οἰκέτην·
Μήτηρ δυσωπεῖ καὶ φίλοι σὺν ἀγγέλοις.

Save me, oh Saviour, Your *proedros*, the servant. Your Mother beseeches You and (Your) friends together with the angels¹³².

The placement of the donor/owner's figure indicated even to the illiterate viewer that it is the donor who is speaking. However, with the two wings closed and the pendant worn by its owner, the inscription itself was inaccessible to the viewer. After the owner's death, the *enkolpion* might have been displayed on his tomb¹³³ or buried with the donor¹³⁴.

A good example of an inscription on a building which is difficult to read because of its restricted visibility is that in the fourteenth-century chapel of

Pammakaristos (Fethiye

Camii) in Constantinople.

Maria Doukaina Komnene

Branaina Palaiologina

attached to the twelfth-

century church of

Pammakaristos a funerary

chapel for her husband,

protostrator Michael Glabas

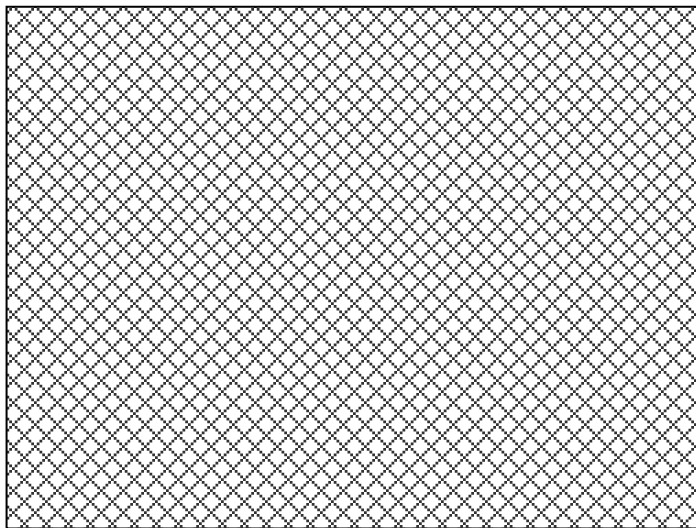


Fig. 25. Funerary chapel, St Mary Pammakaristos. View to the dome, facing east. Upper cornice.

http://www.learn.columbia.edu/360/fethiye_camii_360/

¹³² BEIÜ 2, Me114.

¹³³ The founder of the Kosmosoteira monastery (Kosmosoteira typikon §89, transl. p. 838) orders that his *enkolpion* of the Theotokos will be 'fastened in a prone position in a [setting] of silverwork' [...] in 'the centre of the lid' of his tomb.

¹³⁴ *Enkolpia* have been found in burial sites, still being worn by their owners. For example, *The Glory of Byzantium*, no. 226.

Tarchaneiotos. Several epigrams are inscribed inside and outside the chapel. There is one that runs along the two level cornices of the nave, following the architectural form of the chapel (fig. 26). The interesting thing is that while the text on the lower cornice (mauve line) is perfectly legible, the epigram on the upper cornice (blue line) is hardly visible. The viewer can discern the colours and some letter-shapes. Since the epigram is illegible, it becomes an additional ornament on the cornices – an architectural feature which adds further lustre to a luxurious construction¹³⁵.

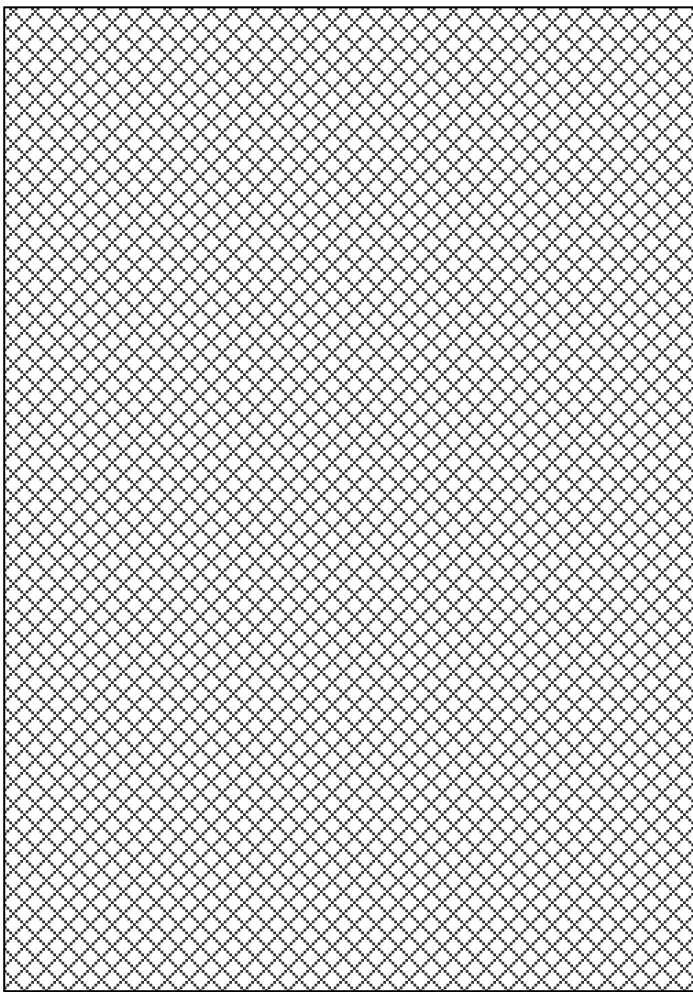


Fig. 26: Plan of the Pammakaristos complex. Mango 1978: 2. Parekklesion on the south of the main church.

encircled the tenth-century church (the north church, dedicated to the Theotokos) at Lips monastery (Fenari İsa Camii)¹³⁷. The cornices had a double role. Firstly, they

Furthermore, the first part of the epigram, on the lower cornice, encircles the nave, while the second part, on the upper cornice, visually creates a cross (fig. 25)¹³⁶. The cross, the symbol of prayer, has special significance in a funerary chapel for the remembrance of those who have been laid to rest.

Most probably, cornices also arranged on two levels originally

¹³⁵ Cf. the south church of the Lips monastery.

¹³⁶ See *BEIÜ* 1, no. 215. Mango 1978: 16. See also Pentcheva 2011 (a): 166–7.

¹³⁷ For a discussion of the inscription see Spingou 2012.

broke the wall into three registers linking visually the various component parts of the building. Secondly, they hid the structural collar of the building with which they coincide¹³⁸. Although the original façades of the church have been heavily altered and thus the upper cornice is seriously damaged, a part is still standing on the east façade.

A dedicatory inscription, consisting of three epigrams (two in dodecasyllable and one in hexameter), can be seen there. It is not clear whether the epigram continued around the building following the cornice. Thus, it is possible to comment only on the surviving material. The inscription – clearly written, with originally inlaid letters – is an additional ornament, made just for

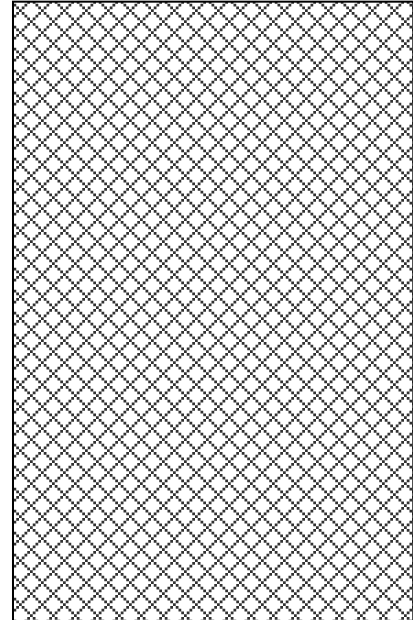


Fig. 27. The Bible of Leo Sakellarios, f. 2^v.

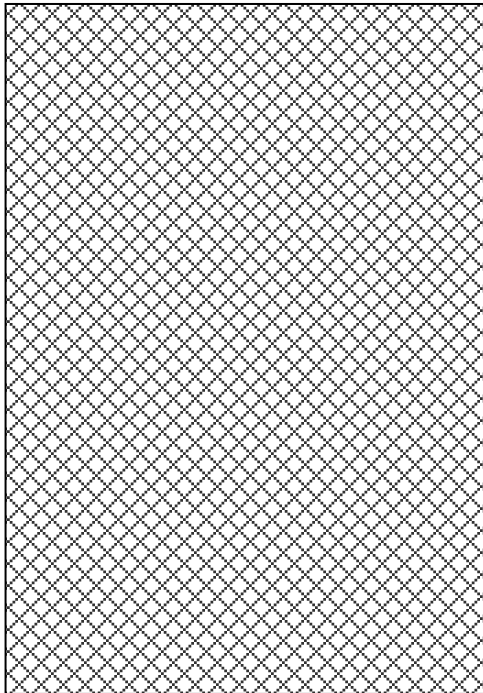
this offering (the building). The dedicatory verse inscription to the Virgin Mary has been visually constrained to the upper external cornice of the central apse. This part of the inscription is separated from the other epigrams with crosses, indicating, even to a visitor unable to understand the text, that the ‘church’ is virtually speaking to the Theotokos. Furthermore, the very placement of the inscription around the most holy space of the church, the altar, indicates that the inscription has the role of a permanent supplication. The supplication of the donor along with the prayers of the priest during the liturgy will ascend to Heaven.

Inscribed epigrams work as ornamentation not just for architectural structures but also for miniatures, icons and icon revetments. The epigrams on the famous miniatures from the tenth-century Bible of Leo Sakellarios (ms. Vat. Reg. gr. 1, e.g. fig. 27) run around the miniatures on the frames of the pictures. The epigram

¹³⁸ Megaw 1968: 296.

fills the blank space of the frame, inviting the viewer to immerse themselves in the image, since they have to take the time to read it¹³⁹.

Numerous examples of epigrams written on the frames of icons or icon revetments from the Middle and Late Byzantine era can be cited. One of the most prominent is that of the simple, eleventh- or twelfth-century bronze icon of the Theotokos, now in a private collection (fig. 28). The epigram, just two verses long,



runs around the Virgin with the Child, creating a frame for the icon.

The Byzantine eye was taught to view things in a frame¹⁴⁰. The frame provides a similar spatial dynamic to the Theotokos church (Lips monastery) and the bronze icon. In the Theotokos church, *the frame* surrounds and orders the sacred (the sacred place as place of devotion, but also the church as a symbol of

worship), and similarly the frame of the bronze icon constrains the sacred image, arranging and surrounding the icon of the Virgin and the Child, as well as whatever

they symbolise. The epigrams on the miniatures on the Bible of Leo Sakellarios fill the otherwise empty space of the frame in an elaborate manner. Finally, the Pammakaristos epigram orders the sacred space and sends to Heaven the words of the donor by its cross-like and upward-facing arrangement.

Unfortunately, we will never be absolutely certain what a Byzantine viewer saw. The frame-like linear arrangement might be applicable to a few of our epigrams; however, it is not the only option. As mentioned above Amy Papalexandrou has convincingly demonstrated how the reader could go around the

¹³⁹ See Mango 2011: 67–75.

¹⁴⁰ See also Peers 2004 (esp. 2–7).

church following the inscriptions on the exterior of the church of the Virgin at Skripou, a small church near Orchomenos in Greece built between 873 and 874¹⁴¹. The inscriptions were placed on each façade of the exterior at eye level, with letters absolutely legible¹⁴². The Skripou inscriptions are smaller and more compact than those at the Theotokos church or at Pammakaristos chapel. Furthermore, the inscription at Lips monastery is written in one line and crosses serve to separate the different epigrams, while the texts at Skripou are written on different slabs, placed on different sides of the church. The latter therefore does not have the frame-like element the other inscriptions have.

Furthermore, epigrams on icons and other objects do not always have the linear arrangement under discussion. For instance, the epigram encircles the figure of St John the Forerunner in the famous twelfth-century icon from Sinai (fig. 29).

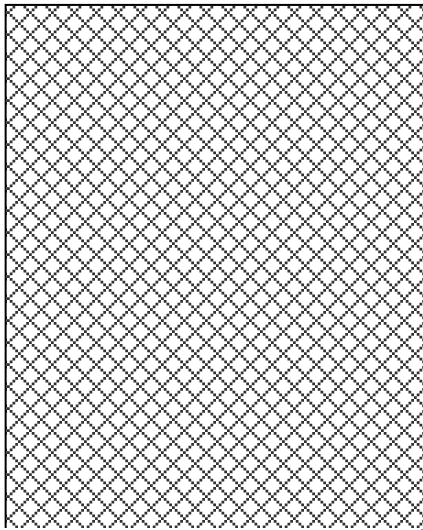


Fig. 29. Icon of St John the Baptist with scenes of his life, second or third quarter of the 12th century. Monastery of St Catherine, Sinai. Vokotopoulos 1995: no. 66 (p. 87). BEIÜ 2, 1k9.

The literate viewer could understand the words of St John, who speaks to the viewer. However, the icon itself also speaks directly to the viewer by depicting the saint in the act of speaking. Even if he or she is not able to read exactly and understand what is said by St John, the viewer is

nevertheless able to 'see' his voice.

Most of the aforementioned inscriptions have a high aesthetic and symbolic value¹⁴³. They exist in order to adorn works of art. In this case, image and text do not necessarily co-operate, but the text can become part of the image. The inscription at St Sophia is a demonstration of power

¹⁴¹ Papalexandrou 2001 (a): 239–40.

¹⁴² Papalexandrou 2001 (b): 264–6.

¹⁴³ And perhaps a 'magical dimension', see James 2007 and Lauxtermann 2003: 272–3.

and the inscriptions around buildings and minor works of art are aesthetic expressions. The inscription at the Theotokos church and the Deesis enkolpion have a strong symbolic dimension, since each can also be read as a permanent supplication for the salvation of the donor's soul¹⁴⁴. Furthermore, especially on the enkolpion, the placement of the inscription on the part most difficult for the viewer to access (and not, for example, on the exterior) confirms the private nature of the object.

Consequently, the inscription functions as part of the visual experience, acquiring an essential role in the interpretation of the meaning of the artefact. However, the aesthetic value of the inscription must therefore be appreciated, for the inscription is an ornament with further implications. Its existence indicates a certain level of patronage¹⁴⁵. This might have been the case for the rather simple epigram no. 79, on the entrance of an unspecified monastery. The epigram refers to the act of the donation, to the name of the donor, and also it offers a supplication to Christ on behalf of the donor. Even if people were not able to read the inscription, its presence would confirm the act of the donation and it would add lustre to the monument. The epigram on the enkolpion of Theodore Doukas is a permanent supplication to the Theotokos on behalf of the owner¹⁴⁶, while the donor of an enkolpion to the Empress Eirene-Bertha asks Daniel to drive away any spiritual or physical enemy of the empress¹⁴⁷.

Following these remarks on the placement of some extant inscriptions, the spatial arrangement of some of the epigrams from the *Anthologia Marciana* can be deciphered. The Mokios epigram (no. 114) was perhaps painted underneath the respective depictions, across the walls of the monastic refectory. Each depiction

¹⁴⁴ See James 2007: 199.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Mullett 1990: 163.

¹⁴⁶ No. 52.

¹⁴⁷ No. 82.

could have matched the appropriate part of the epigram. If this was the case, the illiterate viewer was seeing a frame for the building. He or she would be able to walk around the refectory – when it was not in use – following the letters and hearing the story of the founders of the monastic community¹⁴⁸.

The long epigram on the imperial portraits commissioned for the narthex of an unknown church by *protosebastos* and *protovestiaros* John Doukas Komnenos (no. 73) was perhaps similarly divided, filling in the space around each portrait. The last eighteen verses offer strong evidence for such an arrangement: the donor, who was probably seen to bow in front of Manuel, addresses the emperor directly. Therefore, the illiterate viewer, seeing the epigram written around the figure of John Doukas, was perhaps able to understand that the patron speaks to the emperor.

On the other hand, the epigram on the house of Leo Sikoundenos in Thessaloniki was probably meant to be inscribed over or inside the entrance. The indirect connection between the epigram and the actual depictions, the demonstrative adverb in the first verse and the reference to the inner side and the exterior of the house support this view.

To sum up, the nature of the inscriptions is important. The very existence of the inscribed words adds lustre to the work of art and to the status of the offering, possibly also figuring God or a saint as the ‘eternal reader’ of the donor’s supplication. Unfortunately, it will never be possible to fully appreciate the aesthetic value of the epigrams in the *Anthologia Marciana*, since none of them has been preserved *in situ*.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. the case of St Polyeuktos, see Conor 1999: 484 and 489ff.

2.6. Performative epigrams: definition and function

As already discussed, the epigrams in the *Anthologia Marciana* have not been copied directly from objects or buildings, but from one or more manuscripts¹⁴⁹. None of the epigrams has yet been found *in situ*. Moreover, even if it is possible to detect a set of features that would allow for a *potential inscriptional use*, it is not clear what their *genuine intended function* was. Although literary characteristics in some of them suggest they could have been inscribed, certain practicalities, implications and logical assumptions suggest some could have instead been *performed* in front of an audience.

Sometimes, the available space on the suggested object could not have been enough to host an epigram, meaning it was practically impossible for the epigram to be inscribed. For example, the Gerasimos epigram is written on a set of new clasps¹⁵⁰. It is hardly believable that eight verses could have been inscribed on these tiny clasps. The poet uses deictics, a vocabulary device often used in inscriptional epigrams. However, the deictics and the repetition of *now* (*vūv*)¹⁵¹ can also demonstrate the strong connection between the epigram, the object and, primarily, the moment of the dedication. Therefore, Gerasimos could have performed these verses in front of the icon of St Pantoleon, instead of having them actually inscribed on the clasps. The title of the epigram suggests that it was written on the icon of St Pantoleon, even though the content does not support this. The possibility that the epigram was written on the encheirion suspended in front of the icon cannot be fully excluded, although the epigram does not offer any evidence for such a suggestion.

¹⁴⁹ See p. 47ff.

¹⁵⁰ No. 368. See p. 123.

¹⁵¹ Vv. 2 and 7.

Another example of a performative text is the epigram on the precious belt that Maria of Antioch offered to Manuel Komnenos on a date most probably near to their wedding in 1161¹⁵². Maria appears to speak to Manuel. She presents her precious gift (vv. 1–4) and then explains what these materials symbolise: the gold represents the love she feels for Manuel, the pearls symbolise her virginity and, finally, the precious stones demonstrate the stability of their marriage (vv. 5–8). The final verses are a prayer that Manuel may remain powerful until the end (vv. 9–10). Again, the *performative* use of the epigrams can be corroborated on the basis of both a practical and a textual argument. Firstly, the text refers to the buckle of the belt which Maria offered to Manuel. Surviving medieval buckles suggest that the available surface for inscribing the epigram was small, meaning ten verses could hardly have been inscribed on even the most impressive examples of medieval buckles¹⁵³. Secondly, the content of the epigram is most appropriate for oral presentation. Maria, as the narrator of the epigram, speaks in first person and addresses the emperor directly, explaining to him the significance of the gift.

The next example is an epigram on a gift also to the emperor¹⁵⁴. Constantine Doukas Kalamanos commissioned and offered to Manuel a *πατέλιον* (a kind of a bowl), which depicted the River Danube in the form of a personification of the River Jordan, as well as Manuel, as a new David, eager to cross it¹⁵⁵. The epigram specifies that Psalm 92 (93): 3–4 was written on the bowl (v. 1), near to the depiction of the

¹⁵² No. 375.

¹⁵³ Even if the great gold buckle from the treasure of Sutton Hoo (length 13.2 cm and width 5.6 cm, 412.7 grams of gold) and the belt buckle from Syria with the monogram of Theodore (2.9 x 7.9 x 0.9 cm) are early examples, they nevertheless provide an indication of what medieval buckles looked like. A more modest example comes from the treasure of Chalkis (1330–1470). The buckle is Venetian, but with a Byzantine influence. The belt of the emperor was never illustrated, while the belts of aristocrats were very rarely illustrated in Middle-Byzantium (Parani 2003: 65). Although not depicted, it is certain that the emperor wore belted outer garments. For example, Alexios I gave four such garments to Pakourianos (*Typikon*, § 33, 1724; transl. Jordan, 553).

¹⁵⁴ No. 118/369.

¹⁵⁵ Valuable vessels were often given to the emperor as presents, especially after a victory or as diplomatic gifts. One of these presents was probably the late twelfth-century plate depicting the accession of Alexander the Great (*The Glory of Byzantium*, no. 267). Cf. the depictions in the *Madrid Skylitzes* on ff. 99, 102 and 204. See also Mundell-Mango 2007: 137

personified River Danube/Jordan. Therefore, the epigram, if it was inscribed, could have been inscribed only on the rim of the bowl. However, eight verses is surely too long a text to have been inscribed on the rim of such a vessel. To my knowledge, four verses make for the longest verse inscription on a middle Byzantine vessel¹⁵⁶.

Moreover, the view that the epigram under discussion was never intended to be an inscription can be supported further by putting the object and the epigram in their context. The epigram alludes to the expedition that Manuel Komnenos undertook in 1151–2 against the Serbians and the Hungarians. Boris, the illegitimate son of the Hungarian King Koloman and the father of the donor, took part in this expedition, with the hope that he would be established on the Hungarian throne. The epigram refers to the most critical battle of the expedition, also chronicled by John Kinnamos. According to the historiographer, Boris defeated the Hungarian regiments in such a way that the Hungarians thought they had been defeated by the emperor himself¹⁵⁷. When Boris returned to the Byzantine camp, the emperor lit torches for him to cross the River Danube.

In this context, the depiction of the personified River Danube acquires a special significance: it is the river that Boris, the father of the donor, crossed after his victory. The epigram explains the images and serves as a guide for the viewer in order to interpret them. It presents who is depicted, the significance of the depiction and who is offering the object to whom and why. This is of exceptional importance if the viewer/audience is the emperor himself. As Kinnamos informs us, when Manuel returned to Constantinople, there was an awe-inspiring triumphal procession. It was perhaps during this procession that the son of Boris, Constantine Doukas Kalamanos, offered his gift. The reference to the golden voice of the river, in

¹⁵⁶ BEIÜ 2, Me11.

¹⁵⁷ Kinnamos, *History*, 117–8, trans. Brand, pp. 93–4. Cf. Chalandon 1912: 406–7; Magdalino 1993: 55–6 and 240.

the last two verses, further suggests its performative use (vv. 7–8). Given how ambitious Boris was, it makes perfect sense for his son to declare his fealty to the emperor, but also his lineage from one of the most influential families of the Byzantine aristocracy. After all, as Boris wished to seize the Hungarian throne with the help of the Byzantine emperor, meaning that he and his son would be established on the throne, the son thus assures the emperor that he will always be loyal to him, having unbreakable, blood bonds to Byzantium. A gift makes perfect sense in this context.

The epigram on a crown offered to Alexios II, son of Manuel, by an anonymous donor on the occasion of Alexios' accession as *symbasileus* could be added to the group of performative epigrams¹⁵⁸. Ten verses could potentially have been inscribed on the circumference of the golden crown, although no surviving Byzantine crowns have a similarly lengthy inscription. The deictic *τοῦτο* (v. 3) alone can support either case. However, the vague reference to the donor might give a hint of its function. Even though the name of the donor is not mentioned, his titles are. Perhaps this epigram did not aim to last an eternity, but to rather be wedded to an occasional performance. The word *προτείνεται* (in the present tense) and the reference to the very specific occasion corroborate this hypothesis. The anonymous (in the epigram) *protovestiarions protosebastos* or someone else on his behalf might have read out loud the epigram during or shortly after the ceremony of the coronation. With this gift, this *protosebastos protovestiarions* recognises Alexios as the heir of the throne. The donor can be identified with John Komnenos, son of Andronikos Komnenos and Eirene¹⁵⁹. In the event that Manuel did not have a male heir, John would have been the emperor. Furthermore, if he had survived the battle of Myriokephalon, John would have been the guardian of Alexios II after the death

¹⁵⁸ No. 111. On the crown, see Parani 2003: 28–9.

¹⁵⁹ Varzos 1984: no. 128.

of his father. Therefore, offering a precious crown and speaking these verses would have been an eloquent way to show his respect to the imperial line. The name of the *protosebastos* is thus not mentioned because all his contemporaries knew the *protosebastos*: he is the one who presents the crown to the *basileus*.

Likewise, the performative aspect is perhaps the reason for the omission of any personal details in the Gerasimos epigram. The first name of Constantine Doukas Kalamanos is not mentioned because the emperor surely knew who Doukas Kalamanos was. Another anonymous donor offers a reliquary box with myrrh from St Demetrius to the monastery of Mar Saba¹⁶⁰. The donor-narrator characterises himself as *ξένος, μοναστήης, ἀρετῶν θείων ξένος* ('a foreigner (in this world), a monk, a stranger to divine virtues')¹⁶¹. If the epigram was performed at the moment of the offering, the donor or his representative spoke the verses at the moment of the dedication.

The donor of the icons of St Theodore Teron and St Theodore Stratelates, although anonymous, is personally involved in the process of their production¹⁶². The donor, in the first person, states that he engraved (*ἔγραψα*) in his heart the portraits of the saints, so that he could 'see' the saints with immaterial eyes. However, he also states that, because he similarly wished (*θέλω*) to see them with his material eyes (*ὡς...καὶ κατ' αἴσθησιν βλέπω*), he commissioned the two pictures (*ἐξεικονίζω*). The fact that the epigram addresses two icons, the personal content of the epigram, and the anonymous supplication indicate that the anonymous donor performed this epigram in front of the icons.

Some performative epigrams are similar to prayers in which the donor directly addresses a saint, the Virgin Mary or Christ, asking for something in return.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. *BEIÜ* 2, Me5 (see comment on p. 157).

¹⁶¹ No. 81, 9.

¹⁶² No. 285.

For instance, when Maria of Antioch was pregnant with Alexios II Komnenos, she dedicated an icon to St Anna, the patron saint of pregnant women and women who have fertility problems¹⁶³. The first part of the epigram refers to St Anna and to the fact that she gave birth through a miracle. The second part is a plea to the saint to ease Maria's pains when she is in labour (vv. 9–14). Although these verses resemble inscriptional epigrams, a crucial thing is missing: the reference to a specific object in the text of the epigram. The title specifies the object (*εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς ἁγίας Ἄννης*), adding the occasion (*τῆς δεσποίνης ἐγκυμονούσης*). Maria perhaps performed this epigram before an icon of St Anna. The epigram takes the form of a supplication, but it is far from the formulaic inscriptional type of supplication starting with *δέησις* (*τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ*)¹⁶⁴. It looks more like a long prayer¹⁶⁵, which could have been read out loud in a church – as was common in a liturgical context¹⁶⁶. A parallel text is the epigram to St Ioannikios by Manganeios Prodromos, written on behalf of the monk Ioannikios Logaras¹⁶⁷. The epigram starts with a general introduction to the life of St Ioannikios, a soldier who became a monk (vv. 1–3). In the second part of the epigram, Ioannikios Logaras states that he also became a monk following a military career (vv. 4–8). The third part is a supplication to St Ioannikios to help Ioannikios Logaras to be a good monk (vv. 9–12). The twelve verses thus follow patterns similar to the epigram to St Anna, but the preposition *πρὸς* in the title of the epigram indicates that it was read out loud in front of the icon¹⁶⁸.

Another text similar to the St Anna epigram is the epigram on an icon of St Nicholas that had been adorned by George Skylitzes and his wife Anna¹⁶⁹. The

¹⁶³ No. 104.

¹⁶⁴ Kalopissi-Verti 1992: 25.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. the shortest epigram GA I, 118. The manuscripts offer the title *Εὐκτικά*.

¹⁶⁶ See Cavallo 2008: 95–6.

¹⁶⁷ Manganeios, *Poems*, 115 (epigrams 116 to 118 are written on the same subject).

¹⁶⁸ Cf. *αἰτῶ* in St Anna epigram v. 11 and Ioannikios epigram v. 9.

¹⁶⁹ No. 277.

twenty-eight verses resemble a long supplication more than a dedicatory inscription. The dedication took place at a date just before (or even just after) their marriage¹⁷⁰. George, as the narrator, refers to the miracles of St Nicholas, which perhaps were depicted on the icon he offered. He asks the saint to bless their marriage by standing next to them, to protect them during their common life and, finally, to grant them the salvation of their souls.

The next example of a performative epigram comes from an epigram written on a lamp offered to the church τῶν Βήρου (the monastery of Kosmosoteira, near the river Evros in Thrace)¹⁷¹. The donor venerates St Nicholas¹⁷². According to the epigram, the saint (his name is not specified) first saved the donor's son from a very serious illness and then the same saint protected the donor himself from a threat against his life. Even though the name of the donor is not mentioned, the political implications are strong:

*...ἤγειρας ἐκ λίθων με νῦν τὸν πατέρα,
ἔθραυσας ἐχθρὸν ὃς πέτραν μοι σκανδάλου
ἐν ταῖς τρίβοις τέθεικεν ἢ μᾶλλον φόνου.*

...now you have raised me up from the stones, the father, and smashed the enemy before me, who had put a rock of offence in my way, or rather a rock of murder¹⁷³.

Only the title of the donor is given and an indication that he was of old age (but again not his name):

*ὁ πρωτονοτάριος αἰτῶ καὶ πάλιν,
μυροβλύτα, φρούρει με, παῖδας, ἐγγόνους...*

*I, the protonotarios, ask you again myrrh-gusher, protect me, my children and my grandchildren...*¹⁷⁴

It is unusual for an inscribed dedicatory epigram to mention neither the name of the saint that the object is offered to nor the name of the donor, since the main

¹⁷⁰ St Nicholas even appears even to escort Anna at the wedding.

¹⁷¹ No. 307.

¹⁷² The name of the saint is not mentioned in the epigram. There are some indirect references, including μάκαρ (v. 1) and μυροβλύτα (v. 11). The adjective μυροβλύτης has been attributed mainly to St Demetrios, St Nicholas, St Nymphon and St Nikon ὁ μετανοεῖτε. However, Isaac in the *Typikon* of Kosmosoteira (§11) asks to venerate especially St Nicholas, while he is not referring to any other of the aforementioned saints.

¹⁷³ Vv. 5–7.

¹⁷⁴ Vv. 10–1.

function of an inscription is to commemorate a specific person's actions. Kinnamos demonstrates the importance of inscriptions, mentioning that members of the court were adding their names on an inscription in the Blachernae palace for those who took part in the battle of Cassino (1157)¹⁷⁵, since 'it is an extensive flattery and a servile fashion of those who laid claim to deeds'¹⁷⁶. To put it differently, since one of the major functions of inscriptions was to commemorate the donor, the lack of names in the specific epigram supports its performative character. The fact that the text refers to a very specific occasion¹⁷⁷ corroborates this view. Thus, the audience of the epigram knew beyond doubt what the modern reader cannot see.

It is difficult to imagine that an epigram of twelve verses would have been inscribed on a *τρικάνδηλον*. Although it might have been sewed into an *encheirion* suspended from the lamp's chains¹⁷⁸, the epigram itself does not support this hypothesis, since it does not hint at the existence of an additional object. Thus, the epigram might have been performed at the moment of the offering or just before sending the donation to *τῶν Βήρου*. Perhaps, when the donor presented his gift to his social circles, he also performed this brief epigram. Equally probable is that the audience was not in Constantinople but rather in Evros. The donor might have sent his present together with a letter including these verses. This can explain the reference to a previous donation by the same donor. The church *τῶν Βήρου* was the *katholikon* of the Kosmosoteira monastery, the monastery of Isaac Komnenos. This was a monastic establishment closely connected to the Palace. Political intimations are appropriate for an audience involved (actively or not) in the court life. Hence, the reference to the life-threatening situation that the *protonotarios* faced would

¹⁷⁵ The inscription was placed somewhere in the Blachernae palace.

¹⁷⁶ Kinnamos, *History*, 171–2; Brand, 132–3.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. *vñv* v. 1 and 5.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. no. 88.

have been self-explanatory to the audience. The *protonotarios* might have been the mysterious notary Michael, whom Isaac often mentions in the *Typikon*¹⁷⁹.

There are indications that verses were sent along with regular letters or as letters. For example, John Tzetzes states in the letter sent to *kyr* George Klados that he sends along with the letter some verses¹⁸⁰. Manganeios composed a letter of consolation in dodecasyllables to the *sebastokratorissa* Eirene¹⁸¹. Theodore Prodromos sends a poem to an unnamed *ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου*¹⁸². The title states that the poem is actually a letter: *Εἰς ἄνθρακα, ἐπιστολή πρὸς τὸν κανικλείου*¹⁸³. It is a plea on behalf of Prodromos to the *ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου* to help him because he is ill. The style of the poem is similar to that of our epigrams, although it was sent to a human as a letter. The text begins with an apostrophe and uses phrases which are common in our epigrams¹⁸⁴. To these, earlier examples can be added: the epigram-letter by Christopher of Mitylene. Christopher addresses an epigram to the monk Athanasios, who has sent him rose water. The epigram looks like a reply to his fellow monk and it is written in a style appropriate for a letter¹⁸⁵. Theophylaktos of Ohrid sent a letter¹⁸⁶ and a poem¹⁸⁷ to the doctor Michael Pantechnes because the doctor did not pay him a visit when Theophylaktos was ill. The poem from the first line indicates that Theophylaktos speaks to someone who was away:

Ἔλθοις καλῶς μοι. Τί φοβεῖς με πάλιν;
May you come! Why are you afraid of me again?

The next verse is repeated in both letter and poem:

Letter 129: τὰ δὲ φόβητρα ἃ ἡμῖν ἐπανατείνεσθε μορμούκια παίδων εἰσὶν ἤγονν πτωχῶν τινῶν ἐπισκόπων¹⁸⁸.

¹⁷⁹ *Kosmosoteira typikon*, esp. § 107.

¹⁸⁰ *Εἰς οὓς καὶ βραχεῖς ἐσχεδιάσαμεν μετροσυνθέτους γραφάς, ἄσπερ καὶ σοὶ νῦν ἀπεστάλκειμεν*. Tzetzes, *Letters*, no. 94. However, Tzetzes omits the verses from the collection of his letters that he has put together. This can be explained by the difference in the literary genre.

¹⁸¹ Manganeios, *Poems*, 66.

¹⁸² Hörandner 1984: 522–4.

¹⁸³ Theodore Prodromos, *Historical Poems*, no. 72.

¹⁸⁴ ἄλλά (vv. 7, 18, 30), νῦν δ' ἄλλά (v. 24) and σύ δε (v. 40). For a detailed discussion, see p. 185ff.

¹⁸⁵ Christopher Mitylenaios, *Poems*, no. 117 cf. no. 115.

¹⁸⁶ *Théophylacte d'Achrida: Lettres*, ed. P. Gautier (Thessaloniki, 1986) no. 129.

¹⁸⁷ *Théophylacte d'Achrida: Discours, Traités, Traduction et Notes*, ed. P. Gautier (Thessaloniki, 1980), no. 2.

¹⁸⁸ Lines 5–7. Cf. *Théophylacte d'Achrida: Discours, Traités, Poésies*, ed. P. Gautier (Thessaloniki, 1980), p. 348, note 2.

Your fears that you bring forwards they are the bogey-man of children or of some poor bishops.

*Poem 2: Τοῖς νηπίοις φόβητρα τὰ φόβητρά σου.
Your fears are the fears of children*

Theophylaktos ironically says to Pantechnes that his *paroikoi* will pay Pantechnes with garlic towards the end of letter¹⁸⁹. The last verses of the poem however are written in a much more austere style. Theophylaktos urges Pantechnes to fear the Last Judgement:

*Δέδιθι λοιπὸν μὴ κρεμασθῆς ἐνδίκῳς,
γέρων δίκην δούς, ἦν πέφευγας ὦν νέος¹⁹⁰.*

So, fear you to not be hanged by the court, by receiving when you will be old a punishment that you have escaped when you were young.

The poem by which Theophylaktos tries to persuade Michael to visit is written in more austere style than the letter. It seems reasonable therefore to suggest that the poem-letter no. 2 was a second attempt by Theophylaktos to convince Pantechnes to visit him¹⁹¹.

Letters were presented/performed in front of a circle of people who could appreciate the style and the rhetorical ingenuity of the author¹⁹². Epigrams and letters also have the same recipients, such as Andronikos Doukas Kamateros¹⁹³. Exactly as was happening with poetry and versified texts like epigrams, letters were discussed and judged¹⁹⁴ and both are expressions of rhetoric. The main difference is that, in contrast to prose, poetry has an essentially ceremonial character, which is absent from prose correspondence¹⁹⁵.

The epigram *On the golden lamp which was sent to the tomb of Christ* was probably sent together with the artefact¹⁹⁶. Manuel Komnenos donated a golden

¹⁸⁹ Lines 12–13.

¹⁹⁰ Vv. 8–9.

¹⁹¹ However, Margaret Mullett (*Theophylact of Ochrid: Reading the letters of a Byzantine archbishop* (Aldershot, 1997), p. 344) suggests that the poem was sent with the letter.

¹⁹² Cavallo 2006: 86–92. For the performance of letters in rhetorical *theatre*, see Stone 2010: 61.

¹⁹³ Nos. 83, 90, 93, 96, 99. Tzetzes, *Letters*, nos. 90 and 103.

¹⁹⁴ See Hunger 1978: 1, 209–13.

¹⁹⁵ On the ceremonial aspect of the epigrams see p. 226ff.

¹⁹⁶ No. 294.

lamp to the church of the Holy Sepulchre. According to the epigram, Emperor John Komnenos was about to offer the golden lamp, but unfortunately he died before doing this. Kinnamos refers to this object, when he narrates the scene of John's death¹⁹⁷. Thus, when Manuel took over, he decided to fulfil the wish of his father and sent the golden lamp on which this epigram was written. The fourteen-verse epigram could hardly have been written on the lamp. It seems probable therefore that the epigram accompanied the artefact as a small note or a letter. If this is the case, the following verse can be better understood:

*...παῖς πορφυρανθής, Μανουὴλ αὐτοκράτωρ,
ταύτην ἀναρτᾷ σοί, τάφε ζωηφόρε...*

...the purple-blooming child, Manuel, the emperor, hangs this on you, oh life-bringing tomb...¹⁹⁸

Clearly, the person who hung the lamp at the church of the Holy Sepulchre might have read the epigram out loud. However, even if the epigram was inscribed, it would have been read aloud. To put it differently, even if this epigram was sent as a letter together with the offering, its function does not fundamentally change: it accompanies the object, personalising the offering¹⁹⁹. What it does change though is that the act of donation is not to be commemorated for eternity. That said, the object perhaps had a different, more conventional inscription, in order to remind the viewer that it was an imperial commission.

¹⁹⁷ According to the historiographer, the cost of the lamp was twenty talents of gold. Kinnamos, *History*, 25; Brand, p. 28. Theodore Prodromos (*Poems*, no. 22) has also written an epigram on a lamp that John Komnenos would offer to the Holy Sepulchre. The incident is also discussed by Drpić 2011: 195–6.

¹⁹⁸ No. 294, vv. 10–1.

¹⁹⁹ Manganeios Prodromos provides evidence that poetry was performed in churches, see the following headings: *Στίχοι ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Κύρου, ἀποστοματισθέντες κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς καθ' οὓς ἀτυχῶς εἶχεν ἡ συζευχθεῖσα τῷ σεβαστοκράτορι κυρῷ Ἀνδρονίκῳ τῷ πορφυρογεννήτῳ συνετωτάτῃ σεβαστοκρατόρισσα*. Verses read in the church of the all-holy Theotokos of *Τὰ τοῦ Κύρου*, at the time when the most sensible *sebastokratorissa* who had been married to the *sebastokrator kyr* Andronikos, was suffering misfortune (Manganeios, *Poems*, 67). *Οὗτοι οἱ στίχοι ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας ἀναγινωσκομένων παρ' αὐτῷ τῶν Κλημεντίων*. These verses were read out in the church of the most Holy Theotokos, the Hodegetria, while the epistles of Clement were read there (ibid, 103). See also Manganeios' poems nos. 68–9 and 72.

The epigram on the box with myrrh from St Demetrius sent to the monastery of Mar Saba might also have accompanied the offering, like a letter²⁰⁰. The donor conceals his identity, but the epigram commemorates what he offered and to whom. Similarly, the epigram on the icons of Sts. Theodore could have been performed when the anonymous donor (at least for the modern reader) either offered the icons to the church or presented it to his social circle²⁰¹.

Performative epigrams could survive only in collections, such as the *Anthologia Marciana*. Even if they were sent as letters, they would have been destroyed. Versified texts would have been omitted from letter collections since they are not considered part of the rhetorical genre of letter-writing. Therefore, it is expected to find letter-epigrams together with poetry in (a) authored collections of poems, (b) anthologies, (c) small syllogae²⁰².

Twelfth-century Constantinopolitan culture is characterised by the prominent role of literature and especially rhetoric. People in small groups or even larger ones (in the so-called rhetorical *theatra*) were discussing the works of their contemporaries. These groups of people included aristocrats, high-ranking officials, scholars, and some monks who used to be either officials or *literati*. The precise form and the motivation of the patrons of the rhetorical *theatra* is a question beyond the scope of the present study²⁰³. What is important for our purposes is that the participants in these literary groups, all members of the Constantinopolitan intellectual elite, were interested in listening poems similar to our epigrams. There is a well documented earlier example, extensively discussed by Floris Bernard²⁰⁴. John Mauropous' poem no. 32 is a conventional epigram on a work of art

²⁰⁰ No. 81.

²⁰¹ No. 285.

²⁰² On the transmission of poetry see Lauxtermann 2003: 55–81.

²⁰³ On the Komnenian *Theatron*, see Stone 2010; Marciniak 2007; Mullett 1984.

²⁰⁴ Bernard 2010: 47–9.

(specifically on a gold revetment of an icon of the Crucifixion). The poem (Maupous, no. 33) is a reply to someone who had criticised a grammatical error in the epigram. Unfortunately, it is not clear where this critic had heard or read this epigram. In any case, it shows that the readers of the literary circle were interested in the qualities of such poetry. In the twelfth century, John Tzetzes addresses a letter to the *sebastoi*, sons of Kamateros, in order to complain that a ‘gang of clergymen’ have unjustly criticised him as a poet for some verses he wrote in a hurry²⁰⁵. He pleads with the Kamateroi brothers to ask this ‘gang’ to read a different poem, an iambic one this time, and to judge him again, first on the usage of the metre²⁰⁶ and second on the quality of his style²⁰⁷.

The argument that at least some of the epigrams were intended to be read in front of people with literary interests is further supported by looking at the commissioners of such performative epigrams. The names of the major supporters of literature and members of their entourage appear among the commissioners of performative epigrams²⁰⁸. For instance, Maria, daughter-in-law of sebastokratorissa²⁰⁹, commissioned an epigram on the encheirion that she offered to the church at the Chalke gate for the healing of her husband, Alexios Komnenos²¹⁰. The epigram is too long to have been woven on the encheirion (34 verses). With this epigram, Maria demonstrates her piety, but also her love to Alexios²¹¹. Furthermore, at the end of the epigram, she wishes for her husband to be kept *in the embrace of his father’s brother, the infinitely excellent ruler of the new Rome, Manuel* and to be

²⁰⁵ Tzetzes, *Letters*, no. 89: ...οἶμαι δὲ τῆς συμμορίας καὶ τῆς τριττύος τῶν τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κυδοιδοπῶντων...

²⁰⁶ ...ὕπαναγνῶναι καὶ κρῖναι πρῶτον μὲν εἰ ἀκριβῶς τὰ τῆς τέχνης τηροίη...

²⁰⁷ ...μετὰ δὲ τὸ τῆς τέχνης ἰσχνόν, εἰ καὶ διάρμα καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἔχοι καὶ ὄγκον, σὺν γε τῷ ὠραίῳ συντόμῳ καὶ πιθανῶ...

²⁰⁸ See Magdalino 1993: 345.

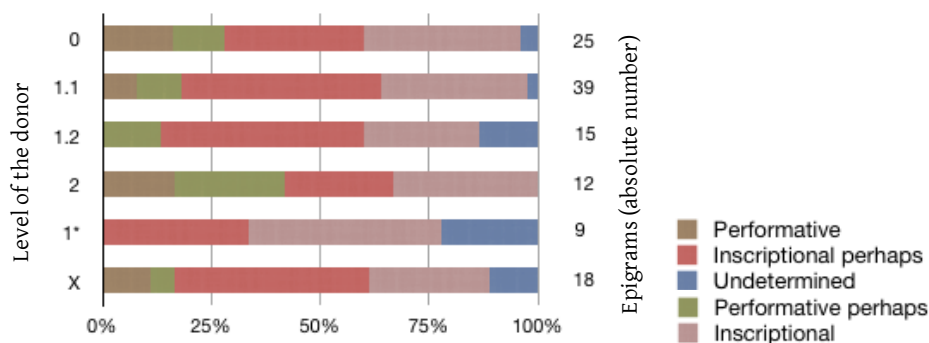
²⁰⁹ Jeffrey 2010, 1994 and 1982.

²¹⁰ No. 71. Patriarch Methodios wrote an epigram on the same icon, i.e. of Christ *Antiphonites*. Mercati 1920: 209. On Alexios Komnenos: Varzos 1984: no. 132

²¹¹ For example, Maria speaking about her husband mentions: *My husband, my life, my glory...*, v. 15.

overwhelmed *with the flow of favours from Manuel*²¹². This wish would have been in vain if it was not performed in front of an audience, like in a *theatron*, which even the emperor himself could attend.

Similarly, the purple-born Maria Komnene²¹³ in the sixteen-verse epigram on a triple-lamp offered to the Virgin Mary thanks the Theotokos because her husband, Alexios Axouch, successfully accomplished his mission to Italy in 1157/8²¹⁴. Maria, performing these verses in front of other members of the court, adds lustre to the acts of her husband – which in reality were not as successful as is suggested in the epigram. Maria, as a prominent member of Constantinopolitan society, is one of the most likely candidates taking part in the literary gatherings. Furthermore, George Skylitzes, who offered an icon to St Nicholas probably on the occasion of his wedding, had a direct connection to Andronikos Kamateros, one of the most influent patrons of the twelfth century²¹⁵. As a letter from Tzetzes demonstrates, Andronikos was actively involved in rhetorical *theatra*²¹⁶. Andronikos himself asked for possibly performative epigrams on revetments and restored icons²¹⁷. It is uncertain whether any of them was intended to be inscribed or not, mainly because they are quite lengthy.



²¹² Vv. 31–34. Translation after Nunn 1986: 95.

²¹³ Varzos 1984: 123.

²¹⁴ No. 75, v. 11: *καὶ γῆς ἐπανήγαγες Ἀγκῶνος μέσης*. Varzos 1984: 2, pp. 120–1.

²¹⁵ George wrote the introductory verses for the *Sacred Arsenal* by Andronikos. Buccossi 2009 (a): 45–50.

²¹⁶ The family of Kamateros are known to have connections with twelfth century literati, such as John Tzetzes, Kazhdan–Franklin 1984 (a): 201–2. See also fig. 22.

²¹⁷ Nos. 90, 93, 99.

Fig. 30. Donors and use of the epigrams

As Figure 30 shows, performative epigrams were supported by members of all levels, except local notables²¹⁸. However, what the table cannot show is that the letter-epigrams have been written upon the instigation of members of level 2, while epigrams with content appropriate to be performed in front of the emperor, in a theatron or in a church (as a prayer), have been commissioned by mainly members of levels 1.1 and 1.2.

A final word should be dedicated to the meaning of the word *ἐπι*, especially when it is found in titles. Five epigrams which have been identified as ‘performative’ include the word *ἐπι* in their title²¹⁹. This preposition does not necessarily signify that the epigram was painted or inscribed on something, but rather that it was written on the subject of/about something²²⁰. The latter meaning is rarer, but it exists. For instance, John Tzetzes uses the preposition *ἐπι* meaning that an epigram concerns a specific subject. In his *Histories*, Tzetzes quotes antique epigrams, that he explains in his commentary (*Scholia*). One of the epigrams is about Phayllos, king of the Phocians at the time of the Third Sacred War (356–46 BC)²²¹. In his scholia, Tzetzes gives the title of the epigram as *Ἐπίγραμμα ἐπι Φαύλλω*²²². The epigram was not of course written on the king, but it was about him. The preposition has the same meaning in the title of the collection of poems by Manuel Philes: *Στίχοι διάφοροι ἐπι διαφόροις ὑποθέσεσι*²²³. In this sense, epigram no. 305 is written about the lamp hung in the church *τῶν Βήρου*. Therefore, the presence of *ἐπι*

²¹⁸ In epigrams including a discussion of the level of donors, I have excluded the four epigrams which mention neither the name or rank/title of the donor (nos. 281, 284, 285, 371).

²¹⁹ a. *Ἐπι πέπλω ἀναρτηθέντι εἰς τὸν ἐν τῇ Χαλκῇ ναόν* (no. 71);

b. *Ἐπι πατελίῳ χρυσῷ γεγονότι παρὰ τοῦ σεβαστοῦ Καλαμάνου καὶ δοθέντι τῷ ἀγίῳ ἡμῶν βασιλεῖ ὅπερ εἶχεν εἰκονισμένα διάφορα κατὰ τὴν Οὐγγρίαν τρόπαια* (no. 118/368);

c. *Ἐπι τῷ ἀναρτηθέντι τρικανδήλῳ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν Βήρου* (no. 307);

d. *Ἐπι εἰκόνι τοῦ ἀγίου Παντελεήμονος* (no. 367);

e. *Ἐπι χρυσῷ ζωστῆρι* (no. 374).

²²⁰ See also Kriaras, s.v.

²²¹ John Tzetzes, *Histories*, 12, 435.

²²² John Tzetzes, *Scholia*, chilies 12, 638.

²²³ Lauxtermann 2003: 69. Cf. also Mitylenaios, *poems*, no. 76: *Ἐπι τῇ ἐκφορᾷ αὐτῆς*.

in the title of epigrams is not necessarily indicative of their inscriptional use, it might equally indicate subject matter.

Such performative epigrams differ fundamentally from the clearly literary epigrams of the Hellenistic era (*inscriptions fictives*). The Hellenistic epigrams were imitating ‘as faithfully as possible an inscriptional context’²²⁴. The *inscriptions fictives* existed for the sake of literary pleasure. On the other hand, the twelfth-century performative epigrams refer to a concrete and very real object. They express the feelings and the motivations of the donor. The donation, along with the literary pleasure of an agreeable piece of literature, addresses a specific audience, conveying a message regarding the meaning of the donation and the social status of the donor.

It should also be pointed out that inscriptional epigrams – even if they serve as authentic verse inscriptions – may have a performative character. As discussed above, they would have been read aloud by the viewers. In some cases, the texts of verse inscriptions were read aloud from a manuscript in order to commemorate the donors. Such is the case of the long hexametric inscription in Pantokrator Monastery, which, according to the manuscript, had been composed on the occasion of the inauguration of the monastery and was recited annually on the commemoration day²²⁵.

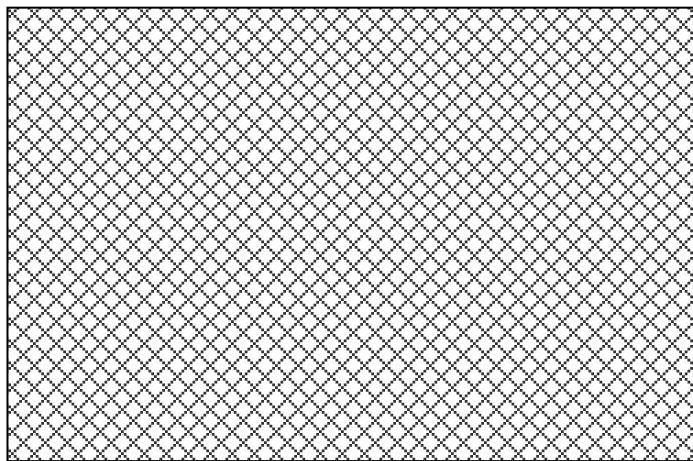


Fig. 31. View of the glass flooring covering the earth of Golgotha. Jerusalem chapel, Church of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome. Photo Alexander Nagel; *Treasures of Heaven*, p. 220.

²²⁴ Bernard 2010: 68. Cf. Tarán 1979: 118–23.

²²⁵ Rhoby 2012: 746.

Tentatively, it can be suggested that epigrams were not only performed in front of an icon, but that a copy of the text was left near (or even inside) the venerated object²²⁶. This piece of paper would be a constant prayer to the depicted saint on behalf of the donor (thus serving a function similar to that of the inscriptions). This practice, if it was ever used, is reminiscent of a common practice from the modern Mediterranean world, where a list of names or a prayer written on a small piece of paper is left behind or on the frames of icons or next to shrines. For example, paper dedications (and photos) can be

found under the glass covering the earth of Jerusalem in the church of Santa Croce (*Gerusalemme*) in Rome (fig. 31). Furthermore, the backs of icons were frequently used as places of dedication²²⁷. Thus, it does sound probable that a piece of paper, after its contents had been

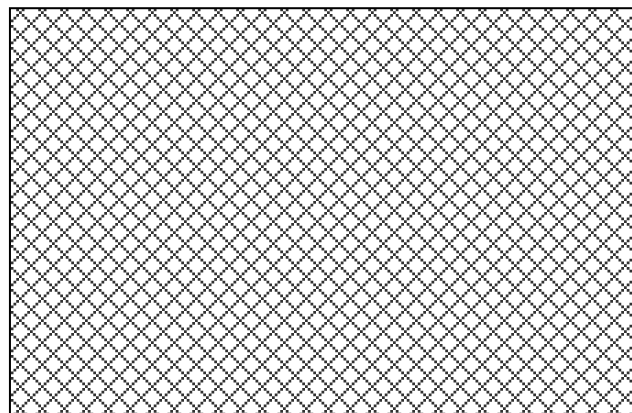


Fig. 32. Sixth- or seventh-century votive plaque from Syria, Ma'aret en Norman. The Walters Art Museum. Accession number: 57.1865.560. <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/9957/plaque-with-pair-of-eyes-symbolizing-the-all-seeing-power-of-god/> accessed in January, the 30th 2012.

performed, was placed behind the icon. This suggestion needs to be taken with a pinch of salt, of course, since the fragility of the materials and the major geopolitical changes could not have left evidence for such a hypothesis and scattered indications and suggestions cannot form a strongly credible argument. However, common anthropological evidence does support such an idea. Offering an epigram certainly reminds one of *tamata*, votive plaques given to a saint asking for relief from a disease or the resolution of a difficult situation (e.g. fig. 32). This possibility is

²²⁶ Cf. the pieces of paper found in the reliquary of St John the Chrysostom in Santa Maria della Scala at Siena (*BEIÜ* 2, Me76–7) and the reliquary of St Demetrios in Halberstadt (Grabar 1950: 6 and fig. 10–1; cf. *BEIÜ* 2, Me5).

