APPENDIX VIII

Verse Inscriptions

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

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

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epigrams on works of art

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


(6) Cappadocia, Sinassos, church of the Holy Apostles, 10th C. Fragmentary inscription on a depiction of the Pentecost, inc. xeb ev òlakados ephusos oumpas, probably six verses. This is a copy of a late antique verse inscription that was once to be found in the church of St. Basil in nearby Caesarea: AP I, 92. Ed. H. Grégoire, Revue de l’Instruction Publique en Belgique 52 (1909) 164–166. See R. Cormack, Journal of the British Archaeological Association 30 (1967) 24. [pp. 92–93]


(11) Istanbul, Hagia Sophia, after the earthquake of 869. Four epigrams, two on the south tympanum and two on the north tympanum. Some traces
discovered in situ. Texts also transmitted in mss. Inc. πατρός ἀγιαστη
νεί. 3 vv; οἱ τῷ ἄγιον τινί. 3 vv; ἡγούν ἀγιαστη. 3 vv; ἀγιαστή
τερνών, 3 vv. Ed. MERCATI 1922a: 282–286. For the date, see C. MANGO, Materials for the
Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul. Dumbarton Oaks 1962, 63–
66, and C. MANGO & E. HAWKINS, DOP 26 (1972) 37–41. [pp. 28 and 32]

(12) Istanbul. Manganai district, church of Prophet Elijah, 867–886. The text
is very fragmentary. Inc. (ὁσ)περ κατὰ πᾶς, 8 vv. Ed. H. GRÉGOIRE, ZRVI

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


(15) Naxos, church of the Panagia, 8th–9th C. Inc. τὸν πρὸν βασιλέν τι, 8 vv. Ed. GRÉGOIRE 1922: no. 215bis. For the date, see P.G. ZERLENTHS, BZ 16
(1907) 285–286. V. RUGGERI, Byzantine Religious Architecture (582–
whether the date is correct.

(16) Rome, S. Maria Antiqua, 7th C. On a fresco depicting the trial of the
Forty Martyrs the following text can be deciphered: […] τῆς γραφῆς τῆς
εἰζόνος / αὐτῶν βου[,]. Ed. P.J. NORDHAGEN, Studies in Byzantine Art
and Early Medieval Painting. London 1990, 220.


(18) Thebes, church of St. Gregory, 872–873. Inc. τέφρινον ὄντερ, 5 vv. Ed. CIG 8086. See Στ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, NE 11 (1914) 326–327 and Γ.Α. ΣΩΤΗΡΙΟU,
Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς 1924, pp. 1–3.

(19) Thessalonica, church of St. Demetrios, c. 630. Two inscriptions. Inc. ἐπὶ
χρόνον Λεόντος, 2 vv; and inc. κτίστας θεοφεῖς, 4 vv. Ed. J.M. SPIESER,
TM 5 (1973) 155–156 (nos. 6 and 7). See C. ΜΠΑΚΙΡΤΖΗ, Βυζαντινά 13, 2

(city walls)

439.

442. [p. 161]

(22) Antakya, end 10th C. Inc. περιπέχον ( ), 3 vv, fragmentary. Ed. G.
DAGRON & D. FEISSEL, TM 9 (1985) 459 (no. 4).
(32) Istanbul, 867–886. Inc. δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης, 4 vv. Ed. CIG 8687 and VAN MILLINGEN 1899: 186. For the date, see MANGO 1951: 56, no. 16.

other public constructions


(39) Karacaköy, Thrace, reign of Basil II. Inc. θαμαστόν ἕργον, 8 vv. Ed. ASDRACHA 1989–91: 306–309 (no. 89). It is not known what sort of building the “admirable work” Basil II ordered to repair may have been: a tower, a rampart, an aquaduct?


(42) Silivri (Selymbria), reconstruction of a tower, 9th–11th C. Inc. ξάλλαστον ὄντα, at least 12 vv. Ed. ASDRACHA 1989–91: 280–283 (no. 75). Given the title of the person responsible for the reconstruction of the tower, spatharokandidatos, a ninth-century date seems the most likely.

reliquaries, ivories, icons and other small artefacts


(45) Chambéry, ivory diptych, 10th C. Inc. ἐν ἄγγιλας σε, 10 vv. Ed. GOLDSCHMIDT & WEITZMANN 1930–34: II, no. 222a–d. See the catalogue of the
As for the date, the Chambéry diptych is similar to the Warsaw diptych (see no. 71), which is now dated to the tenth century.


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

(50) Eregli (Herakleia in Thrace), reliquary of St. Glykeria, late 9th C. Decorated rectangular marble slab, probably the lid of a sarcophagus. Inc. ἀ τερπνός οὔπος, 8 vv. Ed. Asdrach 1989–91: 274–277 (no. 71) and fig. 105b. See also Th. Buttnner-Webst, BZ 6 (1897) 96–99.