²²⁷ See *BEIÜ* 2, Ik4–6 and Ik17; Cormack 2007: 32 and 76–7. Cf. the decoration on the back side of certain twelfth-century icons from Sinai, *The Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 245–7. See also epigram no. 246.

yet to be investigated – something which falls outside the scope of the present discussion.

Poetry was read and judged, but also conveyed a message. The message would be more effective if it was read aloud in front of the intended audience rather than being inscribed in a difficult or hardly visible place. Even though it will never be possible to state with certainty what the original function of the epigrams was (since none of them can be found *in situ*), some assumptions can be made. The assessment of the practical use of the epigrams has to be set primarily on objective evidence and subsequently on the details of the literary style. The criteria for distinguishing an *inscriptional* epigram have been discussed in previous chapters. This chapter suggests the *performative* function of the epigrams or, in other words, that epigrams were possibly performed in front of the object on the occasion of its donation. The ‘performance’ could have taken place either at the moment of the dedication in the church or when the gift was presented to the emperor or just before, within a literary circle. The performative nature of epigrams can be established on the basis of the following criteria:

- 1) The content of the epigram, i.e. if the epigram is more appropriate for oral presentation than for inscription (e.g. the name of the donor or/and the saint is missing²²⁸ and/or the epigram looks more like a supplication or expression of thanksgiving);
- 2) The length of the epigram in comparison to the available space on the object (comparison with similar objects);
- 3) The close connection of the epigram to a specific moment (e.g. the use of *v̄v*); and
- 4) The occasion itself.

²²⁸ However, the name of the donor or saint may have been written on the actual painting.

Undoubtedly, the written word in Byzantium was powerful²²⁹. However, this does not in itself make it possible for all epigrams to be squeezed into prohibitively small surfaces. The performance of epigrams at the appropriate time can therefore be a means for conveying directly a message to the recipient. If the recipient is God, a saint or Mary, the donor supplicates him directly. If the recipient is a human or a specific circle of people, the donor demonstrates his literary skills and enhances his social status, while at the same time delivering subtle ‘political’ messages or moral critique. A thin line distinguishes performative and inscriptional epigrams, since both ultimately have a performative character. However, their main difference lies simply in how they were intended to be used: the former were written with performance in mind, while the latter were intended to serve as verse inscriptions.

²²⁹ For a thorough discussion, see James 2007: 195–9.

3. *La poésie de l'objet:*

Dedicatory epigrams as a standardised genre

3.1. *Defining the dedication*

Εἰς δίσκον νεουργηθέντα μετὰ τὸ κλαπῆναι καὶ θραυσθῆναι.

Ὁ μὲν προδοῦς ἔκλειψε σὴν, Σωτήρ, πράσιν,
σὲ τοῖς φονευταῖς ἀντιδοῦς ἀργυρίων,
ἄφρων δὲ συλᾶ χρύσειον σκεῦος τόδε,
τοῦ σώματός Σου δεκτικόν τοῦ τιμίου.
5 ἄλλ' ὁ κραταιὸς Μανουήλ, μέγας ἄναξ,
ὡς βασιλικὴν οὐ κεκρυμμένην μόνον
δραχμὴν ἐφεῦρεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τεθραυσμένην
καὶ σοὶ νεουργῶν αὐθις αὐτὸ προσφέρει¹.

On a paten, which was restored after being stolen and broken²

While the traitor stole Your sale, oh Saviour, and handed You over to Your murderers in exchange for silver coins, the fool despoils this golden vessel, the receptacle of Your precious body. But the mighty Manuel, the great emperor, found it like an imperial coin not just hidden, but also broken, and, after restoring it, he offers this again to you.

According to the epigram, a golden Eucharistic paten had been stolen, then broken, and finally rediscovered. Manuel, after fixing the item, offers it once more to Christ. Despite the fact that stealing and breaking a liturgical vessel, as an act of sacrilege, rather piques the reader's interest, the epigram does not offer specific information such as the name of the villain or the church from which the object was stolen. What the author is concerned with is the dedication. Essential information is mentioned: the object, the act of the donation and its context, and the donor. The Gerasimos' epigram offers even more accurately the context of the donation, since the donor-narrator specifies that he offered the clasps to the icon of St Pantaleon three years after the original promise. This example is explicitly the context of the donation, the act of the offering, while few words are dedicated to the object and the donor.

¹ No. 70.

² Title κλαστῆναι L θραυθῆναι M | 1 σῶτερ corr. L πράσιν L | 3 καὶ L τοῦτο L.
2 Mt. 26:15 ; Lc. 22:3 | 7 Lc. 15:8; cf. Greg. Naz., PG 36, 328 et 660.

In more complex – but more frequent in this corpus – examples, the epigrams underline what the donor expects in return. An indicative example is that of the epigram on the icon of the Most-Holy Mother of God renewed by Bardas Liparites³:

Εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ἀνακαινισθεῖσαν παρὰ τοῦ Λιπαρίτου Βάρδα.

Ἦ μὲν κιβωτὸς τῆς σκιάς πρίν, Παρθένε,
 ἦν ἐξ ἀσήπτων τεκτονηθεῖσα ξύλων
 τὴν ἀφθορον κόρην γὰρ εἰκόνιζέ σε·
 5 πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ σοῦ τῆς κιβωτοῦ τὸν τύπον
 νικᾷ χρόνου ῥέουσα καὶ φθείρει φύσις.
 Βάρδας δ' ἐγὼ σὸς οἰκέτης Λιπαρίτης
 αὐθις νεουργῶ πίστεως χειρουργία.
 σὺ δ' ἀλλ' ἐμὴν νεύσασαν ἐκ χρόνου φρένα
 10 πρὸς πταισμάτων ῥυτίδα καινούργει πάλιν.
 σὺ ῥάβδος εἶ, φύεις δὲ καὶ ῥίζης δίχα·
 κάμοι δὸς ἀνθεῖν εἰς καλοῦ πράξεις βίου
 καὶ τὴν Ἐδέμ σχεῖν εἰς μονὴν θείαν χλόην⁴.

On a depiction of the Most-Holy Mother of God renewed by Bardas Liparitis

Long ago, the foreshadowing Ark was built from incorruptible woods, because it symbolised you, the pure maiden. But the corruptible nature of time defeats and affects even a picture of you, the Ark. But I, your servant, Bardas Liparites, restore it with the skill of faith. But may you renew again my aging heart which stoops to the wrinkle of sin; You are the rod, and you even thrive without roots; so grant that I, too, blossom with the deeds of a good life and have as the divine pasture of Eden as my abode.

The donor, after referring to the context of his donation, asks the Virgin to help him to be a good Christian and to grant him a place in Paradise. Again, a narrator-donor presents the donation, states the reason behind his action, and says who he is. However, this time he asks for something specific in return. In this context, also interesting is the epigram of the enkolpion of Michael Alousianos Hagiotheodorites. The enkolpion contained relics of St Theodore Gabras, an eleventh-century saint, venerated primarily in Trebizond⁵. The entire epigram is a plea for protection on behalf of the owner.

The case of the multi-reliquary enkolpion by the same donor has already been mentioned⁶. The epigram does not say anything about the function of the

³ No. 64.

⁴ 10 ῥάβδος M: ῥάβδος L δε M: δὲ L.

⁵ No. 42. On St Theodore Gabras, see Rigo 1998. See also p. 211ff.

⁶ No. 242. See p. 126.

amulet, but instead it enumerates the relics. It has a clearly practical use: to signify what relics are included in the amulet.

Artworks are dedicated not only to divine persons (*votive epigrams*), but also to the emperor (*secular dedicatory epigrams*). The two types differ drastically, since the secular dedicatory epigrams do not express the act of offering as vividly as the votive epigrams, and they do not explicitly suggest a specific favour in return. However, the aim of the offerings, in general, was to secure the favour of the emperor on behalf of the donor. For instance, John Chrysorophites, probably in the year 1169, commissioned a portrait of the emperor and his wife blessed by Christ, which was accompanied by the following epigram⁷:

Εἰς εἰκόνα ἔχουσαν ἱστορηθέντα τὸν βασιλέα [καί] τὴν δέσποιναν εὐλογομένους παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Κάνταῦθα τέρμα τῆς προφητείας βλέπω,
 ἦν ὁ βλέπων προεῖπεν Ἱερεμίας·
 οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἄρτι προσλαλεῖ τῷ πλησίον
 ὡς ἐκδιδάσκων «γνώθι τὸν βασιλέα»·
 5 πάντες γὰρ ἐγνώκασιν αὐτοῦ τὸ κράτος
 μικρῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει·
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι τῶν μεγίστων ἐν βίῳ
 μείζους χαρίτων εἰσφέρουσιν τοὺς τρόπους,
 στηλογραφοῦντες ἐν διηρμένοις τόποις,
 10 λόγοις διαγγέλλοντες αὐτοῦ τὰ κράτη,
 κοινὸν καλοῦντες ἀγαθὸν τῶν Αὐσόνων
 σωτήρα, ῥύστην, φύλακα, σκέπην, βάσιν,
 ἄλλον θεὸν πλάττοντα δευτέραν πλάσιν
 τοὺς συντριβέντας ἐκδρομαῖς τῶν βαρβάρων.
 15 Ἰωάννης δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου θύτης,
 Χρυσοροφίτης ἐξ ἔπωνύμου γένους,
 κἂν εὐτελής ἦ καὶ μικρὸς τὰ πρὸς τύχην,
 πίστει πόθον σύγκρατον αὐτοῦ δεικνύων,
 ὄν πρὸς τὸν αὐτάνακτα Μανουὴλ τρέφει,
 20 τὸν πορφυρόχρουν τῆς νέας Ῥώμης στύλον,
 25 γραφαῖς ἀφώνοις κεκραγῶς τὰ τοῦ πόθου,
 χρώμασι τυποῖ δουλικῶς τοῦτον γράφων
 καὶ τὴν ἄνασσαν Μαρίαν συνεγγράφων,
 Ἀντιόχου γῆς πρὶν φέρουσαν τὸ κράτος
 24 καὶ νῦν δι' αὐτοῦ κοσμίῳ παντὸς κύκλου
 26 οὗς ὁ κρατῶν γῆς, οὐρανοῦ Παντοκράτωρ,
 συνῆψεν εἰς ἓν καὶ λέχος καὶ τὸ στέφος
 ἄμφω συνάπτων προσφυῶς καὶ παγκάλως.
 ἐπεύχεται δὲ τῷ θρόνῳ μὲν ἡμέρας
 30 ὅσας ὁ Δαυὶδ οὐρανοῦ ψάλλων λέγει,
 υἱὸν δ' ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν ὡσπερ ἐκ κήπου ῥόδον
 ἐκπορφυρῶσαι σπαργάνοις τὴν πορφύραν
 καὶ σχεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ στέφος κληρουχίαν

⁷ No. 246. The epigram should be dated close to Alexios' birth: see vv. 31–4. Cf. Magdalino–Nelson 1982: 139.

γήρα λιπόντων ἐν βαθεῖ τὰ τοῦ κράτους⁸.

On an icon which had painted the emperor (and) the empress to be blessed by Christ.

And here I see the fulfillment of the prophecy, which the prophet Jeremiah prophesied: no one now addresses his neighbour instructing him: 'Know the King'; for everybody has come to know his power, from the humble folk to those in power.

For the others, those with the highest positions in life offer gratitude in the most conspicuous of ways depicting him in lofty places, announcing his power in speeches, [10] calling him the common good of Ausonians, saviour, liberator, guardian, protector, foundation, another God, who makes a second creation for those who are crushed by the incursions of the barbarians. But John, the priest of the Logos of God [15] from the family of Chrysorophites, even if he is humble and of small fortune, demonstrating love combined with faith, which he has for Emperor Manuel, the purple-coloured one, the column of the new Rome [20], portrays in colours, with voiceless pictures crying out his love, slavishly depicting him together with Empress Maria, who first had the power of the land of Antiochus and now, thanks to him [Manuel], the entire orbit [24] those the ruler of the Earth and Heaven, the Almighty has joined in one marriage bed and on one throne joining the two of them lovingly and beautifully. And he (Chrysorophites) wishes the throne many days as the days of Heaven that David sings of, [30] and that a son from those two, like a rose from the garden, may out-purple purple with his swaddling clothes, and may inherit the crown from them, when they will leave their power behind in old age.

The epigram does not clearly state what the donor expects in return from the emperor. It explains the depiction and its meaning and praises the imperial couple, but nothing more. The antithesis to the well-off allows the readers to assume that what the insignificant Chrysorophites was expecting in return was to be favoured by the emperor and thus perhaps to get some privileges. In other examples, the donor tries to re-confirm the benevolence of the emperor. Constantine Kalamanos offers a *δουλικὸν δῶρον* (a gift of servitude) and Andronikos Kamateros was depicted to prostrate in front of the emperor⁹. The epigram on a series of imperial portraits calls on the viewer to 'observe also on them [the depictions of] the extent of the love that the purple-blooming shoot who paints this has for Emperor Manuel'¹⁰. Finally, the gifts from Eirene-Berta and Maria of Antioch to their husband, Manuel, signify the importance of their marriage¹¹.

⁸ Title καὶ ante τὴν omML addMaN εὐλογουμένην LMaN | 3 προυλαλεῖ MaN | 4 καὶ MaN | 6 ἀπάντων MaN | 7 βίῳ MaN | 10 διαδήλοντες M | 14 τοὺς συντριβέντας ἐκδρομαῖς L τὴν συντριβὴν τῶν ἐκδρομῶν MaN | 17. κὰν MaN | 18 πίστιν prop. L πόθῳ M corr. MaN | 19 Μανουῆλ MaN | 25 κεκρατῶς MaN | 27 συνῆψε MaN | 29 τοῦ θρόνου MaN | 33 χεῖν M <ἔ>χειν MaN αὐτοῦ MaN.

⁹ 2–6 Jer. 38:34 | 28–29 Ps. 88:30.

¹⁰ No. 83.

¹¹ No. 73, 25–6: σκόπει δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ τοῦ πόθου μέτρον
ὁ πρὸς τὸν αὐτάνακτα Μανουῆλ φέρει...

¹¹ Nos. 260, 374, and 375.

Monasteries were also interested in being in the favour of the emperor. The epigram on the imperial portraits at Mokios monastery has already been analysed (no. 115). The monks of the Holy Trinity by the Bosphorus depict ‘the planter’ (the emperor), who, with ‘the red signatures in his hand, [...] planted [...] many vines of donations’ and helped to establish the monastic community ‘by fencing (his donation) with golden bulls’¹². The imperial portrait probably stood next to the portrait of Nikephoros the mystikos, who, some point after 1158, had founded the monastery¹³.

Epigrams which do not directly mention a dedication form a subgroup in the corpus under discussion. They are epigrams commissioned by the Palace and dedicated to the emperor. For example, between the years 1166 and 1171 a mosaic with the portraits of John II, Manuel I and Alexios II was created. It is not known where exactly this mosaic was placed. However, the subject of the depiction (with special emphasis on the continuation of the imperial line) and the omission of the name of the dedicatee allow us to assume the composition was created on an imperial initiative¹⁴. Similarly, on the occasion of the synod of 1166, the emperor was depicted in a complex pictorial composition which included also Christ, the Holy Spirit as a dove, the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and the church fathers¹⁵. The subject of the depictions points again to imperial patronage. Further, two epigrams are written on imperial portraits on buildings of the imperial complex of Blachernai, established by Manuel Komnenos: one *On the conch of the newly built throne-room*¹⁶ and one *On the newly built kouboukleion in the chamber in Blachernae*¹⁷.

¹² No. 360, 3–5:

...έρυθρογράφοις σῆς χειρὸς σημασίαις
καὶ ληνὸν ἡμῖν ἀνορύξας χαρίτων
χρυσαῖς ἐπεθρίγγωσας αὐτὰς σφραγῖσι...

¹³ No. 360; Magdalino–Nelson 1982: 277–303; Oikonomides 2001: 268–9.

¹⁴ No. 357. The epigram probably refers to a mosaic (see v. 3, χρυσέα σειρά) and it is datable to between 1169 and 1171. See Magdalino–Nelson 1982: 146–7. See also Grabar 1937: 29.

¹⁵ No. 370.

¹⁶ No. 252.

Smaller objects commemorate victories of the emperor, including a golden vessel on which he is depicted defeating the sultan and a golden cover which depicted the expedition against Ikonion¹⁸. These epigrams – unlike the one on the bowl by Kalamanos – do not leave any hint that these objects were offered to the emperor by a courtier. However, the context of all these portraits points to imperial patronage. Unfortunately, it is not possible to specify whether it was the emperor himself who commissioned these epigrams and the depictions or someone in his very close circle. Nevertheless, it is possible to state that objects were not *offered* but rather *dedicated* to the emperor. Even if these idiosyncratic epigrams do not explicitly mention a dedication, they follow the commodities of the dedicatory epigrams as they will be presented in the following pages.

Performative and *inscriptional epigrams* follow the same patterns: even if their use is different, they put in words the feelings and the motivations of the donor. Votive epigrams are prevalent in the corpus, making up the 82% of the anthology. The Palace commissioned almost equally votive and secular epigrams, while courtiers preferred to support primarily votive epigrams.

In short, two groups of epigrams can be distinguished in the corpus in question:

- a. Epigrams on sacred objects and buildings (e.g. churches, monastic walls, objects for the church) – *votive epigrams*¹⁹. With the dedication the donor shows his devotion and/or asks for something in return for his gift. In rare cases, the epigram has a practical purpose.
- b. Epigrams on profane donations (e.g. inscriptions/epigrams on oikoi or on objects offered to the emperor) – *secular dedicatory epigrams*. With these epigrams the donors express their loyalty to the emperor and try to gain or reinvigorate the favour of the emperor. A subgroup of this category is

¹⁷ No. 271. A *kouboukleion* was a type of chamber.

¹⁸ Nos. 354 and 372 respectively.

¹⁹ See also the discussion on dedicatory verse inscriptions in Lauxtermann 2003: 160.

formed by the epigrams commissioned by the palace and dedicated by their very existence to the emperor.

Initially, the two categories seem to have a different purpose; votive epigrams try to secure the salvation of the donor while secular dedicatory epigrams aim to build a 'bridge' between the donor and the emperor. However, in the end their purpose is the same: they aim either to bring the donor into the favour of a holy person or the emperor and/or to praise the person to whom they are dedicated. Therefore, the similarity is what is most striking. Private devotion or individual piety is expressed not only with the words of the epigrams, but also in the act itself. The very act of compiling an *enkolpion* as Hagiotheodorites did or making a portrait of the emperor demonstrates religious worship or secular loyalty on the part of the commissioner.

3.2. Constructing a dedicatory epigram

The structure of the dedicatory epigrams on works of art in the *Anthologia Marciana* follows a common pattern for most of the literary texts: introduction – main text – conclusions. The outline suggested by Andreas Rhoby on the basis of verse inscriptions is parallel to the suggested scheme²⁰:

Introduction	Justification of the donation/foundation
Main text	Presentation of the donor/founder
Conclusions	Plea for support on the day of the Last Judgement or plea for salvation from all sins

The *introduction* ushers the reader into the sphere of the donation. It often justifies the gift, informing the reader about the motivations of the donor or providing background information on the offering. Gerasimos, who offered the clasps to St Pantoleon, mentions at the very beginning that the saint has conferred a favour on him²¹. Theodore Styppeiotes intended to change the location of a depiction of St Demetrius in his private chapel, with the move coming as a result of extension works in the church. His motivation was, according to the epigram, his strong feelings for the saint²². The epigram on the church or the monastery that George Syropoulos restored begins by mentioning the damage that time has caused to the building²³. Moreover, in a secular context, the epigram on the crown the *protosebastos protovestiaros* offered to Alexios II on the occasion of his coronation states at the beginning that the crown was given to Alexios by God²⁴.

In other cases, the introductory part provides admonitions on lifestyle in general. The first six verses of the epigram on the Icon of the Three Youths, for

²⁰ Rhoby 2010 (c): 316.

²¹ No. 358, 1.

²² No. 65, 1–5.

²³ Dan. 3:46–9. No. 113, 1–2. Cf. Rhoby 2010 (c): 326.

²⁴ No. 111, 1–3.

example, which the influential Andronikos Doukas Kamateros conserved, talk to the reader about the necessity of venerating God. It refers to the story of three youths, who were delivered out of harm's way from the fiery furnace thanks to their faith²⁵. In other cases, epigrams open with a reference to the life of the venerated saint or to Christ. For instance, the epigram on an *encheirion* that the same Andronikos has offered to an anonymous church begins with a reference to the purple *chlamys* Christ wore before the Passion²⁶.

Similarly, a general statement can be found in the opening lines of secular dedicatory epigrams. For example, the Chrysorophites' epigram starts with a quote from Jeremiah denoting that everyone knows that Manuel is the absolute ruler²⁷. According to the epigram on the cross erected in Hungary, the first to see the figure of the cross formed by stars was Constantine the Great. Constantine, having the cross as his standard, defeated his enemies²⁸. Manuel, following the example of Constantine the Great, thus becomes a *new Constantine*.

References to materials are also common in the introduction to secular dedicatory epigrams. For example, the epigram on the picture of the emperor and his son Alexios starts with the following verses²⁹:

Καὶ χρωμάτων μὲν στιλπνότης καὶ χρυσοῦ,
καὶ ποικίλων στίλβουσα λαμπρότης λίθων
δείκνυσι φαιδρὸν τὸν κατάχρυσον δόμον·
πλὴν οὐκ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔνδον ἡ χάρις τόσον
5 ὅσον περ ἔκτος ἐκ γραφῆς τῶν εἰκόνων³⁰...

Both the glittering of the colours and of the gold and the glistening splendour of the variegated stones show the all-golden church to be radiant. But the beauty is not so much inside as outside, namely, in the images depicted there...

According to the epigram, the gleaming beauty of the church is magnified by the portraits of the emperors at the narthex³¹. Similarly, Maria of Antioch states that

²⁵ No. 99, 1–6.

²⁶ No. 95, 1–2.

²⁷ No. 248, 1–4.

²⁸ No. 376, 1–3.

²⁹ No. 73, 1–5.

³⁰ 1 χρωμάτων M: χρημάτων L.

she gives to her emperor-husband a belt she has woven 'with pearls, precious stones, and gold'³².

Frequently, the votive epigram addresses the depicted/venerated saint at the very beginning. Andronikos Kamateros directly addresses Christ, the *Logos*³³. Gerasimos directly addresses St Pantoleon³⁴. However, building inscriptions, begin by addressing the passer-by. The narrator of the epigram on Leo Sikoundenos's house urges the ξένος (stranger) to admire the foundations of the house³⁵. The opening lines of the epigram on the entrance of the Holy Trinity in Boradion call on the viewer to see the newly established monastery, which was developed around an existing church³⁶:

Αὕτη μοναστῶν ἡ κατοικία, ξένε,
οὐκ ἦν μὲν ἀπόγραπτος ἐν μοναῖς πάλαι,
ἀλλ' οἶκος εὐχῆς καὶ δεήσεως τόπος.

This settlement of monks, oh Stranger, was not registered before among the monasteries, but (it was) a house for praying and a place for supplications (to God).

Nonetheless the epigram in which Andronikos Doukas Kamateros directly addresses the emperor, asking him to see how he (the emperor) has been depicted³⁷. Finally, in another example, the poet addresses the artist, questioning the theme of the pictorial composition³⁸.

The main part outlines the essential aspects of the donation. Personal pronouns and adverbs of time are used as transitional words to mark the beginning of a new part. The donor-narrator exposes his internal motivations and aspects of his offering. He frequently refers to himself with direct use of the first-person singular personal pronoun (ἐγώ)³⁹. Sometimes, the personal pronoun is followed by

³¹ Cf. nos. 251, 1-4; 354, 1-2.

³² No. 374, 1-2; cf. no. 260, 1-4.

³³ Cf. 40, 1-5.

³⁴ Cf. no. 370, 1.

³⁵ No. 61, 1-2. Cf. nos. 251, 1-2; 357, 1-2.

³⁶ No. 306, 1-3.

³⁷ No. 83, 1.

³⁸ No. 271.

³⁹ E.g. nos. 40, 6; 81, 8; 93, 3; 97, 6; 101, 8; 245, 5. Cf. ἐμοί, 71, 10.

the name of the donor⁴⁰. Furthermore, ἐγώ, as well as νῦν, introduces the reader of the epigram to the specific donation. Sometimes ἐγώ and νῦν are used together. Such an example is the epigram on the Icon of Christ commissioned by John Kontostephanos Komnenos. The epigram starts with a general reference to the human nature of Christ (vv. 1–2)⁴¹. Then, it becomes more specific (v. 3), with a reference to the time (νῦν): (*Christ*) *you are wearing now the hue of the colours*⁴². Some general admonitions and remarks are stated after that⁴³. In the following verses, the donation becomes even more personalised, since the donor (ἐγώ) reveals his intention for this offering⁴⁴.

The νῦν mentioned in the main part is frequently juxtaposed with the πάλαι of the introduction. Πάλαι usually introduces a story from the Holy Scriptures, which is then compared with a situation familiar to the donor. For example, an epigram on an Icon of the Resurrection commissioned by John Merkouropoulos states:

Πάλαι μὲν ὠκτείρησας, ὡς Δαυὶδ γράφει,
 Σιών, ἀναστὰς ἐκ τάφου, Πλαστουργέ μου,
 λύσας δὲ νυκτὸς τῆς διωκτρίας σκότος,
 ἀνῆψας ἡμῖν γνώσεως σὴν λαμπάδα,
 5 νῦν δ' αὖθις ἡμᾶς ἄλλον οἰκτείρας τρόπον⁴⁵...

Having shown compassion on Zion before, as David says, rising from the tomb, my Creator, and ending the darkness of the night of persecution, you lit for us the lamp of knowledge. But now, again (you light it up for me), showing compassion for me in another way.

The donor, as the narrator of the epigram, attests in the introduction to a general truth: the salvation of humanity by Christ. Afterwards, the same donor then expresses his gratitude to Christ for his accession to the throne of Jerusalem. Πάλαι

⁴⁰ E.g. no. 95, 3–5.

⁴¹ No. 40.

⁴² Οὕτω σκιάν νῦν ὑποδύς τῶν χρωμάτων, v. 3.

⁴³ Vv. 4–5.

⁴⁴ Vv. 6–17.

⁴⁵ No. 256, 1–5.

and *v̄v̄* are thus not only a means of expressing opposition, but also lexical indicators signifying the transition from the introduction to the main part⁴⁶.

The main difference between *v̄v̄* and *ἐγὼ* is that the first oscillates between the introduction and the main part, while the second demarcates the two parts. For example, the monk Peter reminds St Paul how he (St Paul) was shipwrecked and spent a whole day as a castaway on the open sea, but remained unharmed⁴⁷. However, his icon was not so lucky: his icon was damaged by the passing of time⁴⁸. The simile that follows cannot be accurately translated word for word. In an idiomatic rendering: even if St Paul survived at the bottom of the ocean before (*νυχθημερεύσας βυθῶ πρώην*), his icon did not manage to remain untouched in the depths of oblivion (*βυθοῖς λήθης*). Therefore, the donor now takes up the conservation of the icon. The first part of the simile alludes to the New Testament⁴⁹ and a commonplace of Greek literature can be discerned (*βυθὸς λήθης*)⁵⁰. The word *v̄v̄* introduces the second part, giving a starting point to the detailed description of the donation⁵¹.

The same patterns are followed by secular dedicatory epigrams. The epigram *On a golden cover which depicts the events of the expedition against Ikonion* starts with a general reference to the unnumbered deeds of the emperor⁵². It presents the deed of the emperor (and the depiction) with a very specific reference:

...*v̄v̄* δ' ἀρχιπέρεσης ὧδε φυγὰς ἐγράφη...
...but, now, here, the chief of the Persians is depicted as a fugitive⁵³.

⁴⁶ Similar meaning to that of *πάλαι*, can have the word *πρώην* (see no. 44, 1).

⁴⁷ No. 44, 1.

⁴⁸ vv. 1–3.

⁴⁹ 2Cor. 16:25.

⁵⁰ Cf. no. 65, 20.

⁵¹ Cf. nos. 256, 5; 277, 4.

⁵² No. 372, 1–4.

⁵³ v. 5.

Adverbs of place or of time are equally important as *vũn* in regard to the introduction of the main subject. Indeed, *ἐγὼ* and *vũn* can be replaced by words indicating the very specific occasion, such as *ἐνταῦθα*⁵⁴.

The word *πλήν* stimulates the development of the main subject⁵⁵. This word does not usually introduce a new part, but is rather an antithetical conjunction aiming to give momentum to the narration⁵⁶. For example, Maria of Antioch commissioned the composition of verses for a revetment of, probably, a marble relief depicting the Theotokos⁵⁷. After a short introduction – an encomium to the Virgin – Maria states:

τὸ πᾶν δὲ βραχεῖ συμπερικλεῖσαι λόγῳ,
 τὴν εὐμένειαν ἐβράβευσας πλησμίαν
 τοῦ πορφυρανθοῦς Αὐσόνων βασιλέως,
 10 πιστοῦ Μανουήλ, πᾶσι φρικτοῦ βαρβάρους.
 πρὸς ταῦτά σοι τίς ἀντιτάλαντος χάρις;
 πλήν ἀλλὰ δεῖγμα πίστεώς τε καὶ πόθου
 δέδεξο τοῦ σοῦ χρύσειον κόσμον τύπου,
 ὃν πρὸς θαλάσσης δωρεῶν σῶν σταγόνα
 15 ἰταλοφυῆς Μαρίας σοὶ προσφέρω⁵⁸.

To say everything in a few words, you rewarded the abundant benevolence of the purple-blooming emperor of the Ausonians pious Manuel, whom all barbarians fear. What favour can repay you for these things? Nevertheless, as an expression of [my] faith and love, accept the gold decoration of your icon that I, Maria, sprung from the Italians, offering it to you, like a drop in the ocean of your gifts.

Maria, after thanking Mary for Her benefactions, presents her gift. This second part is introduced with *πλήν*. It is rare that the main part begins with this word⁵⁹. For instance, Alexios Axouch offered a gilt triple-lamp to the Virgin Mary. In the introduction of the resultant epigram, the donor-narrator wonders what could be worthy of Her, who is ‘the all-gold lamp of the Light’. And he states in the beginning of the main part: ‘nevertheless, I offer you gold-like lamps’. The conjunction *πλήν* again introduces a weak antithesis, pushing the subject forward.

⁵⁴ Nos. 96, 8 and 375, 3.

⁵⁵ Sometimes in the type of *πλήν ἀλλὰ καί*.

⁵⁶ E.g. nos. 90, 16; 251, 31; 279, 5; and 308, 6.

⁵⁷ No. 112: see Spingou 2010: 95.

⁵⁸ vv. 7–15.

⁵⁹ Nos. 75, 4; 99, 10; 100, 4.

In regard to the content, the main part tells the reader about the act of offering. It can provide details on the identity and/or the motivations of the donor, although this sort of information can also be found in the introduction or the final supplication. For this reason, the presentation by the donor will be discussed in a separate paragraph⁶⁰.

Words meaning 'to give' or 'to bring' are also prominent: *φέρω*⁶¹, *εἰσφέρω*⁶², *προσφέρω*⁶³, *ἀναρτῶ*⁶⁴, *προαρτῶ*⁶⁵, *προβάλλω*⁶⁶. In other instances, verbs indicating the exact service of the donor are employed:

on restoration of buildings, icons or frescoes: *ξέω τὸ γῆρας*⁶⁷, *τὸ γῆρας ἐξάγω*⁶⁸, *νεουργῶ*⁶⁹,

on gold/gilt or mix-media revetments of icons: *κοσμῶ*⁷⁰, *στέφω*⁷¹, *λαμπρύνω*⁷², *καλλύνω*⁷³, *καταγλαΐζω*⁷⁴, *χρυσαργυρῶ*⁷⁵,

on new depictions: *τυπῶ*⁷⁶, *γράφω (τὸν τύπον)*⁷⁷, *ἐγγράφω*⁷⁸, *συνεγγράφω*⁷⁹, *διαγράφω*⁸⁰, *στηλογραφῶ*⁸¹, *εἰκονίζω*⁸², *χρῶζω*⁸³, *ζωγραφῶ*⁸⁴,

on the establishment of a cross: *ἐντίθημι*⁸⁵,

on altar covers: *σκέπω*⁸⁶.

⁶⁰ See pp. 202 and 208.

⁶¹ E.g. nos. 50, 52, 54, 65, 73, 81, 89, 94, 118, 242, 262, 269, 368, and 402.

⁶² E.g. no. 263.

⁶³ Nos. 63, 70, 75, 112, 253, 255, 257. Cf. *προσκυρῶ*, no. 291.

⁶⁴ No. 88.

⁶⁵ Nos. 71 and 245.

⁶⁶ No. 355.

⁶⁷ No. 44.

⁶⁸ No. 113.

⁶⁹ Nos. 43, 50, 64, 70, 88, and 113.

⁷⁰ Nos. 40, 65, and 249.

⁷¹ No. 269.

⁷² No. 74.

⁷³ Nos. 249, 278, and 309.

⁷⁴ No. 358.

⁷⁵ Nos. 41 and 258.

⁷⁶ Nos. 93 and 257.

⁷⁷ Nos. 47, 77, 85, 246, 263, 285, 297, 308, 372, 401, 403, and 404.

⁷⁸ Nos. 259 and 357.

⁷⁹ No. 252.

⁸⁰ Nos. 62 and 95.

⁸¹ No. 376.

⁸² Nos. 73, 80, 269, and 305.

⁸³ No. 39.

⁸⁴ Nos. 61 and 265.

⁸⁵ On a cross, no. 254.

⁸⁶ Nos. 257 and 261.

The *final part* is a supplication on behalf of the donor to the depicted saint/Virgin Mary or to God. The donor supplicates for himself⁸⁷ and/or his wife and children⁸⁸. Frequently, the donor is presented in this part. The supplication is occasionally introduced with an apostrophe to the saint (σὺ or σὺ δ' ἀλλά) or with transitional words also used in other parts, such as πλὴν δὲ or πλὴν ἀλλά⁸⁹. Most interesting is the case of the apostrophes, since the personal pronoun in the second person singular (σὺ) comes in contrast to the personal ἐγὼ of the main part⁹⁰. The donor-narrator of the epigram addresses the venerated saint in first-person singular, articulating his plea⁹¹. The key verb of the supplication is usually αἰτῶ (ask)⁹², and the donor expects the saint to grant him (δίδου⁹³, χαρίζου⁹⁴) something or to acquire an important value (γίνου⁹⁵). The petitions vary: the donor asks the saint/God to be propitious and keep any (even political) trouble away⁹⁶, to smooth his way in life⁹⁷, to support his faith⁹⁸, to heal him from an illness⁹⁹, to give him χάρις (grace, favour)¹⁰⁰, to grant him redemption from his sins¹⁰¹, to offer him the salvation

⁸⁷ E.g. no. 99.

⁸⁸ E.g. no. 253.

⁸⁹ Rarely used for this purpose. E.g. nos. 284 and 287, 14.

⁹⁰ E.g. no. 97: ἐγὼ δὲ (v. 6) – σὺ δ' ἀλλά (v. 10). The word πλὴν is used in order to give momentum to the supplication (v. 12).

⁹¹ Nos. 59, 18; 63, 11; 245, 8; and 246, 14.

⁹² E.g. nos. 90, 102, 297, and 373.

⁹³ E.g. nos. 69, 81, and 259.

⁹⁴ E.g. nos. 246 and 408.

⁹⁵ E.g. no. 63.

⁹⁶ Verbs: σκέποις (no. 42, cf. no. 253 etc.), ἐπισκιάζοις, σκεπάζοις, σκίαζε (no. 71), συσκίαζε (no. 97). This kind of supplication is frequently reminiscent of the Psalms (e.g. no. 59, 19–20, cf. Ps. 90 (91):4). For support in the battlefield and against political enemies, see, for example, no. 40. On the martial power of the emperor, see, for example, no. 39.

⁹⁷ Two prevalent motifs for this supplication are: (a) the smoothing of someone's path of life, by cleaning the stones (e.g. ἐξαίρων λίθους: no. 97); and (b) calming the storm/the sea of someone's life (e.g. τὴν ἀλμύραν γλύκαζε τοῦ βίου ζάλην: no. 258; βίου θάλασσαν ἐκβάς: no. 51).

⁹⁸ E.g. no. 91; κλίμακι θείων ἀρετῶν στήριζέ με: no. 405. Cf. Euphemia, who asked the Virgin to help her to become a good nun (no. 88).

⁹⁹ E.g. ἔξαγε νόσων, λύε πᾶν θλίβον: no. 114; σαρκὸς νόσων ῥύου: no. 256; σκεδάζων νόσων: 71.

¹⁰⁰ Χάρις-motif. E.g. nos. 81, 110, 256, 258, and 408. See Drpić 2011: 167–8.

¹⁰¹ E.g. αἰτῶ εὐρεῖν λύσιν πταισμάτων: no. 297 (cf. no. 355); ἔπλυνον: no. 95. Cf. Rhoby 2010 (c): 320–2.

of his soul¹⁰² or to help him on the day of the Last Judgement¹⁰³, and finally to grant him a place in Paradise¹⁰⁴.

The dedication is frequently ingenuously connected to the offering. For instance, George Antiochites has renovated the roof (*στέγη/σκεπή*) of the colonnade before the main gates (*πυλών*) of a monastery. In return, he asks God to cover him (*σκέπων*) with his wings (i.e. to protect him) and, at the end, to open the gates of Paradise for him¹⁰⁵. The epigram on the Icon of the Three Youths, who escaped the fiery furnace, uses words connected to fire in the first two parts¹⁰⁶. However, the donor-narrator begs the three youths to 'extinguish the fire of Gehenna' through the 'breeze' of their prayers, and to grant him a tent at the ever-gushing pastures (of Eden) in the final part. Similarly, Theodore Tziros requests St Nicholas, the patron saint of sailors, to calm the turbulence of his life's sea¹⁰⁷.

In secular dedicatory epigrams too, a supplication frequently closes the epigram. The end of the epigram *On the newly built house of Leo Sikoundenos at Thessaloniki* deviates from the above-presented model. The *οἶκος* is personified and the narrator asks it, in the last two verses, to keep the owner and his children satisfied for many years. In the preceding verses, the narrator speaks again to the house with a set of acclamations:

Εὖ τῶν χαρίτων! εὖ γε τοῦ κάλλους δόμει!
Εὖ τῶν θεμέθλων! ...

*Hurrah for the Graces! Hurrah for the house of beauty! Hurrah for the foundations!*¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² E.g. *αἰτεῖ ψυχικὴ σωτηρία*: no. 292; *σῶζε*: no. 291 (cf. nos. 41; 85).

¹⁰³ E.g. nos. 258. Cf. *ὑπερλάλει μοι*: nos. 284 and 287. Cf. Rhoby 2010 (c): 319–20.

¹⁰⁴ E.g. *σύνοικον παραδείσου*: no. 51; *οἶκιζε...μέσον (παραδείσου)*: no. 44. Frequently, the donor asks for: (a) a tent at the verdure of Paradise (e.g. nos. 50, 52, 74, 113, 307, 308, 309, 355, 403, 404, and 408); (b) the opening of the gates of Eden (e.g. nos. 43, 62, 79, and 405); (c) to rejoice with 'the water of happiness' (no. 405); or (d) participation in the Supper in Paradise (e.g. no. 402).

¹⁰⁵ No. 79.

¹⁰⁶ No. 99: *φλόξ, κάμινος, πῦρ, ἐκφλογίζω*. Even the dedication is phrased with the following words: *φίλτρον φλοξὶ ζέοντος ἀνάπτω πάλιν* (v. 12)

¹⁰⁷ No. 258, 8. On St Nicholas as the rescuer of sailors, see Jones 1978: 24–8 and Jones 1963: 43–4. Other excellent examples: nos. 245, 253, and 255.

¹⁰⁸ No. 61, 22–3. To the best of my knowledge, there is only one more building inscription that includes acclamations, written on the *Βασιλικὴ Πύλη*. This time, the building addresses the emperor,

Similarly, the *protosebastos* who offered the crown to Alexios II expresses his hope that Alexios' father, Manuel, will have a long reign establishing the imperial laws¹⁰⁹.

In other examples, the narrator simply states the meaning of the donation. It is probably Manuel Komnenos speaking, explaining that he portrayed his parents in the newly built *triklinos* at the Blachernai so that 'he may see' his 'lamented, if only in shadows'¹¹⁰. The narrator of the epigram on the newly built *kouboukleion* in Blachernai Palace states for the virtues (probably depicted as young maidens):

16 ὑψοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν μέχρ' ἄντ' ἄνω πύλου,
 ὑπὲρ κεφαλῶν, ὡσπερ εἰσδεδεγμένοι,
 ὑφ' ὧν τροποῦται Δαλμάτας, Πέρσας, Δάκας
 καὶ βάρβαρον πᾶν καὶ παράσπονδον γένος.

They elevate him as far as the rim of Heaven, above their heads, as if receiving him, with these (virtues) he defeats the Dalmatians, the Persians, the Daces and every barbarian and treaty-breaking nation¹¹¹.

In other words, the virtues are depicted along with Manuel, because Manuel has all the qualities that they represent and thanks to these qualities he defeats the enemies of the empire.

The content is usually shaped in the suggested outline referred to above (i.e. introduction – main part – final supplication); however, exceptions do exist. In several cases, the final supplication or the introduction is omitted¹¹². In other cases, the entire epigram is an apostrophe to the depicted figures. No. 370 was written on a portrait of the emperor along with Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, and some of Christ's disciples and the church fathers. The epigram directly addresses first Christ (Σὺ μὲν, Θεοῦ παῖ) and then the Holy Spirit (Σὺ δὲ Πνεῦμα). From the beginning, the epigram expresses pleas on behalf of the anonymous third-person narrator. At the same time, the text is strongly connected to the image (cf.

Mercati 1922: 220. See also no. 94, 21–2. The narrator addresses the personified object, this time a cross: *Ye cross sceptre, hit the enemies!* However, it then goes on: *Ye army of Christ rout the Persian tribes!*

¹⁰⁹ No. 111, 9–11.

¹¹⁰ No. 252, 4–5, transl. Magdalino–Nelson 1982: 140–1.

¹¹¹ No. 271, 15–18.

¹¹² E.g. no. 255, *Verses on the encheirion of our Most-Holy Lady the Mother of God the Hodegetria*. The introduction occupies a quarter of the epigram (vv. 1–2) and the main part the remainder (vv. 3–8). Cf. no. 64. *On the encheirion of the Most-Holy Mother of God donated by Theodora Doukaina*. The main part occupies half of the epigram (vv. 1–4) and the final supplication the remaining verses (vv. 5–8).

ἰδοῦ, v. 9 and the description of the movement of hierarchs in vv. 8–10). The epigram ends with the narrator addressing the emperor. He urges him to accept the dogmas given by the hierarchs and to defeat any alien belief.

A rare example is the epigram *On the icon of the Most-Holy Mother of God, [that had been] adorned by the monk Nicholas Mesopotamites* (no. 405). The donor explains the events that led him to make his donation in the first eleven verses and then sets out his plea in the remaining nine verses. He does not refer to the object, his gift; only the title informs the reader of the object.

The length of each part varies greatly between the epigrams. For instance, the introduction of the epigram *On the icon of the Most-Holy Mother of God restored by Bardas Liparitis* occupies 41.7% of the epigram (vv. 1–5), the main part just 16.6% (vv. 6–7) and the supplication 41.7% (vv. 8–12)¹¹³. The parts are divided differently in the epigram *On a peplos hung in the church of Chalke* offered by Maria Doukaina: the introduction makes up 17.6% of the epigram (vv. 1–6), the main part is 53% (vv. 7–25), and the final supplication falls within the remaining 29.4% (vv. 26–34)¹¹⁴. Similarly, some epigrams omit the introductory part¹¹⁵ or the conclusion/final supplication¹¹⁶. In other examples, after a general statement on the life of the saint, the text becomes a supplication for the donor¹¹⁷. Figure 33 shows the split between epigrams which have a 'typical' structure (i.e. introduction – main part – final supplication) and epigrams which omit some of the parts ('unusual epigrams'). Building inscriptions, although in general following the suggested outline, have the greatest degree of variation. Therefore they are considered in the diagram as a

¹¹³ Cf. no. 253, *On the golden lamp given to the church of St George the Gorgos by Meles*. The introduction occupies half of the epigram (vv. 1–3), the main part 16.7% (vv. 4–5), and the supplication (incl. the presentation of the patron) 33.3% (vv. 6–7).

¹¹⁴ No. 71.

¹¹⁵ Nos. 51, 58, 77, 79, 246, 279, 356, 358, and 408.

¹¹⁶ Nos. 95, 98, 255, 260, and 368.

¹¹⁷ Nos. 82, 102, 254, and 284.

separate category. Finally, very short epigrams do not allow to draw any conclusions on their structure.

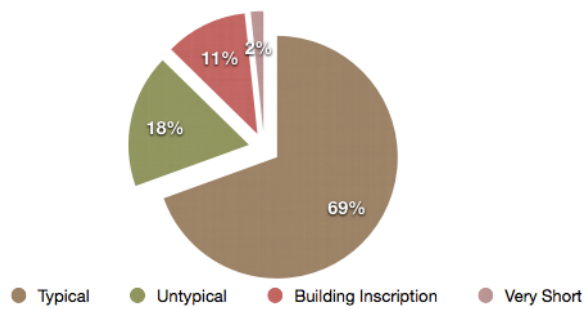


Fig. 33. Epigrams and their structure.

To conclude, the *dedicatory epigrams* were written on a concrete object. The item is given from person A to person B. The structure of the dedicatory epigrams outlined here, as presented in this chapter and epigrammatised in the following table (fig. 34), is not exhaustive, but does cover most cases. Epigrams, even though formulaic (as I hope to show by the end of this part), are works of human creativity, which, unlimited as it is, cannot be fully presented in a systematic way. For example, short epigrams hardly ever follow the structure presented above¹¹⁸. However, overall, dedicatory epigrams provide a set of basic information, which replies to the following questions:

Who gave?/Who owned? – To whom? – What? – Why? – For what in return?

The quest for this essential information adheres to the informative nature of the genre and it can be found as early as archaic times¹¹⁹. Time is pernicious in terms of the meaning of the initial dedication, since such gifts are quickly removed from their original context. The occasion becomes a distant past event. Especially when an epigram was inscribed, it seeks to become a reference point for its audience, recording the context of the donation¹²⁰. It is a means to maintain the bond between the object and the donor for eternity (if inscribed) or to be reminiscent of the

¹¹⁸ E.g. nos. 54, 242, 263, 282, and 367.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Day 1994: 39–40. Furley 2010: 151–3.

¹²⁰ Cf. Day 1994: 40.

offering within a social circle (if performed). This is why it is necessary to provide the contextual information above. The purpose of each offering (and thus of the epigram) varies: the donor may want to give thanks to God or a saint for a benefaction, or he may want to ask for something in return. Finally, since the dedicatory epigram 'walks a tight-rope between the private and public'¹²¹, the statement of the donor's expectations from the revered person is fully understandable. It is his personal voice, which is addressing a saint, God, Mary, or even the emperor.

	Contents	Frequent lexical indicators
Introduction	General statements Background of the offering Snapshots from the life of the saint	Direct address to the recipient: <i>e.g.</i> ξένε, the name of the saint πάλαι/πρίν/πρώην
Main part	Motivation for the offering Events related to the offering What is given (Presentation of the donor)	ἐγὼ νῦν ἐνταῦθα πλήν ἀλλὰ / δὲ
Closing lines	(Presentation of the donor) Final supplication	σὺ (δὲ) πλήν ἀλλὰ / δὲ

Fig. 34. The structure of the dedicatory epigrams from syllogae B and C.

¹²¹ Furley 2010: 155.

3.3. Presenting the donor

Personal details relating to the donor – such as his/her name, vocation, kinship etc. – are given either in the main part of the epigram or in the closing lines. Presenting the donor has a practical purpose in showing who has offered the gift and, therefore, to whom the credit should be attributed. In general, the poets use similar patterns to introduce the donors. The social status in a strict sense does not modify the general scheme, which is: name, occupation, and kinship. Although this pattern is omnipresent, however, peculiarities and differences can be found in the presentation of the emperor, members of the clergy, and secular donors.

i. The emperor

The name of the emperor is usually accompanied by qualities appropriate for the image projected by imperial propaganda. Manuel is presented as a spring of the purple and as the shoot of the imperial family of the Komnenoi¹²² and the Doukai¹²³, but also as ‘the purple column’ of the new Rome¹²⁴. He is presented as being ‘terrible’

¹²² Πορφυρανθής (nos. 39, 11; 112, 9; 249, 3; 294, 10; 358, 4; 374, 3), πορφυραυγής (no. 354, 8), πορφυροφυής (nos. 69, 6; 73, 20), πορφυροανθόβλαστος (no. 73, 27), βλαστός πορφύρας (no. 83, 2), ὄρηξ πορφύρας (no. 94, 4), διπλοπόρφυρος κλάδος (nos. 100, 11; 251, 28), πορφυροθαλής (nos. 114, 19; 368, 10), Κομνηνοθαλής (no. 249, 3), κομνηνοφυής (no. 61, 18). The colour purple was considered a symbol of imperial power. After the tenth century, children born to emperors were called πορφυρογέννητοι (See ODB s.v. and ‘purple’). Compound adjectives with the word πορφυρός are used frequently by twelfth-century court poets for the emperors and their families. For example, πορφυρανθής can be found in the poems of Manganeios (*Poems*, 6, 215; 8, 522; 11, 208; 13, 72; 31, 75; 62, 72; 128, 5) and Theodore Prodromos (*Historical Poems*, 19, 138; 17, 324). The adjective πορφυροφυής is also used, for example by Constantine Manasses (*Brief Chronicle*, 6592), Theodore Prodromos (*Historical Poems*, 45, 10 and 237; 17, 128 and 324), and Manganeios (*Poems*, 185, 5). Interestingly, this is also the adjective that Ephraem (*Chronicle*, 4333–8; cf. *LBG* s.v.) uses in his history to characterise Manuel. The idea that the members of the nuclear imperial family are the ‘springs of the porphyra’ (βλαστός πορφύρας or ὄρηξ πορφύρας) is very popular in the court literature in general: see, for example, the works of the eleventh-century Psellos (*Panegyrics*, 4, 493), Theodore Prodromos (*Historical Poems*, 1, 7 and 136; 24, 22; 30, 262; 71, 81) and Manganeios (*Poems*, 2, 211; 4, 668; 7, 546; 19, 120; 21, 26, 65, 146; 29, 97; 35, 45; 51, 100; 65, 402; 100, 1; 233, 15). Cf. Manasses, *Brief Chronicle*: πορφυροβλάστητος vv. 5302, 5376, 5832, 5968; πορφυρόβλαστος v. 5494.

¹²³ No. 94, 4.

¹²⁴ Nos. 61, 18; 83, 1; 118/369, 2; 248, 20. Πορφυραυγής is a popular word in court literature in general, frequently used about members of the imperial family. See Theodore Prodromos, *Historical Poems*, 12, 4 and 22, 3 (for John Komnenos); 18, 31 (ἀκτίς πορφυραυγής for Isaac Komnenos); 44, 46 and 45, 74 (for *sebastokrator* Andronikos Komnenos). The word was also in use for several other members the

(φρικτός) for the 'barbarians'¹²⁵ and that even his hand makes all his enemies fly¹²⁶. He is *μυριαριστεύς*¹²⁷, *στεφηφόρος*¹²⁸ and *σκηπτοκράτωρ*¹²⁹. He is the enlivening house of all the virtues¹³⁰. He is the great emperor¹³¹ and the emperor of the Ausonians¹³². He is simply the best (*κραταιός* and *κράτιστος*)¹³³. The crown (*στέφος*) is of course an important part of the imperial image – the emperor is the one who bears the crown (*στεφηφόρος*)¹³⁴.

In cases where the emperor is not the donor, donors sometimes try to establish their connection to the emperor, even using bold metaphors. Strikingly, *protosebastos protovestiaris* John Komnenos¹³⁵ states that Manuel is a second God (*θεός δεύτερος*)¹³⁶. However, this simile can be found in other sources as well. In coinage, for example, a parallel was frequently drawn between Manuel, the

Komnenoi family during the reign of Manuel, e.g. for Maria, daughter of *sebastokrator* Andronikos (PBW Maria 17005):

Σκέποις Κομνηνήν παιδ' Ἀνδρονίκου, Κόρη,

σεβαστοκρατῆ, πορφυραυγῆ Μαρίαν (Zacos, Veglery – Nesbitt 1972: no. 2733).

Maiden, may you protect the Komnene, the child of Andronikos, the daughter of a Sebastokrator, the purple-gleaming Maria.

The so-called porphyry marbles are considered as exceptional. Porphyry marble has nothing to do with porphyrin. The term 'porphyry' is applied to a variety of igneous rock, but also to any purple stone such as red granite or marble, which could be polished. See L. Milgrom, *The colours of life: an introduction to the chemistry of porphyrins and related compounds*, Oxford 2002, esp. chapter 1.1 and p. 2. Honourific porphyry columns were to be seen in Constantinople (Janin 1964: 76–80). Some of the most famous are the column of Eudokia (north-west of the Augusteion) and the column of Constantine (or *the Porphyry Column*) in the Forum of Constantine. The latter consists of seven drums of porphyry and it was restored by Manuel, as the inscription indicates. On the significance of the colour purple, see Kazhdan 1980: 17–8.

¹²⁵ *φρικτός βαρβάρους* (nos. 73, 20; 112, 10). Cf. nos. 72, 21; 100, 13; 114, 19–20; and 373, 13. Cf. *φρικταὶ φρένες* (no. 100, 12). Cf. Manganeios, *Poems*, 5, 287; 8, 548; 18, 163; 23, 5; 25, 57.

¹²⁶ *Βραχίων ἄστεκτος* (no. 100, 12). Cf. no. 373, 14 on the hand of the Emperor. See also Manganeios, *Poems*, 1, 176; 2, 208; 6, 214; 7, 304; 8, 538; 20, 114; 25, 113; 52, 80; 66, 83; and 108, 679.

¹²⁷ No. 61, 17.

¹²⁸ No. 71, 31.

¹²⁹ No. 357, 10.

¹³⁰ No. 61, 20.

¹³¹ *Μέγας ἄναξ*, nos. 69, 6; and 70, 5. Cf. *αὐτάναξ* nos. 356, 5 and 358, 4.

¹³² Nos. 370, 10 and 376, 9.

¹³³ Nos. 69, 5 and 271, 7. See also no. 248, 8 and 11–4.

¹³⁴ Nos. 73, 15; 83, 5; 94, 26 (*polyptoton* with the root *στέφ-*); 100, 27; 111, 1; 248, 15; and 302, 16 (*polyptoton*).

¹³⁵ Varzos 1984: no. 83.

¹³⁶ No. 73, 42. Kalavrezou 1991: 36. Cf. Magdalino 1993: 437.

emperor, and Emmanuel, Christ¹³⁷. The same donor also names Manuel *ψυχοπάτωρ* (spiritual father)¹³⁸.

Details of the qualities of the emperor do not appear for the first time in the epigrams of the *Anthologia Marciana*, being found in other works written for the emperor. To put it differently, they fit to the image projected in twelfth-century propaganda. The consistency in the imperial image presented by different authors gives evidence for the existence of an ‘identikit’¹³⁹. For example, John Chrysorophites makes a list with characterisations of the emperor:

For the others, those with the highest positions in life offer gratitude in the most conspicuous of ways depicting him in lofty places, announcing his power in speeches, [10] calling him the common good of Ausonians, saviour, liberator, guardian, protector, foundation, another God, who makes a second creation for those who are crushed by the incursions of the barbarians.

John Tzetzes, in a peculiar poem for Manuel, provides a number of comparison points for the emperor¹⁴⁰. The emperor is like the sun (vv. 25–30), a ruby/coal (vv. 31–36), a pearl (37–40), a vine (vv. 41–44), a cypress tree (45–49), a ship (vv. 50–54), a bunch of grapes (vv. 55–58), wheat (vv. 59–63), an eagle (vv. 64–68), a falcon (vv. 69–73), a dove (vv. 74–78), a tower (vv. 79–82), and, finally, like a man able to fly. Many of these metaphors can be found in works by different authors, while some of them are also used for different emperors¹⁴¹. Therefore, even if this poem is a demonstration of poetic ingenuity, Tzetzes draws from a pool of pre-existing similes for the emperor.

¹³⁷ Cf. no. 248, 13. E.g. Šandrovskaja 1975: fig. 23, Ermitage M 7906. See also Oikonomides 1998: 5, 119. See also Magdalino 1993: 449. Wessel 1972: 726.

¹³⁸ No. 73, 36.

¹³⁹ Magdalino 1993: 418–22 and 446–58 (esp. 448–52). See also Karla 2008.

¹⁴⁰ *Στίχοι ἱάμβοι κλιμακωτοὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κυρὸν Μανουὴλ ἐπιτάφιοι*, ed. Matranga 1850: 2, 619–22.

¹⁴¹ On the emperor being like the sun, see Magdalino 1993: 417–8; cf. Constantine Manasses, *Oration to the emperor*, 9 and 13. On the emperor as a coal, see Manganeios, *Poems*, 4, 672; 23, 32; 33, 70; 47, 94 (cf. *Poems*, 1, 67; 33, 52). On the pearls of the emperor, see Manganeios, *Poems*, 33, 49 (Manganeios also uses this simile for members of the aristocracy: see *Poems* 42, 380; 49, 73). On the emperor as vine, see Manganeios, *Poems*, 1, 231–2 (on members of the aristocracy, see, for example, Manganeios, *Poems*, 12, 128; 21, 29). On the emperor as a cypress tree, see Manganeios, *Poems*, 2, 81; 35, 1 (cf. *Poems*, 29, 27). On the emperor as being like an eagle, see, for example, Manasses, *Oration to the emperor*, 8. On the emperor as a tower, see Manganeios, *Poems*, 2, 174; 5, 331; 6, 215; 11, 206; 128, 4. On the emperor as being like a man able to fly, see Manasses, *Oration to the emperor*, 107–8.

Most possibly, qualities were added to this 'identikit' with the passing of time and by the interaction of the poets in the court environment. Before writing and presenting a speech or an epigram referring to the emperor, encomiasts would have listened to other encomiasts. Indicative of this process are the qualities used for the emperor, but also for members of the aristocracy. For example, the presentation of the emperor as the spring of the purple comes from the general image of the family as a tree and the child as a spring¹⁴².

The image of the emperor is formulated by the *literati* in an open process, but this is certainly done with the agreement of the emperor. All these rhetorical works (including our epigrams) were presented to the emperor and, therefore, would have to get his unofficial approval which is expressed by granting rewards to his encomiasts. Moreover, public ceremonies were the main means of projecting an image. Manuel is extremely likely to have had a personal involvement in their organisation.

¹⁴² See below pp. 208ff.

ii. Ecclesiastical/Monastic donors

The introduction of a donor from an ecclesiastical context corresponds to his status in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Monks, abbots, a metropolitan and a patriarch are included among the donors.

Simple monks are marked by their first name and their status (*μοναχός*, *μονότροπος*). Their monastery is not mentioned¹⁴³. Only in one case does the donor, who was perhaps a monk of the monastery of St Diomedes, also mention his spiritual father¹⁴⁴. The same donor in another epigram declares his humility with the following words:

...μοναχὸς οἰκτρὸς λοῖσθος ἐν μύσταις Κλήμης¹⁴⁵ ...
 ...the piteous monk, the least of the initiates, Klemes...

Another category of ecclesiastical donors are people that have entered a monastery and, on this occasion, are offering a dedication to their favourite saint or to the Virgin Mary. Donors in this case mention their monastic name and their surname. Euphemia, from the family of Kleronomos, offers an *encheirion* for the triple-lamp in front of the icon of the Virgin Mary that she renovated, as an entrance gift to the monastic community¹⁴⁶. The family of Euphemia is indicated with the type *βλάστημα* + genitive, which is a form often used by secular donors¹⁴⁷. Monk Nicholas Mesopotamites offers an adorned icon of the Most-Holy Mother of God, stating that the place in the convent was granted to him by the emperor¹⁴⁸. Monk George Syropoulos, who supported the renovation of the *propylon* (*στοὰ*) at the entrance of

¹⁴³ No. 89, 8: Λουκᾶ μοναχῶ προσκυνητῆ σοῦ τύπου. No. 259, 3: Νεόφυτος σὸς ἐν μονοτρόποις λάτρεις.

¹⁴⁴ No. 401, 9–11.

¹⁴⁵ No. 297, 3.

¹⁴⁶ Euphemia supplicates Mary to help her become a good nun. No. 88, 8–10. See Nunn 1986: 98 and Rhoby 2010 (c): 323–4.

¹⁴⁷ See p. 208.

¹⁴⁸ No. 405, 10, cf. vv. 8–9. It is impossible to state with certainty who the author of this epigram was. G. de Gregorio (2010: 69, note 270) suggests that the author of this epigram is the monk Klemes, since his epigrams come before. However, as I hope I have shown, the placement of an epigram in this anthology cannot be used as an indication of authorship. The reference to the imperial benefaction (the emperor probably granted him a place in a monastery) suggests that Mesopotamites was Nicholas' family name, and he was not a monk of the monastery of Mesopotamon at Epirus (see A. Kazhdan, *ODB*, 'Mesopotamites').

the *katholikon* of the Monastery of the Forty Martyrs¹⁴⁹, indicates not just his name and his family name but also that he became a monk in old age¹⁵⁰. In one case, the donor does not state what his name is but he implies his family name by repeating the word ξένος¹⁵¹. Perhaps this anonymous monk, who sent a box with the myrrh of St Demetrius to Mar Saba, was a member of the family of Xenos.

Epigrams on donations by abbots always mention the region where their monastery was placed, although they frequently just imply the name of the patron saint of their monastery. Abbot Peter, for example, is the ἡγουμενέων τῆς μονῆς τῶν Μογλένων (the abbot of the Moglena Monastery). Moglena (today the village Chryse, in Pella, Macedonia) was an Episcopal see prominent in the twelfth century. St Hilarion perhaps established a monastery there, which was later named after him¹⁵². According to the Slavonic *Life of St Hilarion*, Peter succeeded him when he died in 1164¹⁵³. Peter appears to be bound (δέσμιος) with affection (ένθέω πόθω) to St Paul¹⁵⁴,

¹⁴⁹ R. Janin (1969: 483, note 2) mentions that the epigram refers to the Church of the Holy Forty Martyrs τῆς Μέσης. Unfortunately, however, neither the epigram nor the title mention where this church was located. V. 3 (ἀδελφικός πόθος δε μὴ γηρῶν χρόνῳ) gives evidence that the epigram (and the renovation of the depictions) was commissioned when the donor was elderly and probably became monk at the monastery. Since epigrams were dedicated to monasteries across the empire, it is not possible to identify the location of the monastery. A well-known Monastery of the Forty Martyrs was that on the island Plati (*Yassiada*), one of the Prince Islands (Janin 1975: 67). The monastery appeared in the middle of the ninth century. It is the only Monastery of the Forty Martyrs mentioned in documents dating from the reign of Manuel (Fr. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, vol. 2 (Munich, 1995), no. 1418). It cannot be proved that our epigram refers to this monastery, but it is possible.

¹⁵⁰ No. 113, 3–4. Cf. *PBW George* 20149.

¹⁵¹ No. 81, 9.

¹⁵² In around 1134, St Hilarion became the bishop of the Episcopal see in Moglena thanks to the support of Manuel Komnenos. Moglena is most probably the village Chryse (Pella, Macedonia) and not the village Drougounthia/Dragovita at the borders of Kosovo and Bulgaria (as Angold 1995: 494 states). St Hilarion established a Church of the Holy Apostles on the spot where Bogomils attacked him. Abbot Peter made his offering to this church. St Hilarion is said by other scholars to have established the monastery and not just the Church of the Holy Apostles. This monastery has been located near village Chryse and not near the village Promachoi/Bachovo. At village Chryse (= the castle of Moglena) a middle Byzantine basilica (dating from between the tenth and the twelfth centuries) and a smaller church, contemporary to the basilica, have been found. The second church has the shape of a 'free cross' and it is located just outside the castle. Both the shape and the location of the church suggest that this might be the *katholikon* of the Monastery of the Holy Apostles that St Hilarion established. Additionally, the local tradition speaks of the existence of a monastery at Chryse. See Karagianni 2010: Moglena no. 214 (pp. 185–6), Prodromos no. 207 (p. 184) and Promachoi no. 208 (p. 184); Eugenidou 1997 and 1988. On the findings in Promachoi and Prodromos, see Chrysostomou 1997: 485 (cf. Eugenidou 1997: 331 (note 23) and 336–7).

¹⁵³ 'And he appointed a man named Peter as their leader, a virtuous and outstanding man, meek and wise like no other, whose virtue was known to everyone living in the area and [Peter] had studied

and to offer the foundation of the faith (βάθρον τῆς πίστεως) to the one who is the foundation of the church (with either a capital or small c). In other words, even if the name of the monastery is not mentioned, it is highly possible that Peter was abbot of the Monastery of St Hilarion dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul or to the Holy Apostles¹⁵⁵.

Abbot Gerasimos is the abbot of a monastery in Vodana/Vodena (now Edessa, Greece). It becomes clear that the monastery was dedicated to Sts. Kosmas and Damianos only after underlining that their grace (χάρις) adorns this monastery¹⁵⁶. As recently as 2007, at the location ‘Ypsili Pyli’ between present-day Edessa and Florina, a previously unknown monastic settlement was revealed. According to an inscription found there, the male monastery was dedicated to Sts. Kosmas and Damianos. Only future research will show whether this is the monastery of Gerasimos¹⁵⁷. Vodena (Edessa) was in the borders of the bishopric of Moglena¹⁵⁸, so Gerasimos did not reside far away from Peter.

Texts do not always state clearly the rank of an ecclesiastical officer. Theodore, donor of an *encheirion* to Sts. Peter and Paul, is introduced as ποιμὴν (pastor) of Philippoi¹⁵⁹. Only the title identifies him as the bishop of Phillippoi (Macedonia).

On the other hand, John leaves no doubt that he is a priest (Θεοῦ Λόγου θύτης) and he asserts that he comes from the family of Chrysorophitae (Χρυσοροφίτης ἐξ

under the blessed Hilarion for quite a few years and performed for him every service’. *Life of Saint Hilarion of Moglena*, § XIV, 175.

¹⁵⁴ No. 44, 4.

¹⁵⁵ No. 43, 5–6 and 44, 5–6.

¹⁵⁶ No. 46, 9–11:

Γερασίμου δὲ πίστις ὑμῶν οἰκέτου
πιστοῦ μοναχοῦ τῆς μονῆς ἡγουμένου
ἦν χάρις ὑμῶν ἐν Βοδάνοις λαμπρύνει.

¹⁵⁷ In the preliminary report, the monastic complex has been dated to the early thirteenth century. A. Petkos, ‘Θέση Υψηλή Βρύση’, 2000–2010. *Από το ανασκαφικό έργο των εφορειών αρχαιοτήτων*, (Athens 2012), 243–4 (http://www.yppo.gr/0/anaskafes/pdfs/11_EBA.pdf).

¹⁵⁸ Th. Papazotos, *Η Βέρροια και οι ναοί της (11^{ος}–18^{ος} αι.)* (Athens, 1994), p. 57, note 117.

¹⁵⁹ No. 62, 4. See also Nunn 1986: 93; Stavros 2002: 99.

ἔπωνύμου γένους)¹⁶⁰. The Chrysorophitae were not a well-known family. However, the details on his financial situation are a statement of humility; if he was indeed *εὐτελής...καὶ μικρὸς τὰ πρὸς τύχην* (humble and of small fortune), then he would hardly have been able to sponsor the portraits¹⁶¹.

The case of the monk Klemes and of his spiritual father, the patriarch of Jerusalem John, is unique. The donor of an icon of St Theodosius was monk Klemes (v. 9, *μονότροπος Κλήμης*)¹⁶², but his spiritual father's name also appears (vv. 10–11)¹⁶³. In the epigram on the icon of St Jacob, which the same Klemes commissioned, patriarch John was depicted along with the saint. The patriarch appears as a donor in five more epigrams. He is introduced as simply *ὁ πατριάρχης τῆς Σιών Ἰωάννης*¹⁶⁴. However, prosopographical information on this John is given whenever they are connected to the justification of the donation. This John is probably John IX Merkouropoulos, patriarch of Jerusalem between 1156–1166 and author of the lives of John of Damascus and Kosmas of Maiouma (BHG 395)¹⁶⁵. One of the epigrams states that John was the 'recently' appointed patriarch of Jerusalem¹⁶⁶, following a decision by Manuel¹⁶⁷. As a titular patriarch, he resided in Constantinople at the Monastery of St Diomedes, the New Zion, in Constantinople, where he used to be also the abbot:

Σιών παλαιᾶς ἐξάραντας εἰς νέαν,
τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ δε τῆς νεωτέρας,
μονῆς φανέντας τῶν μοναστῶν προστάτας,
εἰς λυχνίαν τέθεικας ἱεραρχίας,
10 τῶν πατριαρχῶν ἐγκαθιδρύσας θρόνῳ¹⁶⁸.

Travelling from the old Zion to the new, and becoming protector for the monks of the monastery, you appointed me to the throne of the patriarchs.

¹⁶⁰ No. 248, 15–16. See also Magdalino–Nelson 1982: 138–40.

¹⁶¹ See pp. 180ff.

¹⁶² Klemes was also a priest: see no. 297, 3.

¹⁶³ *Ἐνθέου διδασκάλου τοῦ πατριάρχου τῆς Σιών Ἰωάννου*. No. 401.

¹⁶⁴ A formula which can conveniently be scanned in dodecasyllable (Plank 1994: 188). Nos. 256, 283, 402, 403 (on an icon of St Theodosios), and 404. See Plank 1994: 176–83.

¹⁶⁵ See Papadopoulos–Kerameus 1897: 303–50. Papadopoulos–Kerameus 1897: 4, ι'. Englezakis 1973: 508. Plank 1994: 176–83. PBW: Ioannis 20168.

¹⁶⁶ No. 256, 16.

¹⁶⁷ No. 297, 9–10.

¹⁶⁸ No. 256, 6–10; cf. 272, 6.

Furthermore, John also offered an icon of St Saba to the monastery of Mar Saba. On this occasion, the epigram asserts that John was a spring (θρέμμα) of the monastery and that he used to be a monk¹⁶⁹. The epigram refers to this not as a part of the formal presentation of the donor, but as a part of the justification of the donation: John is offering this gift to Mar Saba because he comes from there.

To sum up, looking at the selected poems from the *Anthologia Marciana*, there are certain desirable formulae for presenting ecclesiastical donors. Generally, monks are presented only with their monastic names. Monks and nuns who offer entrance gifts are usually presented with their monastic name, but also with a reference to their family name. Higher church officials mention their title and their name. This type of presentation corresponds to the very moment that an epigram was written. The epigram was written at a specific moment and this is how, in this specific moment, the donor would introduce himself. For example, someone who presents an entrance gift would still mention his family. However, Klemes is presented as simply a monk and a spiritual child of John IX Merkouropoulos. Further details are mentioned only if they are somehow relevant to the donation. What was important for a Constantinopolitan poet (and a Constantinopolitan audience?) is that the abbots Gerasimos and Peter come from the regions of Vodana and Moglena respectively. Therefore, it is fully understandable that he decided to underline their provenance and not the convent's name.

¹⁶⁹ No. 404, 6. It is probable that this is the Monastery of Mar Saba in the West Bank in the east of Bethlehem, since one of the epigrams states that St Saba founded the monastery and the reference dates from before the massacre of the monks by Saladin (1187) – *Typikon of Mar Saba monastery*, p. 1312. John IX is also mentioned as Χρυσσοστομίτης in the typikon of Koutsovendis monastery, implying that he became monk in this monastery. However, Koutsovendis monastery had strong connection with Mar Saba. In other words, the equalisation of the provenance from Koutsovendis and Mar Saba might be indicative of a twelfth-century network which directly connected the two monasteries (See Papacostas 2007: 39–41, 56–8, 61; Englezakis 1973: 507 and Plank 1994: 190–1).

iii. Secular donors

In general, secular donors (high-ranking officials, aristocrats, members of the court, and other individuals) are presented using both their first and family name¹⁷⁰ and their rank¹⁷¹. However, members of the higher ruling class are sometimes presented using just the surname¹⁷². Other donors can be introduced with their first name and their title¹⁷³, or just with their titles¹⁷⁴. The omission of further details is often connected to the function of the epigram. If an epigram was performed in front of or by the donor, it could omit certain details since the audience already knew the donor.

Moreover, social status might also affect the presentation of donors. Occupations are not mentioned in relation to donors coming from low- or middle-ranking social strata. For example, Andrianos Meles¹⁷⁵, Theodore Tziros¹⁷⁶, Photios Dryonites¹⁷⁷, Michael Dryonites¹⁷⁸, and Bardas Liparites¹⁷⁹ are introduced with just their name and surname. None of them was a member of an aristocratic family or appears in another source, meaning it is hard to believe they had an important role in the court.

Influential patrons, donors of different objects, are presented in multiple ways in the epigrams. For example, George Palaiologos Doukas Komnenos appears in five dedicatory epigrams in this anthology:

no. 58, 5–6	Σὺ γοῦν σεβαστὸν μέγαν ἑταιρειάρχην Γεώργιον με Κομνηνὸν Δούκαν σκέποις	So you may protect me, the <i>sebastos</i> and <i>meas hetaireiarches</i> George
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¹⁷⁰ E.g. no. 308.

¹⁷¹ E.g. nos. 58, 59, 83, 93, 95, 96, 99, 116, 255, 269, and 291.

¹⁷² No. 118/369. See p. 160.

¹⁷³ Nos. 287 (*Alexios protostrator*), 303, and 325 (*Nicephoros mystikos*).

¹⁷⁴ Nos. 111 (*protosebastos/protovestiarios*) and 305 (*protonotarios*).

¹⁷⁵ No. 253.

¹⁷⁶ No. 258.

¹⁷⁷ No. 91.

¹⁷⁸ No. 41.

¹⁷⁹ No. no. 64. The Liparites family had Georgian origins. See A. Kazhdan, *ODB* s.v. and W. Seibt, 'Liparites als „byzantinischer“ Familienname in der Komnenenzeit', in: *Dedicatio. Ist'oriul-pilologiuri dziebani* (= *Festschrift Mariam Lortkipanidze*) (Tbilisi 2001), pp. 123–131.

no. 240, 7–9	Αἰτῶ σεβαστὸς ταῦτα Παλαιολόγος Γεώργιος, σὸς μέγας ἑταιρειάρχης Κομνηνοδοκῶν βλαστὸς ἀνακτεγγόνων...	Komnenos Doukas. I ask you this, your <i>sebastos</i> George Palaiologos, your <i>meγas hetaireiarches</i> , the offspring of the families of Komnenos and Doukas, who are his imperial grandfathers.
no. 251, 9–11	Γεώργιος γὰρ μέγας ἑταιρειάρχης, σεβαστὸς, ἐκφύς Παλαιολόγων γένους, Κομνηνοδοκῶν αὐτοκρατορεγγόνων...	For George, the <i>meγas hetaireiarches, sebastos</i> , born of the family of the Palaiologoi, the grandson of the imperial line of the families of Komnenos and Doukas.
no. 255, 7–8 = no. 269, 19–20	Γεώργιός σοι ταῦτα Παλαιολόγος Δούκας Κομνηνὸς καὶ σεβαστὸς ἀξίᾳ.	I, George Palaiologos Doukas Komnenos, who hold the dignity of <i>sebastos</i> , [(tell) you this].

That said, in some cases the donor is presented in a similar, even identical, manner.

The epigrams occasionally refer to more specific information. In no. 58, the connection of the donor to the family of Palaiologoi is not mentioned¹⁸⁰, while his connection to the ruling family is presented in all the epigrams. Synonyms are employed to give variety: no. 240 states that George is a ‘spring’ of ἀνακτεγγόνων and no. 251 states that he is the ‘spring’ of αὐτοκρατορεγγόνων. There is no obvious reason for the different ways of presentation of the donor. These types are treated as interchangeable and the omission of a reference to the family from which the donor descends does not have a special meaning. The omission of a title perhaps corresponds to a different point in his career¹⁸¹. That said, the title of an epigram on an enkolpion indicates that its owner, Michael Alousianos Hagiotheodorites, was ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου, whilst neither the main text of this epigram nor another epigram he commissioned give a hint as to his title¹⁸². Although it cannot be fully excluded, it is hardly believable that the title was given much later after the epigram was written. To put it differently, since the epigram is, among other things, an expression of

¹⁸⁰ Cf. the two epigrams on behalf of Michael Alousianos Hagiotheodorites, nos. 42 and 252.

¹⁸¹ No. 73 presents John Komnenos (Varzos 1984: no. 128) as *protosebastos* and *protovestiaros*. John acquired these titles after he was seriously injured around the year 1148. The same John became *protostrator* in 1170. It is tempting to assume that the epigram dates from before 1170, because otherwise the poet would surely have mentioned John’s new titles.

¹⁸² No. 242, cf. no. 42. On Michael Alousianos Hagiotheodorites see: Magdalino 1993: 256–9 and E. Madiaraga, ‘Η βυζαντινὴ οικογένεια των Ἀγιοθεοδωριτών (I): Νικόλαος Ἀγιοθεοδωρίτης, Πανιερώτατος Μητροπολίτης Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ὑπέρτιμος’, *ByzSym* 19 (2009): 149, note 8.

personal piety, it was not always necessary to mention the titles of the donor if there was not enough space to do so¹⁸³.

Donors who have connections to the nucleus of the imperial family usually highlight their connections. Manuel I was *πατράδελφος* (brother of his father) for Alexios Komnenos¹⁸⁴. It is said that Maria Komnene, daughter of John II, had the 'crown' from the side of her grandfather, father, and brother (*ἡ παπποπατράδελφον ἀρχοῦσα στέφος*)¹⁸⁵. Eirene Doukaina underlines her connection to the very core of the imperial family through their wives or husbands. In the epigram on her *boulloterion*, she states that she is the wife of Andronikos Komnenos, who is the son of Manuel's sister (*ἀδελφοπαῖς*), purple-born Maria¹⁸⁶. In other cases, the desire of the patrons to demonstrate their noble ancestry is such that they present not only their parents but even their great-grandparents. For example, Theodora Komnene beseeches the Virgin Mary with the following words:

10 σὺ δ' ἄλλα κόσμον λιθομάργαρον, Κόρη,
 Θεοδώρας δώρημα Κομνηνῆς δέχου,
 πορφυροθαλοῦς ἐγγονῆς Θεοδώρας,
 ἧς πάππος Ἀλέξιος αὐσονοκράτωρ,
 πατήρ δὲ βλαστός πορφύρας Ἰωάννης,
 αὐτοκράτωρ τρόπαια μυρία δράσας,
 σύναιμος ἄναξ Μανουῆλ Ῥώμης νέας¹⁸⁷.

*But You, Maiden, accept an adornment with pearls and precious stones, a gift from Theodora, the purple-born granddaughter of Theodora, whose grandfather is Alexios, the emperor of the Ausonians, and her father is John, the spring of the porphyra, who achieved millions of triumphs (and) her brother is Manuel, the emperor of the new Rome*¹⁸⁸.

In the Komnenian system, it was important for a member of the court to be a descendant of a noble family. Originating from the family of the Komnenoi or the Doukai could guarantee a respectable social status and a stable place at the court¹⁸⁹.

In this context, it is possible to understand the reason for the stress placed on the

¹⁸³ Both epigrams were intended to be inscribed on *enkolpia*.

¹⁸⁴ Varzos 1984: no. 132. No. 71, 32.

¹⁸⁵ No. 52, 6.

¹⁸⁶ No. 92.

¹⁸⁷ No. 373, 7–13.

¹⁸⁸ For a different translation see Pentcheva 2007: 126

¹⁸⁹ Cormack 1985: 181. Kazhdan–Epstein 1985: 102–4. For a comprehensive bibliography on the subject, see: P. Frankopan, 'Kinship and distribution of power in Komnenian Byzantium', *English Historical Review* 122/495 (February 2007): 1–34.

family name and ancestry. Theodora Komnene¹⁹⁰ was the granddaughter of Theodora Komnene¹⁹¹, sister of Manuel Komnenos¹⁹². Her place at the court was established thanks to her noble ancestry, since she married Andronikos Lapardas, who was not of a noble ancestry¹⁹³. In turn, Andronikos' main title, that of *sebastos*, was given to him thanks to his marriage with Theodora¹⁹⁴.

There is a tendency to specify whether the connection to a certain family comes from the side of the mother or the side of the father. *Πατρόθεν* (or *ἐκ πατρός*) and *μητρόθεν* (or *ἐκ μητρός*) are usually used in order to make this distinction¹⁹⁵. In some cases, the donor feels the need to specify who his grandfather was. Leo Roger mentions the status of his grandfather¹⁹⁶ and Nicholas Mavrokatalon also mentions who his grandfather was, as well as his status¹⁹⁷. Similarly, Leo Rogeros does not mention just his profession but also the ranks of his grandfather and father:

*σὸς οἰκέτης αἰτῶ σε Ῥογέρος Λέων,
πάππου σεβαστοῦ παγκλεοῦς προηγμένος,
πατρός δὲ λαμπροῦ πρωτονωβελλισίμου,
λατινογλώσσους ἐκμεταφράζων φράσεις¹⁹⁸ ...*

*I, your servant, Rogeros Leo, translator of Latin phrases, having a famous *sebastos* as a grandfather and an illustrious *protonobellisimos* as father...*

In a different context, the epigram on an icon of the two Sts. Theodores (Teron and Stratelates) and St Theodore Gabras is unfortunately hardly legible in the manuscript. However, in one of the few legible verses the connection of the donor to St Theodore Gabras is underlined:

¹⁹⁰ Varzos 1984: no. 234.

¹⁹¹ Varzos 1984: no. 79.

¹⁹² See Varzos 1984: 2, pp. 362–3 (note 2).

¹⁹³ In fact, he is the only known member of the Lapardas family. See Kazhdan–Epstein 1985: 54–5.

¹⁹⁴ PBW Andronikos 20118. The rank of *chartouliarios* was given to him. For a study of his career, see: L. Stiernon, 'Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Theodora Comnene et Andronic Lapardas, *sébastes*', *REB* 24 (1966): 89–96.

¹⁹⁵ E.g. *πατρόθεν*: nos. 83, 26–7; 93, 21; 99, 13–4; 291, 25; *ἐκ πατρός*: nos. 90, 25. (Simple reference to the father (no. 73, 8); *μητρόθεν*: no. 93, 20; *ἐκ μητρός*: no. 83, 26–7.

¹⁹⁶ No. 116, 16.

¹⁹⁷ No. 291, 24.

¹⁹⁸ No. 116, 15–8.

προπαππικὸν δὲ σοὶ Γαβρᾶ τρέφων πόθον
ἀπέκγονος σὸς πατρόθεν.....¹⁹⁹

and nourishing the affection appropriate for a great-grandfather for you, Gabra, (I) your great-grandchild, from the side of my father...

It is likely that the epigram did not mention at all the name of the donor²⁰⁰. However, it is stated that St Theodore Gabras was the grandfather of the anonymous donor²⁰¹. St Theodore Gabras was martyred by the Seljuk Turks on 2 October 1098 in Theodosiupolis (Erzerum)²⁰². He was a renowned military leader and duke of Chaldaia. Intriguingly, St Theodore Gabras was a locally venerated saint and his cult was spread after the fourteenth century, although he was recognised as a martyr from the twelfth²⁰³. However, in this anthology a different donor, Michael Alousianos Hagiotheodorites, proudly declares that he owned an enkolpion with the relics of St Theodore Gabras²⁰⁴. Therefore, St Theodore Gabras, even though he was not yet officially venerated, was nevertheless venerated among the members of the twelfth-century court. It was thus extremely important for the donor of the Sts. Theodores' icon to refer to his connection to the saint.

When the donor comes from a royal family from a different country, his ethnic origin is mentioned. Kalamanos, for example, comes ἐκ παιονικῶν ῥηγικῶν ριζωμάτων²⁰⁵. Eirene-Bertha comes from Ἀλαμανῶν εὐγενεῖς ῥήγες γένους [...] παῖδες καισάρων Ἰουλίων (noble *reges* from the nation of the Germans, children of *Julii Caesares*)²⁰⁶. Maria of Antioch is ῥηγόβλαστος²⁰⁷, and more specifically she is born εὐγενοῦς ἐξ ὀσφύος/Ἀντιόχου γῆς ῥηγοφυῶν περιγκίπων (from noble loins, from princes

¹⁹⁹ No. 119.

²⁰⁰ The verses that can be read do not mention his name and also they do not hint that the name is missing. It is not possible to suggest identification for this anonymous Gabras since, although there are seals from the twelfth century of people bearing the name Gabras, none mention a connection to the martyr.

²⁰¹ On the marriages between the Gabras and Komnenos families, see Magdalino 1993: 191.

²⁰² Probably the grandson of Gregory Gabras Taronites (Bryer 1969/70: 176).

²⁰³ Bryer 1969/70: 175.

²⁰⁴ No. 42.

²⁰⁵ No. 118/359, 5.

²⁰⁶ No. 260, 6–7.

²⁰⁷ No. 375, 4. Cf. no. 373, 7.

of royal descent from the lands of Antiochus)²⁰⁸. A short epigram of just three lines is dedicated to the enkolpion of Θεόδωρος Ῥὼς ἐκ φυλῆς βασιλέων²⁰⁹. It should be noted then that those poems which refer to the foreign ethnicity of the donor do so in order to demonstrate noble ancestry rather than to highlight nationality. In other words, the ethnic label has exactly the same aim as referring to a noble Byzantine family: to record nobility.

The titles of donors often reside next to the word ἀξία, either in dative form or with the preposition ἐκ + *genitive* or, occasionally, with ἐν + *dative*²¹⁰. Modifiers accompanying the names of the donors come from a specific pool of words. They include the words δοῦλος (servant)²¹¹, λάτρις (servant)²¹², οἰκέτης (servant of God)²¹³ and νεουργός (renovator)²¹⁴. The reference to the family lineage of the donor or of one of his kin is made using a certain depository of words. In that vein, γόνος and παῖς for the donor and γένος or φυλή for the family are the nouns most commonly used to introduce kinship²¹⁵.

Epigrams frequently promote the image of a family as a tree. The verb φύω and compounds from the same root are most prominent, including Κομνηνοφυής (no. 50, 10) and Δουκοφυής (no. 92, 1)²¹⁶. Members of the imperial family are identified as springs of the purple: πορφυροφυής, πορφυρανθής etc.²¹⁷ The synonym βλαστός is also frequently used²¹⁸. Furthermore, in an epigram on the portraits of the

²⁰⁸ No. 100, 6. Cf. 104, 11–12: *πριγκίπων παῖς Μαρία [...] ῥηγῶν ἐκ[γ]ό[ν]η*.

²⁰⁹ No. 282.

²¹⁰ Ἀξία: nos. 255, 8; 269, 20; ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας: nos. 59, 8; 90, 26; 95, 5; 96, 23; 99, 15; 291, 21; ἐν ἀξίαις: no. 73, 6; Cf. also: φέρων τὴν ἀξίαν: no. 65, 25; τὴν ἀξίαν ἐζωσμένος: no. 71, 19.

²¹¹ No. 403.

²¹² Nos. 77, 79, 246, 259, 278, 309, 355, and 408.

²¹³ Nos. 54, 64, 74, 97, and 401.

²¹⁴ Name + ὁ καὶ νεουργός σου σεβασμίου τόπου/τύπου. Nos. 96, 24 and 265, 17.

²¹⁵ γένος : e.g. ~ Κοντοστεφάνων (no. 40, 16), ἐκ γένους κατηγγένη (no. 85, 12) Cf. nos. 116, 20; 258, 6; and 275, 18; παῖς: ~ σεβαστοκρατόρων (no. 50, 10. Cf. no. 75, 6); γόνος : ~ Νικηφόρου καίσαρος εὐτυχούς (no. 63, 9). Unique: ἐκ φυλῆς (no. 293, 18; cf. 282, 3).

²¹⁶ Cf. nos. 73, 8; 251, 10; and 260, 7.

²¹⁷ See p. 198, note 122.

²¹⁸ Nos. 69, 13; 73, 16; 83, 2; 114, 18; 220, 10; and 373, 11. cf. βλάστημα, nos. 71, 16; 88, 5; 111, 2; and 374, 7. See also δουκόβλαστος: no. 245, 12, κομνηνόβλαστος (no. 263, D2), and ῥηγόβλαστος (no. 375, 4 cf.

Comnenian emperors (Alexios I, John II and Manuel I), the three emperors are seen as three trees²¹⁹. However, this simile is not limited to epigrams referring to the imperial family; many donors are presented as 'springs' or branches of a family²²⁰, while their family is seen as a root²²¹.

Rhoby 2010 (b): 130). The term *βλαστός* is used once for a saint, for St Theodore Gabras, the spring of Trebizond (no. 42, 4).

²¹⁹ No. 357, 7.

²²⁰ *Δουκόβλαστος* (nos. 71, 25; 24, 12; 367, 6), *Κομνηνόβλαστος* (no. 263, D2) – *βλαστός* (no. 240, 9) – *βλάστημα*: no. 88, 5. Cf. young shoot – *ὄρπηξ* (no. 59, 9); *κλάδος*: no. 101, 12–3; cf. no 291, 24.

²²¹ *ρίζουχία*: no. 59, 9; *ρίζα* (*ἐξ Εὐγενειωτῶν*, no. 277, 10) cf. no. 291, 23.

iv. Who else?

Members of the donor's family are frequently included in the final supplication²²². Occasionally, they had a role in relation to the objects. John Rogeros Dalassenos adorned an icon using the jewellery of his late wife, Maria Komnene, the sister of Manuel Komnenos. John not only supplicates for the soul of his wife, but also presents in detail her noble ancestry²²³.

Basilikos Konstantinos and his family made a series of gifts to the Monastery of St John the Forerunner next to the shore of the River Jordan. An epigram accompanied each gift²²⁴. One of these epigrams makes clear that the River Jordan should:

*αἶτει παρ' αὐτοῦ ψυχικὴν σωτηρίαν
Κωνσταντίνῳ πληροῦντι βουλὴν συζύγου
Ἀγγελοπώλων ἐκ γένους κατηγμένης²²⁵ ...*

ask Him for the salvation of the soul of Constantine, who fulfils the will of his wife, Helen, a descendant of the family of Angelopoulos (Angelos)...

In this epigram, Constantine is speaking on behalf of his wife. In the next epigram of the series, Constantine appears to fulfil the will of their late son Manuel. Manuel appears as a descendant of the family of the Angeloi, the family of his mother. His father, Constantine, probably came from a little known family and, therefore, his origin is not mentioned in the main text of any of the epigrams²²⁶.

However, at the end of the epigram, Constantine, Eleni and especially Manuel appear as donors:

*Κωνσταντίνον με καὶ σύνευνον Ἑλένην
καὶ παῖδα φίλον Μανουὴλ σὸν οἰκέτην
Ἀγγελοπώλων ἐκ φυλῆς κατηγμένον²²⁷.*

(Save) me Constantine and my wife Helen and our dear son Manuel, your suppliant, who is descended from the family of Angelopoulos (Angelos).

²²² See no. 71.

²²³ Vv. 8–11. On John Rogeros Dalassenos, see Stiernon 1964: 185–7. This is not the only object commissioned in memory of one of the beloved ones. Eirene Dokeiane Komnene (Varzos 1984: no. 61) commissioned a golden cup in memory of her mother Sophia (Varzos 1984: no. 29). No. 263B.

²²⁴ According to John Phokas (*Account*, § 22; cf. Jotischky 1995: 81) the monastery was entirely rebuilt by Manuel Komnenos.

²²⁵ No. 292, 11–13.

²²⁶ Cf. no. 408.

²²⁷ No. 293, 17–19.

Finally, another epigram places Constantine in the most prominent place, suggesting that he is the main donor and that, thanks to his action, his wife will be favoured:

Κωνσταντῖνον σώζοις με σὺν τῇ συζύγῳ
Ἀγγελοπῶλων ἐκ γένους κατηγμένη.

May You (the Virgin Mary) save me and my wife, who comes from the family of Angelopoulos (Angelos)²²⁸.

This series of epigrams is unique. As in the epigram, husbands and spouses are mentioned as co-donors²²⁹. This relationship is established by introducing the second 'donor' with σὺν + dative²³⁰ or by asking to find him *σύνοικον* on the heavenly abodes²³¹. Furthermore, some female donors appear to offer donations on behalf of their husband. Most characteristic is the case of the epigram on the *encheirion* hung in the church of Chalke²³². The otherwise unknown Maria Doukaina, the donor of the object and the narrator of the epigram, makes an extensive reference to her husband (vv. 15–19), but six verses later her name and family origin also appear (v. 25)²³³.

It is perhaps the high regard which John Merkouropoulos was held in that made the monk Klemes, his spiritual child, mention him in his offerings. The epigram *On an icon of St James, the Brother of God* makes clear that it refers to a portrait of Merkouropoulos next to St James, the Brother of God²³⁴. However, in the other epigrams there is no obvious connection between John and Klemes' dedication:

Σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ γράψον ἐν βίβλῳ σεσωσμένων [...]
μονότροπον Κλήμεντα, τὸν σὺν οἰκέτην,
πιστὸν μαθητὴν ἐνθέου διδασκάλου,
τοῦ πατριάρχου τῆς Σιῶν Ἰωάννου²³⁵.

²²⁸ No. 85, 11–12.

²²⁹ No. 237.

²³⁰ Nos. 85, 11; 116, 18; 245, 12; 255, 8; and 261, 13. Cf. ἄμα + dat. no. 367, 6.

²³¹ No. 51, 4. Cf. κοινήν κατοικίαν, no. 77. οἰκεῖν συνάμα, no. 381, 9.

²³² No. 71.

²³³ Cf. no. 251: *On an Encheirion of the Most-Holy Mother of God*. The donor of the object is the *sebastos* Goudeles Tzykandeles (PBW Goudelios 20102). The epigram ends with the name and the family lineage of his wife (Eudokia Komnene, Varzos 1984: no. 94), whose grandmother is Theodora Komnene (Varzos 1984: no. 38), daughter of Alexios I.

²³⁴ No. 297.

²³⁵ No. 401, 7 and 9–11.

May you write in the book of those who are saved [...] monk Klemes, your suppliant, the lawful pupil of a pious teacher, the patriarch of Jerusalem John.

Sometimes donors are not mentioned in the epigrams, such as in the epigram on the funeral portraits of *sebastos* and *megas doux* John Komnenos²³⁶ and his wife, where only references to John are embedded in the text. Thus, even though the title gives a clue that his wife was also depicted, she remains invisible in the text²³⁷. These portraits were followed by the portrait of the same John Komnenos as a monk, without his wife²³⁸. However, the epigram on this portrait mentions both of them. This is perhaps because the first epigram presents John as re-founder of Pammakaristos Church²³⁹, an action his wife was not involved in. Towards the end of their lives, both entered the monastic life. John was renamed Ignatios and Maria kept her name. The second epigram aims to inform the viewer about their new identity. It is not necessary to depict Maria again since, now they have the monastic habit, they live separately but will meet in the future life.

To conclude, information about the donor is not always presented equally. Some formulae and several models are commonly used, although not without deviations. The introduction of the patron usually follows formulae adapted to the context of the epigram and fitted into the verses. Uniformity is reflected not only in the similar information given, but in identical vocabulary patterns. Different epigrams are presented by the omission or the preference of specific patterns. The context of the epigram is a decisive element for the presentation of the donor. The term 'context' here includes not only the occasion for which these epigrams were written, but also refers to the sociological and political context, in the form of the

²³⁶ Varzos 1984: no. 23.

²³⁷ No. 50.

²³⁸ No. 51. This is not the only case that the donor appears as a layman and monk in the portrait above his tomb. See also Papamastorakis 1997: 296–9.

²³⁹ Mango 1978: 5.

symbolic significance of the text in the social and spiritual sphere. I will return to this point at the end of the chapter.

3.4. The vocabulary of the epigrams

The epigrams are written in simple language. The metre is the usual metre of Byzantine epigrams, the dodecasyllable²⁴⁰. Although tortuous parallels and abridgements occasionally confuse the reader, the language is generally unsophisticated. There is a good balance between adjectives and nouns. With nouns being the protagonists and words widely in use being employed, the text is smoothed and the meaning becomes clear. Words like *ἀποστρακόω* and *έρυθρόγραφος* are used for the first time in a poetic context²⁴¹. Obscure words are rarely used²⁴². Other words, such as *κοινοχαρμόσυνος* and *βαρυστάθμητος* are rarely found in other texts or have been newly coined²⁴³. Nevertheless, both are easily understandable since they are derivatives of words employed in everyday speech²⁴⁴.

Exceptions to the unsophisticated language of the epigrams include classicising features, such as the word *όμαιχιμία*²⁴⁵, and mainly names of foreign people. *Persians* are the *Turks*²⁴⁶. *Illyrians*, *Dalmatians*, and *Dacians* are most

²⁴⁰ P. Maas, 'Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber', *BZ* 12 (1903) 278–323 and O. Lampsidis, 'Σχόλια εἰς τὴν ἀκουστικὴν μετρικὴν βυζαντινῶν στιχοῦργῶν ἰαμβικοῦ τριμέτρου', *Ἀρχαῖον Πόντου* 31 (1971/72) 234–340. See also Kominis 1966: 51–66.

²⁴¹ *Ἀποστρακόω* (no. 243) mainly in a medical context. *Ἐρυθρόγραφος* (no. 305) used in poetry only in Ephraem's *chronicle* (lines 8524, 8562).

²⁴² E.g. *ἀντιάλαντος* no. 112, 11. The word appears once in a hexametric poem by Gregory of Nazianzos (*Poems*, 94. Cf. Talbot 1994: 140–1). It was then cited in various *lexica*, a dictionary on the words of Gregory (*Lexikon Casinense* A 176), and then in Hesychius (A 5485).

²⁴³ Cf. *ἀστερόγραφος*: no. 376, 1 and Leo Choiosphaktes, *Chiliostichos Theologia*, 22, 16. *Κοινοχαρμόσυνος* only in no. 102, 15 and *Ananias/Anacharsis*, 1153. *Hapax legomena*: *Ἀείχλος*: no. 101, 28 and 112, 18; *αἰγυπτοροάς*: no. 357, 14; *ἀνθρακένδροσος*: no. 99, 4; *ἀστερόγραφος*, *ὀρκολύτης*, *ἀρχιφαλαγγάρης*: no. 376, 1, 14, 19; *βαρυστάθμητος*: no. 258, 2; *λιβανοσμύρνιστος*: no. 367, 3; *μυριανδραγαθία*: 118/369, 6; *νυκτοδρομῶ*: no. 277, 15; *ὑπερπάγχρυσος*, *ἀχειρόξεστος*: no. 373, 3 and 4.

²⁴⁴ See also derivatives found in inscriptions, e.g. *χρυσοδάκτυλος* (BEIÜ 2, Me 13).

²⁴⁵ No. 94, 2. The word can be found in various *lexica*, E.g. *Suda* Oh 237; *Etymologicum Gudianum* Oh 427; *Hesychios* 671; *Etymologicum Magnum* Oh 623. Cf. Niketas Choniates, *History*, Man. 1, 156, 4.

²⁴⁶ See also Papageorgiou 2011: 149 and 152. Kildij Arslan is named 'the first of the Persians' (*ἀρχιπέρης*) (Nos. 354, 10; 342, 5). Although the word is another *hapax legomenon*, its coinage is not complicated (Cf. Eugenianos, *On the love of Drosilla and Charicles*, Book 5, 338: *ἀρχιπερσοσατράπαι*). The first word *ἀρχι-* means 'first of...'. The first or the leader of a group is often denoted with a word starting *ἀρχι-*. In relation to a leader of a nation foreign to Byzantium, it occurs only for the Serbian leader (*ἀρχιζουπάνων*) and is used by John Kinnamos (*History*, pp. 101–5, 109, 110, 112, 199, 287) and Niketas Choniates (*History*, Man 1, pt. 2, 92). Manuel appears as the 'killer of the Persians' (*περσοκτόνος*). Words with the second compound *-κτονος* (=killer) – are very frequent. For example, the word *ἔθνοκτόνος* (killer of the nations) is also used for Manuel in another of our epigrams (no. 61, 19). Theodore Prodomos (*Historical Poems*, no. 16, 17) praises John Komnenos as *σκυθοδαλματοκτόνος*

probably the Serbians²⁴⁷. Scythians are either the Pechenegs²⁴⁸ or the Cumans. Finally, Paionians are the Hungarians²⁴⁹. The audience of the epigrams for the emperor – mainly courtiers – was familiar with this archaising rhetorical vocabulary, since it was common in court literature²⁵⁰ and court rhetorical and historical works, such as that by Anna Komnene, habitually use the ‘ancient’ names of foreign peoples.

I have already underlined regularities and similarities in the structure, and the presentation of the donor. However, uniformity is not limited only to these aspects. It can be found also in the motifs and vocabulary. The time passes and turns round like a wheel²⁵¹ – a common simile in Greek literature (*time motif*). The donor asks a saint or the Theotokos to weigh his offering, also putting on a scale his devotion (*scale motif*)²⁵². The donor expresses his fervent feelings with words such as *πόθος*, *φίλτρον*, and *ἔρωσ*. Moreover, *πόθος* (love, affection, desire) is the most

and in our corpus appears as *σκυθοπερσόλεθρος* (no. 114, 16). Although the word is *hparax*, the word *περσόλεθρος* is used by Theodore Prodromos (*Historical Poems*, no. 16, 17).

²⁴⁷ John Kinnamos (*History*, §13, p. 69, Brand p. 60) makes it clear that the capital of Dacia was Naisos (Niš, southern Serbia). Therefore, Dakia stands for Serbia. Furthermore, *Δαλμάται* stands for the modern Serbians (Hörandner 1993: 118). John Kinnamos (*History*, § 12, 9–10. Brand p. 19 cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 288) eloquently states:

Ἰπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ Σέρβιοι, ἔθνος Δαλματικόν, ἐς ἀποστασίαν ἰδόντες τὸ Ῥάσον καταστρέψαντο φρούριον...

At this time [ca. 1129/30] the Serbs, a Dalmatian people, also plotted revolt and subdued the fortress of Rhas...

Another name that is frequently used for the Serbians is Illyrians. In the first appendix of Synekdimos, it is specified that Illyria is Serbia. Claudius Ptolemaeus refers to Ἰλλυρίς as a synonym of Dalmatia (*Geographia*, 8, 29, 5, 5). However, John Kinnamos states that Sardika (= modern Sofia) is the capital of the Illyrians.

²⁴⁸ Reinsch, Kambylis and Kolovou 2001: 71.

²⁴⁹ *Παίονες* refers to the Hungarians. The title of no. 376 specifies that the epigram is written on a cross erected in Hungary (*Οὐγγρική χώρα*), while the main text refers only to Paions. Another poetic name for the Hungarians was *Πάννονες*. John Kinnamos (*History*, §3, 261, Brand, p. 196) also writes of an epigram on a cross erected in Hungary at the same date as the aforementioned. That text speaks about the *φύλα Παννονίης* (tribes of the Pannonian race).

²⁵⁰ Hörandner 1993: 118; cf. Cormack 1985: 203 (the case in the Typikon of Pantocrator).

²⁵¹ E.g. nos. 101, 5 and 113, 1.

²⁵² Usually expressed with words deriving from *ζυγός* (e.g. *ζυγοστατῶ*). Nos. 52; 71, 9; 100, 1–2; and 258, 1–2. Cf. *ἀντιμετρῶ*: no. 116, 3. John Dalassenos states first that he has weighed his desire (*πόθος*) for the devotion of Mary and for the material world and found that his *πόθος* for the Virgin Mary weighs more (no. 52, 1–3). At the end of epigram, he asks the Theotokos to help him by weighing his soul on the scale of the Final Judgement so that it goes to the side of the souls which will enter Paradise (vv. 18–19).

prominent word of all²⁵³ and is frequently matched with words which mean ‘burning’ (πῦρ, ζέσις, φλόξ) or are related to the donor’s soul (ψυχή, ψυχική), heart (ἐγκάρδιος, καρδία), and loyalty (πίστις)²⁵⁴, which again is commonplace in dedicatory epigrams²⁵⁵. Inscriptions found *in situ* offer ample examples²⁵⁶. A ‘maximalistic’ approach to this topos is expressed through the words of Theodore Styppeiotēs to St Demetrius:

Λόγῃ πόθου σου καρδίαν τετρωμένος
καὶ φλεγμονὴν ἔρωτος ἐνθέου φέρων
ἔσπευσα μάρτυς τῆς κακῆς ταύτης νόσου
φάρμακον εὐρεῖν τὸν γλυκὸν παῦρον πόνον...²⁵⁷

Having been wounded in my heart by the lance of the affection for you and carrying the fire of the divine love, I, a witness of this grave illness hasten to find remedy to cease the sweet pain...

In hymnographic texts, the *vocabulary of affection* is comparably prominent. In Canons, the holy desire of the venerated saint for God and of the worshippers for a saint or Mary is highlighted with the same words. Hymnographers frequently refer to the ‘holy desire’ (θεῖος πόθος), which burns in the heart of the saint²⁵⁸. The memory of the saint is venerated with desire and faith²⁵⁹. Again, the word πόθος is the most prominent of the three (πόθος, φίλτρον, ἔρωσις). Searching *Analecta Hymnica Graeca* in the online database *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, the dative of the word πόθος alone appears 318 times and always signifies ‘veneration with desire on behalf of the

²⁵³ It can be found in forty-five epigrams in the corpus. The word ἔρωσις can be found in only three epigrams (nos. 40 and 65 both include and the word πόθος, cf. no. 373). The word φίλτρον can be found in ten epigrams (nos. 90, 99, 262, 269, 279, 293, 308, 358, 374, and 375).

²⁵⁴ E.g. no. 245: Πόθου δ’ ἐγὼ πῦρ δεικνύω ἐγκαρδίου.

²⁵⁵ See Rhoby 2010 (c): 318–9. Drpić 2011: 239–79.

²⁵⁶ E.g. *BEIÜ 1*: Nr. 5, 12, 83, 84, 96, 175, 192, 221, 224, 236, M1. *BEIÜ 2*, Me5, Me13, Me 33–4, Me52, Me69, Me81, Me89, Me97; from earlier centuries: *BEIÜ 2*, Me44, Me50, Me70, Me96; and later centuries: *BEIÜ 1*, 1, 63, 130 and *BEIÜ 2*, Ik12, Ik17.

²⁵⁷ No. 65, 1–4.

²⁵⁸ E.g. *AHG*, August 12, can. 11, 1. Cf. John Mauropon, *Canons III*, 1, 188: ἡ καρδία σου, τρωθεῖσα θείῳ ἔρωτι / τῷ πόθῳ ἐξεκαύθη Χριστοῦ.

²⁵⁹ Usually it is expressed either with ἐκ + genitive or simple dative. E.g. *AHG* November 3, can. 6, 6; May 16, can. 18, 4; September 2, can. 8, 9. Πίστις and πόθος E.g. *AHG* September 2, can. 3, 9. Cf. *Hymn to saint Nilus the junior 2a*, 96 and 2b, 413. Mitylenaios, *Metrical Calendar*, March, can. 180 Πάντες οἱ πιστοὶ / ὑμνοῦμεν ἐκ πόθου σε.

worshiper²⁶⁰. All three words can be found alongside words meaning 'to burn'²⁶¹ or emphasising the hearty devotion of the donor²⁶².

The use of the word *πόθος* in a religious environment is also not a surprise. It was used even by early Christian authors, such as John the Chrysostom, while the idea of 'holy love' was widely discussed by Symeon the New Theologian. The use of the word *πόθος* in our epigrams is in conformity with hymnographic texts: it is used in a similar context to that of the hymns. Our epigrams are, in a sense, different, since they use the same word in order to express the devotion of the donor also to the emperor. Andronikos Doukas Kamateros depicted Manuel on the front wall of the entrance of his *οἶκος*. The epigram declares:

*... πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν σὲ δουλικῶ γράψας πόθῳ...*²⁶³
... depicting you [the emperor] with slavish affection in front of the gates...

The 'humble' priest John Chrysorophites sponsored a portrait of Manuel and his wife. The epigram expresses the motives of the donor:

*πίστει πόθον σύγκρατον αὐτοῦ δεικνύων,
 ὄν πρὸς τὸν αὐτάνακτα Μανουήλ τρέφει*²⁶⁴.
...demonstrating love combined with faith which he has for Emperor Manuel.

Likewise, Maria of Antioch expresses her love to Manuel with the word *φίλτρον*²⁶⁵ and donors state that they are servants of the holy figures²⁶⁶, but also express their *δούλωσις* (servitude) to Manuel²⁶⁷.

The vocabulary used for honouring saints and the Virgin Mary is strikingly similar to that used in hymnography. The Theotokos is similar to a gate (*πύλη*)²⁶⁸,

²⁶⁰ The rest of the grammatical forms appear 100 times in total. The word *ἔρωσ* appears 113 times and the word *φίλτρον* just 14 (indeed, only seven times is it placed in a context similar to that of the word *πόθος*).