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


(57) Pavia, icon of St. Peter, date: 7th C.? The icon no longer exists. Inc. [...] τὸν Θεὸν λόγον, at least 3 verses. Ed. CIG 8816 and Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores, ed. I.B. De Rossi. Voluminis secundi pars prima. Rome 1888, 33 (no. 82). The text can be found in the famous collection of inscriptions in the codex Einsiedlen-sis 326 (s. IX–X); this collection was probably put together around the year 800 by a monk of the monastery of Reichenau, who copied most of the inscriptions in Rome, but also a few (nos. 78–82) in Pavia (on his return voyage to Reichenau); see De Rossi, 9–17. The icon could be found in the church of St. Peter in caelo aureo in Pavia, a church that already existed in the early seventh century (the time of king Agilulf) and that was magnificently restored by the largesse of king Liutprand (712–744); see De Rossi, 33. The epigrapher, who very probably did not understand Greek, read the text as follows: Ded(ication) in igona S(an)c(t)i Petri TONQEONLOGONQENSEXHRYSTHNOEOTAPITONPIETERANTHENHEBHEKÆS OYKONOMY (which A. Kirchhoff (the editor of CIG), following Mabillon, Vetera Anecdota, IV, 505 (not available to me), prints as follows: [...] τὸν Θεὸν λόγον / θεοθήκη χρυσότης τῆς θεότητος πέτραν, / ἐν ἡ βεβηράς οὐ χλανύθε[(α)]. The study by M.P. Billanovich, Atti dell’Istituto Veneto 151 (1992–93) 1103–1128, was not available to me; see Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum 43 (1993) 228 (no. 672).


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


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

(71) Warsaw, ivory diptych, date: 10th C. Two inscriptions. Inc. ὅρας ὅπως τὰ φρικτὰ, 4 vv, and ἐκ τοῦ τεχνίτου, 4 vv. Ed. P. Rutkowska, Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie 6 (1965) 92–115. For the date, see A. Cutler,
miniatures

(72) Athos, ms. Pantokrator 61 (second half of the 9th C.). A marginal psalter with several miniatures, one of which depicts the iconoclast council of 815; next to this particular miniature a violently anti-iconoclastic poem can be found. The epigram is aekphalous: inc. ἐστοτα πέργων, 14 vv. Ed. Ševčenko 1965. [p. 283]

(73) Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. W 524 (early 10th C.). Illuminated Gospels. Two captions that are meant to accompany the portraits of Mark listening to Peter and of Luke listening to Paul: inc. Πέτρου μνημείας, 5 vv., and inc. τρίτος δὲ Δαυδᾶς, 5 vv. Ed. Soden 1902: 379 (nos. 10 and 11) and Komnin 1951: 268 (no. 7) and 271 (no. 4); see Nelson 1980: 76–78. Since the ms. has suffered some mutilation and lost some of its pages, the epigrams on Matthew and John are missing.


(76) Paris, ms. Coisl. gr. 195 (10th C.). Illuminated Gospels. The ms. contains the following four captions: inc. γράφει Θεοῦ σαφώς, 2 vv. (Matthew); οὗ κατ’ ἐπαναλήψιν, 2 vv. (Mark); ἀπανάστου βιάσω, 2 vv. (Luke); and ἀρματῶς Ἐφέσιος, 2 vv. (John). These epigrams can be found in the Greek Anthology: AP I, 83, 85, 84 and 80. They are also to be found in

(77) Patmos, monastery of St. John the Theologian, ms. 33 (a. 941). Italian manuscript (copied in Reggio di Calabria): it contains the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos; see A. Kominić, Σύμμετρα 1 (1966) 22–34, and idem. Πατηματική Βιβλιοθήκη, Athens 1988, I, 82–90. Fol. 4r: picture of a cross ornamented with leaf-shoots, peacocks, and so forth; the cross itself is inscribed. The inscription is an epigram of 15 vv.: inc. οἱ σταυρὸν ἀπότελον. Ed. I. Σακκελάκη, Πατηματική Βιβλιοθήκη, Athens 1890, 20.