²⁶¹ E.g. AHG December 22, can. 43, 8: *αἱ καλλιπάρθενοι / θείῳ πυρούμεναι / πόθῳ καὶ ἔρωτι*. Cf. AHG May 22, can. 24, 8: *πῦρ νοητὸν ἐν καρδίᾳ τοῦ πόθου*; and AHG July 13, can. 18, 3: *Ἔρωσ ὁ θεῖος / ἀναφλέξας φαιδρῶς τὴν καρδίαν σοι*.

²⁶² E.g. AHG August 19, can. 22, 9: *Δέχου, θεοτόκε παρθένε, / τὰς τῆς καρδίας μου ἐκ πόθου / νῦν προσφερομένας σοι φωνάς*.

²⁶³ No. 83, 29.

²⁶⁴ No. 248, 18–9.

²⁶⁵ No. 374, 9.

²⁶⁶ Nos. 375, 5 and 402, 17.

²⁶⁷ Nos. 73, 27 and 111, 7. Cf. BEIÛ 2, Me68, 2.

²⁶⁸ Nos. 93, 16–7 and 112, 5–6.

θύρα²⁶⁹). In verse 17, Maria asks Mary, ‘the gate through which Christ passed’, to become an intercessor in order to open the gates of Paradise. There are numerous references to the Virgin Mary as a gate in hymnographical texts, the most prominent being that of the *Akathistos*²⁷⁰.

She is also seen as a heavenly ladder, as is the Mother of God²⁷¹. The motto has its origin in the *Akathistos*²⁷² and is one of the types which were influenced by the Old Testament²⁷³. Moreover, the Virgin Mary is also seen as a lamp (*λυχνία*)²⁷⁴ – another *topos* in hymnography²⁷⁵. The source of this metaphor is the book of Exodus (25:31–40), where God asked Moses to get the Israelites to construct a golden lamp to be put in the tent for the book of the covenant²⁷⁶. This list of similes can be significantly expanded²⁷⁷. The main point here is that all these similes come from hymnography.

Theotokos is praised as the ‘source of the living *Logos* secured by God’²⁷⁸. However, other saints are also compared to a source. For example, St John Chrysostom is seen as a ‘golden fountain’ (*πηγή χρυσέα*)²⁷⁹ and the saint of an icon at the Kosmosoteira monastery is said to have opened the fountains of prosperity for the donor²⁸⁰. Finally, St Sampson is the ‘fountain of myrrh with unnumbered

²⁶⁹ No. 80, 2. *Akathistos* 15, 7: *χαῖρε σεπτοῦ μυστηρίου θύρα*. E.g. *AHG*, January 2, 7, 8, 24; November 25, 41, 4, 46; February 27, 29, 6, 21. See also Kalavrezou 1990: 167.

²⁷⁰ *Akathistos*, 19, 7. For a survey of the epithets of the Theotokos in the *Akathistos* see Petloma 2011: 109–16.

²⁷¹ Nos. 116, 2 and 405, 12.

²⁷² *χαῖρε κλίμαξ ἐπουράνιε, δι’ ἧς κατέβη ὁ Θεός*, *Akathistos* kontakion 3, 10. Cf. e.g. *AHG* December 17, 29, 5, 53; February 2, 24, 4, 28.

²⁷³ Linardou 2011: 136–7.

²⁷⁴ Nos. 88, 8; 278, 3; 279, 2; and 404, 14. Cf. Kallikles, *Poems*, 15, 44. Only in one case is St George seen as a lamp lighting the way of the donor (no. 251, 3). In hymnographic texts, this has also been used for St Theodore (*AHG*, April 20, 25, 9, 22) and St Cyril (*AHG*, September 8, 12, 8, 61).

²⁷⁵ E.g. *AHG* September 25, 29, 8, 28; October 25, 31, 4, 22; November 7, 16, 4, 16.

²⁷⁶ Cf. *AHG* May, 16, 19, 6, 23.

²⁷⁷ See e.g. nos. 64 and 278.

²⁷⁸ No. 112, 3. Cf. 404, 6. Cf. e.g. *AHG*, September, 8, 12, 1, 18; June, 30, 20, 1, 112.

²⁷⁹ No. 281, 1.

²⁸⁰ No. 307, 2.

springs'²⁸¹. In hymnographical texts, this also appears as a metaphor for other saints, who are usually praised as *πηγή τῶν ἰαμάτων*²⁸².

The same materials are used for donations to both holy figures and the emperor. Donors offer gold, pearls, and precious stones²⁸³. A specific form of rhetoric accompanies their donation, the *rhetoric of materials*, which is adapted to fit the recipient of the donation. The same materials can also have a different symbolism. Maria of Antioch ascribes a certain meaning to an adorned golden belt, which she offered to Manuel: the gold is a sign of her pure love, the perfect spherical form of the brilliant pearls demonstrates her virginity, and the solid precious stones the stability of their marriage²⁸⁴.

Donors of religious objects often claim their offerings to be unworthy of the holy recipient, since God has given them all the materials²⁸⁵. This is a common notion in Byzantine art. A good example of this is the inscription to be found around precious chalices: *τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν*. It is of course the phrase that the priest pronounces at the moment the holy gifts are sanctified, but it also refers to the precious materials from which the object is made. From a different angle, the same materials can be connected to extracts from the New Testament. The pearls on a revetment remind the donor that the most valuable 'pearl' is Christ²⁸⁶, and the stones that the cornerstone is Christ²⁸⁷.

The peculiarity of gold lies in the fact that its use is not juxtaposed in the epigrams with a story from the New Testament, as happened with the above-

²⁸¹ No. 114, 4.

²⁸² E.g. *AHG*, September, 10, 14, 4, 20; October, 18, 23, 4, 22.

²⁸³ E.g. nos. 40, 71, 90, 93, 100, 257, and 269.

²⁸⁴ No. 375.

²⁸⁵ No. 71, 6; cf. nos. 100, 26–7; 279, 4; and 372, 1–6. Despite this, Nikephoros Sinaites states that the precious stones cry out the love that he feels for the Theotokos (no. 279, 4). Cf. *BEIŪ* 2, Me89, 3.

²⁸⁶ See no. 40, 10–1. The simile was common in Byzantine reception of the material. See e.g. *Physiologos (redaction prima)* 44a, 18–21; 44b, 10–19 and 44c, 13–19. Cf. Mt. 13: 45–6, where Heaven is compared to a pearl of a great price. See also Parani 2003: 244.

²⁸⁷ 1Pet. 2:6 (cf. Mt. 21:46; Mk. 12:10; Lk. 20:17). No. 40, 12. Donors in their supplication ask Christ to clear their way, so that they will not hit their feet against a stumbling block. Cf. Mt 4: 6. No. 90 offers a different rhetorical use of the offered materials.

mentioned materials. Generally, in the New Testament, gold is a metal appropriate for venerating the divine: after all, it is one of the gifts brought by the three wise men from the East. However, this is not mentioned in our epigrams²⁸⁸ and thus the special significance of the gold should be sought in its social connotations and cultural meaning. The donors employed the same material in order to adorn themselves. Their jewellery must always have included golden items. Having this precious personal adornment was a way to demonstrate their wealth²⁸⁹. Furthermore, in Byzantine ceremonies, gold as part of a garment's ornamentation represents 'the sacred and the mighty'²⁹⁰. Hence, the dedication of a metal closely affiliated to a high social status serves to confirm the luxury of the dedication and thus the financial power of the donor²⁹¹.

A dedication by the influential donor John Doukas Komnenos speaks of the importance of gold. Having recovered from an illness²⁹², John offers in return a revetment embroidered with gold thread in order to replace another one for which silver thread had been used. The silver-embroided *peplos* is not as appropriate as the gold one, since gold is a more noble metal than silver. The epigram draws a parallel with the story of the golden shekel that Peter found in the mouth of the fish and that he used to pay the temple tax in Capernaum²⁹³.

Gold is also appropriate for exalting holy figures. The Virgin Mary is 'an alive golden lamp' or simply 'golden'²⁹⁴, St George is a golden yeast²⁹⁵, and St Chrysostom

²⁸⁸ Mt. 2:11. In a twelfth-century inscribed epigram the donor states that he offers gold instead of the myrrh that the sinful woman has given to Christ (*BEIÜ* 2, Te4, 1 and 6). The epigram dates from the twelfth century.

²⁸⁹ Cf. Cutler 1981: 774–6.

²⁹⁰ Kazhdan 1980: 17.

²⁹¹ E.g. nos. 39, 52, 59, 71, 112 and especially 249. The verbs *καλλύνω*, *καταγλαΐζω*, *κοσμῶ* are used to describe the offering.

²⁹² John offered the new *encheirion* as a tax to Christ, since he has been 'snatched from the jaws of Hell'. On the offering as a tax, see Drpić 2011: 188–90.

²⁹³ Mt. 17: 24–7.

²⁹⁴ Ζῶσα χρυσῆ λυχνία: no. 279, cf. no. 88. Χρυσέα: no. 278. Cf. *ὑπερπάγχρυσος ἀγνότητα*: no. 372, 3.

²⁹⁵ No. 101, 3.

(the gold-mouth) a golden fountain and a golden hammer²⁹⁶. Authors and donors also see gold as a sign of purity, but also as a symbol of the Heavenly Kingdom. This is not uncommon since Paradise was often compared to one gigantic book written in golden letters, while the Heavenly Jerusalem was made of gold and precious stones²⁹⁷. Donors ask to be shown as being made of gold during the Final Judgement, and thus to gain a place in Paradise²⁹⁸. In this respect, gold has a parallel connotation when it is offered to the emperor: the emperor seems as if he is made of gold²⁹⁹, but also gold is the appropriate metal in which to depict his deeds³⁰⁰.

The offering either to God or to the emperor must be exceptional. The *rhetoric of metals* underpins the non-material meaning of the donation, but it also testifies to the material value of the offering³⁰¹. The epigram demonstrates that the donor not only has the financial means to make an expensive donation, but also that he is able to discern the special meaning of the materials. The rhetoric of the metals complements the *vocabulary of affection*, such that the donor, vigorously expressing his fervent feelings, thus underscores the importance of the donation. The epigram on the thirteenth-century *Freising-Berlin* icon offered by Manuel Dishypatos epitomises this relationship:

Ψυχῆς πόθος, ἄργυρος, καὶ χρυσὸς τρίτος
σοὶ τῇ καθαρᾷ προσφέρονται Παρθένω³⁰².

The desire of the soul, silver, and, thirdly, gold are offered to you, the pure Virgin.

²⁹⁶ Πηγὴ χρυσέα, χρυσῆ σφύρα: no. 281.

²⁹⁷ See Lauxtermann 2003: 280.

²⁹⁸ Nos. 90, 9; 278, 8; 281, 4.

²⁹⁹ No. 354, 5. It is exceptional for a man to be characterised as gold, e.g. Eustathios of Thessaloniki, *Letters*, no. 3.

³⁰⁰ Nos. 325, 1–2; 344, 3; 116/340, 3 and 7.

³⁰¹ A similar example by Mauropous is discussed in Bernard 2010: 48.

³⁰² BEIÜ 2, Ik12.

3.5. The ceremonial function of the dedicatory epigram

In this chapter, there has been space only to touch upon the salient aspects of the language and style of the epigrams. The corpus under discussion is sufficiently substantial to prevent an exhaustive analysis. Thus this chapter has aimed at simply identifying and interpreting the formulae, models and patterns that appear in the majority of the epigrams. The common features, forms and patterns form *la poésie de l'objet*³⁰³, a toolkit of poetic utilities ready to be used by the poets. These literary points would enable them to easily write texts appropriate to their clientele. *La poésie de l'objet* is the bonding between inscriptional and performative epigrams. The same set of rules, models, patterns, formulae, and commonplaces is introduced irrespective of the actual function of the epigram.

Turning to its initial significance, a dedication is a gift that aims to honour the saint, but mostly to confer kudos and status on the dedicator. The epigram underlines this double significance. It highlights the faithful feelings of the donors, but it also records the act of lavish dedication. A private ceremony, held in the private chapel of one of the donors, would have the same significance: the donor not only honours God or a saint but also demonstrates his wealth along with his piety.

Therefore, the goals of the epigrams are similar to a private ceremony: a patron, initiating a ceremony, honours a saint or Christ and also shows his faithful feelings to his social circle. If the ceremony is lavish, or even if it takes place in the patron's private chapel³⁰⁴, then he also shows off his wealth. A ceremony must be understood by an audience who are not necessarily initiated in its workings, but should also be complex enough to have major implications for those who have been

³⁰³ This term is borrowed (but re-defined) from Laurens 1989: 50.

³⁰⁴ E.g. Manganeios, *Poems*, 72, title: 'The present verses were read out in the church of the *oikos* of the *sebastokratorissa*, when the feast of the holy Theotokos the Hodegetria was also being celebrated in the same church'.

initiated. A ritual is a highly conservative event, since it is understood as a conventional act performed in a prescribed way³⁰⁵. The simplicity of the language of the discussed epigrams allows even non-experts to have a primitive interaction with the text. The hidden implications make the initiated feel special, since they are able to approach these texts in a more sophisticated manner. The standardised characteristics of the epigrams underline their symbolic significance, while the regulated vocabulary, the clear structure, and the motifs are appropriate for the specific audience.

What is more, even the act of inscribing or performing verse has a ceremonial significance³⁰⁶. The metre makes a text appear special as the recipient can easily hear its rhythm, the musical aspect of the epigram³⁰⁷. Nonetheless, as discussed above, votive epigrams and hymns share the same vocabulary. They too talk about the fervent feelings of the pilgrim and praise saints and the Mother of God with comparable words. Similarly, secular dedicatory epigrams and other rhetorical works written for the emperor contribute to the projection of the imperial image in a specific way. They present the emperor as the bloom of the purple and of the tree of the emperors, as a great warrior, liberator, and, for the donor, as a second God. Consequently, the epigram can be seen as a brief personal hymn to the divine or the emperor, accompanying the specific gift. Moreover, since the object has been voluntarily offered to God or the emperor, the dedication is inevitably parallel to a sacrifice³⁰⁸. The personal aspect of the offering is underlined by the use of the first-person donor-narrator or the supplication of the third-person narrator on the part of the donor. The donor-narrator is the one who constantly

³⁰⁵ On an anthropological definition, see A. Buckser 'Ritual' in Barfield 1997. On the performative aspect of rituals, see Rappaport 1999: 38 and R. Schechner, 'Ritual and Performance', in Ingold 1994: 613–45.

³⁰⁶ There is a similar discussion on early Greek epigrams in Day 1994: 42–3.

³⁰⁷ Cf. the discussion on the perception of the metre of Late Antique 'new-style' epigrams in Agosti 2008 (esp. 198–207).

³⁰⁸ Cf. Day 1994: 43.

speaks to the recipient of his gift. For the same reason, it is mandatory to mention who offered what, why, and what the donor expects in return. The presentation of the donor is done in a uniform way, appropriate to both his social status and the ritual aspect of the epigram.

The presence of an epigram is therefore essential, since the link between the real dedicator and the object disappears immediately after giving the object. The epigram is thus a constant bond. *Nūv* and *ἐντραῦθα* are consistent with the present, being expressive of both the time of the offering and of the reading³⁰⁹. The text is a focal point; it represents ‘a symbolic caption of an act of worship which takes place momentarily, but whose significance extends both backwards and forwards’³¹⁰. Its importance extends ‘backwards’ because it discusses a past action (and sometimes is even related to earlier events) and ‘forwards’ since the epigram records a religious act that seeks ongoing recognition by both God and humans. Moreover, future readers/viewers will be able to re-enact the moment of the dedication or connect it to a specific person. Consequently, the viewer/reader/listener performs a private unveiling ceremony each time he or she re-enacts the content of the epigram³¹¹.

So far, ceremonies and rituals are understood as synonyms, since it is very hard to find a clear-cut distinction³¹². Encoding, formality, and a lack of important variances are some of the basic features of both ritual and ceremonial actions³¹³. It has been suggested that the notion of ritual, in contrast to the ceremonial, carries a reference to supernatural powers³¹⁴. This distinction will be followed here in order

³⁰⁹ Cf. Tueller 2010: 43.

³¹⁰ Furley 2010: 151–2.

³¹¹ According to Niall Livingstone and Gideon Nisbet (2010: 54), ‘the original function of a dedicatory epigram [in the classical world] is to articulate in language a ritual act, the pious offering of a gift to a deity; it may also invite the reader to re-enact the giving’.

³¹² See Rappaport 1999: 38.

³¹³ Rappaport 1999: 32–36 and 46–50.

³¹⁴ Definition by Max and Mary Gluckman. See Rappaport 1999: 38–9.

to underline a difference between the secular dedicatory epigrams and the votive epigrams.

As noted before, performance is a basic ingredient of rituals. But even if both votive and secular dedicatory epigrams were read aloud by the viewer³¹⁵, a ritual requires something more, as it is 'synesthetic and kinesthetic'³¹⁶. The recipient (listener/viewer) of a votive epigram sees the artefact to which the epigram refers and also the words, if they are inscribed (*sight*). If the object is an icon (with a revetment), the viewer would see its changing appearance – what Bissera Pentcheva terms *ποικιλία*³¹⁷. If the epigram was on a mosaic, a fresco, or an *encheirion*, the eye line of the viewer will alter in order to read the epigram. In either case, *movement* is also strongly involved in the ritual. The recipient of the epigram would also hear the rhythmical pattern of the epigram, being read either by himself or by the donor (*sound*). Smell and touch could also be involved, given that votive epigrams refer to objects usually found in churches. The scent of the incense stays in the church after the liturgy. Praying to a saint includes touching and kissing his icon. The ritual significance of the votive epigrams is further supported by the use of the hymnographic code. Notions and words with strong reference to the liturgy, the central ritual point in the orthodox tradition, exist in a specific cultural and ritual context³¹⁸. If the epigram was inscribed, then its reading would re-enact the ritual. If the epigram was performed, it would be a part of the ritual dedication of a gift.

Secular dedicatory epigrams were not the focal point of a ritual, as *votive epigrams* were, but they were nevertheless part of a ceremony. They accompanied offerings to the emperor. Objects were given to him in order to celebrate a triumph or a special occasion, such as his wedding. The epigrams are an additional present, a

³¹⁵ With the exception of epigrams on *enkolpia* and other places where it was hard to be seen.

³¹⁶ Alexiou 2004: 96; Rappaport 1999: 252.

³¹⁷ See Pentcheva 2006(b), 2011 (a), 2011 (b).

³¹⁸ Alexiou 2004: 99–100. Cf. Yatromanolakis–Roilos 2004: 19.

piece of literature composed following the conventions of court rhetoric. In either case, they were an additional part of a ceremony. *Votive epigrams* were the trigger for a ceremony. Reading them aloud, even in an empty church, the reader would rehearse the ritual of the dedication of the object. The viewer/recipient of the epigram entering the church would spend time reading the epigram; therefore, thanks to the epigram, he would hear, see, move, smell, and touch. However, the recipient of the secular dedicatory epigrams would be able to see the artefact and hear the epigram; movement on behalf of the dedicatee would perhaps be involved, if he would prostrate himself in front the emperor, but the viewer would remain still. An inscriptional secular dedicatory epigram is out of its context. The text will be repeated without the ceremonial music, the presence of the emperor wearing his special garments, and the courtiers surrounding the scene. It would be reminiscent of the ceremony during which it was offered to the emperor. What I am suggesting is summarised in the following table:

	Performative	Inscriptional	
Secular dedicatory epigrams	Part of a ceremony	Reminiscent of the ceremony	Ceremony
Votive epigrams	Emphasises the ritual	<i>Focal point:</i> The ritual starts due to the existence of the epigram	Ritual

Fig. 35. Ceremonial vs. ritual aspect of the epigrams

The standardised style helps with the ceremonial/ritual function of the dedicatory epigrams. It is not possible to discuss whether the dedication is a true act of devotion and thanksgiving or solely an act of social posturing or self-aggrandisement. It is certainly true that writing such texts taps into a deep-seated need for recognition among a society's members, but the intention behind participation in a specific social circle is hidden far behind the presentation of the

text. Members of the same 'club' can fully understand such epigrams and support their creation. People who would like to join this group then willingly sponsor similar texts.

In this light, it can be better understood why variations appear mainly in epigrams for people with close affinity to the emperor. The following diagram illustrates how conventional the structure of an epigram was in relation to the level of the donor.

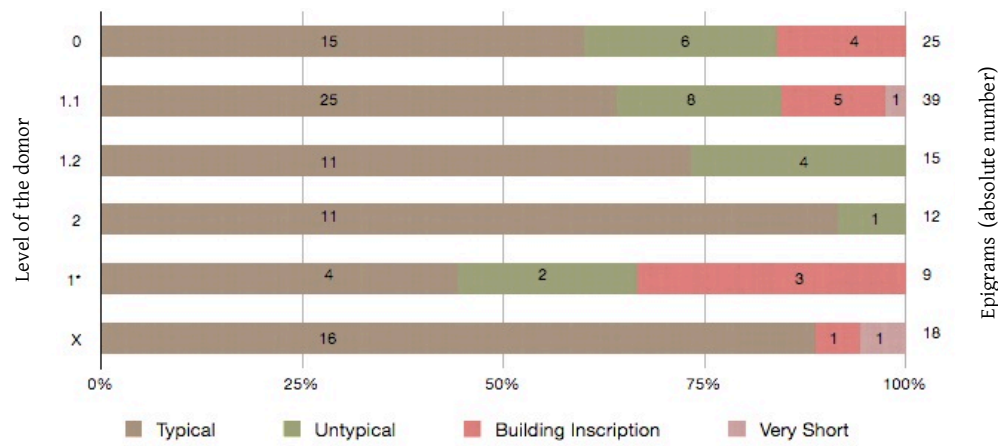


Fig. 36. Level of the donor and structure of the epigram

It becomes apparent that epigrams instigated by the higher echelons of society were more 'experimental': they are structured more freely, they include *hapax legomena* and rare words can be found mainly in epigrams of instigated by members of the higher echelons of the society. However, the difference is not only in the variations in the structure of the epigrams or the exceptional vocabulary (which is also indicative of a high level of literacy), but also in the real incidents that they refer to. I started the chapter by quoting an epigram on a stolen Eucharistic paten. The *protonotarios* of (we presume) Isaac Komnenos, brother of John II, implies in his dedication that someone tried to murder him³¹⁹. Both examples show the acquaintance of both the recipients and the producers with the genre. They were confident enough to step away somewhat from conventions and the literary

³¹⁹ No. 307, 6–7.

expectations of their audience. Members of the higher echelons of the society, connected by bonds of blood and marriage, were intellectually active and took part in the so-called *theatra*. Donations from people placed outside of this core demonstrate that the habit of writing an epigram was widespread. Dedications by people from different (even ethnic) backgrounds, inside and outside Constantinople show people wished to accompany their offering with an epigram. Perhaps those coming from level 2 or even 1.2 wished to one day become members of the upper echelons. By imitating the fashion of those close to the emperor, they showed they were fighting for their place. For some of them, it was a fight for survival. Members of families important in the eleventh and early twelfth century were trying to keep their place in the court. Commissioning such literature was a way to do so. In the following chapter, I will discuss in more detail the art market and the value of the epigrams.

4. Speaking about objects

4.1. Epigrams, objects, and use.

Icons, wall mosaics and wall paintings, revetments, repainted icons, lamps, *encheiria*, clasps, processional crosses, reliquaries, crowns, belts, swords, patens, and *enkolpia* all became sources of inspiration for our anonymous poets¹. The epigrams – always to be found only in our selection from the Anthologia Marciana – do not provide details about an object’s appearance (in terms of style, colours, materials, etc.). Rather, they have a loose relation with the actual work of art. For example an epigram *On the icon of St John the Forerunner which has been adorned with gold by the emperor* informs the reader how St John is depicted having ‘as cover clothes made from camel hair’ and ‘a thin leather belt tied around [his] waist’². The description comes directly from the Gospels³ and it was the usual way to depict St John. In other words, the epigram does not offer any information on the details of the object. The same epigram continues asking St John to ‘accept the gold decoration, with which Manuel, the purple-blooming, adorns your revered picture and which he offers as a present, showing his faith, to your monastery’⁴. This is the closest the reader can get to the object.

In other cases, the materials of which an icon was adorned inspire poetic metaphors. ‘If there is a river swelling with coal’s flame and flourishing with pale gold and the greenness of the stone, then it is the River Jordan in this work here’⁵, writes an anonymous poet for an icon of the Baptism that Manuel also adorned. The same poet attempts to explain this rather puzzling phrase in the following verses.

¹ See Fig. 37. The offerings.

² No. 32, 1–2.

³ Mt. 3:4 and Mk. 1: 6.

⁴ Vv. 3–6.

⁵ No. 39, 1–3.

The coal, according to Isaiah⁶, and the stone, according to David, is Christ (vv. 4-5)⁷. Furthermore, according to the author, the greenness of the stone symbolises the 'Earth that has sprung forth, the flesh of Christ' (vv. 6-7). Despite the explanation of the poet, the meaning remains – at least to me – unclear without a more pragmatic reading of these verses. The word *ἀνθραξ* can mean either coal or ruby, and the 'greenness of the stone' can denote emeralds. In other words, the icon was adorned with rubies, emeralds, and gold. These materials according to the poet enforce the symbolic meaning of the depiction. However, even if it is possible now to decipher which materials were used for the ornamentation of the icon, it remains unclear how these materials were arranged. Perhaps, it was taken for granted that the viewer was able to see the artefact, or perhaps the author had never seen the artefact and thus he was not in position to give detailed information. Most importantly, however, the aim of these texts was not to describe a visual reality, but rather to connect an object with an act of material dedication.

Occasionally even the object to which an epigram refers can be hard to decipher, because of the terminology used by the poet. A rather confusing term for example is the admittedly common word *εἰκὼν* which signifies any type of representation⁸. In this corpus it may denote a portable icon, a fresco or a mosaic⁹. Epigrams referring to frescoes or portable icons are especially difficult to distinguish: only if the poet refers to the placement or the use of the *εἰκὼν*, can the object then be recognised. A good example of an epigram on a portable icon comes from the abovementioned *εἰκόνα* of the Baptism of Christ. The title states firmly that it was a display icon presented only on the sixth of January, and thus it is clear

⁶ Is. 6: 5-7.

⁷ Ps. 90 (91): 12.

⁸ Cf. Maguire 1981: 10-1.

⁹ There are no references to ivory or mosaic icons.

that it was a portable icon¹⁰. The title of epigram no. 91 is also useful for finding a prominent example of a fresco. The title reads:

Ἐπὶ τῷ παρὰ τοῦ Δρυωνίτου κυροῦ Φωτίου νεουρρηθέντι ναῶ καὶ τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου τοῦ πρωτομάρτυρος

On the newly built church by kyr Photios Dryonites and the icon of St Stephen the first martyr.

The content of the first four verses of the epigram is appropriate for a building inscription, while the rest of the verses refer primarily to the depiction, but also to the foundation of the church. Furthermore, the two parts are connected with the use of δὲ at the beginning of the epigram of the depiction¹¹. Therefore, the verses on the depiction were written next to the building inscription and thus the depiction was indeed a fresco. Similarly, even if the title of epigram no. 265 refers only to *an εἰκὼν of Saint, Apostle and Evangelist Luke*, the donor John Sgouros is, according to the epigram, the ‘renovator of the venerated place’; thus, the term *εἰκὼν* refers probably to a fresco placed on the walls of the church¹².

References to mosaics by the word *εἰκὼν* are more explicit, mainly because of the additional information offered by the text, since authors refer to glimmering stones or to an ‘all-golden’ building. For example protosebastos protovestiarios John Doukas Komnenos invites the viewer to see the *εἰκόνας τῶν βασιλέων τοῦ τε κυροῦ Ἄλεξίου* (depictions of the emperors and Lord Alexios) with the following words:

*Καὶ χρωμάτων μὲν στιλπνότης καὶ χρυσοῦ,
καὶ ποικίλων στίλβουσα λαμπρότης λίθων
δείκνυσι φαιδρὸν τὸν κατὰ χρυσον δόμον·
πλὴν οὐκ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἔνδον ἡ χάρις τόσον
ὅσον περ ἐκτὸς ἐκ γραφῆς τῶν εἰκόνων¹³.*

Both the glittering of the colours and of the gold, and the glistening splendour of the variegated stones show the all-golden church to be radiant. But the beauty (of the images) is not so much inside as outside, namely, in the depiction of the images.

¹⁰ No. 39. *Εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς βαπτίσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ προτιθεμένην ὅτε ὁ πατριάρχης ἐν παλατίῳ ποιεῖται τὰς τῶν Φώτων εὐχὰς, κοσμηθεῖσαν παρὰ τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν βασιλέως. On the icon of the Baptism of Christ, which is displayed when the patriarch gives blessings in the palace for the feast of Epiphany and which has been ornamented by our mighty and holy emperor.*

¹¹ The two parts should be considered as two epigrams (91a and 91b). They can be found under the same title, but the scribe notes double dot and a dash at the end of v. 4. This sign signify the end of an epigram.

¹² No. 265, 19.

¹³ No. 73, 1–3.

The viewer of another series of imperial portraits on the church of Hodegetria was called to admire the ‘beauty of the church’, and to ‘have it as a pure pleasure in his heart; for (the church) sparkles with the variegated gleaming stones and it is coloured all around with golden bliss’¹⁴. And the epigram on the depiction of Manuel being surrounded by the personified virtues refers to the all-golden house in which the depictions were placed¹⁵.

Although a relevant correspondence exists between the epigrams and the objects which carried an image, the connection between word and image becomes more complicated for artefacts which do not always have a concrete pictorial representation, such as lamps. Six epigrams refer to lamps: of these, three refer to simple lighting devices¹⁶ and three to *trikandyla*, complex lighting devices consisting of three joined lamps, each one flanked by two candleholders¹⁷. We are usually informed about which icon the lamp hung in front of¹⁸ or to which church the lamp was offered¹⁹. Moreover, sometimes the material the lamp is made of is also mentioned. Andrianos Meles offers to the church of St George the Gorgos a χρυσάργυρον λυχνίαν²⁰; and Manuel, following the wish of his father John II, wishes to light a χρυσέαν λυχνίαν²¹. Although the material is mentioned, any ornamentation or even the shape of the lamp is of no interest to the author. The author does not give any further detail regarding the type of lighting device, since the audience could probably see the object or perhaps simply because everyone would have known what a church lamp looked like. It was more important to underline the high value

¹⁴ No. 251, 1–4.

¹⁵ No. 271, 8.

¹⁶ Nos. 245, 253, 294.

¹⁷ See Bouras 1982: 479.

¹⁸ Icon of the Crucifixion, no. 245.

¹⁹ To the church of St George the Gorgos, to the church of the Holy Sepulchral in Jerusalem no. 292. On the uses of lighting devices in general (although based on an earlier example) see Bouras–Parani 2008: 23–9. Lamps after the sixth century usually look like an open bowl suspended by chains. For examples see Parani 2003: 188–91. For earlier precious examples see: Boyd 1991: figs. 6.3, 6.4, 6.17–21.

²⁰ No. 253, v. 4

²¹ No. 294, vv. 8 and 11–12.

of the material, since this adds prestige to the donation. An epigram is primarily a versified dedicatory text on the object, not an *ekphrasis*.

The author of a metrical inscription on a seal is also not interested at the form of the object²². Although depictions with a symbolic meaning (e.g. a falcon) or special saints could have been carved on seals²³, seals usually have a standardised appearance. Furthermore, epigrams of this kind had a clearly practical use, in that they accompanied the personal seal of the prestigious sender.

Another question concerns the practical use of objects. The title rarely offers information on the afterlife of the donation. By looking at the themes of some of the icons it can be suggested that they were used or perhaps displayed on a specific (feast) day²⁴. The title of no. 39 states this clearly: *On the icon of the Baptism of Christ, which is displayed when the patriarch gives the blessings in the palace for the feast of Epiphany*. Similarly, no. 259 refers to the icon of the monk Neophytos owned and no. 51 is a supplication (perhaps written next) to the *μοναχικὸν εἰκόνημα* of the *protosebastos protovestiaros* John²⁵. The icons of Sts. Peter and Paul renovated by Peter, the abbot of the monastery of St Hilarion in Moglena, were possibly placed on the screen (*templon*) of the church of the Holy Apostles which was to be found in the vicinity of the monastery²⁶. In other cases, icons could also stand next to the tomb of the founder²⁷ or holy figures were depicted on tombs/*arcosolia*²⁸.

²²For metrical inscriptions see no. 92.

²³ *Acts of Zografou*, 15–6.

²⁴ E.g. nos. 41 and 40, which probably refers to a depiction of Christ in the Man of Sorrows type. Cf. *Kosmosoteira typikon*, §9.

²⁵ It remains unclear what a *μοναχικὸν εἰκόνημα* is. The term could signify either a portrait of John depicted as a monk or an icon that John commissioned when he became monk. Unfortunately, the term does not occur in other texts. Examples, even if they date from the eleventh century, occur where the patron is depicted as a laic and monk. Christopher of Mitylene (*Poems*, no. 16) wrote an epigram on the tomb of Melias. Apparently Melias prepared his tomb before dying. His portrait as both a monk and an official was placed there, perhaps on an *arcosolium*. See also Papamastorakis 1996/97: 297.

²⁶ Nos. 43 and 44. See above, p. 203ff.

²⁷ See *Kosmosoteira typikon* §109.

²⁸ No. 408.

The function of objects like *endytæ*, *encheiria*, *enkolpia* or lamps is straightforward. *Encheiria* or *peploi* were ‘decorative hangings intended for adornment or protection of icons’²⁹. *Endytæ* or *trapezoforoï* covered altar tables³⁰. Lamps were lit in front of specific icons, following the wishes of their donors. *Protonovelisimos* Nicholas Mavrokatakalon hung a lamp in front of an icon of the Crucifixion³¹. Emperor Manuel sent a golden lamp to the Holy Sepulchre. The patriarch of Jerusalem, John IX Merkouropoulos, not only donated an icon of St Sabas, but also gave a golden lamp to be lit in front of the offered icon. Nevertheless, even if the lighting devices have an apparently practical purpose, they are also personalised offerings with a special aesthetic function. This is demonstrated especially by twelfth-century monastic *typika*, which sometimes indicate how the lighting was adapted in front of certain icons according to the wishes of the founder³². Finally, *enkolpia* are also objects of personal devotion meant to be worn as amulets by their owners³³. The acquisition of one of them would certainly confirm the high social status of the owner³⁴. However, after the death of the owner, it is possible that an *enkolpion* was to be displayed in public view. Isaac Komnenos, for example in his *typikon*, wishes that his ‘*enkolpion* of the Mother of God to be fastened in a prone position in [a setting of] silverwork [...] in the centre of the lid’ of his tomb³⁵.

²⁹ Nunn 1986: 76.

³⁰ See Speck 1966 and Speck 1987.

³¹ No. 245.

³² *Pantokrator typikon* §7; *Kosmosoteira typikon* §65.

³³ See nos. 42, 54, 82, 242, 282, 283, 367, 406. For examples see G. Oikonomaki–Papadopoulou, Br. Pitarakis, and K. Loverdou–Tsigarida, *The Holy and Great monastery of Vatopedi: Enkolpia* (Mount Athos, 2001); see also: http://www.ec-patr.org/mones/vatopedi/gr_engolpia.htm.

³⁴ Cf. Cutler 1997: 299, the case of the ring of Stryphnos.

³⁵ *Kosmosoteira typikon*, §89.

Some words should be dedicated to the renovations of pictorial compositions³⁶ as donors paid special attention to the conservation of the icons and buildings they gave. Sometimes a ktetor of a monastery or church could have asked for such upkeep. John Komnenos in the *Pantokrator Typikon* clearly states that the abbot of the monastery should take special care regarding the conservation of Mary's icon³⁷. In our corpus, epigrams refer to renovations of both frescoes and portable icons. George Syropoulos³⁸ restored the frescoes on the propylon of the Monastery of the Holy Forty Martyrs since:

Τροχοῦ φορὰ χρόνου μὲν ἀστατουμένη
στοᾶς τὸ κάλλος ῥυτιδωθὲν δεικνύει,
ἀδελφικός πόθος δε μὴ γηρῶν χρόνω
τοῦ Συροπώλων ἐκ γένους Γεωργίου
αὐθις νεουργεῖ καὶ τὸ γῆρας ἐξάγει...³⁹

The unstable turn of the wheel of time shows the beauty of the propylon to be old, but the brotherly love of George from the family of Syropoulos, which is not aged by time, renovates again (the propylon) and strips away the old age...

An example of a twelfth-century fresco-renovation can be seen in the church of Kyriotissa (Kalenderhane Camii) in Istanbul. The surface of a panel where the Virgin *Κυριώτισσα* (in the type of Nikopoiia) and the eleventh-century patron have been depicted was scored to receive a new layer of intonaco⁴⁰.

Other epigrams themselves refer to the renovation of icons. The abbot of St Hilarion monastery in Moglena sponsored the restoration of the two panel icons⁴¹. Euphemia from the family of Kleronomos restores (*νεουργῶ*) a portable icon (*προσκυνητὴν εἰκόνα*)⁴². Other epigrams give further information on the problem

³⁶ See also Drpić 2011: 116–7. Ivan is currently undertaking a special study on this pretty much unexplored subject. To the examples of epigrams referring to restorations of icons can be added Theodore Balsamon, *Poems*, XXIII and XXV.

³⁷ Cf. *Pantokrator Typikon*, § 109: *if ever over time their wooden parts [of the icons which stood at the donor's tomb] should start to fall apart, the superior of the time must not fail to [employ] a first-rate craftsman to lay the images again with skill on to other boards [fashioned] out of elm wood.* See also Drpić 2011: 117 (esp. note 115).

³⁸ PBW *George* 20149.

³⁹ No. 113, 1–5.

⁴⁰ Striker-Doğan Kuban 1997: 124–6. A partial small restoration on the right eye and the nimbus of the Virgin.

⁴¹ Nos. 43 and 44.

⁴² No. 88, 6.

afflicting the icon. Bardas Liparitis decided to renovate an icon of the Theotokos because the wood had been affected by the passing of time⁴³. We are lucky enough to have two similar examples in the Lavra Monastery. One is dedicated to the five martyrs of Sebasteia (Εὐγένειος, Αὐξέντιος, Εὐστράτιος, Μαρδάριος, Ὀρέστης) and the second to St Panteleon. When the initial wood was rotten a technician could transfer the image using a piece of cloth⁴⁴. The restoration of the first icon is safely dated to 15 March 1197.

Another donor, Michael Komnenos Tatikios, decided to ask for the repainting of an icon of St George because the colours had dimmed. The epigram clearly underlines the problem:

στροφή τροχοῦ χρόνου δὲ τοῦ κυκλοδρόμου
 πᾶν εἰς φθορὰν ἄγουσα τῆς φορᾶς⁴⁵ ῥύμη
 ἴσχυσε τὸν σὸν ἐξαμαυρῶσαι τύπον...⁴⁶

yet, the turn of the wheel of time, which runs in circles, bringing everything into corruption through its force, had the power to darken your depiction...

The verb ἐξαμαυρῶ describes the condition of the icon before the restoration, but also underlines the fact that these icons were used. The smoke from burning incense or candles might have damaged the icon. This is perhaps why Peter from Moglena ordered the renovations of the icons of the screen of the Church of the Holy Apostles.

Andronikos Doukas Kamateros cleans the γῆρας of the icon depicting the Three Youths in the fiery furnace. As he makes clear, once again the problem was the passing of time which obscures the colours of the icons:

πλὴν ἀλλ' ἐπιρρέουσα τοῦ χρόνου φύσις
 ἴσχυσε μικροῦ τῶν τύπων τὸ φῶς σβέσαι...⁴⁷

..but the flowing nature of time had the power to almost quench the light of the depictions...

⁴³ No. 64, 4–5.

⁴⁴ Chatzidakis 1986: 228. The technique is still in use, see Acheimastou–Potamianou 2002: 152.

⁴⁵ φθορᾶς ML.

⁴⁶ No. 101, 5–7.

⁴⁷ No. 99, 10–11.

A famous example of a repainted icon is the ninth-century double-sided icon of the Crucifixion, which was repainted in the thirteenth century. The thirteenth-century painter followed the previous depictions but he also added elements in a contemporary fashion⁴⁸. Another famous (but later) example of a repainted icon is that of the panel icon of St Peter in the British Museum, dated to the first decades of the fourteenth century. A seventeenth-century painter had painted Christ on top of St Peter's portrait. The fourteenth-century icon came to light only in 1983 when the icon had been sent for restoration⁴⁹.

Among such restorations, the renovation of buildings should be added. The most impressive one is that of the Church of St Demetrius in the *oikos* of Theodore Styppeiotēs. The title reads:

Εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου ἣτις ἴστατο ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πρώην ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου, τοῦ Στυππειώτου Θεοδώρου, ὅτε ἐβούλετο οὗτος μεταθεῖναι ταύτην ἀπὸ τοῦ χθαμαλωτέρου εἰς τὸ ὑψηλότερον, ὥστε φυλαχθῆναι καὶ τὸ κάτω θυσιαστήριον, καὶ ἕτερον ἄνωθεν γενέσθαι⁵⁰.

On the image of St Demetrius which stood in the church at the oikos of the former ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου, Theodore Styppeiotēs, when he wished to move it from a lower to a higher level, in such a manner that the lower altar place was maintained and another one was constructed above.

The main text specified even further what Theodore attempted to do but had to stop, since it was against the will of the saint:

*βραχὺν μὲν ὄντα τὸν νεῶν προσευρύναι,
διπλοῦν δὲ τοῦτον ἀνθ' ἀπλοῦ σοι καινίσαι,
ὡς διπλασιάζοιτο σῶν ὕμνων χάρις...⁵¹*

I wished to widen the church, which was small, and double it in size so that the grace of your hymns would also be doubled...

In other words, Theodore Styppeiotēs added a floor to the church. This was not unusual. Isaac Komnenos testifies in the *Kosmosoteira typikon* that he sponsored not only the renovation of the church of *Περίβλεπτος*, but also the addition of an extra floor⁵².

⁴⁸ Acheimastou–Potamianou 2002: 154.

⁴⁹ Cormack 2007: 42–5.

⁵⁰ No. 65.

⁵¹ Vv. 6–8.

⁵² *Kosmosoteira typikon*, § 108. For more modest building restorations see no. 113.

The answer to the question of the objects' practical use is impressively straightforward in cases of secular dedicatory epigrams. The titles give specific information on the context and the use of the object. No. 375 is an *Epigram written on the Holy Cross, which has been erected in Hungary*⁵³, while no. 94 was written on the cross that accompanied Manuel on his expedition against Ikonion. Other objects like buckles, swords and valuable vessels were offered to the emperor for display purposes, as well as for practical use⁵⁴.

A final point should be made regarding the titles of the epigrams and their connection to the actual objects. So far, cases where the title can help to reconstruct the object have been mentioned. However, there are some examples wherein the title and content of the epigram do not fully agree. For example, although the Gerasimos epigram is entitled *Ἐπὶ εἰκόνι τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος (On the depiction of St Pantoleon)*, the main text makes clear that Gerasimos offered only a set of clasps for the *peplos* of the icon and not the icon⁵⁵. Similarly, the title of the Kalamanos epigram suggests that it was written on a bowl depicting 'the deeds of the emperor in Hungary', without offering further details⁵⁶. However, the text is quite clear: what was depicted on the bowl was the Israelites crossing the River Jordan and going to the Promised Land (with probably Joshua as leader)⁵⁷. Although it cannot be excluded that Joshua was depicted having the facial characteristics of Manuel Komnenos, the River Jordan and not Ister was depicted on the bowl⁵⁸. The epigram simply tells the emperor how to interpret the offering.

⁵³ See p. 133.

⁵⁴ Nos. 375, 374, 118/365, 260 and 359 respectively.

⁵⁵ See p. 123.

⁵⁶ No. 118/365, see pp. 160ff.

⁵⁷ Joshua 3:1–17.

⁵⁸ On the depiction of the River Jordan see Keiko 2004.

It is also uncertain what exactly was depicted on the façade of the Church of Archangel Michael in Sofia. The title is quite clear in saying that Archangel Michael was depicted on the façade of the church along with the donor and his son⁵⁹. However, the first verse reads: ‘Ὡς πρὶν Μανωῆ συλλαλοῦντά σε βλέπω’. This can be translated either as ‘As Manoah once I see you speaking to me’ or ‘As in the past I see you speaking with Manoah’. The first case means that only St Michael and Manoah were depicted, but in the second St Michael, Manoah and Samson were all there. Although it cannot be excluded that the donor’s portraits could have been somewhere in the vicinity as the title implies, the epigram itself gives no such evidence. Instead, it makes clear that Manoah and St Michael were depicted. The epigram again intends to explain to the reader how to see the frescoes.

There is a further case where the epigram’s comment on the object remains inconclusive. This concerns a golden vessel *On which our Holy Emperor has been depicted defeating the sultan*⁶⁰. It has been suggested that this object was offered in 1161 to the Sultan of Ikonion Kilij Arslan when the sultan came to Constantinople in order to seek friendship⁶¹. On this occasion, Manuel organised a lavish banquet. At the beginning, the epigram refers to the circumference of the object, suggesting that the σκεῦος (vessel) was a platter⁶². Then, the pictorial composition is expressed in terms of hunting:

10 σκεύους δὲ τούτου κυκλόθεν διεγράφη
 ὁ πορφυραυγῆς οὗτος ἀύσονοκράτωρ,
 φοβῶν, διώκων καὶ κατὰ κράτος τρέπων
 τὸν ἀρχιπέρσην πρὸς μάχην ὠπλισμένον

⁵⁹ No. 240.

⁶⁰ No. 353.

⁶¹ A second object was most probably also offered to the Sultan: *On a golden cover which depicts the events of the expedition (ταξίδιον) against Ikonion* (no. 372). The iconography of this object is stated more eloquently. The epigram states that ‘the chief of the Persians is depicted as a fugitive, avoiding the gates of Ikonion and escaping to the ravines, to the foothills of the mountains’ (vv. 5–7) and his army as ‘having thrown (themselves) on the ground’ (v. 8). Although the hunting vocabulary is not that prominent, the case that the emperor was depicted successfully hunting cannot be excluded. The emperor was certainly seeking to impress the Sultan: see also Magdalino–Nelson 1982: 132–5 and Kinnamos, *History*, § 3, 206–7 (Brand, pp. 156–7.)

⁶² V. 7.

σὺν μυρίαῖς φάλαγγιν Ἴκονιέων
καὶ πῶς, ἀμέτροις ἐντυχῶν χιλιάσι
βουνῶν φαράγγων ἀφανῶς ἀνηγμέναις,
μονώτατος διεΐλε τὴν ὀμαιχιμίαν
15 ἐκεῖ μὲν ἔνθεν ἀνδρικῶς δόρυ στρέφων,
τὸν χρυσὸν οὕτω ταῦτα χρυσοῦσι πλέον.⁶³

But depicted on the circumference of this vessel was this purple-gleaming Emperor of the Ausonians, threatening, chasing and routing by all his force the chief of the Persians, who was armed [10] in order to fight, along with his innumerable columns of men from Ikonion. How when he met the uncountable men, which had been led up from the ravines of mountains, he, alone, destroyed their troops, [14] just by rolling the spear in a manly way in all directions; in this way, these (depictions) make even gold more golden.

If the paten was indeed offered to the sultan as a gift (something which cannot be proved, but it is possible), it surely should not have been intended to insult the recipient and should have a symbolic value irrespective of the language⁶⁴. It is therefore very tempting to suggest that the golden object would have carried a depiction of the emperor hunting. The comparison of barbarians to wild beasts comes from the earlier Roman imperial tradition and is common in twelfth-century court literature⁶⁵. Therefore, the mighty hunter symbolised the Byzantine emperor who chases or kills the wild beasts, his enemies. The depiction of the hunting of the emperor would also serve a common language: as a demonstration of his power is familiar to cultures developed around Mediterranean, but also in the Near East. A parallel to this paten for example can be found on Sasanian plates, which date from between the fourth and seventh century AD and originate from India or Afghanistan⁶⁶. As has been recently discussed by Henry Maguire, the eleventh- and twelfth-century iconographic type of the emperor playing the part of a falconer implied the influence of the emperor over foreign nations⁶⁷. If a hunting scene was

⁶³ Vv. 7–16.

⁶⁴ Secular vessels were often offered as diplomatic gifts; also hunting scenes were frequently depicted on plates (see Mundell-Mango 2007: 136–141). On the latter point see Magdalino 1993: 751. However, it has been suggested that the Psalter of Basil II (ms. Marcianus gr. 17, was intended to be sent to Otto III whom Princess Zoe was about to marry. In her arrival to Bari she learnt that her future husband died and she returned to Constantinople. Cormack 1992: 229 and n. 29.

⁶⁵ Spingou 2011. On imperial hunting in general see Patlagean 1997.

⁶⁶ British Museum, series of silver plates. See particularly the silver plate on which the king is depicted hunting the lions (5th–7th century, diameter: 27 cm; weight: 937.3 gr. 124092), and the deer hunting of Shapur II.

⁶⁷ Maguire 2011 (a).

indeed depicted, the performance of the epigram on this occasion would explain eloquently for a Byzantine the iconography of the precious object. However, for the sultan, it would have been a depiction of power, keeping unidentified whether it would have been the emperor's or his (the sultan's) power. That said, it should be noted that the emperor is frequently presented hunting enemies/wild beasts. Therefore, the reference to the hunt could in fact be nothing to do with the object itself, but instead simply a typical literary topos. A peplos has probably been offered to the emperor together with the vessel. The title of the relevant epigram reads

*Ἐπὶ σκεπάσματι χρυσοῦ ἐν ᾧ εἰκονίσθησαν τὰ κατὰ τὸ ταξίδιον τὸ κατὰ τὸ Ἰκόνιον*⁶⁸.
On a golden cover which depicts the events of the expedition against Ikonion.

The poet, after stating that it is difficult to depict the numerous deeds of the emperor on a golden vessel, describes the Sultan escaping across ravines and hills and offering captives to the Emperor (in place of gold). In this epigram, although the poet uses similes and vocabulary inspired by hunting, he states more radically that the deeds of the emperor were depicted on the peplos. This is not without parallel. Holobolos states that scenes of the emperor as founder of the cities, victorious general, courageous hunter, and dispenser of justice were depicted on peploi⁶⁹.

To conclude, it is not always possible, even after a careful reading of the texts, to accurately reconstruct objects, their usage or their context based solely on the information given by the epigram. Comparison to extant buildings or objects may however suggest their appearance and function. For example, in a previous chapter I discussed the refectory of St Mokios Monastery⁷⁰. If the refectory was built in the twelfth century, we can confidently state that it was probably a rectangular construction with an apse on its east or north end. Possibly, the portraits of the

⁶⁸ No. 372.

⁶⁹ Macrides 1980: 29, note 88.

⁷⁰ See p. 136ff.

emperors were distributed as described above. If this was the case, the viewer would have been able to walk around the building and thus follow the epigram. Nonetheless, although this seems a likely arrangement, it remains speculation.

Even if epigrams do not allow us to comment on the physical details of the artworks, they can reveal the mechanisms connected to their production. Their production happened in a radically different context to the modern one and, as will be discussed, the artist did not work for an anonymous market but rather for a commissioner. Nevertheless, the two basic components of supply and demand legitimise the use of the term *art market*, although we must constantly bear in mind that values were estimated differently to modern works of art and the artist was creating works of art only for a commissioner. In general, the information on the art market available to the modern scholar is scarce. However, a discussion of the Byzantine ‘art market’ allows for a systematic enquiry into the factors connected with the production of the artworks for which the epigrams of our corpus were written.

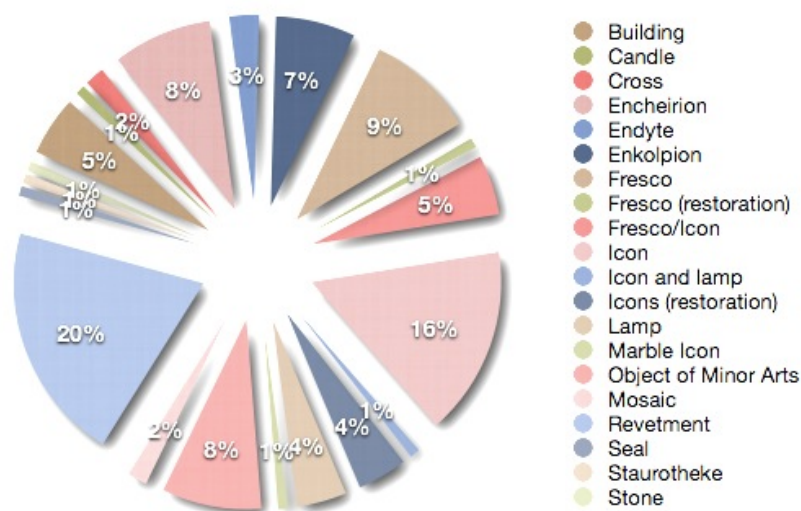


Fig. 37. The offerings

4.2. The twelfth-century art market: evidence from the epigrams

Then after he [Manuel] had deposited one hundred and eight gold coins on the whole altar, he departed with [the fame of] his generosity and splendour in everyone's mouth.

Kinnamos §2, p. 33 (transl. Brand, 35)

Providing the ever-gushing-forth, sweet-flowing veins of the benefactions in time, and fenced off with cornices marked with the sign of Christ, he props up the great roof of the church, which had been destroyed, with a hundred litra of gold.

No. 114, 24-28⁷¹

You, oh Baptist of Christ, who had clothes made from camel hair for your cover and who tied a thin leather belt around your waist, accept this golden decoration, with which Manuel, the purple-blooming emperor, adorns your revered picture...

No. 358, 1-5⁷²

The first passage comes from Kinnamos' narrative of Michael Oxeites' appointment to the patriarchal throne and the coronation of Manuel Komnenos. According to the historian, the viewers of this action were impressed by the imperial generosity towards the church. Similarly, the monks of the Mokios Monastery commemorate the act of the emperor by stating that the emperor offered a substantial amount of gold for the repair of the church. Smaller offerings from the emperor also had special importance. He adorns icons with gold, pearls, and precious stones⁷³. He also offers *encheiria* woven with golden thread⁷⁴. Many of our donors do the same, at least those with the economic power to make such an offering. Gold, pearls, and precious stones were exceptionally costly materials, and the viewer must have been immediately able to appreciate the real value of the donation. The generosity of the donor, as here in the case of the emperor, is similarly appreciated by his peers. However, although not all the donations are equally impressive an important number are notably luxurious. Indeed, it can be estimated that just 20% of the epigrams is dedicated to icons with valuable revetments, 2% to mosaics, and 8% to

⁷¹ Greek text pp. 135ff.

⁷² Ὁ τὰς καμήλου τρίχας εἰς σκέπην ἔχων,
ὄσφυν δὲ σὴν δέρματι λεπτῶ συνδέων,
βαπτιστὰ Χριστοῦ χρύσειον κόσμον δέχου
δι' οὗ Μανουήλ, πορφυρανθῆς αὐτάναξ,
καταγαλῖζει σὸν σεβάσμιον τύπον...

⁷³ Nos. 39, 249, 358.

⁷⁴ No. 69.

valuable objects, works of minor art. Simple icons or even restorations of icons have been offered to God and to various saints. Although these objects did not cost a large amount of money, they did carry a symbolic value.

At this point, it should be stressed that most of these objects were objects to be used in worship. They were not to be placed in museums, but rather used for public or private devotion, in churches of various sizes. This aspect becomes more complicated when it comes to secular objects. Since these were offered primarily as tools for display and social posturing aesthetic appreciation comes into play.

A work of art naturally has an objective, financial value regulated by the cost of the materials and labour invested in it. Pigments place the discussion on different grounds, since their financial value was low, given that they were made from natural ingredients. The value of an icon was low, if it was not adorned with metal revetments⁷⁵. One of the donors, Leo Mesarites does not find these *σάρκινα νεκρά χρώματα* (*inanimate flesh pigments*) worthy. He adorns the head of the crucified Christ with gold and silver and he embellishes (*λαμπρύνω*/glitter) the icon with precious stones⁷⁶. In epigrams dedicated to simple icons⁷⁷, and to restorations of icons, the donors underline their feelings or stress the occasion which urged them to make the dedication.

Since the factor ‘value’ is involved in this discussion, it is right that the term ‘market’ should also be used. As stated above, although the medieval art market differs drastically from the modern art market in that it does not involve speculative works of art but instead works that have been commissioned⁷⁸, similar

⁷⁵ For example in a household in Thessaloniki, in 1384, the value of an icon values around 2 to 7 hyperpyra, while a horse worth 14 and the annual revenue of head of this household was 70–80 hyperpyra, Cutler 2002: 566. See also pp. 271ff.

⁷⁶ No. 74.

⁷⁷ Unfortunately, there is no evidence on the value of the boards. See also Cutler 2002: 550–8.

⁷⁸ Heilburn–Gray 2001: 175.

factors nonetheless influence the productions of the medieval and modern artworks.

The central point of the market are *the producers*, meaning the artists and their commissioners. The 'produces' are affected by the ecclesiastical, political and economic frameworks of their time as well from the aesthetic demands. However, specific information on either the 'support networks' on the twelfth century (which would include the connection of the painters to their peers) or the infrastructure (for example, how the artists learned their art) is not available today. Unfortunately, almost nothing is known about the relationship between the artist and their training. Evidence from the fourteenth and the fifteenth century suggests that painters were working in (usually family-based) teams⁷⁹, while artists became members of workshops in order to hone their skills⁸⁰. Elaborate objects – such as those included in the *Anthologia Marciana* – certainly required well trained practitioners.

⁷⁹ Cutler 2002: 565, cf. *ibid*, 568 for icon painters.

⁸⁰ Kalopissi-Verti 1994: 149.

Producers

...in the two parts of the church where my supremely-good Christ and the Mother of God and Kosmosoteira are respectively represented with great skill (ἄγαν τεχνήντως), so that the images appear alive (ἔμπνοα) to the beholder (ὡς δοκεῖν τοῖς ὀρώσι), and even I would say they [the images] would almost leave a beautiful voice from their mouths towards the viewers⁸¹. For it is a marvel to behold these likenesses in painting, that are alive and yet unmoving in space (ὡσπερ τὴν ἔμπνοον καὶ μὴ κινουμένην τοπικῶ διαστήματι), and hence to praise the artist (τεχνουργόν) whom the First Creator and Lord endowed with the knowledge of how to paint in a novel fashion (καινοπρεπῶς).

Kosmosoteira typikon, §9 (transl. Patterson Ševčenko, p. 802).

I embrace your hand, painter; I kiss your paint-brush; I thank you in addition that you did not weave a rose into the crown of this true maiden, for chastity has nothing common with a rose.

Hysmine and Hysminias, Book 2, sect. 6, 31-5 (transl. Jeffreys, p. 187).

During the middle ages, a painter (ζωγράφος) is seen as a craftsman and an artisan (τεχνίτης), not having the special status acquired after the renaissance. However, this does not stop Isaac Komnenos from eloquently praising the aesthetic value of the depictions in the first excerpt. Makrembolites in the second one goes even further, expressing his deep admiration for the painter. He wishes to kiss his brush – though not because he appreciates the painter’s technique, but rather because of how the artist depicts his subject.

This image of the artist and his connection to the donors in our texts is not different from the trends of the era. Artists are actually always seen as artisans⁸² but donors (and poets) are nonetheless happy to acknowledge their skills and ingenuity. The narrator of the epigram *On the newly built kouboukleion in the chamber in the Blachernae* initially questions the decision of the painter to depict the virtues separately from the emperor, since the emperor bears all of them inside him individually. However, he then praises him for his decision on the final pictorial

⁸¹ The suggested translation at this point is: ‘and as though letting out a beautiful sound from their [the monks] mouths towards him’. However, the Greek text reads: καὶ αὐδὴν χαριτόεσαν μικροῦ δή φημι ἀποθλίβειν πρὸς τοὺς ὀρώντας τοῦ στόματος.

⁸² See for instance nos. 61, 1-2 (καθ’ αὐτάς ζωγραφῶν ὁ τεχνίτης); 92, 12 (τόκος/ἔξεικονίσθη τῷ τεχνίτη ζωγράφῳ). In the ninth-century Book of the Eparch (§22), painters are actually included among the ἐργολάβοι (contractors).

composition⁸³. Moreover, the epigram *On an icon of St Paul the Confessor* (6 November) reads:

Ῥυσθεῖσα δεινῆς καὶ πολυχρόνου νόσου
ἢ μᾶλλον Ἄιδου τῶν πυλῶν ἐξηγμένη
σαῖς, Παῦλε, λιταῖς, ὀρθοδοξίας στύλε,
ἔγραψα μὲν σε πίστεως τῷ καλάμῳ
5 φίλτρον βαφαῖς χρώσασα καρδίας μέσον⁸⁴.

Because I was delivered by a terrible and long-lasting illness – or rather I was brought out from the gates of Hades – with the help of your prayers, Paul, the column of the right faith, I depicted you with the pen of piety, using the colours of the love inside the heart.

The donor, Eudokia Doukaina, after she has been healed from an illness, decided to commission an icon of her patron saint. The colours that the donor used for the icon have a special significance, being mixed with her affection for the saint. *Εἰκῶν* – as noted before – does not necessarily signify an icon, but it can well refer to a fresco or a mosaic. In general, donors, like Eudokia, are frequently presented as the persons who made the work of art. However, the reference probably signifies the commissioner of the artwork rather than the artist⁸⁵.

The case of the monk Klemes needs to be discussed further. Klemes – in one of the pictorial compositions that he patronised – depicts St James the Brother of God and his spiritual father, the patriarch John Merkouropoulos. The epigram reads:

Ἐγκαρδίου πῦρ πίστεώς τε καὶ πόθου
εἰς πυρσὸν ἀέριον ἀρθέν δεικνύων
μοναχὸς οἰκτρὸς λοῖσθος ἐν μύσταις Κλήμης
ἐν ὑλικοῖς χρώμασι τὸν τύπον γράφω
5 τοῦ πατριάρχου τῆς Σιῶν Ἰωάννου,
τοῦ τῶν μοναστῶν ἀρχετύπου κανόνος.
Ἰάκωβον δὲ σύγγονον Χριστοῦ Λόγου
συνεικονίζω τῆς Σιῶν πρῶτον θύτην...⁸⁶

Displaying in my heart a fire of faith and desire, which has been elevated to an aerial torch, I, the piteous monk and last of the initiates, Klemes, depict with material colours the icon of John the patriarch of Zion, [5] the paradigmatic standard of the monks. I also depict James the brother of Christ, the Logos, the first priest of Zion...

From the phrasing, the possibility that Klemes was actually the painter of the picture cannot be fully excluded. The subject of the pictorial composition required

⁸³ No. 271, 1–6.

⁸⁴ No. 308, 1–5.

⁸⁵ See Lauxtermann 2003: 159.

⁸⁶ No. 297, 1–8.

familiarity on the part of the painter with the depicted person; Klemes had direct access to John IX Merkouropoulos and therefore he would have been able to paint him. Irrespective of whether Klemes was the painter of the icon or not, it is the only case in which a portrait appears alongside the image of the saint and the person portrayed is not the donor. Instead, the donor addresses the portrait of a third person, who is his spiritual father. The portraits of John IX and St James were most probably placed somewhere at the Monastery of St Diomedes: John, the abbot of the monastery, was the paradigm for the monks⁸⁷. This depiction seems a modest precedent for the frescoes in the Enkleistra of St Neophytos in Cyprus⁸⁸.

St James' depiction is not the only original subject in this anthology and, indeed, the depictions commissioned by George Palaiologos Doukas Komnenos have been mentioned in a previous chapter⁸⁹. That pictorial composition is the only example in which Manoah is depicted along with the Archangel Michael. In literature, there are very few cases where Archangel Michael is identified as the angel that appeared to Manoah. To the best of my knowledge, none of the twelfth-century authors connects Archangel Michael to Samson's nativity⁹⁰. The symbolism of this depiction was strong: George Palaiologos was the new Manoah, who sent his son Alexios to war as the new Sampson. Moreover, the icon/fresco portraying the Virgin Mary being surrounded by Heaven and angels is also unconventional. According to the epigram, the Virgin Mary appeared on a throne established on the

⁸⁷ No. 297, 6.

⁸⁸ The portraits of Nikephoros the mystikos and Manuel could be found in the monastery of St Trinity at Boradion (Bosporos) are founders' portraits. Nikephoros the mystikos is seen as the person who asked for the imperial favour to the monastery and Manuel Komnenos has sponsored the construction (No. 303; Magdalino–Nelson 1982: 146–7; Oikonomides 2001: 267–70).

⁸⁹ See p. 242.

⁹⁰ For example, Theodore Prodromos in his epigram on the annunciation of Samson's birth does not mention anything relevant to Archangel Michael (*Tetrasticha*, Jud. 101). John Tzetzes, in his *Histories* (9, 254), does not mention anything relevant either. Looking at *TLG*, only the sixteenth-century Damaskenos Stoudites (*Thesaurus*, orat. 18, 350ff.) and one of the Pseudo–Romanos hymns (*Cantia Dubia*, *Hymns* 62, 10) mention this tradition.

shoulders of angels. Cherubim and other heavenly orders were depicted all around⁹¹. Finally, the title of a different epigram describes a depiction in which Christ appears to sit on a throne extending his hand to the viewer⁹².

The depiction with St Theodore Teron, St Theodore Stratelates and St Theodore Gabras can be added to the ‘unconventional subjects’⁹³. A member of the Gabras family asks for help from the *τριας ἀθλητῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεοδώροι* (*the three athletes of Christ, Theodores*)⁹⁴. The decision for this depiction is quite intriguing since the cult of Theodore Gabras was not yet widespread⁹⁵.

Turning to profane objects, the epigram on an oyster made of stone at the Great Palace praises the dexterity of the carver⁹⁶. To the best of my knowledge, it is the only example in which a stone oyster as a decorative, self-standing, element is mentioned. My guess is that it perhaps refers to the oyster-like sculpture, which is frequently incorporated in architectural structures as a decorative element. The themes of secular pictorial compositions tend to be freer in general. The case of the house of Leo Sikoundenos and the pictorial composition on the *kouboukleion* at the Blachernae has already been mentioned. A pictorial composition was displayed at the *oikos* of Andronikos Doukas Kamateros, depicting Emperor Manuel and above him the Theotokos holding Christ on her chest. Christ appears to crown the emperor whilst an angel proceeds in front of him and St Theodore Teron is giving him a sword. Finally, St Nicholas follows him⁹⁷. At an unidentified place Christ was depicted whispering in Manuel’s ear. The Holy Spirit descends from above in the

⁹¹ No. 55.

⁹² No. 280.

⁹³ No. 117.

⁹⁴ Vv. 4.

⁹⁵ See p. 211ff.

⁹⁶ See p. 261.

⁹⁷ The epigram dates from before 1155. No. 83.

form of a dove, while the apostles and the church fathers hand the emperor tomes of quotations⁹⁸.

These new pictorial representations introduce new themes, which often accommodate certain needs of the donors⁹⁹. It is not specified whether it was the donor or the artist who conceived of the initial idea for the pictorial composition, but the few clues that exist suggest the final composition was shaped by both the artist and the commissioner. The themes seem to follow the wishes of the donors, as has already been noted, but the epigrams do praise the skills of the painter.

The twelfth-century court environment, even if it was never openly expressed, certainly promoted originality. Literary genres, such as the romances, were revived and transformed¹⁰⁰. New themes appear in art, and new features became prominent. Henry Maguire has shown that twelfth-century art is strongly connected to rhetoric¹⁰¹. Alexander Kazhdan and Ann Epstein argued that, after the later eleventh century, art became more dramatic, while everyday reality was better represented¹⁰². Objects of everyday use appear more prominently in twelfth-century religious pictorial compositions¹⁰³. Furthermore, one should not forget that this is a time in which secular depictions are most frequently new compositions¹⁰⁴. By their nature, secular pictorial compositions are much less conservative than religious ones.

Whether there was silent competition between the donors regarding the artefacts and what is the role of originality exactly is again hard to say. However, it is certain that such competition did exist in literary circles and therefore it is likely

⁹⁸ The epigram should be dated to 1166. No. 343.

⁹⁹ Cf. also Cormack 1986: 620–4. See, for example, the implications behind the frescoes at Triaditsa (see above, p. 243)

¹⁰⁰ Kazhdan–Epstein 1985: 201–2.

¹⁰¹ Maguire 1981: 106–7.

¹⁰² Kazhdan–Epstein 1985: 206–20. See also Cormack 2000: 153–4.

¹⁰³ Parani 2003: 276.

¹⁰⁴ Kazhdan–Epstein 1985: 205–6.

that commissioners of works of art were also trying to outdo their peers¹⁰⁵. A ‘new’, ‘original’ pictorial composition would have been impressive, especially when put in front of the donors’ network. It shows the effort the donor had put in the production of his personalised gift. The artist remains unnamed and the new subject does not aim to offer him fame and allow him to live forever, as Roderich Beaton has suggested for originality in literature¹⁰⁶. However, an artefact would not be appreciated simply because its composition was original¹⁰⁷. Arguably, for the viewer, an artwork would have been esteemed in terms of its vividness and the relation of the figures to their prototypes¹⁰⁸. Thus, even if the theme was new, the representations were based on well-known pictorial types.

Additionally, the emergence of the individuality of the artists of the twelfth century suggests that the ingenuity of the artist can be taken into consideration. In the twelfth century, names of artists are found more frequently: in a bilingual inscription at the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem the artist, Ephraem, signs the mosaics¹⁰⁹; Theodore Apseudes is acknowledged as the painter at the Church of Panagia tou Araka in Lagoudera (Cyprus); and, finally, looking at literary sources, Eulalios appears to renew the mosaics in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, even including his picture in one the compositions and executing a depiction of the Annunciation in the church at the *oikos* of the protosebastos Isaac¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁵ On Byzantine *Theatron* see p. 170.

¹⁰⁶ R. Beaton, ‘Epic and romance in the twelfth century’, in Littlewood 1995: 80–91.

¹⁰⁷ For the different understanding of ‘novelty’ in Byzantium see Spanos 2013.

¹⁰⁸ See A. Weyl-Carr, ‘Originality and the icon: the panel painted icon’, in Littlewood 1995: 115–24. See also p. 260ff.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Jotischky 1995: 85–6.

¹¹⁰ Manganeios Prodromos (*Poems*, no. 88) refers to the painter Eulalios. Henry Maguire (1981: 11) has suggested that perhaps ‘his name may have been preserved for posterity not so much because of the quality of his painting as because it enabled Byzantine writers to contrive puns between Eulalios and eulalos (eloquent)’. Even if this is the case, it is a fact that the poet felt the painter important enough to be mentioned. Eulalios was clearly not at the very bottom of the social ladder, as other scholars have argued about iconographers in general (Andreopoulos 2005: 24). See also Vassilaki 2007: 7. In general, Eulalios soon became from a person, a personification (See Drpić 2011: 55–59). The case of the painter Pantoleon was different. True enough, the miniatures of the Menologium of Basil II (Vat. gr. 1613) bear the signatures of eight different painters. One of these signatures is that of Pantoleon.

After the thirteenth century, the number of known names of artists significantly increases¹¹¹. If artists were not actively involved in the original conception of the theme, they would not be able to appear independently. Maria Panagiotidi, when discussing the iconographical programmes in Panagia in Lagoudera and the *Enkleistra* of St Neophytos, reveals a discursive process behind the formation of the iconographic programmes of the monuments. Both the donor and the artist (probably with Constantinopolitan provenance) influence the final choice of the scenes¹¹². As noted before, this must also have been the case for the production of our artworks.

In a thesis with primarily literary interests, the connection between poets and artists should also be discussed. In this relationship the donor appears to be the key person for two main reasons; firstly, because donor and poet could have been the same person and, secondly, because the donor urged the poet to write the epigram.

An example of a donor-poet is epigram no. 47. The title specifies that the epigram was written on a depiction placed on the house of the person who ‘made these verses’¹¹³. Therefore, it should be in no doubt that poet and donor are the same person. Another example comes from the collection of Theodore Balsamon. Theodore wrote an epigram on the depiction of the Theotokos, which he commissioned for the monastery of Hodegon¹¹⁴. Furthermore, aristocrats – some of

His name and activity are attested also by the ancient Vita of St Athanasius of Athos. The references to his name had a completely different connotation to the names attested in the twelfth century. The miniaturist probably wrote their name next to the miniatures in order to get paid, while in the second instance is only attested so that the story seems trust worthy. See Ševčenko 1972. Therefore, it is not possible to use his name as an example of ‘emergence of the individuality of the painter’. Comparable to the twelfth-century attestations is the poem by Mitylenaios (*Poems*, no. 112): *Εἰς τὸν ζωγράφον Μύρωνα, ζωγραφοῦντα εἰκόνα Μιχαήλ*. The poet urges the painter to paint with grace/ἀρετή, so that St Michael would appear as to be alive (ἐμπνους).

¹¹¹ See Kalopissi-Verti 1994 and 1992.

¹¹² Panagiotidi 1997: 77–105.

¹¹³ See p. 125.

¹¹⁴ Balsamon, *Poems*, no. 14.

them donors of our objects – appear to have been able to write poetry. For example, Leo Megistos in his monody for George Palaiologos Doukas Komnenos clearly mentions that George was able to write iambs¹¹⁵. Isaac Komnenos, who is connected with a donor in the *Anthologia Marciana* clearly mentions in the Kosmosoteira typikon that he wrote a book of poetry¹¹⁶. Furthermore, George Skylitzes, who has also served as *protokouropalates*, is known to have written the dedicatory epigram on Kamateros Arsenal¹¹⁷. The fact that epigram no. 277, *On an adorned icon of St Nicholas*, was probably presented just after his marriage, a very personal moment, invigorates – but does not confirm – the view that George was a donor-poet.

However, a donor commissioning an epigram seems to have more often been the case. A prominent example in our corpus is the multiple epigrams on a drinking vessel¹¹⁸. The poet in these four epigram is ‘shuffling around the same words’¹¹⁹. The poet gives options to the donor and what is preserved in the *Anthologia Marciana* is clearly his draft.

How exactly the composition of the epigrams was commissioned or what was the relationship between donor/commissioner and poet is not known but some indications come from external sources. We know that Tzetzes wrote an epigram (in dodecasyllables) at the request of one of his friends¹²⁰. Something similar could have happened with the composition of many or at least some of our epigrams. Theodore Balsamon wrote a series of epigrams for the cup of Andronikos Kontostephanos, from which Andronikos could choose the one that he wanted inscribed. In a letter Balsamon flatters Andronikos and states clearly that he was commissioned to write

¹¹⁵ Sideras 1991: 218, 10–14.

¹¹⁶ Kosmosoteira typikon, §106.

¹¹⁷ See Bucossi 2009.

¹¹⁸ No. 263.

¹¹⁹ See p. 134.

¹²⁰ Tzetzes, *Letters*, no. 37.

these verses¹²¹. There is a later indication to be found in the correspondence of Planoudes. In one of his letters, Planoudes states that he wrote heroic verses to be inscribed on an icon. Again, he composed the epigram on receiving a request from his friend and recipient of the letter¹²².

Planoudes sends the verses together with the letter, making it uncertain whether he had ever seen the artefact. In general, poets of the corpus under discussion seem to have a vague sense of what the objects looked like. Text and image appear to have a kind of loose connection, since visual details are not mentioned. As discussed at the beginning of the chapter, it is not possible to reconstruct an object in full detail. Sometimes it is also practically impossible for a poet to have seen an object. The anthology clearly has a Constantinopolitan origin, since the vast majority of the epigrams have been written either for donors living in the capital or with connections with the palace. However, a few of the epigrams have been written on behalf of donors from overseas. For example, it is unlikely Peter, abbot of St Hilarion's Monastery in Pella, brought from Moglena to Constantinople the two panel icons in order for them to be repainted. It seems most probable that the restoration work took place in Pella and that Peter either visiting the capital or by sending a letter asked a Constantinopolitan poet for these verses¹²³.

Although there are certainly cases where the poet appears to admire the skill of the painter, it is not clear whether this is an expression of the true feelings of the author, or words connected to the conventions of the genre and the aesthetic demands of the era. Nonetheless, the observation that poets had not seen the object is not applicable to all cases. One should look for indications in the text. It is known,

¹²¹ ...τῶν κατ' ἐπιτροπήν σου γραφέντων στιχιδίων... Horna 1903: 214, VII. Lauxtermann 2003: 43.

¹²² Planoudes, *Letters*, no. 73. Taxidis 2012: 46. See also Drpić 2011: 16–8.

¹²³ The monastery should have had strong connections to the palace as Peter's predecessor and founder of the monastery St Hilarion had the support of Manuel I (*Life of St Hilarion*, 73). Because of the problems with the Bogomils in the region of Pella and its strategic importance, it would have been essential for Manuel to keep these connections.

for example, that poets were urged by literary magnates to improvise texts in front of artworks. George Palaiologos Doukas Komnenos asked Leo Megistos to improvise some verses in front of a sculpture of Muse Kalliope and to write a poem (although not an epigram) on the artefacts¹²⁴.

The *literati* of the Komnenian era have been the subject of much discussions over the past years¹²⁵. The ‘begging poet’ is a stock character, familiar to the twelfth-century literary circles. In general, after the year 1000, poets constantly ask for favours. Many (or better most) of them were trying to climb the social (and financial) ladder. The composition of a poem was often related to favours that the author expected in return. Some of the authors of our epigrams could have been these ‘begging’ poets. Theodore and Manganeios Prodromos are known, for example, to have written epigrams on works of art. Also, the fact that the texts emphasise what the donor would like to emphasise – his status, the importance of the object, and his devotion – corroborate the view that most of these texts are products of the labour of craft-poets. Even if this is the case, the donor appears to be the person who organises the enterprise: he commissions the object from the artist-technician (*τεχνίτης*) and the verses from the poet (*ρότωρ*)¹²⁶.

In all, artist, poet and primarily donor were responsible for the final appearance of the objects (and the texts on them). Nonetheless, the ultimate shape of an artwork is determined by a series of factors outside the commissioner–artist relationship. These factors have to do with aesthetic tastes, financial situation, and political and ecclesiastical context of the epigrams, each of which will be discussed individually in the following subsections.

¹²⁴ Lampsidis 1997.

¹²⁵ Jeffreys 2010; Lauxtermann 2003: 34–45; Magdalino 1993: 346–52; Beaton 1987: 7; Mullett 1984: 182–3. See also: Magdalino 2012: 22–3.

¹²⁶ The *literati* most often refer to themselves with this term in panegyrics. Some selected examples can be found in: Theodore Prodromos, *Poems*, 30, 106; Manganeios Prodromos, *Poems*, 4, 798; 8, 2. Intriguingly, Manganeios (*Poems*, no. 2, 9) thinks about his deed as: ὁ τεχνικός μου λόγος, since he follows the art (*τέχνη*) and the craft (*τεχνική*) of rhetoric.

Aesthetics

Eudokia Doukaina was healed from a ‘terrible and long-lasting illness’ thanks to St Paul the Confessor, and for that she commissioned an icon of the saint¹²⁷. Her decision to commission this icon is justified at length, with her saying that she wished to see her patron saint with bodily, material, eyes (not just with the ‘eyes of the heart’). This longing actually creates the context of the aesthetic features that an *εἰκὼν* should have and, consequently, its aesthetic value. By saying that she wants to see St Paul with ‘the pupils of the flesh’, Eudokia sets the standards of what someone is expected to see. The *εἰκὼν* has to be *accurate*, since the donor wished to see the *true* St Paul, as being *alive*. These two features (accuracy and vividness) are highlighted in the text of many epigrams:

- Ἦ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ζωγραφεῖ Λουκᾶς θέαν
 εἰς ἄκρον αὐτὸς ἠκριβωκῶς τὴν τέχνην,
 ἢ γοῦν γράφοντι συμπαραῖν τῷ ζωγράφῳ·
 οὕτω πρὸς ἐμφέρειαν ἐγράφη τύπος,
 5 ὡς ἄρα μικροῦ καὶ δοκεῖν ἔοικέ μοι
 ἔμπνουν μὲν εἶναι σῶμα, πλὴν σιγᾶν ὁμῶς...¹²⁸

Either Luke painted his own picture, having a thorough knowledge of pictorial art, or he assisted the painter while he was painting; the picture has been painted with such precision so that he almost seems to me to be bodily alive, but yet to be silent.

The patron of this icon, John Sgouros, clearly admires the precision of the picture. He attributes this preciseness to the physical presence of the saint. Although the physical presence of the saint is a topos in literature, it is nonetheless indicative of certain expectations¹²⁹. Another patron, Theodore Styppeiotos, refers to the *πιστὴ εἰκὼν* of St Demetrius¹³⁰. *Accuracy*, as suggested by the epigrams, is certainly far from what we term ‘realism’ or indeed from other modern standards. More likely, it refers to a set of standard features that a portrait was expected to include, allowing a saint, Christ or the Virgin Mary to be recognised and thus meaning the icon would

¹²⁷ See p. 251.

¹²⁸ No. 265, 1–6. Cf. Manganeios, *Poems*, no. 112, 6–8.

¹²⁹ Cf. Manganeios, *Poems*, nos. 87 (Eulalios epigram), 111 and 112. See also Dagron 1991: 23.

¹³⁰ No. 65, 18–9.

be classified as ‘authentic’¹³¹. In a sense, this accuracy is familiar from the descriptions by Elpios-Oulpius Romaios, an idiosyncratic text which somehow reminds one of the much later handbook of painting by Dionysios of Phourna¹³². These standard characteristics must have helped Gerasimos to recognise St Pantoleon when the saint appeared in his dreams¹³³. Even if Gerasimos had probably never read any of these texts, he was familiar with the individual characteristics of each saint thanks to his environment. From an early age he was able to see icons in his surrounding environment and hear stories about the saints. Therefore, this is probably the ‘accuracy’ our epigrams talk about: a set of characteristics that form the easily recognisable signs of every saint¹³⁴.

In a different context, the narrator of the epigram *On the oyster carved in stone, which is in the Great Palace* praises the dexterity of the artist: the artist managed to precisely imitate an oyster and therefore the sculpture seems to deceive the eyes of the viewer *by turning artfully even the stone into an oyster*¹³⁵. This reminds one of an *ekphrasis* of a mosaic by Eustathios Makrembolites. Describing a mosaic, which portrayed four maidens, he states:

*On seeing them, you might say that the immiscible, fire and water, were mingled in the gem, and both were delightful and both were charming. The one glows with its red hue while the other sparkles – so accurately did the craftsman imitate the nature of the gems*¹³⁶.

It is not only a question of accuracy of the pictorial compositions, but also the ‘truth’ (ἀλήθεια) of the depictions is also evaluated. One of the donors, Leo Mesarites, as the narrator of the epigram, states that, with the icon that he offers, he recalls the ‘real memory’ (μνήμην ἀληθῆ) of the Pavement. In this icon, according to the donor, Christ is depicted ‘to be immortally alive [...] and to actually wear the

¹³¹ Cf. Lowden 1988: 55–61 and 63. See Dagron 1991: esp. 26–28 and Cutler 2011: 544–5.

¹³² See Lowden 1988: 51–5 and 61–3; and Dagron 1991: 27, esp. note 28.

¹³³ No. 368. See p. 123. Cf. Dagron 2007: 206–11.

¹³⁴ Cutler 2007: 44–5. Parani 2003: 287–8.

¹³⁵ No. 243, 4–5.

¹³⁶ *Hysmine and Hysminias*, book 2, sect. 2, 17; transl. Jeffreys, p. 185.

dead flesh'¹³⁷. The same need for 'true' compositions is also found in secular works of art. For instance, the narrator praises the painter because he depicted the emperor – in what he terms a trustworthy composition – surrounded by personified virtues on the vault of one of the porticoes at the Blachernae¹³⁸.

The next feature depictions must have is vividness. The key terms signifying such vividness are *ἔμπνους* and *ἔμψυχος*¹³⁹. Vividness is another topos for the description of art and it has been discussed extensively in respect to the rhetorical tool of *ekphrasis*¹⁴⁰. The saint or Christ seems to the eyes of the narrator of the epigram to be alive. For example, Stephanos Kontostephanos, addressing Christ, says:

οὕτω σκιὰν νῦν ὑποδὺς τῶν χρωμάτων
μένεις μὲν ἔμπνους, ὡς γραφεῖς δὲ λανθάνεις;
ναὶ καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐνδέεις τῶν ἐμπνύων¹⁴¹.

...so too, wearing now the hue of the colours, You seem alive, while You are hidden, even if You are depicted? Ye, for You are not inferior to any human.

In the same epigram, Christ seems to be ready to respond to the donor¹⁴². *Empress* Eirene, donor of an adorned icon of St George, says:

Ἔμπνουσιν ὁρῶ σε μάρτυρ· εἶχε γὰρ τάχα
χρώμασιν κινῶν καὶ ζῶην ὁ ζωγράφος¹⁴³.

You seem to me alive oh martyr, for it is just as if the painter had blended even life into colours.

Again, the donor imagines the saint is actually able to speak¹⁴⁴. Indeed, some depictions did speak thanks to the inscriptions next to them. For example, on the apse of the late twelfth-century Church of St George in Kurbinovo (Republic of Macedonia, 1191), there is a famous fresco of the annunciation¹⁴⁵. Next to both the

¹³⁷ No. 74.

¹³⁸ No. 271, 6.

¹³⁹ E.g. nos. 296, 14 and 55, 1 respectively.

¹⁴⁰ For secondary literature see Maguire 1974 and p. 265 note 156.

¹⁴¹ No. 40, 3–5.

¹⁴² No. 40, 7.

¹⁴³ No. 237, 1–2.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. no. 246, 25. See also the anonymous epigrams of the tenth century (Browning 1963: 300, no. 16).

¹⁴⁵ See also Maguire 1981: 103–6.

Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin there is an inscription with poetry attributed to Psellos. The one verse replies to the other:

– Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν σοί, χαῖρε, μήτηρ τοῦ Λόγου.
 – Ὡς εἶπας αὐτός, Γαβριήλ, γένοιτό μοι¹⁴⁶.

Archangel Michael: Christ [is] in You; Hail Mother of the Logos
 Virgin Mary: As you said, Gabriel, may this happen for me.

Art historians have noticed the newly awakened tendency toward realism which distinguishes eleventh- and especially twelfth-century icons¹⁴⁷. The increasing emotionalism invites the viewer to have a personal and sentimental involvement with the living icon¹⁴⁸. Since the picture is alive, it is no wonder that donors liked to adorn the icons with objects that would be considered beautiful to their contemporaries. Leo Mesarites wished to add splendour (*λαμπρύνει*) to the *material dead colours*, since Christ is *immortally alive in this depiction*¹⁴⁹. Similarly, Andronikos Doukas Komnenos adorns the icon of the Virgin Mary with materials which are *τίμια* (valuable, revered, used for honour) according to the human senses¹⁵⁰.

A telling example is the case of the Theotokos icon which, according to the epigram, has been adorned with the jewellery of the donor's wife. Caesar John Dalassenos was married to the purple-born princess Maria Komnene, who died in 1144/5¹⁵¹. It is very interesting how the Greek text in this point underlines the parallel: the donor wants to offer (*εἰσφέρω*) to the Virgin adornments (*κόσμος*), so he

¹⁴⁶ BEIÜ 1, no. 10 = Psellos, *Poems*, 82.

¹⁴⁷ However, it should be noted that the idea of depiction to be *ἔμπνοος* appears earlier in the literature.

¹⁴⁸ Cormack 2003. See also Belting 1980 and 1994: 240.

¹⁴⁹ No. 74, 4 and 11–2.

¹⁵⁰ No. 90, 9–10.

¹⁵¹ Varzos 1984: no. 75. The epigram is datable to between 1144/5 and 1151. Maria Komnene was the daughter of John II. Acting as the proxy of the Emperor when he was away, she was certainly powerful. In 1143, immediately after the death of John Komnenos, John Dalassenos tried to be put forward at the imperial succession, but she did not support him. Even after her death, John Dalassenos was a full member of the aristocracy. He appears first among the attendees from the imperial family in the synod of 1146. In 1151, he had been sent to Antioch to marry a princess. The princess did not accept him because of his age (ca. 50 years old). When he returned to Constantinople, Manuel gave him a new title. If the donation was not done immediately after the death of Maria, it is possible that John Dalassenos offered this jewellery, before going to meet his supposed new wife.

presents (φέρω) to Her his most beloved ornaments (κόσμος), the one that beautified the flesh of his wife (εἶχεν εὐπρέπειαν εἰς τὸ σαρκίον)¹⁵². The jewellery might have been altered in order to form a gold revetment or placed on the icon as it was, much as happened with the late thirteenth-century icon of the Virgin now at Fermo Cathédrale¹⁵³.

The splendour of the icons or frescoes' revetments and the gleaming appearance of the gold mosaics has an obvious reference to Paradise but also it is related to everyday aesthetics. The emperor and aristocrats wore gold or silver jewellery combined with cloisonné, pearls and precious stones¹⁵⁴. The emperor's garments were most gleaming, being adorned with golden thread, pearls and precious stones. In other words, at least according to the examined corpus, the precious ornaments used in religious icons have, aesthetically speaking, a direct connection to the fashionable dress of high officials. In the Byzantine imagination and aesthetic understanding, saints were alive and tangible. Our donors use the same way they adorn themselves (in order to be distinguished from their contemporaries of the lower echelons of society) for venerating and distinguishing their patron saint, Christ or the Virgin Mary. It is possible to conclude the discussion by stating that a gleaming quality was seen as a sign of nobility. This is true not only for humans but also for objects. An epigram for John Komnenos invites the viewer to appreciate the splendour and the charm of the church that he endowed. These virtues of the building exist thanks to the all-gold depictions¹⁵⁵.

Such liveliness is a feature which can also be found as a characteristic of literary texts. Extensive comments can be found on the ἀλήθεια (truth) and ἐνάργεια

¹⁵² No. 52, 4–6 and 9.

¹⁵³ Grabar 1975: 44–5 (no. 17).

¹⁵⁴ E.g. *The glory of Byzantium*, nos. 146, 165–74, 210–1, 227–9. *Byzantium 2010*, nos. 74–89, 369. For a full discussion of the imperial and aristocratic garments see Parani 2003: 12–34 and 52–80.

¹⁵⁵ No. 73: 23–54, cf. *ibid* vv. 4–5.

(vividness) of literary texts. In a recent article, Stratis Papaioannou has extensively discussed the term *ἐνάργεια* in the middle Byzantine rhetorical theory of representation¹⁵⁶. As he notes, this term cannot be defined in one way since it had different meanings. I would like to draw here on Michael Psellos' essay on Gregory of Nazianzos' style. Psellos states:

Gregory always delineates his characters (οὐδαμοῦ ἀνηθοποίητος), and is everywhere vivid (ἐναργής) and assimilated to his subject (τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ὅμοιος). He is both vigorous (ἐρρώμενος) and animated (ἔμψυχος)...¹⁵⁷

In this quote, the term *ἐναργής* is directly connected to the term *ἔμψυχος*, a word widely used in the epigrams. If vividness in literature is created through the use of 'similes, analogies, comparison or [...] metaphors', as Eustathios of Thessaloniki believes, the artefacts acquire comparable vividness by making the depictions speak¹⁵⁸. This is exactly the case in relation to the Kurbinkovo depiction, but also to many of the epigrams from our corpus. Michael Psellos also appreciates the vividness of the icons, the *living painting*¹⁵⁹. Thus, at least as demonstrated by the sample from the epigrams, the aesthetics employed to evaluate both literature and the visual arts are parallel.

It is outside the scope of this thesis to discuss in detail the definition of the term *ἐναργής*. It must be noted, however, that this term was seen to signify not only vividness¹⁶⁰ but also truth. Even more importantly, scholars affiliated to the intellectual milieu associated with the *Anthologia Marciana* understand the term

¹⁵⁶ See Papaioannou 2011. Key studies on enargeia especial in *ekphraseis* are: L. James – R. Webb, 'To understand ultimate things and enter secret places: ekphrasis and art in Byzantium', *Art History* 14 (1991): 1–17; R. Webb, *Ekphrasis, imagination and persuasion in ancient rhetorical theory and practice* (Farnham, 2009) and especially eadem, 'Mémoire et imagination: les limites de l'enargeia dans la théorie rhétorique grecque', in: C. Levy – L. Pernot, *Dire l'évidence: philosophie et rhétorique grecque* (Paris, 1997), 229–48.

¹⁵⁷ Translation after Papaioannou 2011: 58.

¹⁵⁸ Papaioannou 2011: 55–6.

¹⁵⁹ Cormack 2003: 236–9.

¹⁶⁰ See, for example, the use of the term by Theodore Prodromos, *Historical Poems*, no. 19, 139; no. 24, 80; no. 44, 18.

ἐνάργεια (initially meaning vividness) also as truth¹⁶¹. Indeed, most Byzantine authors have also seen ἐνάργεια as signifying the truth¹⁶². Therefore, if this last remark is combined with the observation that most of the epigrams associate the vividness and accuracy/truth of the composition, it can be argued that an image, description or story cannot be vivid if it is not also truthful.

In sum, the aesthetic requirements of the artefacts are mainly connected with the *cultural background* of the poet, i.e. the intellectual environment and the tradition. The most honourable icons must be gleaming, since the garment of any individual distinguished in society would include valuable/gleaming parts. Vividness was also a general aesthetic requirement of the period. This feature – which resembles literary standards – was strongly associated with the accuracy of the depiction and, thus, with the truthfulness of the composition.

¹⁶¹ E.g. John Tzetzes, *Letters*, 8, 15–19. For the connection of Tzetzes to the donors mentioned in the *Anthologia Marciana* see fig. 22.

¹⁶² Papaioannou 2011: 50–1.

Ecclesiastical framework

The twelfth-century artist addressed not only the aesthetic expectations of his audience but was also aware of contemporary and historical dogmatic issues and disputes, especially regarding iconoclasm. According to the decisions of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787), the model of the figural depiction receives the veneration and not the image itself. St John of Damascus, in the *First apology for images*, argues that the making of images is justified because humanity was able to see the likeness of God through the incarnation of Christ¹⁶³. The authors, following the decisions of the seventh ecumenical council, repeatedly state that the depiction of Christ, the Theotokos or a saint is justified because they have been seen in human form¹⁶⁴. Donors – narrators thus make it clear that they venerate the original through the icon¹⁶⁵. For this reason, the depiction is similar to the prototype¹⁶⁶. In this sense then, the aesthetic requirement for faithful representation obtains a somewhat different meaning: the depiction *must* be similar to the prototype since the aim of the icon as an *ὁμοίωμα* is to commemorate the original. It can also be argued that this dogmatic issue is also connected to the vividness of the icons. In fact, the emphasis on the corporality of Christ can also be seen in the style of the twelfth-century icons¹⁶⁷. In this respect, aesthetics are directly influenced by the religious context.

Moreover, the concept of the depictions as likenesses is extended to secular objects. The purpose of a depiction is, at least according to the epigrams, to bring about remembrance of the original. According to the St Mokios epigram, the

¹⁶³ See Cormack 2000: 86–102. I did not find any direct or indirect references to the dispute over the sanctity of the materials that occurred at the very end of the eleventh century. See A. Weyl Carr, 'Leo of Chalcedon and the icons' in C. Moss and K. Kiefer (eds.), *Byzantine East, Latin West. Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (New Jersey, 1995) 597–84. Pentcheva 2010: 275–6. Pentcheva 2011(a): 185–93. Pentcheva 2011(b): 263–4 and 274–7.

¹⁶⁴ E.g. nos. 40, 1–3; 55, 1–2; 74, 4–6; 280, 9–10.

¹⁶⁵ E.g. nos. 91, b, 3; 93, 24.

¹⁶⁶ E.g. no. 269, 6–7.

¹⁶⁷ Cormack 2003: 244.

portraits of the emperors on the refectory of the monastery urged the viewers to remember the deeds of each emperor¹⁶⁸. Such depictions had to be justified, given that they were subject perhaps to monastic patronage. It should in no sense be assumed that the monks were venerating the emperors. In an intriguing apocalyptic text, probably dating from the twelfth century, the Revelation is said to start when an emperor, believing he is *the second God*, will depict on an icon himself next to Christ and will ask his people to venerate him¹⁶⁹. In other words, the twelfth-century audience could well have deemed unacceptable the depiction and veneration of the emperor. However, epigrams do go so far as to name Manuel a ‘second God’ and donors certainly appear to bow in front of the emperor¹⁷⁰. It is not peculiar to have an imperial portrait. As Euthymios Malakes puts it, since the picture of Christ exists in all cities, the picture of the emperor who is the resemblance of Christ (*μίμημα Θεοῦ*) should also be depicted¹⁷¹. The imperial portrait indeed demonstrated the high authority of the emperor. However, some of our epigrams go a step further by naming the emperor as ‘second God’ and in the depiction the donor appears to bow in front of the emperor, as he would have done for a saint. Although, there is an open question who was able to read and understand the epigram, the pictorial composition was accessible to everyone. In order to make these portraits acceptable for public display the donors strove to obfuscate somewhat the implied cult of the emperor. A way of doing this was by

¹⁶⁸ No. 114, 6–7.

¹⁶⁹ Leo of Constantinople, *On the end of world*, §4, 84–119. The text follows the tradition of the apocalypse of Pseudo-Daniel (see Henze 2001: 121). Cf. Dan. 3:4–5.) and dates, at least in its modern edition, from some point before 1204. A possible author for this text is the patriarch of Constantinople Leo Styppes (1134–1143). The editor, Riccardo Maisano (1975: 22–3), dated the text to the ninth century. However, the manuscript tradition attributes the work clearly to Leo Styppes, who was first deacon of Hagia Sophia and later patriarch of Constantinople. In any case, the text probably dates from the twelfth century (cf. Magdalino 2005: 44, note 17), but the core dates to the reign of Nikephoros (801–811). Leo died three months before the accession of Manuel Komnenos. See also Wirth 1968.

¹⁷⁰ Nos. 73, 30 and 83, 30.

¹⁷¹ Ed. in A. Papadopoulos – Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae* (St Petersburg, 1913) p. 173.

never depicting the emperor alone, instead ensuring his portrait was just one part of a complex pictorial composition.

In this vein, John Komnenos shows his ‘slavish devotion’ to Manuel Komnenos by commissioning a mosaic including the portraits of Alexios I, John II and Manuel¹⁷². John appears to bow in front the emperor. A second prominent example comes from a pictorial composition commissioned by Andronikos Doukas Kamateros. Although the emperor was the central figure in the composition, the Theotokos, Christ, St Theodore Teron, an angel and St Nicholas were also portrayed¹⁷³. Therefore, in both cases, the patrons were seen to offer a *proskynesis* to the triumphal emperor and not to a ‘divine emperor’. In contrast to this, in the text of the epigrams Manuel is named as a second God and a form of divine cult of the emperor is undoubtedly implied¹⁷⁴.

In all, while the epigrams appear to be very careful about the theology of the icons. An imperial portrait represents indeed the imperial authority, but the fact that the epigram names the emperor as a second God is indeed striking. In the language of the epigrams, theology interacts with icons and yet, in the secular epigrams, politics appear to take their place.

¹⁷² No. 357.

¹⁷³ No. 83.

¹⁷⁴ John Komnenos’ epigram becomes almost ‘blasphemous’, since he names Manuel ‘second God’. However, one must take into consideration that the viewer would realise that John names Manuel as second God only if he reads the epigram very carefully. Furthermore, naming Manuel ‘second God’ had by then become a *topos* (e.g. Glykas, *Verses to Manuel Komnenos*, 70; cf. Spingou 2011). It was also a commonplace to name the Emperor *χριστός*, playing on the two meanings of the word, ‘anointed’ and ‘Christ’ (e.g. Manganeios, *Poems*, 2. 153, 4. 187 etc., cf. Weyl Carr 1997: 84).

Economic framework

The production of expensive objects, as well as the large-scale production of cheaper ones, requires economic strength and financial liquidity; after all, the donor must be able to pay for the materials and the artist. So far, scholarship (and common sense) has demonstrated that periods of flourishing church construction coincide with times of economic prosperity for the empire¹⁷⁵. Even if an approximate estimation of the average cost of building a church were to be suggested, unfortunately there is no evidence on how much the production of luxury objects cost in the twelfth century. The cost of decorating a humble church was 12 *hyperpyra* in the fifteenth century¹⁷⁶; however, to the best of my knowledge, there is no evidence about the cost of manufacturing mosaics, minor objects of art and revetments. In the eleventh century, workshops selling primary materials (such as silk) earned between approximately 28 and 35 *hyperpyra*¹⁷⁷. Furthermore, primarily taking into account the labour costs involved in manufacturing and then the material used, a mosaic must have been much more expensive than painted icons. For instance, Anthony Cutler has estimated that the *Transfiguration Mosaic* dating from 1200 (52x35cm) consists of 36,400 cubes of different material (gilded copper, marble, lapis lazuli and coloured glass) and it needed work equal to 4,800 hours. In other words, in order to complete this small mosaic the artist needed to work 12 hours per day for 13 months¹⁷⁸.

The cost of an artisan's work varied according to his skill. This is demonstrated by the following passage by Eustathios of Thessaloniki:

If a man is renowned in the market as being a master in some craft, we exert ourselves and invite him over in order to procure from him what we need, and if he does not turn up, we seek him out in order to obtain the object of our desire, sometimes paying extra, in order to beautify our flesh in some piece of

¹⁷⁵ See Cutler 1997: 291–2.

¹⁷⁶ Kalopissi–Verti 1994: 150.

¹⁷⁷ 22.5–28 nomismata. Kaplan 1998: 318. 1 *hyperpyron* = 4/5 *nomismata*. 1 *litra* = 72 *nomismata* or 140 *hyperpyra* = 319 gr. of gold. In the twelfth century an *hyperpyron* contained 20 carats. Entwistle 2002: 611; Morrisson–Cheynet 2002: Table 2.

¹⁷⁸ Cutler 2002: 567.

*finery*¹⁷⁹.

Unfortunately, in available figures, the wage of the artisan is usually included in the total expense¹⁸⁰. However, the *Book of the Eparch* states that the commissioner (ἐργοδότης) provided to the artisan the materials necessary for the completion of the work¹⁸¹. To paraphrase, the commissioner paid separately for the materials and the artisan. In the same account, there are clear divisions between those selling different materials: ἀργυροπράται were selling gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls for the precious revetments and the personal ornaments¹⁸² and καταρτάριοι were selling silk for the encheiria and the altar cloths¹⁸³.

At any rate, in the eleventh century a gilded icon was worth 37.5 *hyperpyra*. The golden lamp Manuel offered to the Holy Sepulchre on the wish of his father was worth 20 pounds of gold or 1,440 *hyperpyra*¹⁸⁴. In the early thirteenth century an icon cost 8.75 *hyperpyra*, and in the late thirteenth century icons cost between 2 and 7 *hyperpyra*¹⁸⁵.

It is impossible to estimate the value of the renovations. Firstly, no evidence is available on how much such a job would have cost. Secondly, the epigrams refer to different kinds of restorations¹⁸⁶. As mentioned before, not only do they refer to both icons and frescoes, but also to different enterprises. The only thing that can be stated with certainty is that donors funding renovations do not always come from the upper levels (levels 1.1 and 1.2), and sometimes they lack concrete connections to the very core of the circle, the Palace. The lack of a donor from the higher levels

¹⁷⁹ Magdalino 1984 (b): 67.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Cutler 2002: 556.

¹⁸¹ *The Book of the Eparch* § 22, 1–2.

¹⁸² *The Book of the Eparch* § 2.

¹⁸³ *The Book of the Eparch* § 7. Cf. μεταξοπράται who were selling untreated silk (ibid, § 6).

¹⁸⁴ On the calculation see Morrisson–Cheynet 2002: Table 15.

¹⁸⁵ Morrisson–Cheynet 2002: Table 15.

¹⁸⁶ See p. 238ff.

among this particular group is perhaps an indication that renovations of icons were a more affordable dedication.

In his *typikon*, Isaac Komnenos (founder of the Kosmosoteira monastery) wishes his grave to be adorned with ‘the icon from Rhaidestos of the Mother of God as the Kosmosoteira, [which was] sent down’ to him ‘from Heaven’ and which he has adorned with as much gold and silver as he was able¹⁸⁷. Isaac most probably refers to a gilded silver revetment, but he does not give the exact value of the object, instead stating that he offers τὸν κατὰ δύναμιν. There are some insubstantial pieces of information on the economic potential of the different social levels. According to the numbers cited by Cécile Morrisson and Jean-Claude Cheynet, the annual wages of civil high officials were around 25,000 to 30,000 golden *hyperpyra*¹⁸⁸. Eustathios of Thessaloniki on the other hand earned 4,000 *hyperpyra* per year. However, a priest would earn a maximum of 7.5 *hyperpyra*¹⁸⁹. In the early twelfth century, a *didaskalos* would earn between 7.5 and 11.25 *hyperpyra* per year. A grand interpreter earned 4 *hyperpyra* for the compilation of a bilingual chrysobul (the overall expense was 10 *hyperpyra*). Other professions, such as doctors, bakers and servants would earn between 3 and 7.5 *hyperpyra* per year¹⁹⁰. In general, a modest salary was estimated as

¹⁸⁷ Kosmosoteira *typikon*, § 90: ...τὴν ἀπὸ Ῥαιδεστοῦ θεόθεν μοι καταπεμφθεῖσαν εἰκόνα τῆς Θεομήτορος, ταύτην δὴ τὴν κοσμοσώτειραν, ἣν καὶ κόσμον περιθέμην χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου τὸν κατὰ δύναμιν... (cf. ed. Papazoglou, ll. 1717–8); [I want] the icon from Rhaidestos of the Mother of God as the Kosmosoteira, [which was] sent down to me from heaven, and which I framed with an ornament of gold and silver [as much as I could]. Cf. § 79: Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῷ ναῷ καλλωπισμὸν ἐθέμεθα τὸν κατὰ δύναμιν σὺν Θεῷ μαρμαρυγαῖς μαρμάρων καὶ χρυσαῖσιν... Since I arranged with the help of God for the church to be adorned as far as possible with gleaming marbles and gold...

¹⁸⁸ Morrisson–Cheynet 2002: Table 13. Before 1118, doux C. Gabras, earned 30,000 *hyperpyra*; Isaac Komnenos in 1183 earned 30,000 besants or 25,000 *hyperpyra* (1 besant = 5/6 *hyperpyra*). However, towards 1200 doux M. Kamytzes earned 14,400 *hyperpyra*.

¹⁸⁹ According to the *Pantokrator Typikon* (1136), a simple priest would earn 15 *hyperpyra* (+25 modioi of wheat), a chanter 12 *hyperpyra* (+ 20 modioi), the hospital priest 7 *hyperpyra* (+20 modioi). Morrisson–Cheynet 2002: Table 18.

The value of the wheat was relevant. 1 modios of quality wheat in ca. 1170, according to the act of Ivron monastery, was 1/3 *hyperpyron*. However, archives from Patmos give an estimation of 1/5 *hyperpyron* per modios (Morrisson–Cheynet 2002: Table 15).

¹⁹⁰ *Pantokrator typikon* again mentions the annual wage of the chief doctor was 7.5 *hyperpyra* (+ 38 modioi of grain), of a doctor 3–6 *hyperpyra* (+ 30 modioi of grain), of a servant 6 *hyperpyra* (+ 30 modioi) and of a baker 5 *hyperpyra* (+ 30 modioi of grain). Morrisson–Cheynet 2002: Table 18.

being between 10 and 12 *hyperpyra* per year¹⁹¹. Therefore, there were significant differences in the distribution of wealth. Looking at the basic cost of living, it can be confidently stated that 1.24 *hyperpyra* per month would be enough for the feeding and clothing of a family on a middle income.

The donors who appear in the corpus are mainly part of the civil and military elite or simply officials¹⁹². The majority were based in Constantinople and, therefore, the above-cited numbers can be considered representative of what many of them actually earned. Most were directly connected to the emperor or occupied high-ranking positions, and thus the social and economic status of many of the donors certainly enabled them to offer lavish objects. It is indicative that, in the eleventh century, a member of the same social class would spend 100 to 200 *hyperpyra* each year on donations¹⁹³. However, less well-off donors also appear in the anthology: priests, monks of uncertain financial background, an author, an interpreter and people who were trying to ascend the social ladder¹⁹⁴.

A telling example is that of John Chrysorophites, an otherwise unattested patron. He commissioned imperial portraits, following the aristocratic fashion of devotion. The epigram eloquently states:

*For the others, those with the highest positions in life offer gratitude in the most conspicuous of ways depicting him in lofty places, announcing his power in speeches [...] But John, the priest of the Logos of God [15] from the family of Chrysorophites, even if he is humble and of small fortune, demonstrating love combined with faith,[...] slavishly depicts him in colours and together with the Empress Maria...*¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ Morrisson–Cheynet 2002: 869.

¹⁹² Merianos 2008: 257–9 for the relevant bibliography. See also Kazhdan–McCormick 1997: 170 and 189.

¹⁹³ Morris 1984: 125.

¹⁹⁴ In twelfth century Byzantium there was a more immediate need for interpreters (Latin–Greek). It is indicative that the title of the ‘Great interpreter’ was introduced at the court at that time, while the corps of the interpreters gained autonomy in this century. See Ciggaar 2002: 169; Miller 1966: 452 and B.

¹⁹⁵ No. 248, 5–21. For the Greek text see p. 181.