(79) Rome, ms. Vat. gr. 1522 (second half of the 10th C.). Illuminated lectionary. On fols. 2v–3r, fol. 197v and fol. 197v we find three epigrams: σαφὸς δὲ Μωσῆς, 22 vv.; ὁ τετραμόρφος, 8 vv.; and οὖν πολυός, 5 vv. All three epigrams are written in gold uncial letters and are framed by two arches, adorned with images of birds (mainly eagles) and flowers. The second and third epigrams were edited by C. Giannelli, Codices Vaticani Graeci (cod. 1485–1683). Vatican 1950, 69; the first one was edited by B. de Montfaucon, Palaeographia Graeca. Paris 1708. 228 (on the basis of Par. gr. 278, a ms. that is similar to Vat. gr. 1522). For a new edition of the three epigrams (based not only on Vat. gr. 1522 and Par. gr. 278, but also on Vat. gr. 1145), see F. D’Auto & A. Sirinian, RBV, n.s., 36 (1999) 121–169. For the date of the manuscript, see P. Canart, in: I manoscritti greei tra riflessione e dibattito. Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca, vols. I–III, ed. G. Prato. Florence 2000, 681. See also Nelson 1980: 28–29 and 48, n. 69–75, and G. Galavaris, The Illustrations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels. Vienna 1979, 92–93 and 124.

(80) Rome, ms. Vat. gr. 1613 (date: after 979): the so-called Menologion of Basil II (though it is in fact a version of the Synaxarium of Constantinople). The ms. has hundreds of miniatures. For some unknown reason the illuminators of the ms. did not produce the full-page miniature which the dedicatory epigram on page A describes in great detail and which should have been painted on the next page: see I. Ševčenko, DOP 19 (1962) 271–274 (repr. in: idem, Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World. London 1982, no. XI). Inc. ἐνταῦθα νῦν σοὶ ὄπιστον. 28 vv. Ed. H. Delehaye, Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaean ad
Appendix VIII


81 Rome, ms. Vat. Reg. gr. 1 (c. 940–950): the so-called Bible of Leo Sakellarios. The ms. is renowned for its full-page miniatures that serve as frontispieces to the books of Genesis through Psalms. Epigrams are written on the frames of these miniatures. There are three dedicatory epigrams: one book epigram (see next appendix: no. 13) and two captions to miniatures, inc. ἄλλοι μὲν ἄλλοι, 7 vv. (fol. 2r) and inc. νῖςος λαιῶν μορφημάτων, 6 vv. (fol. 3r). Furthermore, there are thirteen epigrams that refer to the scene portrayed in the miniature they accompany: inc. τὸν χοῦν ὁ τῆς γῆς, 6 vv. (fol. 11v); inc. ἑδείξεως Μουσῆς, 4 vv. (fol. 46r); inc. οἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς, 6 vv. (fol. 85r); inc. Μουσῆς ἁρμῆνων, 6 vv. (fol. 116v); inc. ἑδείξεως ἠμῶν, 4 vv. (fol. 155r); inc. Θεός χρητὰς διδωσαν, 6 vv. (fol. 206r); inc. ὁ μετρῶν ὄντως, 6 vv. (fol. 263r); inc. ἐξ ὀφθαλμοῦ μου, 6 vv. (fol. 281v); inc. πόλων ὁ κλεῖσιος, 6 vv. (fol. 302r); inc. σκόπει τὸ λύτρον, 6 vv. (fol. 383r); inc. τῶν Μακαβαίων, 6 vv. (fol. 450r); inc. γεμνὸν τὸν Ἰωβ, 4 vv. (fol. 461r); and inc. τίς σου φάσσα, πορφύρα, 6 vv. (fol. 487r). Ed. Mathews 1977: 124–132. For the identification of the donor and the date of the manuscript, see Mango 1969. See also: Die Bibel des Patriarcus Leo. Codex Reginensis Graecus 1 B. Einführung von S. Dufrenne & P. Canart. Zurich 1988 (on p. 66 they argue that the ms. was not written in the 940s, but some twenty to thirty years earlier). For some interesting comments on the epigrams, see Olster 1994.

The edition by Mathews is unreliable. Cyril Mango has announced that he is preparing a new edition, which will be published, together with contributions by P. Canart, S. Dufrenne and I. Hutter, in a volume dedicated to the Leo Bible. As long as this new edition is not yet on the market, we have to make do with Mathews’ idiosyncratic readings. To give an example, on pp. 132–133 he prints γεννήσας ἀγαθόντες (sic) and translates “ancestor (...), we who do not write (...): read γεννήσας γράφοντες and translate “we who depict the ancestor (...).” [pp. 44–45 and 191–196]

82 Sofia, ms. Dujcev gr. 272 [Kosinitza 115] (9th C.). Illuminated Gospels. Inc. Μακαβαΐων ἔστιν, 3 vv. (originally 4 vv., but the last line has been cut away). Ed. A. Dzurova, BollGrott 44 (1990) 191 and pl. 6. See also A. Παπαλωσίου-Κεραμέης, Supplement to ΕΦΣ 17 (1886) 27.