In this depiction, Chrysorophites both declares his affection for the emperor¹⁹⁶ and sends his best wishes to the newly married couple¹⁹⁷. He does exactly what more famous patrons do: he expresses his devotion to the emperor and to the imperial family by depicting him, with his wife, in a public space. Furthermore, he noticeably refers to his family, as if it was a famous aristocratic family. However, this family is unattested anywhere else. Thus, on these grounds, it can be suggested that, in aping the customs of the aristocracy, Chrysorophites longed to climb the social ladder.

The promotion of a person who was not a member of one of the families of Komnenos or Doukas was exceptionally difficult and members of these two families occupied most of the positions in the administration. People like John Tzetzes had a high level of education but not a respectable position. Hence, those who could afford to display publicly their devotion to the emperor or make a public statement of their orthodoxy were hoping to gain access to the centre of the court¹⁹⁸.

Artworks included in this corpus were primarily seen as gifts of devotion, but they were at the same time a capital investment. In monastic *typika*, donors wished the object to remain inalienable¹⁹⁹. Indeed, Manuel declared all sacred holdings inalienable in 1158²⁰⁰. Perhaps this event is connected to epigram no. 70, in which someone appears to have stolen a golden Eucharistic paten²⁰¹. The paten was broken and rediscovered. Then, Manuel instead of melting it down, commissioned its restoration and restored it and offered again to the church. The symbolic

¹⁹⁶ V. 25.

¹⁹⁷ Vv. 27–34.

¹⁹⁸ Kazhdan–McCormick 1997: 170–2. Cormack 1984: 168.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Cutler 1997: 320.

²⁰⁰ Pentcheva 2010: 145–7.

²⁰¹ Vv. 3–4. For the difficulty of distinguishing a Eucharistic paten and a plain plate see Kalavrezou 1997: 220. See also p. 178 for the text.

function of this epigram is corroborated by the fact that the epigram was not intended to be inscribed, but instead to be performed²⁰².

Exceptionally, the typika of the Evergetis, Kosmosoteira and Kecharitomene monasteries ordered that precious offerings could be liquidated in the event of a calamity. More specifically, Isaac Komnenos again (copying the Typikon of Evergetis Monastery) initially excuses the alienations of movable and immovable properties only if the monastery collapses as a result of ‘a chance occurrence, perhaps one arising from a fire or a raid by some enemies or an earthquake’²⁰³. The only kind of disposal acceptable according to Isaac is for the offering to be sold, in public, to other churches²⁰⁴. Isaac also outlines some unacceptable (but possible) alienations:

*Never, through a deed, exchange, gift or any other form of alienation should any of these things be alienated, or the ownership of them changed, even if the price or equivalent value offered should be double, triple, or even ten times as much*²⁰⁵.

He continues by condemning anyone,

*...even though he be an emperor, or bishop, or high official, or private person, or anyone else, whether superior of the monastery or one of the monks in it, who will attempt to do this*²⁰⁶.

The above quotation confirms the high financial value of the objects, and that the objects could be used for financial purposes. The corpus under discussion further confirms the connection between the high price of the artwork and the social level of the donor. It should be noted, that this financial valued had nothing to do though with the quality of art. All objects in precious metals, including ecclesiastical objects were regarded as bullion to be melted down when required. Looking at the donors of the artefacts in the *Anthologia Marciana*, 21% of the objects/epigrams were made

²⁰² It does not provide any specific detail on the incident (such as date, place etc). Its inscriptional use cannot be supported easily. The only reference to a specific artefact is given in v. 3 (τόδε). However, it is unclear how such a eight-verses long epigram could have been inscribed. Usually, only one or two verses were inscribed on the rim of patens. Furthermore, the author does not refer to a potential audience. The last point suggests that it was read aloud and may have been discussed afterwards (in a *Theatron* perhaps or in a smaller group of *literati*).

²⁰³ *Kosmosoteira typikon* §45; *Evergetis typikon* §19.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ *Kosmosoteira typikon* §58.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

on an imperial initiative and 56% from aristocratic donors from Constantinople²⁰⁷. Finally, the social status of 15% of the donors is not identifiable in the epigrams or by drawing on the relevant sources. Since the financial conditions of an individual involved with court affairs primarily depended on the favour of the emperor and his rank at the court, the economic aspect is inevitably embedded in contemporary politics²⁰⁸.

²⁰⁷ See also Cutler 1997: 162–4.

²⁰⁸ See Kazhdan–McCormick 1997: 188–9 and 193–7.

Political framework

The political framework chiefly influenced the production of secular epigrams on works of art. As has been noted before, portraits of the emperor on different materials have been offered even to the emperor himself. My concern is to show that his depictions have a parallel in the epigrammatic literary language, and that the meaning and symbolism of his image is based on well-established models.

The emperor is usually depicted along with his family or taking part in important battles. Manuel is depicted with Alexios I and John II²⁰⁹. In another case, John II, Manuel and Alexios III are depicted²¹⁰. The idea of the dynasty, an important feature of the Comnenian ideology, was also promoted in literature. By using the tree motif the poets refer to the idea of the continuity of the family line²¹¹. In other cases, they refer to Alexios II, son of Manuel, even if Alexios was not always included in the pictorial composition²¹².

Another eloquent example is that of Manuel's portrait on the portico or colonnade at the Blachernae. As I have mentioned before, Manuel appeared there surrounded by the virtues, depicted as maidens who were holding hands, but the depiction promoted the idea of the emperor as 'a living house of the virtues'²¹³. In another case, the poet connects the virtues – namely Wisdom and Courage – to the emperor as he is 'the courageous house' of all of them²¹⁴. The two virtues were depicted on the façade of the house to which the epigram refers. According to Christopher of Mitylene, Michael IV was the animate catalogue of the virtues.

²⁰⁹ No. 73.

²¹⁰ No. 328.

²¹¹ See also p. 94. Usually the virtues were four, see A.G. I, 93. Theodore Prodromos, the poem he wrote on behalf of the demes to convince the emperor to sit in the chariot of victory, Theodore Prodromos refers to four capital virtues: Justice, Wisdom, Courage and Good Judgement (5, 54–8). On the other hand, Eustathios Makrembolites, in *Hysmine and Hysminias* (Book 2, sect. 2–6), defines the four virtues as: Prudence, Power, Wisdom and Justice. Cf. the depiction of Michael VII (labelled as Nikephoros Botaneiates) who appears with truth and justice. See also Hunt 1984: 139.

²¹² E.g. no. 112, cf. no. 73.

²¹³ No. 269, v. 9.

²¹⁴ No. 61, v. 21.

Therefore, again art and literature served to promote the same image of the virtuous emperor.

Similarities to earlier models can also be found. John Doukas Komnenos commissioned a depiction of the emperor similar in a sense to the famous depiction of Basil II in his Psalter²¹⁵. The epigram eloquently states:

*ἐκεῖθεν ὄψει καὶ Μανουὴλ δεσπότην,
πορφυροφυῆ, πᾶσι φρικτὸν βαρβάρους,
ὃ̅ προσκυνοῦσι Δαλμάται, Πέρσαι, Σκύθαι,
Ἀντιόχου γῆ καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Χάλεπ²¹⁶.*

There you will also see Lord Manuel, the purple-born who is a source of fear for all barbarians and who receives obeisance from Dalmatians, Persians and Scythians, the land of Antiochus and the Cilicians and Aleppo.

In other words, foreign nations bow in front of the emperor. Furthermore, in another depiction, St Theodore Teron was probably seen handing the sword to Manuel, in the same way an angel gave the sword to Basil II in the same miniature²¹⁷.

The emperors Michael and Constantine Doukas, Romanos Diogenes, Nikephoros Botaneiates, Alexios I, John II and Manuel Komnenos were portrayed at the Monastery of Hodegon after the commission of George Palaiologos Doukas Komnenos. At the same place, the deeds of Manuel in Asia Minor, against the sultan of Ikonion, and in Sirmion, against the Serbians and the Hungarians, were also depicted²¹⁸. Similar scenes, but not exactly the same, are mentioned in other epigrams. The martial deeds of the emperor were frequently depicted on golden plates²¹⁹ or encheiria²²⁰. Representations of imperial battles could also be found on the walls of the early St Polyeuktos, sponsored by Anikia Juliana. Justinian's battles were represented on mosaics in the Great Palace; following this tradition, Basil I

²¹⁵ Marc. gr. 17, f. 3 (XI s.). Byzanz 2010: 103.

²¹⁶ No. 73, 19–22.

²¹⁷ No. 83, 13.

²¹⁸ No. 251. See also p. 129.

²¹⁹ Nos. 118/369, 354. See, for example, the early thirteenth-century plate with the ascension of Alexander the Great, *The Glory of Byzantium*, no. 267.

²²⁰ No. 372.

depicted his triumphs at the palace of Kenourgion. The deeds of the iconoclast emperor Constantine V were depicted in public view in Constantinople²²¹.

The title of no. 370 reads: *On the picture of Emperor Manuel, of our Lord Jesus Christ who was whispering in his ear, and of the Holy Spirit, which descends from above, in the form of a dove; and of the holy apostles Peter and Paul; and the holy patriarchs John the Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzos and other priests who give him [Manuel] tomes of quotations.* The epigram probably dates from around 1166, when the famous conciliar edict was published²²². Most of the elements of the pictorial composition can indeed be visualised and Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson have discussed this epigram in detail²²³. For the purposes of this discussion, I would like to highlight the similarity between this depiction and the famous miniature in ms. Vaticanus gr. 666, the manuscript of the *Panoplia Dogmatica/Dogmatic Arsenal* by Euthymios Zygabenos²²⁴. Alexios appears to receive the book from nine hierarchs, highlighting the emperor's faith in the dogmas of the Church.

The list of depictions of the emperor as presented by the epigrams with parallels to previous examples can certainly be expanded²²⁵. All of them have common elements and the imperial image was presented on the basis of pre-existing patterns. As Euthymios Malakes puts it: 'the towns bear [the emperor's] images as teachers of the virtues by which he has saved the earthly order'²²⁶. The same author also attributes an instructive role to the placing in public view of such images in the cities. For this reason, Manuel was upset with Alexios Axouch, who inappropriately depicted on the exterior of his *oikos* the deeds of the sultan:

²²¹ Grabar 1937: 39.

²²² Dölger 1995: 1469.

²²³ Magdalino–Nelson 1982: 148–50 and Kalavrezou 1991: 32. See also Bucossi 2009: 40. The depiction is also accompanied by an epigram, see Spatharakis 1976: 124–5.

²²⁴ Spatharakis 1976: 250. See also Kalavrezou 1991: 29–32; Weyl Carr 1997: 85.

²²⁵ E.g. Balsamon, *Poems*, nos. 17, 27, 43.

²²⁶ Euthymios Malakes, *Oration to the emperor*, 173, 13. Magdalino–Nelson 1982: 132.

*Alexios...commemorated the sultan's deeds, foolishly making public in painting at his residence what should have been concealed in darkness*²²⁷.

Portraits, as the Mokios epigram states, urge the viewer to undertake an act of remembrance²²⁸. The commemoration of the emperor also had the significance of paying homage to him. John Chrysorophites clearly states that in the portrait of the emperor the viewer can see his sovereignty²²⁹.

Novel elements, with special implications, also appear. The pictorial composition at the gates of Andronikos Doukas Kamateros' house is a good example. The Virgin Mary was depicted there, holding Christ to her chest. Christ is crowning the emperor and an angel proceeds towards the emperor²³⁰. Two military saints are also depicted: St Nicholas and St Theodore Teron, who is giving the emperor a sword²³¹. In the epigram, the martial deeds of the emperor are praised, together with the idea of world domination – Manuel was expected to fulfil the conquest of both East and West that his father John started. The reasons behind the depiction of the Theotokos, Christ and the angel are self-evident. However, why has Andronikos Doukas Kamateros decided to depict these particular saints?

Before continuing the discussion of the epigram, a digression is necessary on Andronikos Doukas Kamateros (ca. 1110–1180),²³² one of the most well-known magnete of the court of Manuel. He was *sebastos*, *pansebastos* *sebastos*, *me gas*

²²⁷ Kinnamos 267, transl. Brand p. 200. It has been argued that perhaps Alexios, being of Turkish origin, may in fact have depicted an 'Islamic princely cycle' 'misinterpreted or intentionally misconstrued to represent a contemporary scene (Walker 2004: 3790; Hunt 1984: 138–57).

²²⁸ No. 114.

²²⁹ No. 248, 6.

²³⁰ In numerous depictions, Christ crowns emperors and empresses, such as Michael VII Doukas and Maria of Alania (ms Coislin 79, f. 1^v. Reproductions in *The glory of Byzantium*, 182; Parani 2003: fig. 19), and John II Komnenos and his first son, Alexios (ms Vaticanus Urbinus gr. 2, f. 19^v. Reproduction in Parani 2003: fig. 21. Cf. also depictions of the emperor on coins such as the gold *histamena* of Romanos Diogenis (*The glory of Byzantium*, no. 147 I Reverse; Parani 2003: fig. 27). See also Wessel 1972: 746–50.

²³¹ See vv. 10–13. Cf. Walter 2003: 53. St Theodore Teron played an important role as patron saint of Manuel. Cf. the depictions in Kosmosoteira, which date from 1152; it is believed that the depicted military saints (and among them Theodore Teron) were given the visages of members of the royal family of the Komnenoi (Acheimastou–Potamianou and Doumas 1994: p. 217, figs. 31–32). For a contemporary example, see the icon of St Theodore Teron, dated ca. 1200, in the monastery of St John the Theologian, in Patmos (Evans–Wixom 1997: no. 76, pp. 129–30).

²³² Bucossi 2009 (a): 38.

droungarios tes biglas and *epi ton deeseon*²³³, and he even became *eparch* of Constantinople²³⁴. In 1173, Kamateros was commissioned by Manuel to write the *Sacred Arsenal*, a work of refutation of Latin and Armenian heresies²³⁵. John Tzetzes addresses three letters to him²³⁶. In the titles of the last two letters, Andronikos appears to hold the dignities of *sebastos*, *pansebastos* and *eparch*²³⁷. Both letters date from after 1155²³⁸. In the title of the first letter, which dates from before 1157²³⁹, he is referred to as *sebastos*. Interestingly enough, he is mentioned only as *sebastos* in the epigram. Thus, it can be suggested that the epigram dates from an early stage in his career. This early dating can be corroborated by looking at other epigrams in the *Anthologia Marciana* commissioned by Andronikos Kamateros, where we find the phrase *μέγας δὲ δρουγγάριος ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας* as a stock formula²⁴⁰. If this epigram had been written at a later stage, the poet certainly would not have omitted to mention this title.

Focusing again on the epigram then, both Theodore and Nicholas are protectors and comrades-in-arms of the emperor²⁴¹. Recently it has been proposed that the choice of St Theodore Teron (the Recruit) and St Nicholas is not connected only to Manuel's foreign policy²⁴². Earlier scholarship had suggested that, as St Theodore Teron was of Anatolian origin, he was the appropriate saint to celebrate Manuel's Anatolian campaigns. In that line of thinking, St Nicholas, as the patron Saint of Bari, symbolises the western territory that Manuel needed in order to

²³³ Polemis 1968: no. 98 (p. 126); Bucossi 2009 (a): 37. Bucossi 2006, vol. 1.

²³⁴ Bucossi 2009 (a): 37–8.

²³⁵ Ibid; Bucossi 2009 (b): 111–30.

²³⁶ John Tzetzes, *Letters*, nos. 90, 101 and 103.

²³⁷ John Tzetzes, *Letters*, nos. 101 and 103.

²³⁸ Grünbart 1996: 217, 220.

²³⁹ Grünbart 1996: 217.

²⁴⁰ See nos. 90, 26; 93, 22; 95, 5; 96, 23; 99, 15.

²⁴¹ Vv. 10–6.

²⁴² Bucossi 2009 (a): 39–40. She discusses the poem along with passages of Kamateros' *Sacred Arsenal*, George Skylitzes (introductory) epigram on the *Sacred Arsenal* and epigram no. 340

continue his Anatolian campaigns safely²⁴³. However, there is another wall painting or mosaic (placed probably just behind the altar of a church) that Andronikos also commissioned and Theodore Prodromos wrote an epigram on²⁴⁴. Again, the Virgin Mary appears, this time with John Chrysostom and St Nicholas on the one side and Gregory of Nazianzos and Basil of Caesarea on the other. In this epigram it is stated that St Nicholas (as well as John Chrysostom) is the *river of the right beliefs and of miracles*. Thus, it seems likely that the choice of the two saints is connected with their usual connotation. St Theodore Teron, as a military saint, is connected to Manuel's military campaigns²⁴⁵; the presence of St Nicholas is a reference to the ecclesiastical policy of Manuel (and perhaps especially to the West)²⁴⁶. This point is further supported by the fact that Andronikos Kamateros appears as one of the attendees of the council of 1157 and of the council of 1166, and indeed that Kamateros went on to write the *Sacred Arsenal*.

Thus, a portrait on the propylon of his house, in which the patron declares his faith in Manuel in both military and ecclesiastical spheres, could have been very useful for his career in the court. Generally speaking, Andronikos had a very successful career. Roughly at the same time this epigram was commissioned, John Tzetzes addressed Andronikos in a letter in order to explain a dream Andronikos has had. In this letter, Tzetzes refers to Andronikos' enemies at the imperial court:

Πανσέβαστε σεβαστέ και ἅγιέ μου ἀυθέντα, ὁ σὸς ὄνειρος ἐχθροῦ δηλοῖ λόγον και συσκευὴν πειρωμένου διασπᾶν ἀπὸ σοῦ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως στοργήν. ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος σφριγῶν και στερρὸς λογισμὸς, ὁ ἀρχικὸς και περικαλλὴς νεανίας ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔάσει τὸν δῆμιον ὃ βούλεται διαπράξασθαι.

My pansebastos sebastos and holy lord, your dream reveals the words and the efforts of one of your enemies, who tries to remove you from the emperor's affection. However, the vigorous and stable mind of the emperor (which is symbolised by the stately, and extremely handsome, young man of whom you dreamed) will not allow the villain to do what he wants²⁴⁷.

²⁴³ Magdalino 1993: 476; Bucossi 2009 (a): 40.

²⁴⁴ Prodromos, *Poems*, no. 57.

²⁴⁵ See Pentcheva 2006: 69.

²⁴⁶ Bucossi 2009 (a): 40.

²⁴⁷ John Tzetzes, *Letters*, no. 103.

In other words, Andronikos was afraid that he would fall out of favour with the emperor. Commissioning an imperial portrait was another way for the commissioner to re-affirm his loyalty and establish a better place for himself at the court.

The imperial image projected by the portraits is the same one projected by any kind of rhetorical text. There is not enough evidence to suggest the existence of an imperial office or a cultural service responsible for manipulating the imperial image in this way. It appears that the projection of the 'right', standardised image was part of the game: if the donor knew the appropriate image, he was able to participate in the political life of the Constantinopolitan court.

Offering an object to the emperor had political implications in itself. The reasons behind the offering of a golden *patelion* by Constantine Kalamanos have been discussed earlier²⁴⁸. *Protosebastos protovestiaros* John Komnenos²⁴⁹ offered a crown to Alexios II at the occasion of his coronation²⁵⁰. As also discussed earlier, this *protosebastos protovestiaros* was the most likely candidate to succeed Manuel, if Alexios II had not been born. By offering this gift he demonstrates his faithful feelings to the emperor.

Furthermore, both Manuel's wives offered him valuable gifts at a date near to their marriages (if not on the day of the marriage itself). Eirene-Bertha von Sulzbach, a German princess, offered Manuel a golden plate probably before their wedding (1144)²⁵¹. The epigram, composed in the third person, underlines the grace of Eirene. Most significantly, the anonymous poet highlights the importance of the

²⁴⁸ See p. 161.

²⁴⁹ Varzos 1984: no. 128.

²⁵⁰ No. 111.

²⁵¹ Ἀπαλλαγρέα (see Kriaras, s.v.). No 258. See also Garland 1999: 199–201.

wedding, noting that this marriage unified the old and new Rome²⁵². Similarly, Maria of Antioch gave as presents a sword with gilded handle and scabbard and a gold belt²⁵³. According to the epigrams, the precious materials confirm the feelings of the princess²⁵⁴. Again, the objects date from around their wedding (Christmas 1166). In short then, it is possible to suggest that the foreign princesses offering their symbolic presents to the emperor wish to confirm their loyalty to him and love for him²⁵⁵, as well as to demonstrate that they are ready to accept their new identity.

More epigrams on objects dedicated by Maria of Antioch are included in this anthology and two of them can be dated to around the imperial wedding. The first one is an adorned icon of Christ. Maria as a first-person narrator in the epigram states that this is a gift from Christ because:

...ζωοῖς με πάλιν εὐκλεεστέρα πλάσει
 ὑπερτέρω πάντων με δοξάσας γάμῳ
 καὶ γὰρ Κομνηνῷ Μανουήλ με συνδέεις[...]
 ὃν βαρβάρων φρίττουσιν αἰ φυλαρχία...²⁵⁶

...You [Christ] give life again with a more glorious nature by glorifying me above anyone in marriage.
 For You unite me with Manuel ... whom the barbarian tribes fear...

The second epigram was possibly written on a marble slab²⁵⁷. It is dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The offering is again justified by the epigram:

Τὸ πᾶν δὲ βραχεῖ συμπερικλείσαι λόγῳ,
 τὴν εὐμένειαν ἐβράβευσας πλησίαν
 τοῦ πορφυρανθοῦς Αὐσόνων βασιλέως,
 πιστοῦ Μανουήλ, πᾶσι φρικτοῦ βαρβάρους²⁵⁸.

To say everything in a few words, You (Mary) rewarded the abundant kindness of the purple-blooming emperor of the Ausonians pious Manuel, whom all barbarians fear.

²⁵² No. 260, 8 and 10.

²⁵³ Nos. 374 and 375 respectively.

²⁵⁴ Nos. 374, 8 and 375, 5–7.

²⁵⁵ Cf. Hill 1999: 85.

²⁵⁶ No. 100, 8–10 and 13.

²⁵⁷ No. 112, vv. 2–3, 14, 16, 18. The multiple references to *fountain* and *water* might indicate that the epigram was composed for an icon or a sculpture, to which Maria offered a gold revetment, probably placed near to a fountain or *ἀγίασμα*. However, it is equally possible that Maria's offering was either a golden revetment on an icon or golden leaves attached to a flat sculpture (Davies 2009: 34–41). The latter seems more probable, given the fact that sculptures (or better bas-reliefs) of the Virgin Mary were frequently placed near to fountains (Davies 2009: 160–94; see also Teteriatnikov 2005: 228–9; Velmans 1968: 134). There are examples of such sculptural decoration on the frames of which long epigrams are inscribed.

²⁵⁸ No. 112, 7–10.

Both offerings have a very strong political implication, even if they have been offered in a sacred context. Maria of Antioch had just been brought to the Byzantine court²⁵⁹. By giving these objects to Christ and the Virgin Mary, she confirms her loyalty to orthodoxy as well as the emperor. The reference to the barbarians in both epigrams corroborates this suggestion.

To sum up, the offering of certain artworks had a special political significance. The donor is trying to establish a relationship with the emperor. Members of the court have commissioned portraits of the emperor on frescoes or mosaics or on valuable works of minor art. Such portraits could follow previous examples or well-established *topoi*. It is not clear how a consistent imperial image was secured. A gift to the emperor was striking in expressing the loyalty of the donor; this has been illuminated especially by the dedications of the foreign princesses, soon-to-be empresses of Byzantium. The demonstration of loyalty to orthodoxy and therefore to the principles of the Byzantine Empire was the aim of the predominantly religious offerings by foreign princesses.

²⁵⁹ Kinnamos, *History*, §4, 209–11 (Brand, pp. 159–60).

Final remarks

The twelfth-century anonymous epigrams on works of art from the *Anthologia Marciana* include a great range of offerings, from impressive luxurious donations to less prestigious gifts. The text and the title can help (with some limitations) to reconstruct the original object. However, they can help more to put the donations in their socio-political context. This analysis of the art market thus aimed to bring to the fore something of the context of the production of the offering.

A lot of background information on the art market is missing, but some basic conclusions can nevertheless be drawn. The production of each object depended on a series of factors, including the economic, political, and ecclesiastical frameworks as well as the aesthetic demands of the era. The support networks and the available infrastructure remain a mystery. The degree to which each of these factors influenced the final value of the objects also cannot be stated with confidence. However, the market value of the objects was primarily connected to the value of the materials and this financial value is often analogous to the symbolic value. Donors replace the silver-sewed with gold-sewed *encheiria*²⁶⁰, since gold is the appropriate material for venerating great figures. However, although this holds true for luxury items, it is also the case that materials with little financial value become valuable thanks to their great symbolic value. Icons and their revetments were esteemed as worthy thanks also to the epigram referring to the donor and the donation. However, they were never put at the same level as a mosaic or an all-gold object. To summarise, the following diagram demonstrates the connection between the symbolic and the financial value of religious works of art:

²⁶⁰ No. 63.

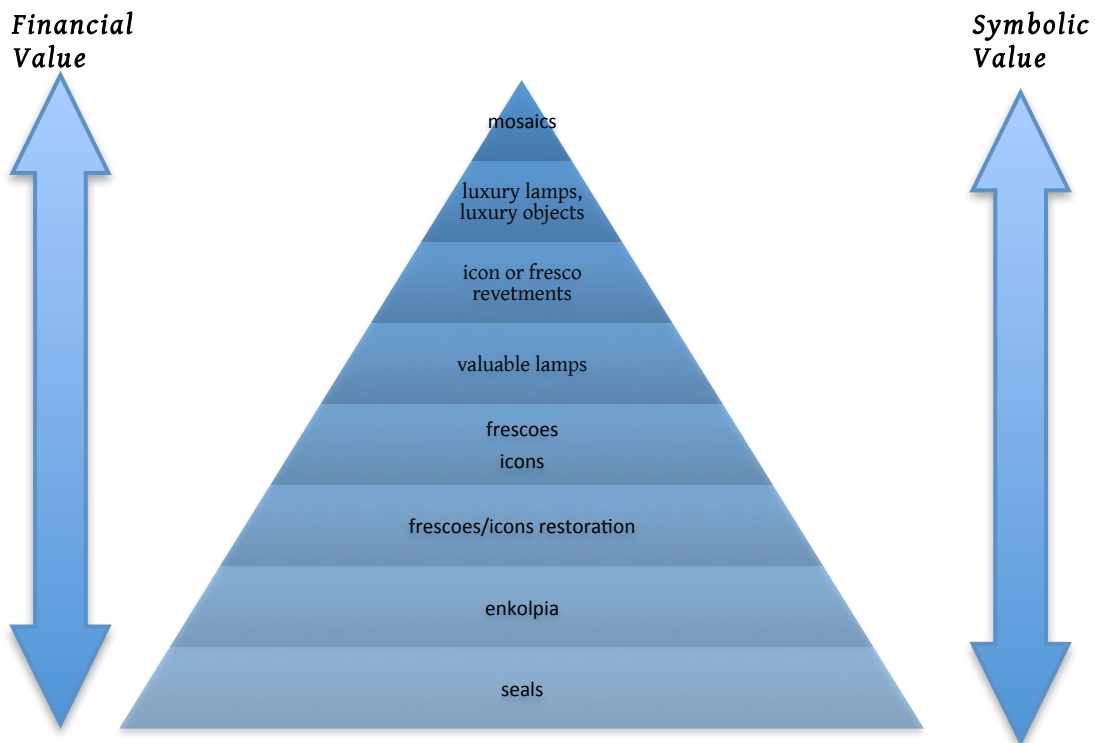


Fig. 38. Symbolic and financial value of the works of art.

The mosaics are placed at the top of the pyramid, as the labour and the capital needed for producing them was many times higher than for anything else. Moreover, it is possible to observe in our corpus that donors are most proud of them. The mosaics included in the corpus refer to pictorial compositions of significant size, such as imperial portraits placed on façades of buildings. The donors, being remarkably proud of their deed, often depict themselves and the longest epigrams in this corpus accompany these pictorial compositions²⁶¹. Furthermore, when a representation was not placed on the *oikos* of the donor, the donor himself was represented next to the honoured figure, so that his significant offering would be remembered.

The value of works of minor art can vary significantly, although it can safely be argued that many offerings cost a great deal to produce. Nevertheless, we must

²⁶¹ Nos. 73 and 251. Perhaps: no. 357 (the reference to the golden order of the imperial family perhaps alludes to gold *tesserae*).

accept that there is no evidence about the material from which they were made. For example, a lamp could equally have been made in gold, silver, or bronze, or even iron, although probably not clay. Epigrams indicate the material only if it is gold, but again the exact value of the lamps is not given in our texts²⁶².

Encheiria and *endytæ* often contained gold or silver threads²⁶³. Sometimes pearls and precious stones were added²⁶⁴. On at least one occasion, purple dye silk was used²⁶⁵, while in other cases the epigrams offer no information on the material²⁶⁶. Clasps for the arrangement of the *encheiria* were of little financial value since they were in themselves small²⁶⁷. A golden *staurotheke* accompanied Manuel and his army in the expedition against Ikonion. The cross on the tomb monument for Sophia and Eirene Komnene was made of silver²⁶⁸. However, a cross left in Hungary was probably made of iron²⁶⁹. Therefore, it is hard to suggest a single, unarguable position for crosses in the pyramid.

The information given for icon revetments shows them to have been of high financial value; they were made of gold or gilded silver and frequently include valuable materials such as stones and pearls. The value of an icon perhaps varied according to its size²⁷⁰ and this is again something that cannot be confirmed through the epigrams. Furthermore, it is also impossible to say with certainty what the cost of restored icons was. Certainly it must have been lower than a newly crafted icon, since fewer materials were needed. Similarly, the cost of a fresco restoration is also unknown.

²⁶² Gold: nos. 74, 253, 294, 404. Unknown material: nos. 307, 245.

²⁶³ Gold: nos. 58, 63, 261. Gold and silver: 62.

²⁶⁴ *Encheirion*: no. 59, 71. *Endytæ*: no. 95, 257.

²⁶⁵ *Encheirion*: no. 59. *Endytæ*: nos. 95, 257.

²⁶⁶ *Encheirion*: nos. 77, 88. *Endytæ*: nos. 69.

²⁶⁷ No. 368.

²⁶⁸ No. 254.

²⁶⁹ Nos. 376. See also p. 133.

²⁷⁰ See, for example, the revetments on an icon of small dimensions in the Treasury of St Mark in Venice (Grabar 1975: nos. 42–5, p. 72–4).

Enkolpia are considered as being of less value and, at least until the end of the life of the beholder, they were objects of private devotion. Frequently, they were lavishly decorated with gold precious stones and sometimes enamel. Seals were also private objects. Most frequently, aristocrats sealed their letters with lead or even with wax (for informal correspondence). Lead was not a valuable material and certainly there is no evidence that it was melted and recycled.

The value stratification of secular objects was similar to that of the votives. Mosaics (sometimes placed on a church narthex) again justifiably appear at the top of the pyramid. Extended frescoes should follow. Small presents (such as drinking vessels, etc.) were offered to the emperor. Courtiers also wished to have golden vessels as an indication of their status.

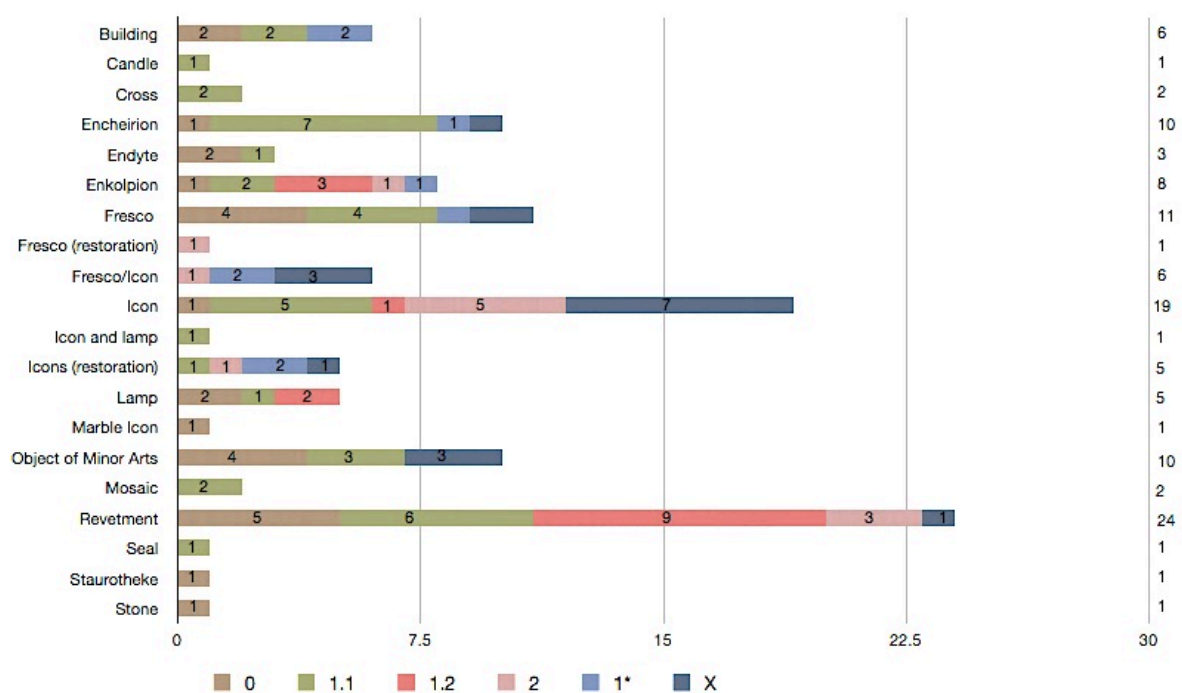


Fig. 39. The offerings and their donors

Looking at the diagram above, it is possible to comment on the level of the donor in relation to the objects. This way the form of the art market becomes even clearer. The highly valuable objects, as expected, have been commissioned by members of either the imperial family or by people with strong affinity to the palace (levels 0 and 1.1). Furthermore, frescoes have been donated by mainly

members of level 1.1, while icons have been donated by members of all social strata. Hence, the dominant percentage of portable icons in our sample is to be expected. Expensive objects, such as carved stones, *staurothekae*, and secular objects of minor art (e.g. belts, drinking vessels, display patens, etc.) are also donated from those in level 1.1. Valuable revetments have been offered by either people with strong affinity to the emperor or by members of the governing elite (levels 1.1 and 1.2). It is also significant that local notables showed a preference for portable items. Perhaps this way they were able to take a ‘piece’ of Constantinopolitan culture with them. The only exception is the house of Leo Sikoundenos in Thessaloniki. The frescoes have been obviously executed in Thessaloniki, although it remains unspecified whether the artist was Constantinopolitan²⁷¹. In any case, the very fact that the poet was from Constantinople secured a ‘Constantinopolitan’ status for the artefacts. That said, many objects were commissioned by Constantinopolitan donors in order to be donated ‘overseas’. The following map shows the places where such offerings were sent.



Fig. 40. The geographical spread of the donations.

²⁷¹ On the subject see M. Mihaljevic, *Constantinopolitan Architecture of the Komnenian era (1080–1180) and its impact in the Balkans*, PhD dissertation, Princeton University (New Jersey, 2010), pp. 106–124.

In all, the modern term 'Art Market' has been cautiously used in this section in order to signify a phenomenon with many similarities but still thoroughly different to the modern one. None of the objects examined here was initially constructed for a speculative market. However, the factor 'value' is involved in this discussion and legitimises the use of the term 'market' for Byzantium. This 'market' remains enigmatic, since the evidence is only scarce. But still the importance of the texts attached to the object becomes apparent. An object would become a personalised offering and even if its financial value was small, its symbolic value often increased thanks to the text. Thus, object and text co-operate allowing the donor to make his offering worthy for the eyes (and the ears) of humans and God.

5. Conclusions

The corpus of the 118 dedicatory epigrams on works of art examined in this thesis is substantial enough to help us draw more general conclusions on the perception and production of such epigrams. It also represents a random sample; there is no apparent pattern according to which the compiler collected these texts. It is composed of epigrams for people from different social levels, from the emperor to people trying to climb up the social ladder, and from well-established members of Constantinopolitan society to local notables. The majority of the donors are interconnected or they had a direct connection with the palace. Most appear to be members of a flourishing Constantinopolitan society, although some of the donors come from the fringes of the Byzantine world. It is probable that by commissioning the epigrams they wished to access the Constantinopolitan cultural production. Additionally, the objects on which the epigrams have been written are also very different. Indeed, they vary a tremendous amount: from the belt of the emperor to valuable icon revetments, and from wall mosaics to tiny clasps for suspending an encheirion in front of the icon.

Artworks, always commissioned, reflected the official policy on ecclesiastical and imperial matters. Furthermore, their production represents the financial power of the donor. The ability to financially support the production of luxurious artefacts is a clear demonstration of power. Also, the epigram is attached to the object in order to add to its prestige and enhance its value. This is most apparent in cases of less impressive donations (such as repainted icons), where the epigram seeks to justify the low-cost objects.

Exactly what the connection was between the 'artist' (*τεχνίτης/ζωγράφος*) and the poet is hard to know, or even to guess. The available evidence from the

epigrams suggests that the donor could either also be the poet of the epigram or, most frequently, have asked the poet to write an epigram for him or her. For example, Leo Sikoundenos probably described to a Constantinopolitan poet the mosaic on his house in Thessaloniki (no. 61). It is highly uncertain whether the poet had ever seen a sketch of the pictorial composition. The connection with the actual mosaic is quite loose and the epigrams give a vague, impressionistic idea of what was there. In most cases actually, it is highly uncertain whether the poet knew the artefact in detail. The epigrams on valuable revetments, for example, do not offer any details on how the valuable ornaments had been arranged. Epigram no. 52 does not mention for instance if the jewellery of the late wife of the donor, Caesar John Dalassenos, had been melted and re-arranged or just suspended in front of the icon of the Theotokos. Instead, the poets admire the valuable materials and explain their symbolism. Moreover, they offer details on the family background of the donor. In a few extreme cases (such the epigram on the patelion by Kalamanos), the epigram explains what the viewer should see, but it does not necessarily give an idea of the visual reality of the object. In other words, epigrams emphasise what could have been important for the donor.

The titles of the epigrams can be better understood in this light. They offer information on mainly the social status of the donors, and the things that the donor would like to highlight. They look like the author's notes on the epigram that he was writing. That said, titles were frequently changed by copyists. Prominent examples are the epigrams on Styppeiotes' private chapel and the St Mokios epigram. On the one hand, Theodore Styppeiotes is named *ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου* in the main text, while the title refers to him as *πρώην ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου* (no. 65, v. 25). In other words, the title was added at a point after Theodore fell into disgrace. Thus, the alteration in the title would have been a twelfth-century change (perhaps made

by the poet himself). On the other hand, Basil II is named the Bulgar-slayer in the title of the St Mokios epigram (no. 114). This modifier was used only after 1185, making it probable that the thirteenth-century scribe and compiler of the anthology did this alteration.

Turning back to how an epigram was perceived, the role of the epigram as an expression of the dedication on behalf of the donor is strongly related to its ceremonial or ritual function. A *dedicatory* epigram aims to express a plea or the giving of thanks on behalf of the donor to a holy person or to the emperor. This expression can take the form of a ritual performed in a smaller or wider circle or an inscription eternally bound with the object.

The distance of the human recipient from the donor's action changes. If the epigram was performed, the recipients were standing, listening to the donor or a person who carried a letter-epigram. In the case of verse inscriptions, their reading is more complex. A verse inscription could have been placed at a point difficult to see, thus being directed exclusively to a saint, Mary or Christ, and thus their presence would take the form of a constant prayer. However, if the epigrams were written in a place they could be seen, the human recipients (if literate) were expected to read the text aloud by themselves, and thus they had to be active. The understanding of the epigram is further based on the cultural background of the viewer. Literacy is one aspect of this. However, literacy should not be understood as simply the skill of reading. It includes familiarity with the *topoi* of the court and devotional literature, with the Holy Scriptures, church hymns and Constantinopolitan rhetoric. The court and ecclesiastical elements point further to the standardised features of a ritual only the initiated were able to understand.

Irrespective of how standardised this ritual was, there is always space for personal expression. The subjects seem to have been shaped by the donor and the

artist and many of them are strikingly original. This underlines personal piety, but also elements related to the twelfth-century social reality. It is not irrelevant that unconventional subjects are promoted by mainly members of a circle with strong affinity to the emperor and who were also promoting originality in literature in general. The roots of the evolutions of the genre should be looked for in this level.

In all, the dedicatory epigrams on works of art preserved in subcollections B and C in ms *Marcianus gr. 524* offer glimpses of a vibrant Comnenian society. I have tried to give a comprehensive picture of these texts in their social, literary and artistic context. However, many questions remain unanswered or at least partially unanswered. Some of the most important of these questions are connected to the production of the texts. The connection between artist and poet remains unclear. The way 'the Palace' commissioned an artwork and the epigram and also who decided on the contents of the epigram similarly remains a mystery. Was it the emperor himself or an office? Only further research, including a variety of evidence, can give answers to these questions.

Appendices

A. Description of manuscript Marcianus gr. 524

Library	<i>Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice</i>
Disposition place	<i>Thesaurus Antiquus</i>
Shelfmark	Marcianus Graecus Zanetti 524 (classification number 318)
Title	–
Number of folia	i + I + A, B + 292 + 293–295 + II–IV + ii
Production Units	I (1–23 ^v) – scribe A II (24–39 ^v) – scribe A? III (40–46 ^v) – scribe B and A IV (47–88 ^v) – scribes A V (89–96 ^v) – scribe A VI (97–112 ^v) – scribe A VII (113–120 ^v) – scribe A VIII (121–152 ^v) – scribe A IX (153–182 ^v) – scribes A X (183–189 ^v) – scribes A XI (190–193 ^v) – scribe A XII (194–292 ^v) – scribes A and C
Scribal units	A: ff. 1–39 ^v , 45, line 29 – 292 ^v , line 8 B: ff. 40–45, line 28 C: f. 292 ^v , lines 9–30
Folia in paper	297
Quires	1x2 (B), 1x7 (7), 4x8 (39), 1x7 (46), 5x8 (86), 1x2 (88), 11x8 (176), 1x6 (182), 1x7 (189), 1x4 (193), 12x8 (288), 1x4 (292)
Material	Paper without watermark Paper with watermark only A, B, 293–295
Date	Late thirteenth century (1280–1290?)
Place	Probably Constantinople
Date of restoration	1964
Restoration details	Cleaning; restoration of all deeply damaged folios; restoration of the back part; binding in leather – restoration of original boards (only the spine and the edges of the boards have been restored).
History	It is kept in the Biblioteca Marciana after 1700. It appears for the first time in the catalogue of manuscripts by Zanetti–Bongiovanni. None of the earlier inventories mention it.
Place of restoration	Monastery of Praglia, Italy (after the 20 th of October 1964).
Binding	Between 1736–1741 (restored in 1964)
State of preservation	Good, however the paper seems to be brittle.

Book binding Western type. Paste-boards (pressed paper) from the early eighteenth century are preserved. The lion of Venice is blocked on the leather cover. The lion holds a book which reads
 P<ax> T<ibi> M<arce> E<vangelista> M<eus>
 Blocked decorative designs, which are contemporary to the lion, can be found in the four edges. The spine has been redone in 1964.

Flyleaves: A-B and ff. 293-295

Blank flyleaves

Paper: Watermarked – Ancor in circle with a star on the top of the circle, ca. 1560–1595 (Mošin 1973: 50–2, nos 1532–78 (except 70, 73, 77). Type H. IV. 2.f).

Measurements: Opening f. A, B = 25.4 x 32.3¹.

Trim: ff. A and B, on the outer edge, not in a straight line

Notes: f. A: 8 (in red ink red)

Unit I: ff. 1-23

Scribe	A	
Ruling	–	
Pricking	On the four corners (ca. 19.2x12.8). 1, 2–3, 4–6, 7–8, 9–11, 12–15, 16–19, 20–23	
Ink	Brown: as indicated in appendix F Red: τοῦ προδρόμου (f. 5, line18), τ (f. 5, line19), περὶ ὀδόντων (f. 9, line13), Μ (f. 9, line14)	
Quires	1x7 (7), 2x8 (23)	
Quire signatures	f. 7 ^v : ᾱ̃ β̃ (last page of the quire / middle of lower margin / same ink as the text) f. 8: γ̃ (middle of the lower margin / same ink as the text) but Scribe A with black ink has erased it and wrote: (a cross below) δ̃ f. 16: ε̃ (first page of the quire / middle of the lower margin / same brown ink as the text)	
Text columns	1: titles and f. 5, line18–31 2: ff. 1–2 ^v , line 24; 3 line9 – 5 line19, 5 ^v –23 ^v 3: ff. 2 ^v , line 26 – 3 line8	
Lines per page	ca. 28–32	
Written surface	Average: 19.2 x 13.5	
Measurements of the page ²	f. 1 = 16.2 x 25.2 f. 8 = 15.7 x 25	f. 23 = 16.5 x 25.2
Trim	–	
Folding	Quarto	
Openings	3–4: 31.8 x 25 11 ^v –12: 31.5 x 25	19 ^v –20: 31.8 x 25.3
Approximate measurements of the folio	33x50	
Blank pages	None	
Lost leaves	One leaf before f. 1	
Decoration	10 ^v : The asterisk of scribe A	
Other	f. 1, upper margin: 5363 written in pencil by a modern hand	

¹ Both pages are trimmed. All the measurements indicate cm.

² I measured one page from each quire (usually the first, unless it is damaged).

Unit IV: ff. 47–88

Scribe	A		
Ruling	No		
Pricking	No		
Ink	Brown: as indicated in appendix F Red: crosses, drawings and first letters in ff. 47–49; first letters 70 ^v –71.		
Quires	5x8 (86), 1x2 (88)		
Quire signatures	f. 47: α (same brown ink as the text; same scribe; lower margin in the middle) f. 55: β (the same) f. 63: γ (the same) f. 71: δ (the same) f. 79: ε (the same)		
Text columns	1 : 47–88, line14 2: 88, line15 – 88 ^v		
Lines per page	Average: 36–45		
Written surface	47–87 ^v : average 20x12.8 88 ^{r-v} : 20.6x14		
Measurements of the page	47: 25x17 54:25.3x16.8 61: 25.3x17.2	71: 25.3x17 79: 25.7x17.2	80: 25.2x17.3 86: 25.2x17.4
Trim	Yes. On the outer edges (see f. 88 ^r)		
Folding	Quarto		
Openings	50 ^v –51: 33.6x25.3 58 ^v –59: 33.6x25.3 66 ^v –67: 33.7x25.3	74 ^v –75: 33.6x25.3 82 ^v –83: 33.8x25.3 87 ^v –88: 33.7x25.3	
Approximate measurements of the folio	33.6x50.6		
Blank pages	None		
Lost leaves	None		
Decoration	Flower-shape separators		

Unit V: ff. 89–96

Scribe	A		
Ruling	No		
Pricking	On the four corners, only ff. 89–94 (difficult to tell which were pricked together)		
Ink	Brown: as indicated in appendix F		
Quire	1x8 (96)		
Quire signature	None		
Text columns	2		
Lines per page	ca. 31–34		
Written surface	Average: 20.1x13.2		
Measurements of the page	89: 25.2x17.4		
Trim	No		
Folding	Quatro		
Opening	92 ^v –93: 34.1x25.7		
Approximate measurements of the folio	34.1x51.4		
Blank pages	96 ^v (with imprint of cross-shape design from the following page)		

Lost leaves	None
Decoration	None
Other	96 ^v –97: The imprint of the red cross in 97 is visible in 96 ^v . This might suggest that the compilation of the manuscript was done in an early stage. The imprint is certainly done early: a hand wrote on the red cross with brown ink in order to stress its existence.

Unit VI: ff. 97–112

Scribe	A
Ruling	No
Pricking	No
Ink	Brown: as indicated in appendix F
Quires	2x8 (112)
Quire signatures	– ³
Text columns	2
Lines per page	27–32
Written surface	Average: 19.6x13
Measurements of the page	97: 25.5x17.2 104: 25.2x17.5
Trim	No
Folding	Quarto
Openings	100 ^v –101: 33.6x24.7 107 ^v –108: 33.9x25.7
Approximate measurements of the folio	33.6x49.4 33.9x51.4
Blank pages	None
Lost leaves	None
Decoration	97: simple flower-shape separators in red ink
Other	96 ^v –97: Units V and VI preserve the original order, since the imprint of the red cross, which adorns f. 97, is visible on 96 ^v .

Unit VII: ff. 113–120

Scribe	A
Ruling	Only ff. 113–115 (12x17.6) Ruling type: Similar to the type 02A1 (see Leroy), although there are no lines drawn between the external borders. Ruling system: ><< <> Ruling method: blind ruling Tool used for ruling: compass (with one, two or three edges)
Pricking	Only the four corners.
Ink	Brown: as indicated in appendix F
Quires	1x8 (120)

³ However, the lower margins of some folia are damaged (e.g. 97, 104).

Quire signatures	None
Text columns	1: 113–115; 2: 115 ^v –120 ^v
Lines per page	ff. 113–115: 20–25 ff. 115 ^v –120 ^v : 31–36
Written surface	115 ^v : 19.8x13 116 ^v : 19.2x13.8 120: 19.9x13 116: 20x13 117: 19.2x14 120 ^v : 22.3x13.5
Measurements of the page	113: 25.4x17.3
Trim	No
Folding	Quatro
Opening	116 ^v –117: 34x25.6
Approximate measurements of the folio	34x51.2
Blank pages	None
Lost leaves	None
Decoration	f. 113: drawing with the orientation of the winds

Unit VIII: ff. 121–152

Scribe	A
Ruling	–
Pricking	On the four corners (19.1x12.8) 121–124, 125–128, 129–135, 136, 137–142, 143, 144–148, 149–152)
Ink	Brown: as indicated in appendix F Red: first letters: 121, 129, 132, 136, 138, 142, 151 ^{r-v} , 152 ^v
Quires	4x8 (152)
Quire signatures	α: f. 128 ^v (middle of the lower margin–scribe’s ink/ same hand as β in f. 7 ^v) α : f. 129 (a bit lower than the previous one – black ink / similar hand to α f. 8) γ: f. 137 (middle of the lower margin–scribe’s ink/ extremely similar hand to the one which erased Γ in f. 8) δ: f. 145 (middle of the lower margin–scribe’s ink/ same hand as the previous)
Text columns	1
Lines per page	28–31
Written surface	Aver. 18.8x12.5
Measurements of the page	121: 25.2x17.3 137: 25.5x17.1 129: 25.6x17.1 144: 25.3x17
Trim	None
Folding	Quarto
Openings	124 ^v –125: 34.4x25.6 140 ^v –141: 34x25.6 132 ^v –133: 34x25.6 148 ^v –149: 34.2x25.3
Approximate measurements of the folio	34.4x51.2
Blank pages	None
Lost leaves	Between 152 and 153: at the bottom of the page a new work starts.
Decoration	Flower-shape separators in f. 132, 134, 136, 138 (cf. f. 97)

Unit IX: ff. 153–182

Scribe	A	
Ruling	Only the borders Ruling type: Similar to the type 02A1 (Leroy), although there are no lines drawn between the borders. Ruling system: ><>< <<<> ><>< ><<> ><>< <><< ><< <><<	
Pricking	Ruling method: blind ruling Tool used for ruling: ruler (something thick – 0.1 cm the line) On the four corners (19.1x12.6) Single: 153–154, 155–156, 157–158, 159–160 Double: the rest of the pages. Difficult to be distinguished.	
Ink	Brown: as indicated in appendix F Red: only the titles on ff. 153 ^{r-v} , 155 ^v , 156, 157 ^{r-v} , 158 ^v –160, 165, 166, 168 ^v , 169 ^v , 170 ^v , 171 ^v –174, 175, 177, 178, 179	
Quires	3x8 (176) 1x6 (182)	
Quire signatures	α : f. 160 ^v (middle of the lower margin–scribe's deep brown ink) β : f. 161 (same)	
Text columns	1: 153–179 ^v 2: 180–182 ^v	
Lines per page	29–36	
Written surface	Aver. 13.1x20.1	
Measurements of the page	f. 153: 25.6x17.5 f. 161: 25.6x17.3	f. 169: 25.2x17.2 f. 177: 25.6x17.2
Trim	–	
Folding	Quarto	
Openings	156 ^v –157: 34.6x25.5 164 ^v –165: 34.6x25.6	172 ^v –173: 34.3x25.3 179 ^v –180: 34.2x25.6
Approximate measurements of the folio	34.6x51	
Blank pages	None	
Lost leaves	None	
Decoration	Flower-shape separators in f. 156 and f. 157 (similar to those on f. 97) Flower-shape separators in f. 178 (cf. 97)	
Other	On the middle of the inner margin of 182 ^v there are two scratched-out red letters as imprints from the following page. The first reads Y (0.3width x 0.5height), the second A or Δ (0.2 width x 0.1 height). However nothing similar can be found in the 183.	

Unit X: ff. 183–189

Scribe	A
Ruling	Yes Ruling type: Similar to the type 02A1 (see Leroy), although there are no lines drawn between the external borders. Ruling system: ><>> <<<> Ruling method: blind ruling Tool used for ruling: something thick (line 0.1 cm)
Pricking	On the four edges: 183–186, 188–189 On the two outer edges: 187
Ink	Brown: as indicated in appendix F
Quires	1x7 (189)
Quires signatures	–
Text columns	1: 183–189 2: 189 ^v 4: 189 ^v
Lines per page	23–25
Measurements of the page	183: 25.6x17.1
Trim	No
Folding	Quatro
Opening	186 ^v –187: 33.8x25.4
Approximate measurements of the folio	33.8x50.8
Blank pages	None
Lost leaves	The last leaf is missing, but the text is complete.
Decoration	None

Unit XI: ff. 190–193

Scribe	A
Ruling	No
Pricking	No
Ink	Brown: as indicated in appendix F
Quires	1x4 (193)
Quire signatures	None
Text columns	1: 190–192; 2: 192 ^v –193 ^v
Lines per page	30–31
Written surface	Average: 18.9x12.8
Measurements of the page	190: 25.2x17.2
Trim	No
Folding	quarto
Opening	191 ^v –192: 34.2x25.4
Approximate measurements of the folio	34.2x50.4
Blank pages	None
Lost leaves	None
Decoration	Flower-shape separator in f. 190 (cf. f. 97)

Unit XII : ff. 194–292

Scribes	A: 194–292 ^v , line 8 C: 292 ^v , line 9–30	
Ruling	No	
Pricking	On the four corners (on average: 19.3x13) 194–211 (very difficult to say which were together), 212, 213, 214–6, 217, 218, 219–220, 221–223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231–233, 234, 235–236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 245, 246–247, 248–249, 250–251, 252–255, 256–257, 258–259 (reverse), 260–261, 262–263, 264, 265–266, 267–268, 269–270, 271–272, 273, 274–275, 276, 277, 278–279, 280–281, 282, 283, 284–285, 286, 287, 288, 289–290, 291–292 Tool: Compass	
Ink	Brown: as indicated in appendix F Red (first letters): 197 / 292 ^v , line 28–32	
Quires	12x8 (288), 2x1 (290), 1x2 (292)	
Quire signatures	218: δ (middle, of the lower margin/scribe's brown ink) 226: ε (the same) 234: στ (the same) 241: ζ (the same) 273: ια (the same) 281: ιγ (the same) 289: ιγ (the same)	
Text columns	1: 194–292	
Lines per page	26–34	
Written surface	Average: 19.7x12.6	
Measurements of the page	194: 25.6x16.5	257: 25.7x16.2
	202: 25.6x16.7	265: 25.2x16.6
	210: 25.6x16.6	273: 25.7x16
	218: 25.6x16.6	282: 25.5x15.9
	226: 25.4x16.2	289: 25.3x16.3
	234: 25.6x16.4	290: 25.4x16.5
	241: 25.7x16.3	291: 25.3x16.4
	249: 25.7x16.2	
Trim	Possibly. See f. 264 (0.4–0.5 cm)	
Folding	Quarto	
Opening	197 ^v –198: 33.5x25.6	252 ^v –253: 32.8x25.7
	205 ^v –206: 33.6x25.6	260 ^v –261: 32.6x25.7
	213 ^v –214: 33.5x25.8	268 ^v –269: 32.4x25.7
	221 ^v –222: 33.1x25.7	276 ^v –277: 32.3x26.1
	229 ^v –230: 33.1x25.7	284 ^v –285: 33.6x25.4
	236 ^v –237 32.7x 25.7	291 ^v –292: 32.1x25.2
	244 ^v –245: 32.5x25.7	
Blank pages	None	
Lost leaves	Probably after 292. The text in 292 ^v is incomplete.	
Decoration	None	
Other	196, line 17 – 196 ^v , line 11: someone has erased the text using black ink.	