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**epitaphs**


(88) Erenköy (on the Asiatic shore, not far from Fenerbahçe): probably the site of the monastery of Galakrenai. Date: 901–907 or 912–925. Inc. τῷ βίῳ ἐγόν προδέχον, 7 vv. Ed. Ševčenko 1987. [p. 120]


Appendix VIII


(95) Rome, S. Giorgio in Velabro, 9th–10th C. Four fragments.
Fragments I and II are almost intact. Fragments III and IV are the left side and the right side of the bottom part of the inscription, respectively; circa 5 letters of each line are lost in the gap between frs. III and IV.


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*gnomic epigrams (memento mori)*

(97) Athos, monastery of Xeropotamos, a marble slab dating from the late 10th century, which shows a peacock clutching an almost rectangular orb from which acanthus leaves shoot forth. The marble slab bears a verse inscription along the bottom: µήνῃ θανάτου χρησιμεύει τῷ βίῳ. See Θεοσφαιροὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Ὀρους. Thessalonica 1997, catalogue number 6. 5, pp. 241–242 (description by Θ.Ν. Παζαφάς).

Above the slab there is another inscription, which commemorates Andronikos II. However, as Horandner points out (in an e-mail, d.d. 10-10-2000), "es sieht so aus, als wären die beiden Inschriften gar nicht auf einem und demselben Stein angebracht (...). Die obere Inschrift (...) scheint, dem Photo nach zu schließen, auf einer anders-
farbigen, darunter liegenden Platte angebracht zu sein". The epigraphic script of the inscription at the bottom appears to date from the tenth century (despite the superscript tau in τ): capital letters without accents or breathings, but with extensive use of serifs; an "archaic" square epsilon, but also a slender oval one with the horizontal stroke above the middle of the letter; a beta with the two loops separated, but without an extended horizontal bar at the base; for the rather unusual form of the alpha as well as for most of the letters, see the verse inscription on the relic of St. Symeon in Arezzo dating from the mid tenth century (no. 43). The marble slab can now be found on the exterior wall of the monastery; its original location is not known. The gnomic monostich is also known to have been inscribed in Palaceologan times on the Xyloporta (Odun Kapisi) in Constantinople; see Mango 1951: 57 (no. 3); see also Th. Preisger, BZ 21 (1912) 469 and S.G. Mercati, Bessarione 26 (1922) 219.

[pp. 243–244]


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


Inscriptions 99a, 99b and 99c present many divergent readings. See, for instance, the first three verses: (99a) μηδείς τυφλούσθοι τῇ ὀρφί[Ξ]ει τοῦ πλοῦτου· πολλοίς γὰρ ἄπειξαν οὐκ ἔτεις ἡ ὀφθαλμῶς τοῦ ταύτης χοῖς, πηλός καὶ [ ... ]; (99b) μηδείς τυφλούσθω τῇ ὀρφί[Ξ]ει τοῦ πλοῦτου: πολλοίς γὰρ ἄπειξαν οὐκ ἔτεις ἡ ὀφθαλμῶς τοῦ ταύτης χοῖς, πηλός καὶ [ ... ]; (99c) μηδείς τυφλούσθω τῇ ὀρφί[Ξ]ει τοῦ πλοῦτου· πολλοίς λυμαίνα τοῦχοῖς μεν ὀφθαλμῶς τοῦ ταύτης χοῖς, πηλός, γῆ ὑπάρχει. [pp. 244–245]

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

gnomic epigrams (protreptic)

(102) Akhissar (the ancient Thyateira), 9th C. Inc. τρόμω προβλέπε, 1 v. Ed. GRÉGOIRE 1922: no. 328. For the date, see C. Foss, Ephesus after Antiquity: a Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City. Cambridge 1979, 115, n. 39.


(104) Little Prespa Lake, church of St. Achilleios, late 10th C. (according to some scholars; but the date is disputed), and Thessalonica, Panagia Chalkeon, not long after 1028. Inc. ὄφων τὸ βῆμα, 5 vv. Ed. N. RADOŠEVIĆ-MAKSMIMOVIĆ, ZRVI 12 (1970) 9–13 and Hörandner 1997: 437–439. See P. SPECK, Hell 20 (1967) 418–421. The epigram can also be found in several other Byzantine and post-Byzantine churches, often with considerable text variants: see the above-mentioned publications.

Given the date of the Panagia Chalkeon and given the immense popularity of the text and the fact that it can be found all over the Byzantine empire, there can be little doubt that the original epigram was composed well before the year 1000. Moreover, in the light of the epigram’s popularity it seems very likely that it was originally inscribed in a monastic site or cult centre of great renown, from which it radiated and spread right across the Byzantine empire.

Appendix VIII. Why the West Plays Chess and the East Plays Go: How Classical Chinese and Ancient Western Grammars Shaped Different.

VIII. Some Linguistic and Mental Consequences of Binary Thinking and Correlative Cosmos Building. IX. dao—“The ways—"