Contents

Folia	Verses		L ⁴
1	1.	Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Γρηγόριον τὸν Νύσσης, Ἰωάννην τὸν Ἐλεήμονα, Ἄντωνιον καὶ Γρηγόριον τὸν θαυματουργόν, ἐζωγραφημένους ὁμοῦ. inc. νοῦς, οἶκτος, ἐγκράτεια, τῶν θαυμάτων βρύσις, v. 1.	1
	2.	Εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Μονομάχου ἣν ἰστόρησαν οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ συμπαθηθέντες Λογγίβαρδοι. inc. ὁ γῆς ἀνάσσων προστάτης μονομάχος, vv. 6. Springou 2013.	2
	3.	Εἰς τὸν πατριάρχην Μιχαὴλ ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ διακόνου Λαζάρου, ὅτε αὐτὸν ἐποίησε χαρτουλλάριον. inc. πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν βλέπων με τοῦ θείου δόμου, vv. 8. Springou 2013.	3
	4.	Εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα ἥγουν εἰς τὸν πατέρα τῶν ἡμερῶν καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου καὶ φέροντα ἐπὶ κάλπ(ης) τὸν τε Χριστὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐν εἶδει περιστερᾶς. inc. κἂν σχηματισμὸν οὐκ ἔχωσιν οὐδένα, vv. 18. Lambros ed. v. 1 ⁵ .	4
	5.	Εἰς τὸν τρικλίνον τοῦ Μονομάχου τὸν ἐν τοῖς Μαγγάνοις. inc. εἶπον τί τερπνὸν πανταχοῦ γῆς ἐν δόμοις, vv. 6. Springou 2013.	5
	6.	Εἰς τὸν Ἄμωσιν τὸν Αἰθίοπα. inc. οὐκ ἔστι χρῶμα λευκὸν ἄμφω καὶ μέλαν, vv. 10. Lambros ed. v. 1.	6
1 ^v	7.	Εἰς τὸν Βουμῆ δαίροντα τὰς γυναῖκας γυμνάς καὶ πληροῦντα τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν αἰθάλης καὶ οὕτω δημεύοντα. Ed. Hörandner 2001: 120 ⁶ .	7
	8.	Untitled. inc. ἄνθραξ ἀθλητῆ δῶρον ἐκ Μονομάχου, v. 1	8
	9.	Εἰς τὸν σπόγγον. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , no. 137 [=Byzantines Enigmas, no. 69].	9
	10.	Εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς ἀκαταμαχίτου Θεοτόκου ἣν κατεσκεύασε Κωνσταντῖνος βασιλεὺς ὁ Μονομάχος, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ στίχοι ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς εἰκόνης. inc. τὴν ἀκαταμάχητον ὦ μονομάχε, vv. 2.	10 11
	11.	Ἔτερος. inc. ἔχων μάχαις σύμμαχον ἄμαχον μάχου, v. 1.	12
	12.	Τοῦ Ἀνδριανουπόλεως πρὸς τοὺς στίχους τοῦ Κερκύρας ἀναγνωσθέντας ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ. Ed. Lambros 1882: 41 (vv. 306–10)	13
	13.	Εἰς τὴν βίβλον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τὴν λεγομένην μαργαρίτην. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 141.	14 15
	14.	Τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Εἰς ἀναίσθητον τινὰ λοῖδορον. Psellos, <i>Poems</i> , no. 30.	
	15.	Εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς ἁγίας Θέκλης λελατομημένην ἀπὸ πέτρας. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> 51	
1 ^v -2	16.	Τοῦ Βουλγαρίας ἀξιοῦντος Νεῖλον τινὰ (μον)αχὸν ἵνα ὑπερλαλήσῃ αὐτοῦ τοῦ μὴ γειτονῆσαι τοῦτω τὸν Ἀντίοχον. Theophylaktos of Ohrid, <i>Poems</i> , 10.	16
2 ^{r-v}	17.	Untitled. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 42.	17
2 ^v	18.	Εἰς τὰ πεμφθέντα ἐψυχρισμένα κουτρούβια. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 45.	18
	19.	Εἰς τὸν Ἡρώδη περὶ τῆς τιμίας κάρας τοῦ Προδρόμου. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 74.	19
	20.	Εἰς τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἀναστασῶ τελευτήσασαν καὶ ἔτι	20

⁴ If the poem is fully published only by Lambros, the incipit and the number of the verses are given. If Lambros has only partially published a poem, then the number of the published verses is given. If there is an edition of the poem different than Lambros, then the name is given next to the title of each poem. Only the latest printed editions of the works are indicated.

⁵ It can also be found in manuscript Vat. gr. 579.

⁶ It can also be found in manuscript Neap. III AA 6, f. 107^v (XIII s.). There it is ascribed to Psellos. Hörandner 2001: 120.

	προκειμένην ἀνακρεόντειοι. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 75.	
3	21. Ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκφορᾷ τῆς αὐτῆς. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 76.	21
	22. Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Λάζαρον τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ φίλον διὰ τὴν σιωπὴν τῶν ἐκεῖθεν. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 80.	22
	23. Εἰς τοὺς νεκροθάπτας ὅτε ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Λουκᾷ πολυάνδριον ἐνεπρήσθη διαρπάζοντας τὰ τῶν νεκρῶν ἄμφια. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 82.	23
	24. Εἰς τὸ τίμιον λείψανον τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 89. Cf. no. 361.	24
3 ^v	25. Εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου τὴν ἐν τοῖς Μαγγάνοις. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 95.	25
	26. Εἰς τὸν ἐκ μέσης τῆς ὀροφῆς τοῦ Ὁάτου Σωτήρα κάτω βλέποντα. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 98.	26
	27. Εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Ἡλιοῦ. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 101.	27 28
	28. Εἷς τινὰ ζωγράφον ζωγραφοῦντα τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Μιχαήλ. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 112.	29
	29. Εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 113. Cf. no. 362.	30
	30. Εἰς τὸν μοναχὸν Ἀθανάσιον περὶ τοῦ πεμφθέντος ῥοδοσταλάγματος. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 117.	
3 ^v -5	31. Τοῦ κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ πρωτεκδικίου γεγονότος ἐν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἀντισημειώματος τούτου γεγραφότος. Andronikos protekdikos, <i>Semeioma</i> , 137-9.	31
5-8 ^v	32. Τοῦ Προδρόμου. <i>Galeomyomachia</i> , ed. Hunger 1968: 78-125.	32
8 ^v	33. Note for the calculation of the hours. inc. ἂν τις εὐρήσει ἐν ἑκάστῳ μηνὶ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὰς ἡμέρας ὥραν ἡλίου τὴν γῆν καταλάμποντος.	33
9	34. Τοῦ πατριάρχου Βαλαμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰθίοπα Μωσῆν λογαριασθέντα καὶ λυπούμενον. Theodore Balsamon, <i>Poems</i> , 40. Cf. no. 177.	34
	35. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς εὐνουχόπουλον ἄρξασθαι μέλλον σχεδογραφίας. Theodore Balsamon, <i>Poems</i> , 41. Cf. no. 178.	35
	36. Στίχοι εἰς νιπτῆρα ἔνδον δημοσιακοῦ λουτροῦ τῆς μονῆς τῶν Ὁδηγῶν. Theodore Balsamon, <i>Poems</i> , 42. Cf. no. 179.	36
9-10 ^v	37. Περί ὀδόντων. inc. μόλις διασχῶν ἐξ ὀδύνης τὸ στόμα, vv. 168. Lambros ed vv. 1-2 and 167-8.	37
10 ^v -18	38. Τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου μάλιστα καὶ διδασκάλου τοῦ Στιλβῆ στίχοι ἱαμβικοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ συμβάντι ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει θεηλάτῳ μεγάλῳ ἐμπρησμῷ μηνὶ Ἰουλίῳ κέ ἔτους ςψε΄. Constantine Stilbes, <i>On the great fire of 1197</i> , 8-44.	38
18, line23	39. Εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς βαπτίσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ προτιθεμένην ὅτε ὁ πατριάρχης ἐν παλατίῳ ποιεῖται τὰς τῶν Φώτων εὐχὰς, κοσμηθεῖσαν παρὰ τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν βασιλέως. Ed. Springou 2010: 38.	39
18 ^v	40. Ἐπὶ εἰκόνι τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. inc. μὴ Σῶτερ ὥσπερ προσλαβὼν πρὶν σαρκίον, vv. 24. Lambros ed. vv. 1 and 15-24. See p. 74.	40
	41. Εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς σταυρώσεως τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κοσμηθεῖσαν παρὰ τοῦ Δρυωνίτου. inc. ἤκουσεν Ἀδὰμ σῶν ποδῶν ἤχον λόγε, vv. 12. Lambros ed. vv. 1 and 11-2. See p. 75.	41
	42. Εἰς ἐγκόλπιον Μιχαήλ τοῦ Ἀλουσιάνου ἔχον μέρος τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου τοῦ Γαβρᾶ. Ed. Horna 1906: 198.	42
	43. Εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου. inc. ἄδου πύλαι μὲν οὐ κατισχύσουσί σου, vv. 8.	43

44. Εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου. inc. νυχθημερεύσας ἐν βυθῷ 44
πρώην Παῦλε, νν. 8.
- 19 45. Εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς κοιμήσεως τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου. Ed. 45
Hörandner 1994: 131.
46. Εἰς τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἁγίων Ἀναργύρων καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν 46
Θεοδότης. Ed. Tserevelakis 2009/10: 272.
47. Εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου, γραφέντος ἄνωθεν τοῦ 47
πυλῶνος τῆς τοῦ ποιήσαντος τοὺς παρόντας στίχους οἰκίας·
ὄτε ἐμπρησμοῦ γεγονότος καὶ καυθέντων πάντων τῶν
ἐταιρικῶν οἰκημάτων τῶν πλησιαζόντων τῷ ναῷ τοῦ
ῤηθέντος ἁγίου τῷ συνηνωμένῳ τῇ τοιαύτῃ κατοικίᾳ,
διεφυλάχθη αὕτη παντελῶς ἀβλαβής. inc. ὁ μὲν καθ' ἡμῶν πῦρ
πνέων σατὰν δράκων, νν. 20.
- 19^v 48. Εἰς ἀποκαθήλωσιν. Ed. Tserevelakis 2009/10: 275. 48
49. Εἰς τὸν τάφον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ed. Tserevelakis 2009/10: 277. 49
50. Ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰκονίσμασι τοῦ πρωτοσεβαστοῦ καὶ μεγάλου δουκὸς 50
κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ καὶ τῆς πρωτοσεβαστῆς ἐν τῇ
μονῇ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου. inc. ναὸς μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ πᾶς κόσμος
τόπος, νν. 30. 51
51. Ἐπὶ τῷ μοναχικῷ εἰκονίσματι τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρωτοσεβαστοῦ. inc. 51
σκηνὴν ἐγείρας ὡς νέος Μωσῆς νέαν, νν. 15.
- 20 52. Εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου κοσμηθεῖσαν παρὰ τοῦ 52
καίσαρος κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαλασσηνοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν κοσμίων
τῆς συζύγου αὐτοῦ τῆς πορφυρογεννήτου κυρᾶς Μαρίας τῆς
Κομνηνῆς. inc. ζυγοστατήσας παρ' ἐμοὶ πόθους δύο, νν. 20.
- 20^{r-v} 53. Ἐπὶ ἀναγνώσει τοῦ Ἑμελλεν ἄρα. Ed. Tserevelakis 2009/10: 53
278–9.
- 20^v 54. Εἰς ἐγκόλπιον ἔχον τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον. inc. ἐν καρδίᾳ 54
ἔχων σε πλαξί παρθένε, νν. 4.
55. Εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ἔχουσαν κυκλόθεν 55
οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀγγέλους παρεστῶτας. Ed. Tserevelakis 2009/10:
283.
- 20^v–21^v 56. Τῇ σεβαστοκρατορίῳ κυρᾶ Εἰρήνῃ. inc. ἂν εὐνοεῖν πέφυκε 56
δεσπότης κύων, νν. 125.
- 21^v–22 57. Τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τῇ καθεκástην διδομένη τῆς τραπέζης οἰκονομία 57
καὶ τοῖς ὑφάσμασιν. inc. φύσις μὲν ἐγνώρισεν Ἡμέρας τέκνον,
νν. 74.
- 22^{r-v} 58. Εἰς ἐγχείριον τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου γεγονὸς παρὰ τοῦ 58
σεβαστοῦ καὶ μεγάλου ἐταιρειάρχου κυροῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ
Παλαιολόγου. inc. καὶ τοῦτο χρυσόστικτον εἰσφέρω πέπλον,
νν. 6.
- 22^v 59. Ἐπὶ ἐγχειρίῳ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐξ 59
ὀξέος ὑφάσματος γεγονότος παρὰ τοῦ καίσαρος κυροῦ
Ἰωάννου Δαλασσηνοῦ. Ed. Nunn 1987: 92.
60. Ἐπὶ τῇ εἰκόνι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνδρείας. inc. ψυχὴν ἔγωγε κρατύνω 60
καὶ σαρκίον, νν. 2.
- 22^v–23 61. Ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ Θεσσαλονίκην νεουρηθέντι οἴκῳ τοῦ 61
Σικουντήνου Λέοντος, ἔχοντι διαφόρους παλαιὰς ἱστορίας καὶ
τὸν αὐτοκράτορα κῦρ Μανουὴλ τὸν Κομνηνόν. Ed. Springou
2010: 45–6.
- 23 62. Ἐπὶ ἐγχειρίῳ γεγονότι παρὰ τοῦ μητροπολίτου Φιλίππων 62
κυροῦ Θεοδώρου, ἰαθέντος ἀπὸ νόσου δυσιάτου. inc. ἐκ
σουδαρίων ἐκ σκιᾶς πρώτης μόνης, νν. 10.
63. Ἐπὶ ἐγχειρίῳ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ 63
γεγονότι παρὰ τοῦ Δούκα κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ
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- ἀγρεύσας ὡς ἐπετράπη Πέτρος, νν. 11.
64. Εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ἀνακαινισθεῖσαν παρὰ τοῦ 64
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- 23^{F-v} 65. Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀγίου Δημητρίου ἥτις ἴστατο ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ ἐν 65
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- 23^V 66. Εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν Βαρβάραν. 66
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- 24-33, 67. Ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀππιανοῦ Ἰξευτικῶν. inc. οἱ ἀετοὶ πλεῖστον ὑπερτεροῦσιν. 67
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1-27: III, 22, 2 (p. 48) - III, 25, 7 (p. 49).
It misses three lines of the printed text. The scribe completes the
paragraph in f. 32v; but in f. 33 he starts copying in the middle of a
sentence.
- 33, l. 28- 68. Untitled. Excerpts from John Tzetzes, *Commentary on Lycophron*, -
33^V, l.19 1,10-6; 2, 2-18; 2, 22-8; 3, 5; 3, 11; 2, 16; 3, 27; 4, 10; 4, 15-8.
33^V, l. 20 69. Εἰς τραπεζόφορον. Ed. Spingou 2010: 69. See also p. 138. 68
33^V-34 70. Εἰς δίσκον νεουρηθέντα μετὰ τὸ κλαπῆναι καὶ θραυσθῆναι. 69
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- 34 71. Ἐπὶ πέπλῳ ἀναρτηθέντι εἰς τὸν ἐν τῇ Χαλκῇ ναόν. inc. δῶρον μὲν 70
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- 34^{F-v} 73. Εἰς τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν βασιλέων τοῦ τε κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου. Ed. Spingou 72
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- 34^V-35 74. Εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς σταυρώσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ. inc. ὡς ἐν ξύλῳ νῦν 73
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- 35 75. Εἰς τρικάνδηλον. inc. τίς τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς θαυμάτων σου Παρθένε, νν. 74
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35^{F-v} 77. Εἰς τάφον. inc. ἐκ τῆς σκιᾶς ἄνθρωπε τῶν γραμμάτων, νν. 36. 75
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- 35^V-36 82. Εἰς ἐγκόλπιον τῆς ἀγίας δεσποίνης. inc. λύων ὄνειρους Δανιὴλ 80
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- 36 83. Εἰς τὰς πύλας τοῦ οἴκου ἐν αἷς εἰκονίσθη ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄνωθεν 81
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- 37^v–38 96. Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου προφήτου Δανιὴλ ἐστῶτος ἐν μέσῳ τῶν 94
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- 38 97. Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου Μιχαὴλ κοσμηθεῖσαν παρὰ τοῦ 95
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- 38^v–39 101. Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου 99
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- 39 102. Εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς ἁγίας Ἄννης [τῆς] δεσποίνης λεγομένης. inc. 100
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- 39^{r-v} 103. Acclamations to the emperor. Untitled. 101
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	105.	Untitled. inc. καινός τις οὗτος τύμβος ὃν βλέπεις, ξένε, vv. 50.	103
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45, lines 28– 33	107.	Notes on grammar. Inc. ἰσχύει δὲ τρόπους κατὰ τέχνην οἶον διδάσκαλος πρὸς μαθητὴν, κατὰ τύχην ὡς δεσπότης πρὸς δοῦλον, κατὰ προαίρεσιν ὡς φίλος πρὸς φίλον, κατὰ φύσιν ὡς πατὴρ πρὸς υἱόν.	
45 ^v	108.	Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ Χαιρετισμοῦ. Ed. Tserevelakis 2009/10: 105.	105
	109.	Εἰς τὴν Ὑπαπαντήν. inc. ὁ μὲν Δανιήλ τὴν Θεοῦ δόξαν βλέπων. Ed. Tserevelakis 2009/10: 287.	106
	110.	Untitled. inc. πολλὰς μὲν ἔσχον δωρεῶν ὕλας, κόρη, vv. 20. Lambros ed. v. 1.	107
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46	113.	Ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰκονισθεῖσιν ἐν τῷ προπυλαίῳ τῶν Ἁγίων τεσσαράκοντα. inc. τροχοῦ φορὰ χρόνου μὲν ἀστατουμένη, vv. 14.	110
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46 ^v	115.	Εἰς ἐγκόλπιον ἔχον μέρος τοῦ ἁγίου λίθου ἐν ᾧ μετὰ τὴν ἀποκαθήλωσιν ἔθετο τὸν Χριστὸν ὁ Ἰωσήφ καὶ μέρος τῆς σπάθης τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου. inc. στέρνοις φέροντι τμήμα Χριστὲ τοῦ λίθου, vv. 4.	112
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47–88, line 13	120.	Ἐπιμερισμοὶ σὺν Θεῷ τοῦ ψαλτήρος ἀπὸ φωνῆς Γεωργίου διδασκάλου τοῦ ἐπίκλην χοιροβοσκοῦ. George Choroiboskos, <i>Epimerisms on Psalms</i> , ed. T. Gaisford, Oxford 1842, 1, 1 – 188, 25.	116
88	121.	Ignatios the Deacon, <i>Fables</i> , no. 42.	117
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124. Ignatios the Deacon, *Fables*, no. 36.
 125. Ignatios the Deacon, *Fables*, no. 37.
 126. Ignatios the Deacon, *Fables*, no. 38.
 127. Ignatios the Deacon, *Fables*, no. 39.
 128. Ignatios the Deacon, *Fables*, no. 40.
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- 88^{r-v} 130. Τοῦ Βουλγαρίας. Εἰς τὸν φιλολογώτατον Ἀαρὼν κεκαθικότα 118
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- 88^v 131. Ἕτεροι. Theophylaktos of Ohrid, *Poems*, no. 12. 119
 132. Εἰς μοναχὸν Μουζάλωνα σιωπῶντα. Christopher Mitylenaios, 120
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 - vi. Ἀριστοτέλους. inc. ἄνθρωπος ὦν ὄλωσ ἐγὼ ἀνθρώπῳ. G 118.
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 - xiii. inc. βραδὺς μὴ ἴσθι πρὸς εὐποιίαν. G 167.
 - xiv. Αἰσώπου. inc. βέβηλος ὃς μνησικακεῖ. G 194.
 - xv. Βαβρίου. inc. γνώμη πονηρὰ χρηστὸν ἦθος. G 227.
 - xvi. inc. γέμει στεναγμῶν ἡ δίαίτα. G 233, M 88.
 - xvii. inc. γέλως τὰ τῆδε πάντα καὶ κενὸς δρόμος. G 234,
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 - xxiii. inc. ῥεῖθρα γλυκασμοῦ γλώσσα βλύζει. G 914, F 13.
 - xxiv. inc. τίκεις ἔχιδνα μὴ φοβοῦ τὰς ὠδίννας. G 1016, F 50.
 - xxv. inc. τρέφων τὸ σῶμα, μὴ τρυφήσης. G 1017.
 - xxvi. inc. τύχην ἔχεις ἀνθρώπε μὴ μάτην. G 1026, δ 17.
 - xxvii. inc. ὑλῶν γενηρῶν μεστὸς ὦν βροτῶν. G 1032.
 - xxviii. inc. ὑπερφέρουσι τῶν παθῶν τὰ πάθη. G 1034.
 - xxix. inc. ὕδωρ ποτὸν ἄριστον. G 1043, F 16.
 - xxx. inc. φίλοι φιλοῦσιν καὶ ἂ τοῖς φίλοις. G 1051, F 14.
 - xxxi. inc. φύλαττε σαυτὸν μὴ φλογί. G 1091.
 - xxxii. inc. χρυσοῦ λαλοῦντος, πᾶς ἀπρακτεῖτω. G 1124, F 58.
 - xxxiii. inc. ὥσπερ τῷ πυρὶ αὐτομάτως. G 1189, δ 45.
- 89–94 134. Στίχοι τοῦ γεγονότος χαρτοφύλακος νομοφύλακος πρώτου τῶν 122
 Βλαχερνῶν καὶ πρωτοσυγκέλλου κυροῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Βαλαμῶν –
 μετὰ δέ τινας χρόνους καὶ πατριάρχου Ἀντιοχείας εἰς τὸν Ἰωσήφ 160
 ἀπογυμνούμενον τὴν αἰσθητὰ παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ Πεντεφρηῆ ὡς
 ἔρωτομανούσης. Theodore Balsamon, *Poems*, 1⁷.
135. Εἰς τὸν ..ίζον.... παρὰ πορνῶν δύο φαλακρούμενον. Theodore
 Balsamon, *Poems*, 2.
136. Εἰς τὸν Δαυῖδ κλαίοντα τὴν μετὰ τῆς Βηρσαβεῆ μοιχείαν.

⁷ Most of the titles are illegible in the manuscript; for this reason I relied on the printed edition. The editor, Konstantin Horna, states that he is editing on the basis of the *Marcianus*. So one can assume that the titles, written in red, were probably legible in 1903 (Horna 1903: 176–7).

- Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 3.
137. Εἰς τὸν Σαμψῶν ξυριζόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς Δαλιδᾶς, Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 4.
138. Εἰς τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Φαραῶ λουομένην ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ εὐροῦσαν τὸν Μωϋσῆν. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 5.
139. Εἰς τὸν καθαρισμὸν τῆς λέπρας τοῦ Νεεμάν. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 6.
140. Εἰς τράπεζαν ἔχουσαν ἱστορημένον τὸν δεῖπνον. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 7.
141. Εἰς τὸ αὐτό. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 8.
142. Εἰς τὸ κελλίον αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄν εἰς τὴν μονὴν τῶν Ζιπῶν. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 9.
143. Εἰς βιβλίον τακτικὸν καὶ μηχανικὸν δοθὲν παρὰ τούτου τῷ βασιλεῖ κυρῷ Ἰσαακίῳ. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 10.
144. Εἰς τὸν τάφον ἐντὸς ὄντα τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς ἀγίας Ἄννης τιμωμένης ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῶν Ὁδηγῶν. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 11.
145. Εἰς τὸν τάφον τοῦ σεβαστοῦ κυροῦ Στεφάνου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ ἐντὸς ὄντα τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 12.
146. Εἰς τὸν τάφον τοῦ σεβαστοῦ κυροῦ Εὐμαθίου τοῦ Μακρεμβολίτου. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 13.
147. Εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν εἰκονισμένην Ὁδηγήτριαν παντέχνιον. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 14.
148. Ἔτεροι, Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 15.
149. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ γραφέντες εἰς Ἐξαγωγήν τοῦ μητροπολίτου Φιλιππουπόλεως. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 16.
150. Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Σιδόνος ἔχουσαν εἰκονίσματα βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου, ἀλλὰ...ἰσταμένου ὀπισθεν περὶ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ πατριάρχου. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 17.
151. Εἰς χρυσοῦν κωθώνιον ἔχον ἱστορημένας τρεῖς θεάς, τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, τὴν Ἥραν, τὴν Ἀθήνην, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον διδοῦντα μῆλον. Theodore Balsamon, 18 A.
152. Εἰς τὸ αὐτό. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 18 B.
153. Untitled. Theodore Balsamon, 18 C.
154. Εἰς τάφον τοῦ σκευοφύλακος κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀγίου Φλωρίτου. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 19.
155. Εἰς τὸν ἀρχάγγελον Μιχαὴλ μετὰ ξίφους ἰστάμενον εἰς τὰ μυρεψικὰ ἐργαστήρια τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἄνωθεν τῆς... Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 20 A.
156. Ἔτεροι. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 20 B.
157. Εἰς εὐνουχόπουλον. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 21.
158. Εἰς ἐπικέρνην μακρὸν, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐνουχοπούλου. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 22.
159. Στίχοι ἐκδοθέντες τῷ εὐνουχοπούλῳ. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 23.
160. Εἰς ἀγίαν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀγίου Θεοδώρου τοῦ στρατηλάτου. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 24 A.
161. Εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγίαν εἰκόνα. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 24 B.
162. Εἰς τὸν εὐνοχόπουλον. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 25.
163. Εἰς τὸν θεῖον ναὸν τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ λογοθέτου τὸν ποτε ὄντα λουτρόν. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 26.
164. Εἰς τὸν ἱστορηθέντα βασιλέα κῦριν Ἰσαάκιον ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀγίου λούματος τῆς ἀγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Ὁδηγήτριας. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 27.
165. Εἰς τυπικὸν τῆς μονῆς τοῦ σεβαστοῦ καὶ προκαθημένου κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Ῥογερίου, τῆς λεγομένης Χρυσοκαμαριωτίσης. Theodore Balsamon, Poems, 28. See also De Gregorio 2010: 49.

166. Εἰς ἅγιον Δημήτριον εὐρεθέντα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἀποστάτου Σθλαβοπέτρου. Theodore Balsamon, *Poems*, 29.
167. Εἰς ἀναδενδράδα πατριαρχικοῦ κελλίου ἔχουσαν σταφυλάς. Theodore Balsamon, *Poems*, 30.
168. Εἰς νέραντζαν τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ἀργυροπόλου καυθεῖσαν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος. Theodore Balsamon, *Poems*, 31.
169. Στίχοι γραφέντες εἰς τὸ διὰ τοῦ λίθου ἴδικτον τοῦ κυρωθέντος δόγματος παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κυροῦ Μανουήλ καὶ ἀναστηλωθέντος ἐντὸς τῆς ἀγιωτάτης τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας. Theodore Balsamon, *Poems*, 32.
170. Στίχοι γραφέντες εἰς εἰκόνα ἀγίας Θεοτόκου, κρεμασθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν μονὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Τρύφωνος. Theodore Balsamon, *Poems*, 33.
171. Εἰς τυπικὸν γυναικείας μονῆς. Theodore Balsamon, *Poems*, 34. Cf. De Gregorio 2010: 56–7.
172. Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Τρύφωνα. Theodore Balsamon, *Poems*, 35.
173. Εἰς τὴν μονὴν τῶν Ζιπῶν. Theodore Balsamon, *Poems*, 36.
174. Εἰς τὸ κελλίον αὐτοῦ. Theodore Balsamon, *Poems*, 37.
175. Untitled. Theodore Balsamon, *Poems*, 38.
176. Εἰς τὸ παρ’ αὐτοῦ συντεθὲν νομοκάνονον πρὸς τὸν ἀγιώτατον πατριάρχην κύριν Γεώργιον τὸν Ξιφιλῖνον. Theodore Balsamon, *Poems*, 39.
177. Εἰς τὸν Αἰθίοπα Μωσῆν λογαριασθέντα καὶ λυπούμενον. Theodore Balsamon, *Poems*, 40. Cf. no. 34.
178. Εἰς εὐνουχοπουλίδιον ἄρξασθαι μέλλον σχεδογραφίας. Theodore Balsamon, *Poems*, 41. Cf. no. 35.
179. Εἰς νιπτῆρα ἔνδον δημοσιακοῦ λουτροῦ τῆς μονῆς τῶν Ὁδηγῶν. Theodore Balsamon, *Poems*, 42. Cf. no. 36.
- 94^v–96 180. Manasses, *Hodoiporikon*, vv. 1–269. 161
- 96^v Blank.
- 97 181. Εἰς τὸν πέπλον τὸν κρεμασθέντα παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου σεβαστοῦ τοῦ Ἀρβαντηνοῦ εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον τὴν Ὁδηγήτριαν. Τοῦ Καλλικλέος. Kallikles, *Poems*, 1. 162
- 97^{r-v} 182. Εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Σωτῆρος τὴν κοσμηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἀνατεθεῖσαν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Παντοκράτορος. Kallikles, *Poems*, 2.
- 97^v 183. Εἰς τὴν σταύρωσιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου. Kallikles, *Poems*, 32.
184. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Γεώργιον ἐν λευκῷ λίθῳ τυπωθέντα. Kallikles, *Poems*, 3.
185. Ἔτεροι. Kallikles, *Poems*, 4.
186. Εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν κοσμηθέντα παρὰ τοῦ κῦρ Ἰσαακίου διὰ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων. Kallikles, *Poems*, 8.
187. Εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν ἱσταμένην ἄνω τοῦ τάφου τοῦ σεβαστοῦ κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου. Kallikles, *Poems*, 11.
- 97^v–98 188. Εἰς ἕτεραν ὁμοίως εἰκόνα. Kallikles, *Poems*, 13. Cf. no. 268.
- 98 189. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Εἰς τὰς ἐπτὰ συνόδους τοῦ Χριστοῦ μέσον ἱσταμένου. Kallikles, *Poems*, 14. Cf. no. 267.
- 98^{r-v} 190. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Εἰς τὴν Θεοτόκον κοσμηθεῖσαν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. Kallikles, *Poems*, 15.
- 98^v 191. Εἰς τὸ καυκίον δοθὲν παρὰ τῆς πορφυρογεννήτου κυρᾶς Εὐδοκίας τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῆς τῷ βασιλεῖ ἡμῶν τῷ ἁγίῳ. Kallikles, *Poems*, 16.
192. Untitled. Kallikles, *Poems*, 17.
- 98^v–99 193. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ἱστάμενον ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ ὡς ἐκ προσώπου ἀμφοτέρων τοῦ τε λογοθέτου καὶ τῆς συμβίου αὐτοῦ κυρᾶς Εἰρήνης μετὰ τοῦ μοναχικοῦ σχήματος ἱσταμένων. Kallikles,

	<i>Poems</i> , 18.	
99	194. Εἰς τὴν Ὁδηγήτριαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Kallikles, <i>Poems</i> , 20.	
	195. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Εἰς τὸν τάφον τοῦ Καματηροῦ λογοθέτου. Kallikles, <i>Poems</i> , 21.	
99 ^v -100	196. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Εἰς τὴν Δοκειανὴν ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς. Kallikles, <i>Poems</i> , 22.	
100	197. Εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ σωτήρος τὴν κοσμηθεῖσαν παρὰ τῆς σεβαστῆς κυρᾶς Ἄννης τῆς Δουκαίνης. Kallikles, <i>Poems</i> , 23.	
	198. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Εἰς τὴν ἐν παλατίῳ δευτέραν παρουσίαν. Kallikles, <i>Poems</i> , 24.	
100 ^{f-v}	199. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Εἰς τὸ χρυσοῦν κουβούκλειον. Kallikles, <i>Poems</i> , 25.	
100 ^v	200. Εἰς τὸν ὀξεόχρυσον πέπλον τὸν κρεμασθέντα ἐν τῇ Ὁδηγήτρῳ παρὰ τῆς σεβαστῆς κυρᾶς Ἄννης, τῆς συζύγου τοῦ σεβαστοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀραβαντηνοῦ. Kallikles, <i>Poems</i> , 26.	
	201. Εἰς τὸν σταυρὸν τὸν κοσμηθέντα παρὰ τῆς πορφυρογεννήτου κυρᾶς Εὐδοκίας. Kallikles, <i>Poems</i> , 27.	
101	202. Εἰς τὸν τάφον τῆς δεσποίνης. Kallikles, <i>Poems</i> , 28.	
101-102	203. Εἰς τὰ ῥόδα. Kallikles, <i>Poems</i> , 29.	
102 ^{f-v}	204. Εἰς τὸν Σμυρναῖον ἐκφράσαντα τὸν τελευτήσαντα υἱὸν τοῦ πρωτοστράτορος. Kallikles, <i>Poems</i> , 30.	
103 ^{f-v}	205. Οἱ παρόντες στίχοι ὑγιαίνοντος τῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι τοῦ κραταιοῦ καὶ ἁγίου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου πορφυρογεννήτου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ ἐγένετο κατ' ἐντολὴν ἐκείνου ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ αὐτοῦ γραφησομένοι. Kallikles, <i>Poems</i> , 31.	
103 ^v	206. Τοῦ Προδρόμου. Εἰς εἰκόνα ἔχουσαν τὸν Χριστὸν ἱστορημένον. Theodore Prodromos, <i>Historical Poems</i> , 53.	163
103 ^v -104	207. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Εἰς ἄνθρακα ἐπιστολὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ Κανικλείου. Theodore Prodromos, <i>Historical Poems</i> , 72.	164
104	208. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Εἰς ἐγχείριον τῆς Ὁδηγήτριας. Theodore Prodromos, <i>Historical Poems</i> , 73.	165
	209. Εἰς τὸν Κυριακὸν καὶ Θεόδωρον τοὺς θυμελικοὺς ἀποκαρέντας. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 138.	166
	210. Εἰς τὸν μοναχὸν τῆς μονῆς Μανουήλ. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 120.	167
104 ^{f-v}	211. Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἰακωβὸν τὸν Πέρσην. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 121.	168
104 ^v	212. Εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 123. Cf. no. 333	169
	213. Εἰς τὸν μύρμηκα. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 125. Cf. no. 334.	170 171
	214. Εἰς τὴν Ἀνάληψιν. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 126. Cf. no. 335.	172
	215. Εἰς τὸν ἐξωνηθέντα βόλον τοῦ δικτύου παρ' αὐτοῦ. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 127.	173
	216. Εἰς τὴν εἰπόντα βδελύττεσθαι τὰ πηλὰ καὶ δια τοῦτο τῆς οἰκίας μὴ ἀπιέναι. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 132.	174
	217. Εἰς τὸν κατορύττοντα τὸ χρυσίον πλούσιον. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 134. Cf. no. 336.	174
105	218. On St Barbara. Untitled.	
	i. inc. ἄστοργε πάτερ Βαρβάρα τεμῶν ξίφει, vv. 6. Lambros ed. v. 1.	175
	ii. inc. σὺ μὲν τὸ πῦρ ἠφαιστον ἐξυμνῶν λέγεις, vv. 6. Lambros ed. v. 1.	176
	iii. inc. ὤφθης μισαρὸς αὐτόχειρ πατὴρ τέκνου, vv. 6. Lambros ed. v. 1.	177
	iv. inc. ἦν ἂν τὸ κρεῖττον εἰ πατὴρ ἄλλος φθάσας, vv. 6. Lambros ed. 1.	178
	v. inc. βλέπων φλέγον πῦρ πατέρα παιδοκτόνον, vv. 6. Lambros ed. 1.	179
	vi. inc. οὐχ ὡς μελίσσης, ὡς δὲ κηφῆνος γόνος, vv. 6. Lambros ed. 1.	180
	vii. inc. τί καὶ πάλιν πῦρ οὐρανὸς κάτω βρέχει, vv. 7.	181

105 ^{f-v}	219.	Ἐπὶ εἰκονίσματι τῆς Θεοτόκου ἄνωθεν πύλης μοναστηρίου. inc.	182
		ἦνπερ προεῖδεν ὁ προφητεῶν πύλην, vv. 22. Lambros ed. vv. 1-2.	
105 ^v -106	220.	Εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων. Ed. Hörandner 1994: I.	183
	221.	Εἰς τὸν χαιρετισμόν. Ed. Hörandner 1994: II.	-
	222.	Εἰς τὴν Χριστοῦ γέννησιν. Ed. Hörandner 1994: III.	211
	223.	Εἰς τὴν ὑπαπαντήν. Ed. Hörandner 1994: IV.	(sic)
	224.	Εἰς τὴν βάπτισιν. Ed. Hörandner 1994: V.	
	225.	Εἰς τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν. Ed. Hörandner 1994: VI.	
	226.	Εἰς τὴν ἔγερσιν τοῦ Λαζάρου. Ed. Hörandner 1994: VII.	
	227.	Εἰς τὴν βαΐοφόρον. Ed. Hörandner 1994: VIII.	
	228.	Εἰς τὸν δεῖπνον. Ed. Hörandner 1994: IX.	
	229.	Εἰς τὸν νιπτῆρα. Ed. Hörandner 1994: X.	
	230.	Εἰς τὴν προσευχήν. Ed. Hörandner 1994: XI.	
	231.	Εἰς τὴν προδοσίαν. Ed. Hörandner 1994: XII.	
	232.	Εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐλκόμενον ἐπὶ τῷ σταυρωθῆναι. Ed. Hörandner 1994: XIII.	
106	233.	Εἰς τὴν σταύρωσιν. Ed. Hörandner 1994: XIV.	
	234.	Εἰς τὴν ἀποκαθήλωσιν. Ed. Hörandner 1994: XV.	
	235.	Εἰς τὸν ἐνταφιασμόν. Ed. Hörandner 1994: XVI.	
	236.	Εἰς τὴν ἀνάστασιν. Ed. Hörandner 1994: XVII.	
	237.	Εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν. Ed. Hörandner 1994: XVIII.	
	238.	Εἰς τὴν πεντηκοστήν. Ed. Hörandner 1994: XIX.	
	239.	Εἰς τὴν κοίμησιν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου. Ed. Hörandner 1994: XX.	212
	240.	Εἰς τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον Μιχαὴλ εἰκονισθέντα ἐν τῷ προφυλαίῳ τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔξωθεν τοῦ κάστρου Τριαδίτισης, παρὰ τοῦ σεβαστοῦ καὶ μεγάλου ἐταιρειάρχου κυροῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου ἔνθα συνεικονίσθη αὐτὸς τὲ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ σεβαστὸς κύρ Ἀλέξιος. inc. ὡς πρὶν Μανουὲ συλλαλοῦντά σε βλέπω, vv. 9.	213
	241.	Εἰς τὸν ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τῆς Τιβεριάδος ἄριστον. Ed. Hörandner 1994: XXI.	215
	242.	Εἰς ἐγκόλπιον τοῦ Ἀλουσιάνου Μιχαὴλ τοῦ γραμματικοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ κανικλείου τοῦ Ἁγιοθεοδωρίτου ἔχον τίμιον ξύλον τοῦ Σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ξύλον ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου ἔνθα ἐποιήσατο τὴν προσευχήν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τοῦ πάθους· λίθους ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου τοῦ Χριστοῦ· τοῦ τάφου τῆς Θεοτόκου· τοῦ ὄρους τῶν Ἐλαιῶν· τοῦ τόπου τοῦ Γολγοθᾶ καὶ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Σινᾶ. Horna 1906: 198. See p. 126, note 15.	
106 ^v	243.	Ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ παλατίῳ ἐγγεγλυμμένῳ [ὁ]στρεῖῳ ἐν λίθῳ. inc. ἔοικεν ὡς φύουσιν ὑδάτων δίχα, vv. 5. Lambros ed. v. 1. See p. 80.	216
	244.	Εἰς λίθον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐν ᾧ ἦν αὕτη εἰκονισμένη, vv. 5. Lambros ed. v. 1.	217
	245.	Εἰς κανδύλαν ἀναρτηθεῖσαν εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς σταυρώσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρὰ τοῦ πρωτονωβελισσίμου κυροῦ Νικολάου. inc. σταυρῷ δύνας, ἦλιε τῆς δόξης, Λόγε, vv. 13. Lambros ed. vv. 1-2 and 7-13. See p. 80.	218
	246.	Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Περιβλέπτου κοσμηθεῖσαν παρὰ βασιλέως, ἧς ὄπισθεν ὁ αὐτὸς εἰκονίσθη. inc. εἰ καὶ τύπου πίνακα κοσμῶν σε λόγε, vv. 17. Lambros ed. vv. 1-4 and 16-17. See p. 81.	219
106 ^v -107	247.	Εἰς τὸν ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Παντοκράτορος τάφον τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος καὶ πορφυρογεννήτου κυροῦ Ἀνδρονίκου ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς συμβίου αὐτοῦ, τῆς σεβαστοκρατορίσεως κυρᾶς Ἄννης. inc. ὦ τύμβε πικρὰ κλῆσις ἀλγεινὴ θέα, vv. 36. Lambros ed. v. 1.	220
107	248.	Εἰς εἰκόνα ἔχουσαν ἱστορηθέντα τὸν βασιλέα [καὶ] τὴν	221

- δέσποιναν εύλογουμένους παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ed. Magdalino–Nelson: 137–8. See p. 180.
- 107^{F-v} 249. Εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ἀνακομισθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν 222
εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου καὶ αὐθις ἀποσταλεῖσαν ἐκεῖσε. inc. καὶ
τοῦτο δεῖγμα βασιλικῆς καρδίας, νν. 26.
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258. Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Νικολάου κοσμηθεῖσαν. inc. ἂν 231
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110 ^v	267.	Εἰς τὰς ζ' συνόδους τοῦ Χριστοῦ μέσον ἱσταμένου. Kallikles, Poems, 14. Cf. no. 189.	243
	268.	Untitled. Kallikles, Poems, 13. Cf. no. 188.	244
110 ^v – 111	269.	Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου κοσμηθεῖσαν. inc. εἰς καρδίας γῆν σου βαλὼν πόθου σπόρον, vv. 20. Lambros ed. vv. 1 and 16–20. See p. 86.	245
111 – 112 ^v	270.	Ἦθοποιία τίνας ἂν εἶπει λόγους ἢ σεβαστὴ κυρᾶ Εἰρήνη ἢ θυγάτηρ τῆς σεβαστῆς κυρᾶς Σοφίας τῆς τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος περὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν συμβεβηκότων. inc. οὐκ ἔστι μοι μὲν εὐχαριστίας λόγος, vv. 201.	246
112 ^v	271.	Εἰς τὸ καινουργηθὲν κουβούκλειον ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὰς Βλαχέρνας κουβουκλείῳ. Ed. Magdalino–Nelson 1982: 142.	247
113 – 115	Philosophical and grammatical works.		248
113, line 1–20	Titl. Inc. Des.	272. Untitled: On the winds [ὄτι] ἀπηλιώτης λέγεται ὅτι ὁ (ἥλιος) δι' αὐτοῦ διέρχεται καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς πνεῖ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων κέντρων καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀνέμων	
113, line 20 – 113 ^v , line 7	Titl. Inc. Des.	273. Untitled: On the causes Ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ αἴτιον ἑπταχῶς. ποιητικὸν αἴτιον... καὶ ὀργανικὸν καὶ παραδειγματικὸν πόρρω τις θείας καὶ ἀπειροδυνάμου φύει.	
113 ^v , line 8 – 114, line 14	Titl. Inc. Des.	274. Untitled. On the conceptions διατὶ μὴ λέγομεν καὶ τὸ οὐ παντὶ συνάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ τινὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀληθὲς τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς μερικοῖς στερητικοῖς συλλογισμοῖς τοῖς ἔν τε τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ τρίτῳ σχήματι	
114, line 15 – 115, line 9	Titl. Inc. Des.	275. Untitled. διαφορὰ ἐστὶ πλεονάζει τὸ εἶδος τοῦ γένους εἰ γοῦν πλεονάζει τὸ εἶδος τοῦ γένους τῆς διαφορᾶς ἀλλ' ἐξυποκειμένων τινῶν τὰ ὄντα τὸν Θεοῦ δημιουργῆσαι ὑπολαβεῖν Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ πρώτοις οὐσίας τὰ καθέκαστα λέγων ληρωδεῖς ἀφῆκεν τὸν Πλάτωνα. προῦφεστάναι τὰς ἰδέας τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποφεινόμενον	
115, line 10 – 23	Titl. Inc. Des.	276. Untitled διμέρου ὄντων τῆς φιλοσοφίας θεωρητικοῦ καὶ πρακτικοῦ. περὶ τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ μάλιστα ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐσπούδασε εἶρηται λόγων ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς περὶ κινήσει.	
115 ^v	277.	Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Νικολάου κοσμηθεῖσαν. inc. ἂν μηδὲν αἰτῶν μηδὲ λαμβάνων πάλαι, vv. 28. Lambros ed. vv. 1–5, 20–2 and 28. See p. 87.	249
	278.	Εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς Θεοτόκου κοσμηθεῖσαν παρὰ τοῦ Σκληροῦ. inc. σοῦ καὶ τύποι στίλβοντες ἦσαν χρυσίῳ, vv. 10. Lambros ed. vv. 1, 6–7 and 9–10. See p. 88.	250
	279.	Εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου κοσμηθεῖσαν παρὰ τοῦ Συναΐτου. inc. ἐκ μαργαριτῶν, ἐκ λίθων, ἐκ χρυσίου, vv. 7. Lambros ed. vv. 1–3. See p. 88.	251
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116 ^v – 117 ^v	290. Ἦθοποιία τίνας ἂν εἶπη λόγους ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου ἀβλαβῆς διαφυλαχθεῖς. Ed. Koufourolou 1989: 362–5.	262
117 ^v	291. Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοθεῖσαν ἐν Ἀδριανουπόλει. inc. ἐκ τοῦ διώκτου καὶ σπαράκτου μὲν πάλαι, vv. 29. Lambros ed. vv. 1–2 and 20–9. See p. 91.	263
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179 ^{r-v}	353. Michael Psellos, <i>Philosophica Minora I</i> , Op. 10. des. οὐ μόνον ὅτι ἐνδέχεται μὴ ὑπάρχειν. The work breaks off at the middle of the page.	314
180	354. Ἐπὶ σκεύει χρυσῷ ἐν ᾧ εἰκονίσθη ὁ ἅγιος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς κατατροπούμενος τὸν σουλτάνον. inc. ἐκ χρυσοῦ τὸ σκεῦος, ἢ δὲ στιλπνότης, vv. 16.	315
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⁸ See also Jenkins, Laourdas and Mango 1954: 1–40. Darrouzés 1955.

180 ^v	359. Untitled poem on the coronation of Manuel. inc. πάλαι μὲν εἶς ἀρχιερεύς, Μελχισεδὲκ ὁ μέγας, νν. 11.	320
	360. Αἴνιγμα εἰς τέντα. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 71.	321
	361. Εἰς τὸ τίμιον λείψανον τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος βλύζον ἁγίασμα. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 89. Cf. no. 24.	322
	362. Εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 113. Cf. no. 29.	323
	363. Εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 123. Cf. no. 212.	324
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	365. Εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 126. Cf. no. 214.	326
	366. Εἰς πλούσιον κατορύττοντα τὸ χρυσίον. Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> , 134. Cf. no. 217.	327
181	367. Ἐπὶ ἐγκολπίῳ ἔχοντι μέρος τοῦ ἁγίου λίθου ἐν ᾧ ἐσμυρνίσθη ὁ κύριος καὶ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. inc. ὁ ζῶν θεϊκῶς καὶ θανῶν σαρκὸς νόμῳ, νν. 6.	328
	368. Ἐπὶ εἰκόνι τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος. inc. ἀναργύρωσ μὲν πρὶν παρεῖχες τὴν χάριν, νν. 8. Lambros ed. νν. 1–2 and 8.	329
	369. Ἐπὶ πατελίῳ χρυσῷ, ἐν ᾧ εἰκονίσθησαν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Οὐγγαρίαν τρόπαια τοῦ βασιλέως. Cf. no. 118.	330
	370. Ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰκονίσμασι τοῦ βασιλέως, τοῦ μὲν κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ συλλαλοῦντος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ οὐρ, τοῦ δὲ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐν εἴδει περιστεράς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατερχομένου, τῶν δὲ ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου καὶ τῶν ἁγίων πατριαρχῶν, τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, τοῦ Θεολόγου καὶ ἐτέρων ἀρχιερέων ἐπιδιδόντων αὐτῷ τόμους τῶν χρήσεων. Ed. Magdalino 1982: 147–8.	331
	371. Εἰς τὸ θαῦμα τῶν πέντε ἄρτων. inc. λαβῶν ἀφύρτως φύραμα τοῦ σαρκίου, νν. 13. Lambros ed. νν. 1–2 and 13.	332
181 ^{r-v}	372. Ἐπὶ σκεπάσματι χρυσῷ, ἐν ᾧ εἰκονίσθησαν τὰ κατὰ τὸ ταξείδιον τὸ κατὰ τὸ Ἰκόνιον. inc. ταχ' ἂν βιασθῆ καὶ θαλασσῶν ἢ χύσις, νν. 12.	333
181 ^v	373. Ἐπὶ εἰκόνι τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου. inc. χρυσὸς μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ λαμπρότης λίθων, νν. 24.	334
	374. Ἐπὶ τῷ ξίφει τοῦ βασιλέως. inc. ξίφους μὲν ἀνταύγεια συγχέει κόρας, νν. 12.	335
	375. Ἐπὶ χρυσῷ ζωστήρι. inc. ἐκ μαργαριτῶν, ἐκ λίθων, ἐκ χρυσίου, νν. 10.	336
181 ^v –182	376. Ἐπίγραμμα γεγονὸς ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμπαγέντι μέσω τῆς οὐγγρικῆς χώρας Τιμίῳ Σταυρῷ. inc. ὄν πρὶν κατιδῶν ἄστερόγραφον τύπον, νν. 29.	337
182	377. Τοῦ Προδρόμου. Εἰς κάτοπτρον ἔχον ὀπισθεν γεγραμμένον τὸν Ἥλιον. Theodore Prodromos, <i>Historical Poems</i> , 55.	338
	378. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς λαμπάδα ἀποσταλεῖσαν εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς πανυπεράγνου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου. Theodore Prodromos, <i>Historical Poems</i> , 67.	339
	379. Τοῦ Ψελλοῦ. Εἰς κώθωνα γυναικὸς ἀργυροῦν. Michael Psellos, <i>Poems</i> , no. 34.	340
	380. Εἰς ξύλον δάφνινον ὄν ἐν ὀπῆ. inc. Δάφνη τί κρύπτῃ; μὴ τὸν Ἀπόλλω πάλιν, νν. 2.	341
	381. Ἀπὸ ναρκίσσου φυτοῦ πρὸς Ζέφυρον. inc. παῦσον Ζέφυρε μὴ σφοδρῶς πνέειν θέλε, νν. 2.	342
	382. Εἰς νάρκισσον φυτὸν κλίνον εἰς ὕδωρ. inc. νάρκισσε τί δρᾷς; εἰς ὕδωρ βλέπων πάλαι, νν. 3.	343
	383. Εἰς τὴν Κυριώτισσαν ὅτε ἀνέγνω. inc. καὶ Ῥωμανῶ δέσποινα τῷ λάτρει πάλαι, νν. 6.	344
	384. Εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἠρωικά. Christopher Mitylinaios, <i>Poems</i> , 3.	345
	385. Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Συμεῶν τὸν Στυλίτην. Christopher Mitylinaios, <i>Poems</i> , 5.	346

182 ^v	386. Εἰς τὸ ἀνακαθαρθὲν πηγάδιον τῆς μονῆς τῆς Θεοτόκου, λέγονται δὲ πρὸς τὴν Θεοτόκον ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ἀνακαθαρθέντος. Christopher Mitylinaios, <i>Poems</i> , 7.	347
	387. Εἰς τὸν πατρίκιον Μελίαν καὶ παραθαλασσίτην. Christopher Mitylinaios, <i>Poems</i> , 15.	348
	388. Αἴνιγμα εἰς τὸ ζυγὸν ἦτοι τὸ ζυγίον. Christopher Mitylinaios, <i>Poems</i> , 21.	349 350
	389. Εἰς τὴν Μεταμόρφωσιν. Christopher Mitylinaios, <i>Poems</i> , 25.	351
	390. Εἰς πτωχὸν Λέοντα. Christopher Mitylinaios, <i>Poems</i> , 29.	352
	391. Εἰς τὰς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ραινομένας δάφνας κατὰ τὰς ἑορτάς. Christopher Mitylinaios, <i>Poems</i> , 32.	353
	392. Αἴνιγμα εἰς τὴν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἴριον ἦτοι τὸ τόξον. Christopher Mitylinaios, <i>Poems</i> , 35.	354
	393. Εἰς τὸν ῥήτορα Μηνᾶν φιλοπότην ὄντα. Christopher Mitylinaios, <i>Poems</i> , 37.	355
	394. Εἰς τὴν Ὑπαπαντὴν. Christopher Mitylinaios, <i>Poems</i> , 41.	356
	395. Εἰς λοετρόν. Christopher Mitylinaios, <i>Poems</i> , 53.	357
	396. Εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Μονομάχον. Christopher Mitylinaios, <i>Poems</i> , 54.	358
	397. Αἴνιγμα εἰς τὰς ἐν τῷ ὠρολογίῳ ὥρας. Christopher Mitylinaios, <i>Poems</i> , 56.	
183–189	398. <i>Commentary on Aristotle's Little Physical Treatises</i> , 87–98.	359
189 ^v	399. Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Στέφανον. inc. ἐκαρτέρει Στέφανος ἀνδριοφρόνως, vv. 6.	360
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	402. Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἑσταυρωμένου ἀπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων κυροῦ Ἰωάννου. inc. κλίνας κεφαλὴν καὶ θανῶν ἐπὶ ξύλου, vv. 18. Lambros ed. vv. 1–3 and 17–8. See p. 97.	363
	403. Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδοσίου τοῦ κοινοβιάρχου. inc. ψυχῆς Θεοδόσιε τῇ προθυμίᾳ, vv. 14. Lambros ed. vv. 1–2 and 10–4. See p. 98.	364
192 ^v –193	404. Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Σάβα. inc. ἐκ πράξεων φῶς χρηματίσας ἐνθέων, vv. 15. Lambros ed. vv. 1 and 9–15. See p. 99.	365
193	405. Εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου κοσμηθεῖσαν. inc. πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἠνέωξάς μοι πύλας, vv. 20.	366
	406. Εἰς ἐγκόλπιον ἔχον μύρον ἐκ τοῦ βλύζοντος ἀπὸ τῆς εἰκόνας τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου τοῦ Μεσαμπελίτου. inc. σὺ κλῆμα Χριστοῦ τῆς νοητῆς ἀμπέλου, vv. 4.	367
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	i. inc. οὐ χρήζει ῥήτορος ἀπλῶς οὐδ' ὕμνων ἀνθρωπίνων, vv. 10.	
	ii. inc. ἡ πόλις ἡ βασιλεία μήτηρ ἡ σὴ καὶ δούλη, vv. 10.	
	iii. inc. ἐθάμβησας τοῖς ἔργοις σου καὶ ταῖς ταχυπραξίαις, vv. 10.	
	iv. inc. ἦλιε γίγαν φεραυγὲς νυμφίε τῆς ἡμέρας, vv. 10.	
	v. inc. χαῖρε μοι, θύγατερ Σιών, πόλεως πάσης μήτηρ, vv. 10.	
194–292 ^v , line 8	410. Ἐπισημείωσις τῶν ἀποτελουμένων ἐκ τῆς πρώτης βροντῆς καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος μετὰ τὴν κυνὸς ἐπιτολήν. Various fragments from the <i>Geoponica</i> .	371
292 ^v , lines 9–22	411. On the ten categories inc. νυνὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων.	372

des. ἵππος καλὸς μέσος ἐν λυκίῳ χθὲς καλῶς ἐχαλινωμένος εἰστήκει ἐπεὶ δὴ
περὶ τῶν δε.

B. Contents

Prose Instructional works Commentaries Orations Letters	Attributed works/ Named authors in the manuscript	<i>Ixeutica</i> (ff. 24–33, line 27) <i>Commentary on the ten categories</i> by Michael Psellos (ff. 40–45, line 28) – Scribe B George Choiroboskos, <i>Epimerisms on Psalms</i> (ff. 47–88, line 13) Orations of Arethas of Caesarea (ff. 121–152 ^v) Prose works by Michael Psellos (ff. 153–179 ^v) <i>Geoponica</i> (ff. 190–192, 194–292 ^v , line 8)
	Unattributed works or anonymously transmitted in the manuscript	Note on the calculation of hours (f. 8 ^v) Excerpts from John Tzetzes' <i>Commentary on Lycophron</i> (ff. 33, line 28 – 33 ^v , line 19) Collection of gnomes (f. 88 ^v) Excerpts from various anonymous works (ff. 113–115, line 23) Commentary on Aristotles' <i>Little Physical Treatises</i> (ff. 183–189) – Scribe C
Poetry	Attributed works/ Named authors in the manuscript	Michael Psellos (ff. 1 ^v and 182) Andronikos protekdikos, <i>Semeioma</i> (ff. 3 ^v –5) Theodore Prodromos (ff. 5–8 ^v , 103 ^v –104, 182) Theodore Balsamon (ff. 9, 89–94) Constantine Stilbes (ff. 10 ^v –18) Theophylactos of Ohrid (ff. 88 ^{r-v}) Nicholas Kallikles (ff. 97–103 ^v , 110 ^v)
	Unattributed works or anonymously transmitted in the manuscript	Epigrams, poems, acclamations (ff. 1, 18–23 ^v , 33 ^v , line 20–39 ^v , 45 ^v , line 29 – 46 ^v , line 29, 105–12 ^v , 115 ^v –120 ^v , 180–182, 189 ^v , 192 ^v –193 ^v) Ignatios the Deacon, <i>Fables</i> (f. 88) Christopher Mitylenaios, <i>Poems</i> (ff. 1 ^v –3, 88 ^v , 104 ^{r-v} , 180 ^v , 182 ^{r-v}) Constantine Manasses, <i>Hodoiporikon</i> (ff. 94 ^v –96)

C. Quires

x	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
40	41	42	43	44	45	46	x
47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54
55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62
63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70
71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78
79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86
			87	88			
89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96
97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104
105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112
113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120
121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128
129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136
137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144
145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152
153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160
161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168
169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176
	177	178	179	180	181	182	
183	184	185	186	187	188	189	
		190	191	192	193		
194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201
202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209
210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217
218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225
226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233
234	235a	235b	236	237	230	239	240
241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248
249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256
257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264
265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272
273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280
281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288
	289	290	291	292	x	x	

D. Proposed units

Production Unit	Folia	Lambros	Mioni Odorico–Mensis
I	1–23 ^v	1	1
II	24–39 ^v		
III	40–46 ^v	2	2
IV	47–88 ^v	3	3
V	89–96 ^v	4	4
VI	97–112 ^v		
VII	113–120 ^v		
VIII	121–152 ^v	5	5
IX	153–182 ^v	6 – ff. 153–179	6
X	183–189 ^v	7 – ff. 180–189	7
XI	190–193 ^v	8	8
XII	194–292 ^v	9	9

E. Papers

	Folia	Surface/colour	Pâté	Transparency	Laid lines	Chain lines
a.	1-15 89-104	dull / dark yellowish	irregular badly disintegrated	3	±2.9 cm	not visible
b.	16-39 105-112 190-209	smooth; glossy / yellowish	irregular badly disintegrated	2.5	±2.7 cm	not visible
c.	40-46	rough; dull / brownish	irregular - <i>souple</i>	3.5	±2.5 cm	not visible
d.	47-88	dull /light brownish	irregular badly disintegrated	3	±2.7 cm	not visible
e.	113-120	a bit rough; dull / yellowish	regular - <i>souple</i> badly disintegrated	2	<less visible>	less visible
f.	121-152	rough / dull : smooth/dull / ivory yellowed	regular badly disintegrated	3	±2.6 cm	almost invisible
g.	153-182	smooth; glossy / yellowish	badly disintegrated	3	±3 cm irregular width	visible using regular light
h.	183-189	dull / ivory yellowed	regular a bit badly disintegrated	2.5	±3.6 cm irregular width	simple 0.18 (25.6/142)
i.	210-217 273-292	smooth / ivory yellowed	irregular badly disintegrated	3	not visible	measurement not possible
j.	218-225	smooth/a bit brilliant;a bit rough; dull/yellowish	irregular badly disintegrated	2	not visible	less visible
k.	226-240	rough / yellowish; beige	very irregular badly disintegrated	2	less visible <i>vergeures</i> <i>obliques</i>	less visible
l.	241-272	a bit rough; dull / brownish	regular badly disintegrated	3.5	less visible	less visible

F. Ink

Family	Variation	Hue	Description	Scribe	Folia
a	1	a	Brown to light brown ink which sometimes becomes waterish	A	1-23 ^v 97-112 ^v
	1	b		A	33 ^v l. 20-39 ^v 45 l. 28-34 45 ^v -45 marginal note on 184 ^v
	2	a		A	24-33 ^v l. 19 194-254 l. 3
	2	b		A	180-182 ^v 189 ^v 259-292
	2	c		A	115 ^v -120 ^v 190-193 ^v
	3			A	47-59 ^v
	4			A	60-88 l. 12
	5			A	45, ll. 22-28 88 l. 13-89 ^v 89-94
	6			A	121-150 ^v
	7			A	152 ^v ll. 22-28
	8			C	292 ^v ll. 26-31
b	1		Dark brown	B	40-45 l. 27
c	1		Light blackish brown	A	160-178 ll. 9 & 13-14 183-189
	2		Dark blackish brown	A	94 ^v -96 113-115, l.23 151-152 ^v l. 21 153-159 ^v 183-189
	3			A	178 l. 11 & 14-179 ^v
	4			A	254 l. 4-258 ^v 292 ^v l. 1-8
	5			C	292 ^v ll. 9-26

113-120	8	VII	A2	e	33.8x25.3	c2 (113-115 line 23) a2c (115-120)	Irregular number (20-36)	1: 113-115 2: 115-120 ^v	Similar to Leroy 02A1	113-115: Prose (anonymous) Philosophical and grammatical works 115-120 ^v : Poetry
121-128	8	VIII	A1	f	34x25.6	a6 (121-150 ^v)	More regular number (28-31)	1	Similar to Leroy 02A1	Prose (Arethas)
129-136	8				33.8x25.4					
137-144	8				33.8x25.4					
145-152	8				34x25.4	c2 (151-152 ^v line 21) a7(152 line 22-28)				
153-160	8	IX	A1	g	34.5x25.6	c2 (153-159 ^v)	Irregular number (29-36)	1: 153-179 ^v 2: 180-182 ^v	Similar to Leroy 02A1	153-179 ^v :Prose (Psellos) 180-182 ^v : Poetry
161-168	8				34.5x25.7					
169-176	8				34.5x25.6					
177-182	6				34.1x25.5	c3 (178 line 11 and 14 ff. -179 ^v) a2b (180-182)				
183-189	6 + [1] + 1	X	A1 A3 (189 ^v)	h	32.8x25.6	c1 (183-189) a2 (189 ^v)	Regular number (23-25) Except 189 ^v : 4	1: 183-189 2: 189 ^v	Similar to Leroy 02A1	183-189: Prose 189 ^v : Poetry
190-193	4	XI	A3	b	33.8x25.4	a2c	30-31	1: 190-192 2: 192 ^v -193 ^v		190-192: Prose 192 ^v -193 ^v : Poetry
194-201	8	XII	A2	i	33.3x25.4	a2a (194-254 line 3)	Irregular number (26-34)	1: 194-292	-	Prose (Geoponica)
202-209	8				33.4x25.6					
210-217	8				32.8x25.7					
218-225	8				33.1x25.7					
226-233	8				32.6x25.8					
				k		c4 (254 line 4 - 258 ^v)				

Folia	Quire Signatures	Gatherings	Unit	Production Moment	Paper	Opening	Ink	Lines per page	Text Columns	Ruling	Content
1-7	7: β (erased)	[8] + 7 + [1]			ff. 1-15: a	32.6x25.4	ala (only in 10 ^v line 8: a bit more waterfish)	Irregular number (26-35)	2	pricking	Poetry
8-15	8: γ (erased) / δ	8	I	A3		31.6x25.5					
16-23	16: ε	8				32.5x25.4					
24-31	27: ζ	8			b		a2a (24-33 ^v , line 20) a2b (33 ^v , line 20-39 ^v)	Irregular number (28-36)	1 (24-33 ^v , line 19) 2 (33 ^v , line 20-39 ^v)	pricking	24-33 ^v , line 19: Prose (Ixeutica / Tzetzes' commentary to Lycophron) 33 ^v , line 20-39: Poems
32-39		8	II	A3		32.6x25.4					
40-46		7 + [1]	III	A1 (40-45, l. 27) A3 (45, line 28-46)	c	33.5x25.6	b1 (40-45 line 27) a2 (45, line 28-46)	Irregular number (35-40)	1 (40-45) 2 (45 ^v -46 ^v)	40-45: Similar to Leroy 02A1	40-45, line 28: Prose 45 ^v -46 ^v : Poems (hard to tell if there is missing text at the end)
47-54	47: α	8					a3 (47-59 ^v)	Irregular number (36-45)			
55-62	55: β	8		A1			a4 (60-88 line 12)	Irregular number (36-45)			
63-70	63: γ	8	IV	A3 (88, line 13-89)	d	33.6x25.4	a5 (88, line 13-89)				Prose
71-78	71: δ	8									
79-86	79: ε	8									
87-88		2									
89-96		8	V	A2 A3 (94 ^v -96)	a	34.1x25.3	a5 (89-94) c2 (94 ^v -96)	Irregular number (31-34)	2		Poetry
97-104		8			a			Irregular number (27-29)			
105-112		8	VI	A3	b	32.6x25.4	ala (97-112 ^v)	Irregular number (28-30)	2		Poetry

H. Quire signatures

Folio	Placement in the gathering	Unit	Letter	Placement on the page	Ink	Notes
7 ^v	last page	I	β	middle of the lower margin	1a (same as the text)	Erased by ink similar to 2c
8	first page	I	γ	middle of the lower margin	1a (same as the text)	Erased by ink similar to 2c
8	first page	I	δ	middle of the lower margin	2c	'accent' next to the letter / cf. f. 16
16	first page	I	ε	middle of the lower margin	1a	'accent' next to the letter / cf. f. 8
27 ^v	middle of the quire	II	ς	upper inner margin	a2a (same as the text)	It doesn't follow the sequence of the previous quire signatures
47	first page	IV	α	middle of the lower margin	a3	
55	first page	IV	β	middle of the lower margin	a3	
63	first page	IV	γ	middle of the lower margin	a4	
71	first page	IV	δ	middle of the lower margin	a4	
79	first page	IV	ε	middle of the lower margin	a4	
128 ^v	first page	VIII	α	middle of the lower margin	a2c	
129	first page	VIII	α	middle of the lower margin	a2c	erased by the scribe
137	first page	VIII	γ	middle of the lower margin	a2c	
145	first page	VIII	δ	middle of the lower margin	a2c	
160	last page	IX	α	middle of the lower margin	a5	
161	first page	IX	β	middle of the lower margin	a5	
194	first page	XII	α	middle of the lower margin	a2c	smaller size than regular
218	first page	XII	δ	middle of the lower margin	a2c	
226	first page	XII	ε	middle of the lower margin	a2c	the same hand wrote



















						it twice, erased it once
233 ^v	last page	XII	ς	middle of the lower margin	a2c	
234	first page	XII	στ	middle of the lower margin	a2c	
241	first page	XII	ζ	middle of the lower margin	a2c	
273	first page	XII	ια	middle of the lower margin	a2c	Hard to tell whether there is text missing
281	first page	XII	ιγ	middle of the lower margin	a2c	
289	first page	XII	ιγ	middle of the lower margin	a2c	























I. Proposed Scribes























		New identificati on	Lambros	Mioni	Odorico- Messis
A		1-39 ^v 45, lin.12- 292 ^v , lin.7	1-39 ^v 89-120 190-193 ^v	1-39 ^v 45 ^v -46 ^v 88, lin.13-120 ^v 180-182 ^v 190-193 ^v	1-39 ^v 45 ^v -46 ^v 88, lin.13-152 ^v 178, lin.10-182 ^v 189 ^v 190-292 ^v
B		40-45, lin.11	40-45	40-45	40-45
	B*		45 ^v -46 ^v		
C			47-88	47-88, lin.12	47-88
D	*		121-152	121-150 ^v 178, lin.10 - 179 ^v	
E				151-154 ^v 183-189	153-154 ^v 183-189
	E*		153-179		
F				155-178, lin.9	155-178, lin.9
G			180-189		
H			194-292 ^v maybe D	194-292 ^v	
I		292 ^v , lin.9-30			
Notes					<i>Les mains sont toutes de la même époque et fort ressemblantes entre elles et en général exemptes de fautes d'orthographe (Odorico-Messis 2003: 197).</i>






















J. Scribe A






















The following table includes some of the characteristic letters for Scribe A. The different columns represent different sections of the manuscript, for which the hand has been previously disputed. I have noted using crosses the sections in which the letter appears.

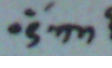

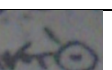
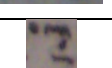
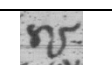
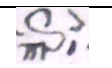
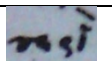
















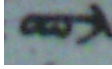
			ff. 1– 39 ^v , 45 ^v – 46 ^v , 89– 120 ^v , 190– 193 ^v	ff. 180– 182 ^v , 189 ^v	ff. 121 – 150	ff. 47 – 88 , li 12	ff. 151– 154 ^v	ff. 178 – 179 ^v	ff. 155 ^v – 177 ^v	ff. 183 – 189 ^v	ff. 194 – 292	f. 155
	1	ᾰ	+	+	+			+	+	+		+
	180	ᾰ	+	+	+	+					+	
	181 ^v	α(ρ)	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
	94 ^v	αβ	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+			+
	23	α	+	+			+	+				
	38 ^v	α	+		+							+
	177 ^v	α	+	+				+	+		+	
	177 ^v	ᾰλλ						+	+			
	3	ᾰν	+	+	+						+	+
	32 ^v	αξ	+	+	+				+			
	180	ᾰρ		+	+			+	+	+	+	
	1	ᾰρ	+	+	+							
	108	αὐ	+	+						+		
	1 ^v	β	+								+	+
	22 ^v	β	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
	3, 22 ^v	β	+	+	+	+		+	+			+
	32	β	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	
	45 ^v	β	+	+	+		+			+	+	























	45 ^v	β	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	
	107 ^v	β	+				+	+	+			+
	178	β	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	
	178	β					+	+	+		+	+
	1	γ	+	+	+			+	+			
	3	γ	+	+	+				+	+		+
	107 ^v	γᾶρ	+		+							
	1	γ(εῖ)	+	+		+		+		+		+
	32	γκ	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		
	182 ^v	γλῦ		+		+			+	+	+	
	94 ^v	γρ	+		+						+	
	181	γρ		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
	153	δ					+		+	+	+	
	181 ^v	δᾶλλᾶ		+			181 ^v					+
	32	δε	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	
	96	δε	+			+		+	+			+
	180	δε		+					+			+
	96	δ(ή)	+	+	+		+	+				+
	1	δ(ι)	+	+	+					+		
	177 ^v	δ(ι)		+				+	+			
	23	διά	+		+		+				+	
	22 ^v	δ(ιδου)	+	+					+	+	+	





















	1	δ(ό)	+						+			+
	22 ^v	ε	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
		ει	+		+						+	
	1	ει	+	+				+	+		+	+
	3	ει	+							+		
	96	ει	+							+		
	182	ει	+	+	+						+	
	184	ει				(+)	+	+	+	+	+	
	1	εἰ	+	+			+		+	+	+	
	179	εἰ				+	+			+		
	34	εἰς	+	+					+		+	
	180	εἰς(ς)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1	ἐκ	+	+								
		ἐν	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
	1	ἐξ	+			+	+					
	3	ἐξ	+	+	+		+					
	153	ἐπ						+		+		+
	1	ἐπὶ	+	+	+				+	+		
	1, 3	ερ	+	+			+		+		+	
	121	ερ	+	+	+			+				+
	121	ερ			+			+	+	+		
	23	ε(ὑψυχ ον	+				+	+		+	+	

	3	ζ	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
	94 ^v	ζ	+	+	+		+		+		+	+
	34	ζ(ἦ)	+	+	+				+		+	+
	33 ^v	η	+	+						+		
	118	η	+						+	+	+	
	1	ἦν	+	+	+		+		+		+	+
	182	θ	+	+			+		+	+		
	1	θ(ύσ)	+		+		+		+			+
	23	ῖ	+	+	+	+	+		+			
		ῖ́	+						+		+	
	177 ^v	ι	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	
	1	κ	+				+		+		+	
	3	κ	+	+	+					+	+	+
	3	κ	+	+			+					+
	32	κ	+						+	+		
	33 ^v	κ	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
	94 ^v	κ	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	
	94 ^v	κ	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+
	182	κ	+	+								+
	1	καὶ	+				+		+			
	3	καὶ	+	+	+	+			+		+	

	33 ^v	καὶ	+			+				+		
	181	καὶ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
	190	καὶ	+		+							
	1	λ	+	+	+		+		+			
	2	λ	+		+		+	+				
	2	λ	+	+			+				+	
	34	λιν	+		+		+					
	180	μ(έγα)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3	μὲν	+	+	+				+		+	+
	32	μμ	+		+		+		+	+	+	+
	94 ^v	ν	+	+	+		+		+			+
	3	ν (final)	+	+	+		+	+	+			
	94 ^v	ν	+	+	+	+		+	+			
	1	ξ	+	+			+				+	
	3	ξ	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+
	37 ^v	ξ	+	+		+			+		+	
	122	ξ			+			+		+		
	190	ξ		+	+	+						
	3	ὄ	+	+					+			
	23	οις	+	+	+							
	32	ὄκ	+				+	+	+			

	34	ὄ(ρηξ)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	181 ^v	ος,	+	+	+		+					
	178 ^v	ὄταν						+	+			
	3	οὖν	+	+	+				+		+	
	180	ους	+	+	+					+		
	177 ^v	(π)ερ(ί)	+	+	+		+		+		+	
	177 ^v	περι	+	+	+		+	+	+			
	22 ^v	πρὸς	+	+			+		+		+	
	1 ^v	πυ	+				+			+	+	+
	182	πῶς		+		+						
	2	ρ	+		+			+	+		+	+
	181 ^v	ρ		+	+		+			+	+	+
	181 ^v	ρ	+	+								+
	181 ^v	ρ		+			+					+
	23	ρρ					+		+			
	108	σ	+	+	+						+	
	1	σ(ἀρξ)	+	+		+					+	
	181 ^v	σ(ίν)	+	+	+		+			+	+	
	94 ^v	σασ,	+				+			+	+	+
	180	σῆν	+	+	+				+		+	+
	3	σον	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+
	182	σον		+					+			
	37 ^v	σπ(λά)	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
	1	στ	+	+	+				+		+	

	23	σὺν	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+
	94 ^v	τ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1	τα	+	+						+		
	32	τα	+	+			+					+
	37 ^v	τέλος	+	+	+					+		
	1 ^v	τὴν	+	+	+		+		+	+		
	3	τὴν				+	+		+	+		
	94 ^v	τὴν	+				+	+	+	+	+	
	94 ^v	τί				+			+			
	108	το	+	+					+	+	+	
	135	τὸ	+		+			+	+	+	+	
	178 ^v	τὸ		+		+	+		+			
	1	τὸν	+	+			+	+	+			
	38 ^v	τύπον	+				+				+	
	178 ^v	τ(ῶ)				+			+			+
	118	ὺ	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	
	133	ὺ			+		+	+	+			
	94 ^v	ϋ	+				+			+		
	96	ϋ	+				+		+			
	37 ^v	ϋ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	193	ϋ	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	
	153	υ	+						+			

	1	φ	+	+	+		+		+			
	1	φ	+		+		+	+	+		+	
	3	φ	+	+				+	+	+	+	
	22 ^v	φ	+		+		+				+	
	33 ^v	φ	+	+			+		+			
	94 ^v	φ	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	
	96	φ	+		+		+					
	96	φ	+	+		+						+
	2	χ	+	+	+	+			+		+	
	138	χ	+		+			+				
	1 ^v	χρ	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
	23	ψ	+		+				+		+	
	38 ^v	ψ	+		+				+		+	
	3	ω	+	+	+				+		+	
	108	ω	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	181	ω	+	+	+		+		+		+	
	181 ^v	ω		+	+	+						
	181 ^v	ω			+			+	+	+	+	+
	94 ^v	ώ	+		+				+			+
	32	ώ	+	+	+		+		+			
	3	ως	+			(+)			+		+	+
	33 ^v	ώς	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+

K. Scribe B

	47	β		47 ^v	θ
  	47, 47 ^v , 86	β		47	ι
	47	β		86	π
	87 ^v	β		87 ^v	πĩ
	86	β		87 ^v	π
	47	λέγεται		47	καί
	86	γῆν		86	ἐκ
	47	δ		87 ^v	καί
	47	λέγεται		47	λαμβάνομενον
	47	ε		47 ^v	μα
	86	ε		47 ^v	μεσόγειος
	47	ἐξ		47	νν
	87 ^v	ἐξ		47, 47	ξ
	87 ^v	εξ		86	ξ
	87 ^v	εἶ		87 ^v	ο
	88	ἐρ		47	π
	47 ^v	ἐπίγειο[ς]		87 ^v	πρὸ
	47	ζ		86	παρρησιάσατο
	86	ζ		47	σχῆ
	87 ^v	ζ		47, 47 ^v	τὸ
	87 ^v	τῆς		87 ^v	τὸ
	47	θ		47	πενταχῶς
	47 ^v	θ		47	των τὸ
				86	τούτοι

	86	τοῦτο
	47	υ
	47	φ
	47 ^v	φ
	86	φ
	47	σχί
	47	ψ
	86	ψυχήν
	86	ω
	86	ω
	86	ω̄
	87	ω
	47	
	47	
	87	

L. Scribe C

	πάσχειν		λ
	α		λ
	άρ		μ
	απο		μέν
	βαι		ν
	γο		οἶον
	γαρ		οὖν
	δέ		περι
	δέ		πράγματα
	ε		απο
	ει		πον
	εἰ		ρ
	ερ		πρ
	εὔρομεν		στη
	η		σθαι
	χθ		τά
	θαυ		τίνος
	ἵππος		τὸ
	ἱ		ὑπο
	καί		ὕστερον
	κί		φ
	κατά		χὺς
	ἀκαδημία		χθ
			χει

M. Facsimiles

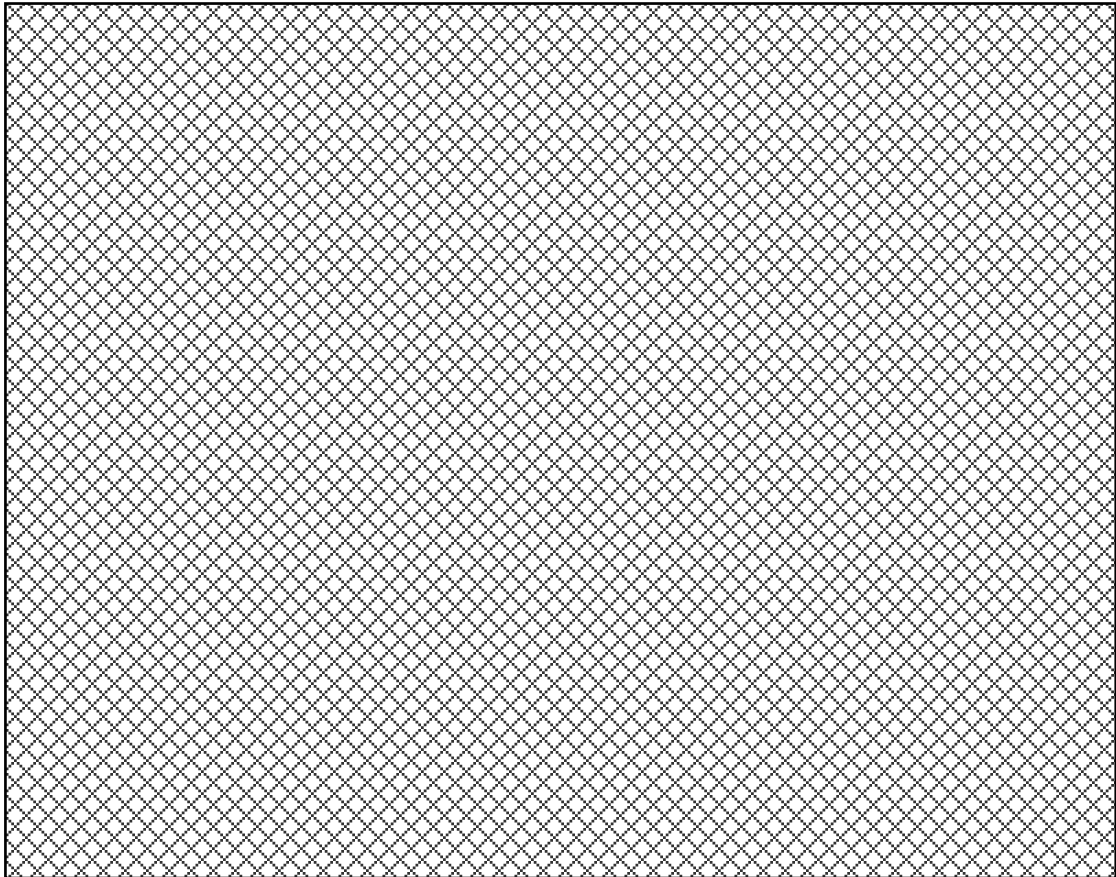


Fig. 41. Ms Marc. gr. 524, ff. 7^v-8. *Biblioteca Marciana*®

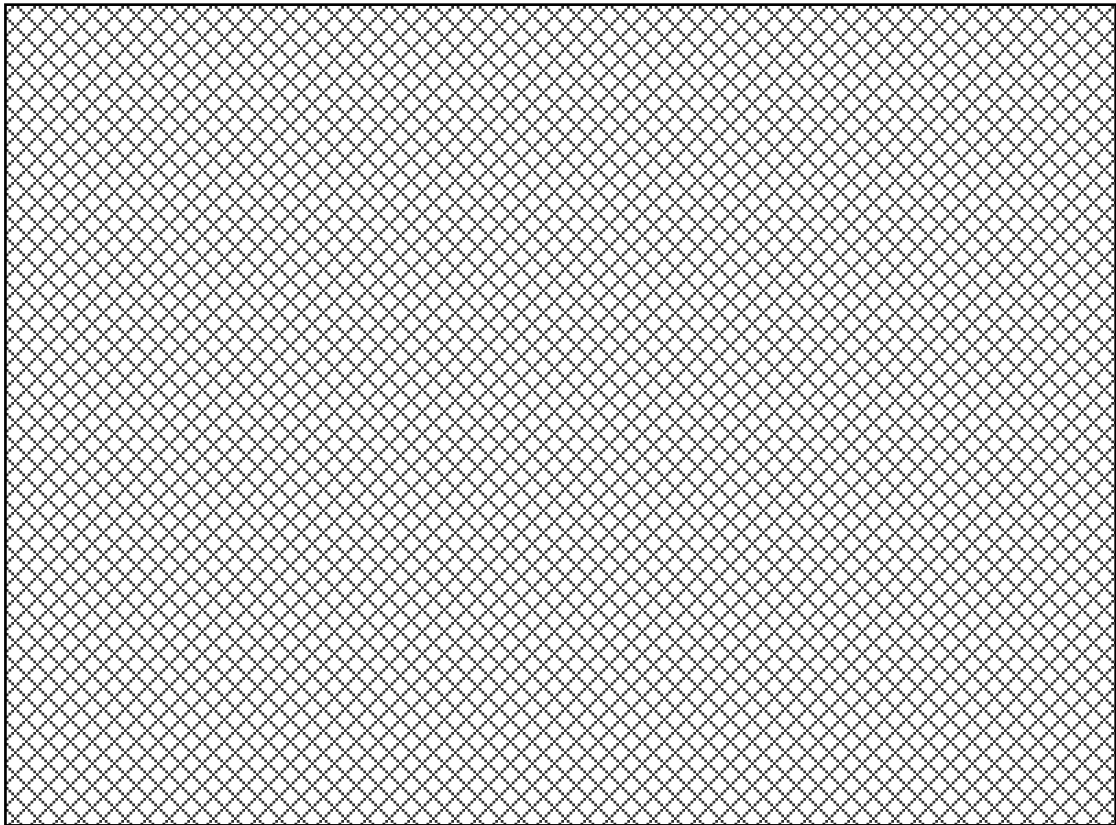


Fig. 42. Ms Marc. gr. 524, ff. 39^v-40. *Biblioteca Marciana*®

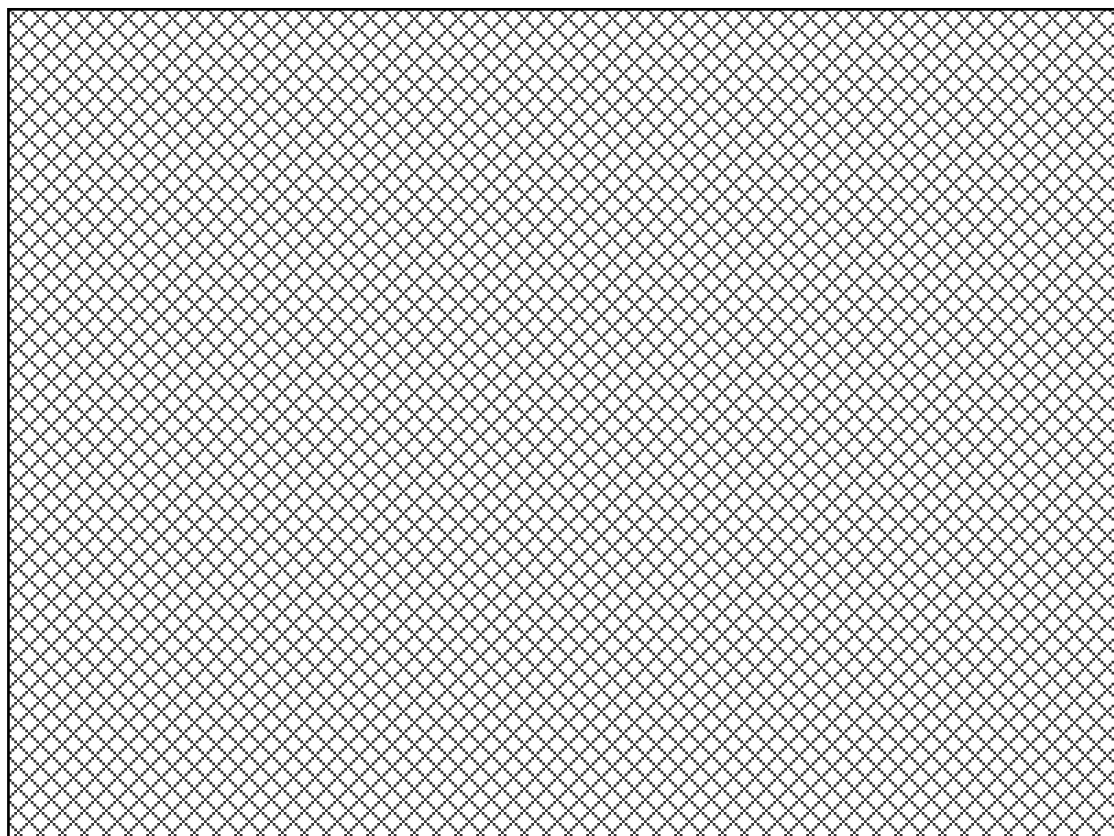


Fig. 43. Ms Marc. gr. 524, ff. 46^v–47. *Biblioteca Marciana*®

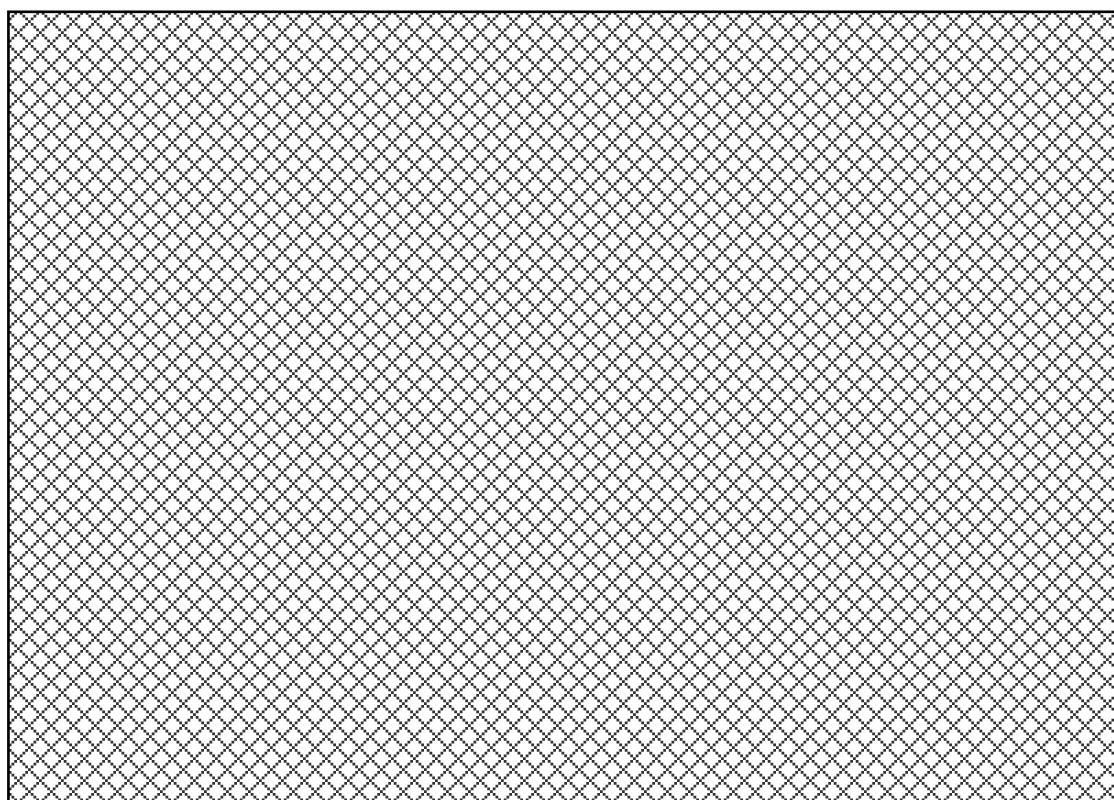


Fig. 44. Ms Marc. gr. 524, ff. 87^v–88. *Biblioteca Marciana*®

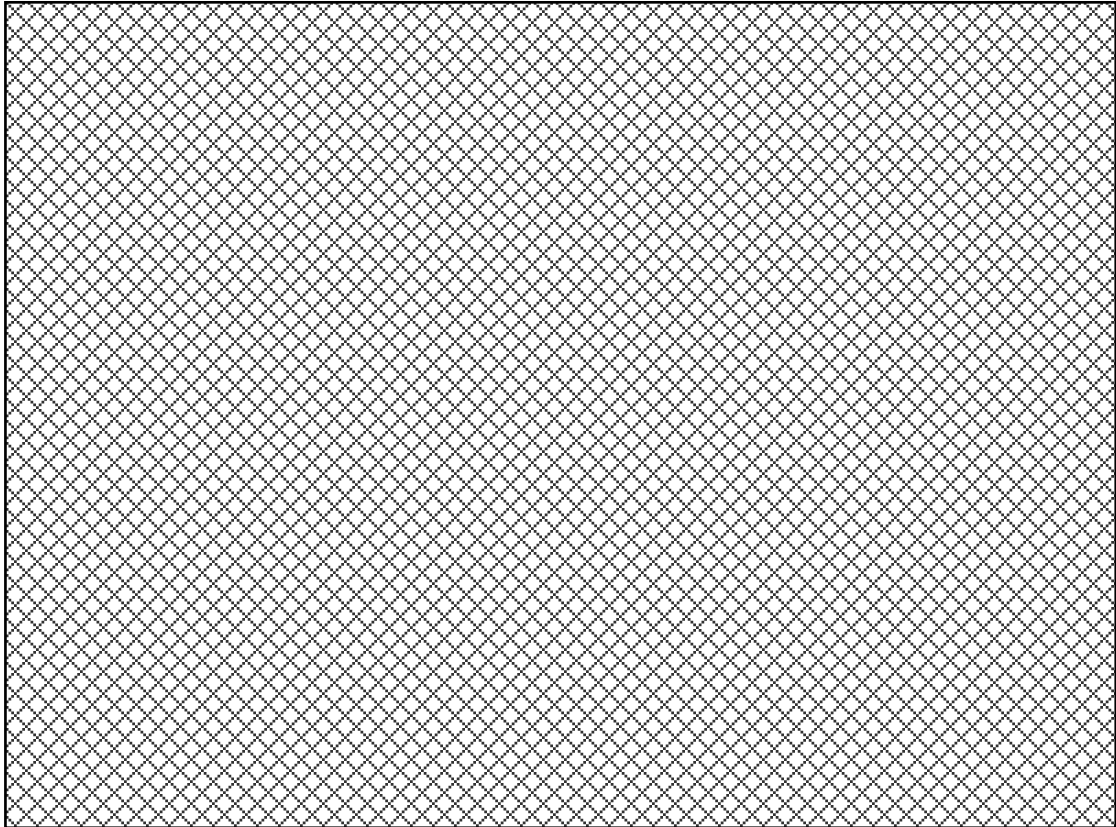


Fig. 45. Ms Marc. gr. 524, ff. 112^v-113. *Biblioteca Marciana*®

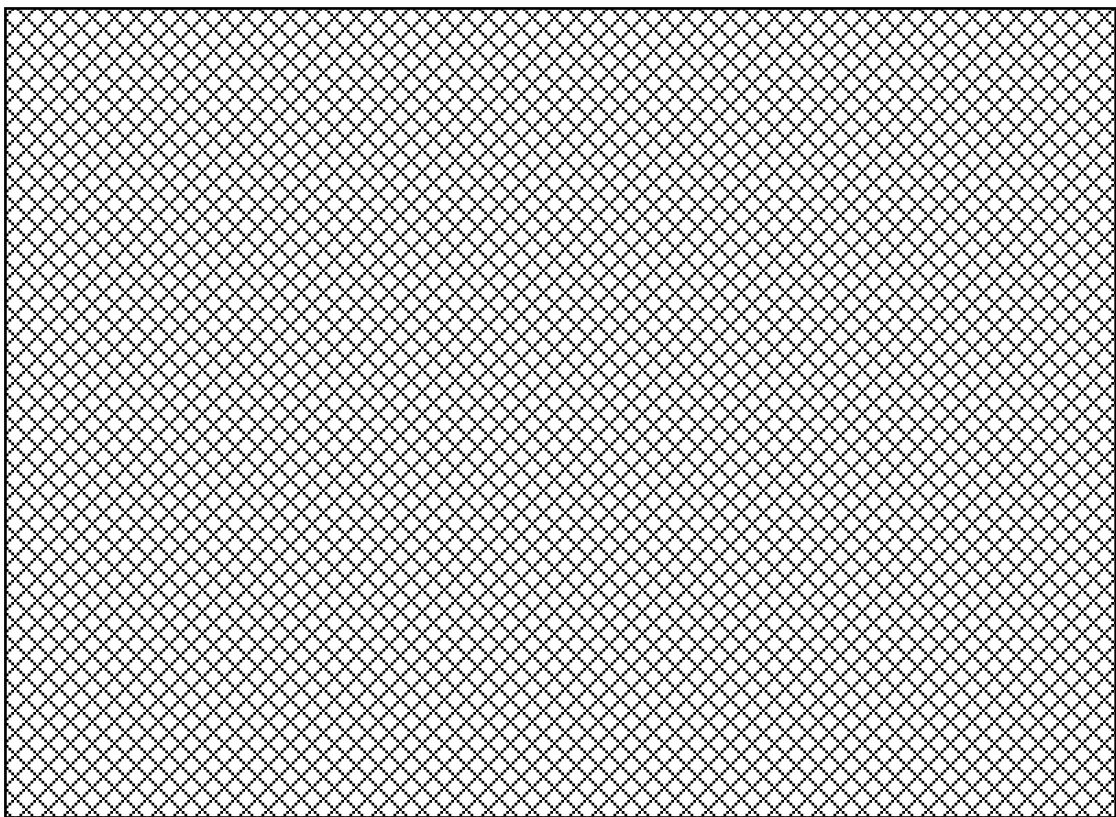


Fig. 46. Ms Marc. gr. 524, ff. 151^v-152. *Biblioteca Marciana*®

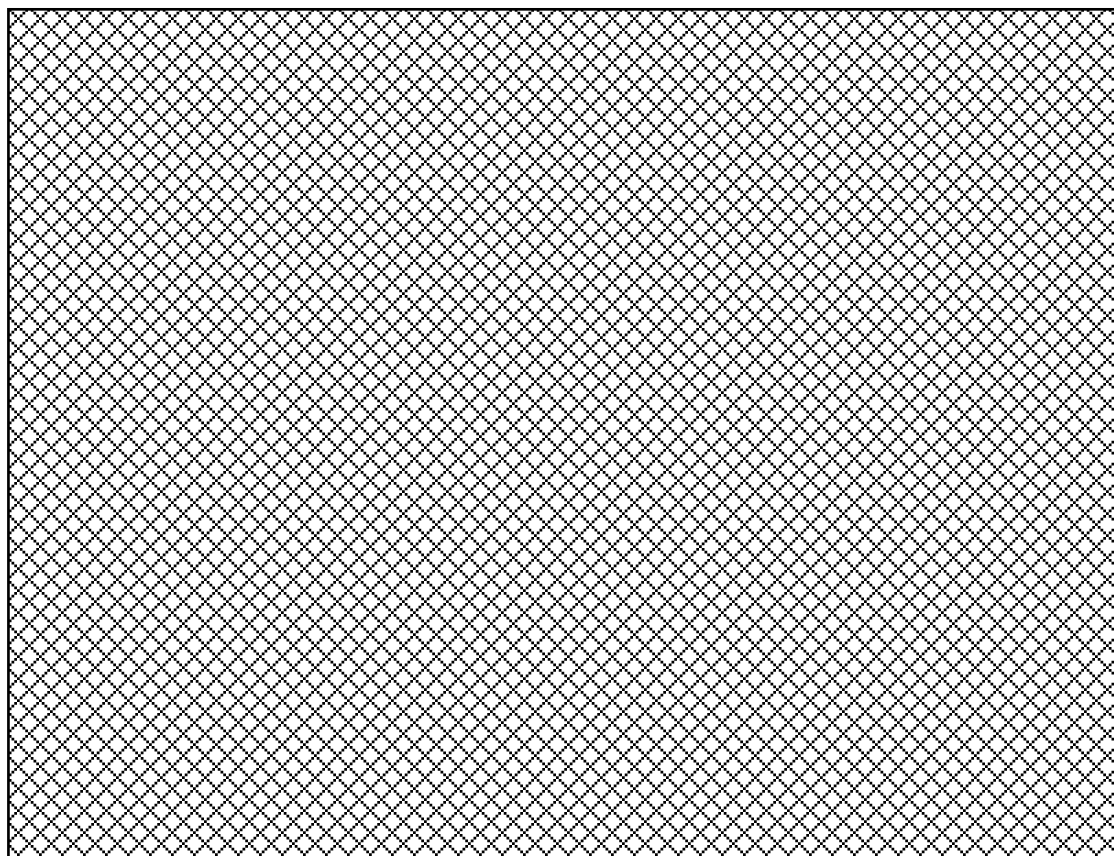


Fig. 47. Ms Marc. gr. 524, ff. 153^v-154. *Biblioteca Marciana*®

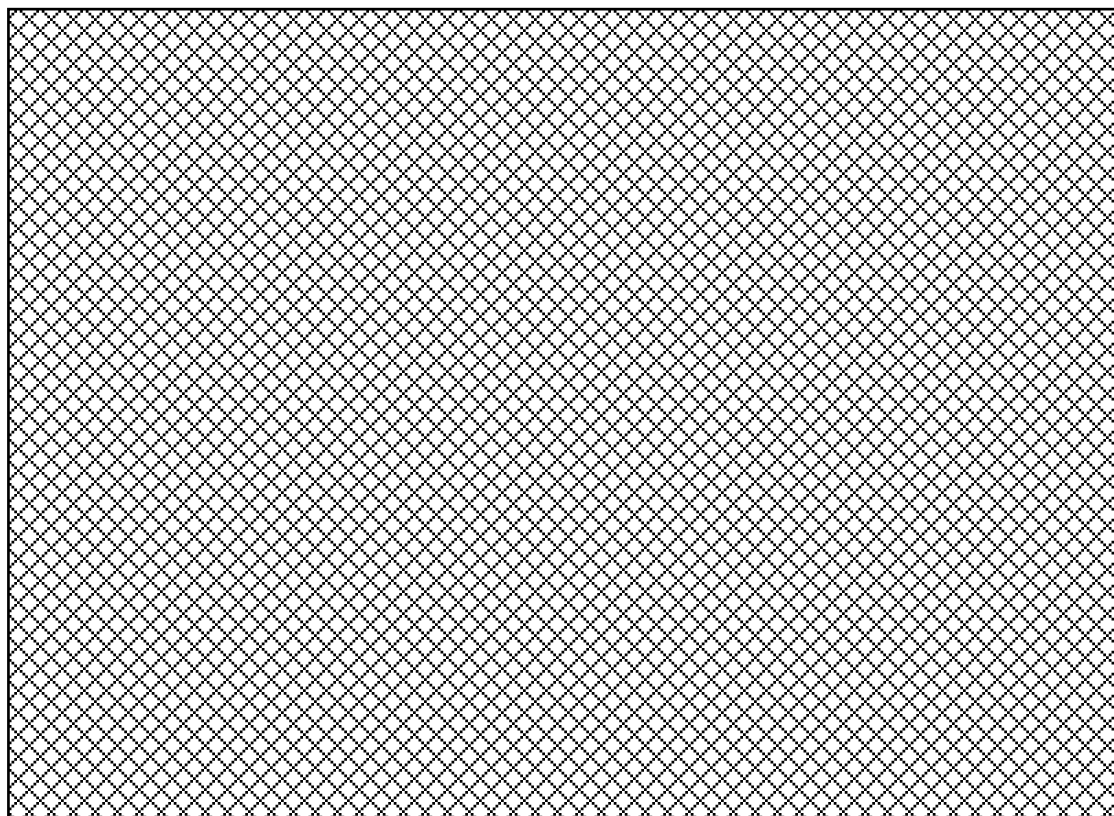


Fig. 48. Ms Marc. gr. 524, ff. 179^v-180. *Biblioteca Marciana*®

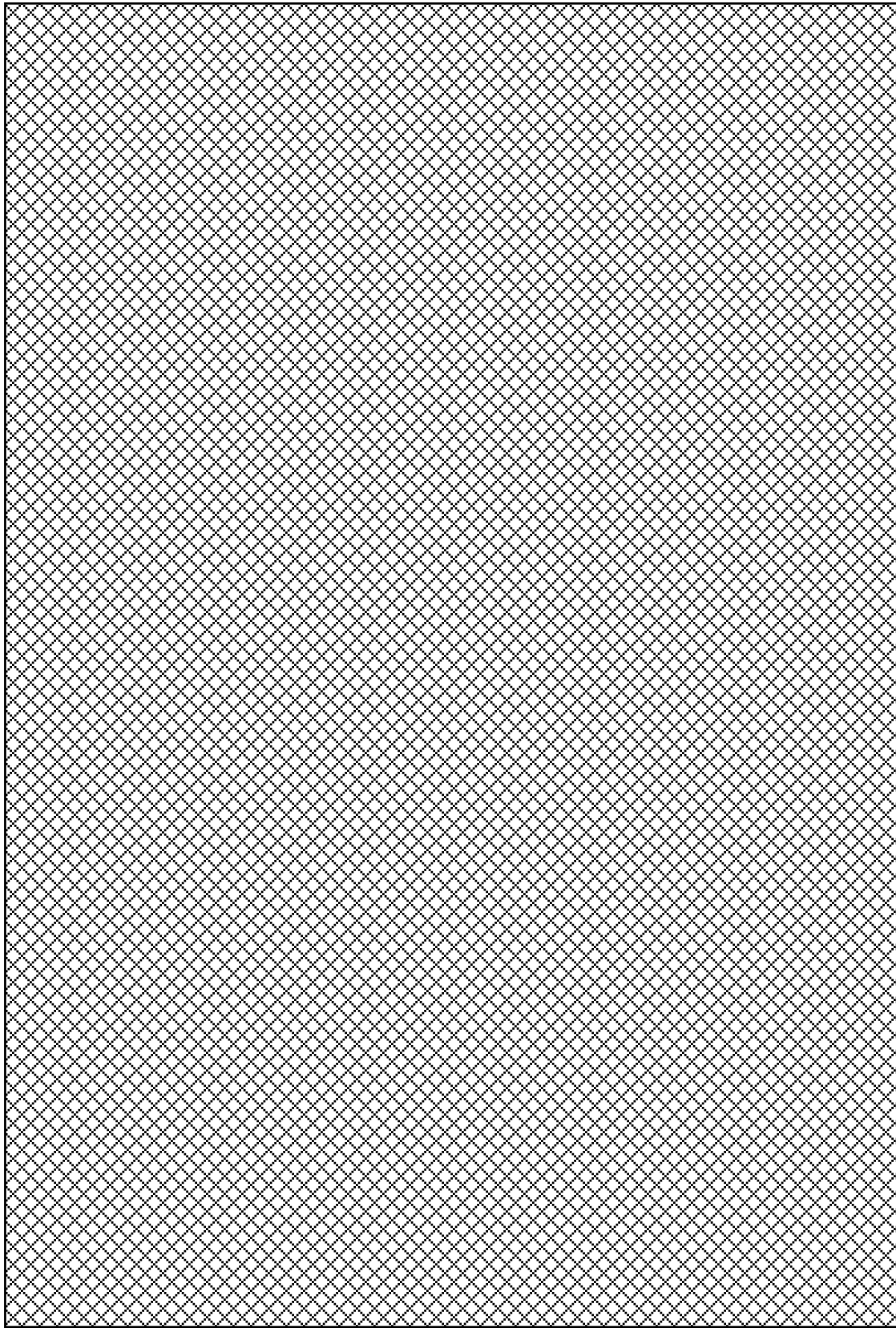


Fig. 49. Ms Marc. gr. 524, f. 45^v. *Biblioteca Marciana*®

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¹⁰⁹⁰ Note on the transcription of Greek. For ancient Greek I have used the system of H. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge Mass, 1920) without the markings denoting the length of vowels. For names from the Old Testament I have used the transcription used by the authors of *New English Translation of the Septuagint*. For all the Byzantine names, I have used the spellings offered by *ODB*. For the names of contemporary Greek scholars, I have used the spelling as it has appeared in their publications.

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