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# On the Interaction of Word and Image in Byzantium: The Case of the Epigrams on the Florence Reliquary

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Inscriptional words play a vital role in every society. The ambition to attach letters to works of art has always been popular and still is today.¹ In most cases the accompanying letters are more than mere adornment.² They either describe the object or the image they are attached to or clarify their purpose. The importance of inscriptions in Byzantine works of art was already recognized by Maximos Planudes at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In an epigram written in the name of Theodora Kantakuzene Rhaulina Palaiologina Komnene,³ a relative of Michael VIII Palaiologos, Planudes states the following: "Inscriptions [or titles]⁴ reveal the representations of things and persons in pictures".⁵ A similar statement is to be found in a marginal note on fol. 1⁴ in the so called Bible of Leo Sakellarios (*Cod. Vat. Reg. gr. 1*; ca. 940–950). It states that the "iambic verses" (i.e. the epigrams) in this codex "explain the meaning of the historical scenes [i.e. the miniatures] clearly and concisely".⁶

However, the value of inscriptions preserved on or next to Byzantine works of art has long been underestimated.<sup>7</sup> That can be observed by looking at the images in some art

<sup>1</sup> WALLIS 1973.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> On the decorative use of inscriptions cf. LAUXTERMANN 2003, 271-73; JAMES 2007.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. TRAPP 1976-1996, no. 10943.

<sup>4</sup> On the meaning "title" cf. LIDDELL/SCOTT/JONES/ MCKENZIE 1925-1940, s.v. ἐπιγραφή I 2.

 $<sup>^5</sup>$  LAMPROS 1916, 416 (no. 2, v. 1–2): Ἐπιγραφαὶ δηλοῦσι τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων / καὶ τῶν προσώπων ἐν Υραφαῖς παραστάσεις.

 $<sup>^6</sup>$  MATHEWS 1977; cf. LAUXTERMANN 2003, 193; LAUXTERMANN 1994, 65f.: ... στίχοι ὶαμβικοὶ ... τῶν ἱστορηθέντων νοῦν ἐν ἐπιτομῆ σαφέστατα δηλοῦντες.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Despite relevant hints such as those of Cyril Mango (MANGO 1972, 182): "They (i.e. epigrams) provide an abundant and almost unexploited source of information for art historians". Cf. also TOMADAKES 1961.

historical publications. Sometimes the accompanying text is not included or half of it is cut off. In many cases this is a real pity because the inscriptions are not added at random but for a certain purpose. One such example (for the improper presentation of the inscriptions) is the catalogue of the illustrated Byzantine *Octateuchs* published by Weitzmann and Bernabò.<sup>8</sup> A lot of depicted scenes from various manuscripts are also accompanied by verses. They were edited more or less properly by Weitzmann. However, if the user of this book wants to check the verses at the images of the miniatures he soon discovers that the overwhelming majority of them was not included when the photo was taken. These accompanying verses are mostly not more than a mere paraphrase of the depicted scene but nevertheless they still would deserve to be displayed properly.

However, the blame is not to be put on art historians alone. Philologists also sometimes tend to look at the texts in the manuscripts one-sided without paying too much attention to their artistic value. Fortunately, due to efforts of Henry Maguire, Bissera Pentcheva<sup>10</sup> and many others<sup>11</sup> the interaction between word and image is now more carefully investigated.

Among inscriptions preserved on works of art the metrical ones or epigrams, as they are normally called, play a special role.<sup>12</sup> Epigrams are more than a mere text which accompanies an object of art or an image. The text itself already has some kind of specific value. Epigrams, primarily written in the Byzantine dodecasyllable,<sup>13</sup> follow distinct rules concerning prosody, the correct numbers of syllables, rhetorical figures, etc.<sup>14</sup> Thus, authors of epigrams, which were meant to be inscribed on works of art, had to comply with two requirements: First, they had to follow the mentioned specific rules of the epigram. Second, ideally they also had to consider the form of the medium to which the epigrams were attached.

As can be seen from many examples epigram and image do not always correspond. This has several causes: As Henry Maguire<sup>15</sup> and Wolfram Hörandner<sup>16</sup> have been demonstrating in several publications, epigrams were not always composed for one specific object or image. Especially epigrams of prominent authors, such as Theodoros Studites (8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c.), Theodoros Prodromos (12<sup>th</sup> c.) and Manuel Philes (13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> c.), were reused in later centuries, even long after the fall of the Byzantine empire. For example, two epigrams on the Death of the Virgin Mary composed by Manuel Philes<sup>17</sup>, were used for the post-Byzantine

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> WEITZMANN/BERNABÒ 1999.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. MAGUIRE 1996; MAGUIRE 1996a.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. PENTCHEVA 2006; PENTCHEVA 2008.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> An early example is DER NERSESSIAN 1962.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Cf. LAUXTERMANN 2003, passim; HÖRANDNER 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> On the Byzantine dodecasyllable MAAS 1903; LAUXTERMANN 1998.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. RHOBY 2007.

<sup>15</sup> MAGUIRE 1996; MAGUIRE 1994.

<sup>16</sup> HÖRANDNER 1987; HÖRANDNER 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> MANUEL PHILES, Carmina, CLXXVIII (ed. Miller vol. 1, p. 354).

parts of the decoration (perhaps early 18<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>18</sup> of the narthex of the katholikon of the Pantanassa-monastery of Mistra.<sup>19</sup> In fact, in such a case there have to be some inaccuracies between the text and the image. In other cases, epigrams were composed at a time when it was not yet clear what the actual object or monument would look like.

However, there is plenty of evidence for the case that epigram and object do correspond – even if, in some cases, very subtly.

In some epigrams which are preserved on objects, the beholder is invited to take part in the interaction between word and image, and asked to become an active member of this performance.<sup>20</sup> To quote one representative example: The Museo Correr at Venice keeps a small silver-gilt reliquary from the 10th or 11th century; its side panels and back are covered with a long metrical inscription which consists of twelve verses (six verses are incised on the side panels, six verses on the back).21 It is also equipped with a ring which most probably proves that it could be worn as an encolpion. The text of the epigram starts next to the mentioned ring with the words Ζητεῖς, θεατά, τίνος ἡ χεὶρ τυγχάνει; ("You ask, beholder, whose that hand?") and continues with μάρτυρος ήδε Μαρίνης της άγιας / ης τὸ κράτος ἔθλασε δράκοντο<ς> κάρας ("It belongs to the holy martyr Marina / whose power crushed the heads of the dragon").22 What we learn from these introductory verses is that the reliquary was made to cover a part of the arm of St. Marina. In addition to the epigram the reliquary is also decorated with a repoussé medallion depicting a bust-length image of the saint. From the address Ζητεῖς, θεατά ... ("You ask, beholder ...") it can be concluded that the now lost lid of the reliquary was probably made of glass or crystal, in any case some transparent material through which the relic could be seen by the θεατής (by the "beholder").

This epigram is interesting for another reason as well. In order to learn by whom the reliquary was donated the verses have to be studied very carefully. The donor is a woman; her name is not mentioned but she might have been called Marina according to the relics in the box. <sup>23</sup> In order to identify the donor as a woman the text of the epigram provides only one hint. This hint is the feminine participle  $\zeta\eta\tau\sigma\delta\sigma\alpha$  in verse 5. The whole verse reads as  $\zeta\eta\tau\sigma\delta\sigma\alpha$  yoûv ἔτυχον αὐτῆς ἐκ πόθου ("Seeking for it [the hand], I found it, in accordance with my desire").

Thus, it can be seen that sometimes a careful study of the accompanying text is required in order to understand the whole sense of an object of art. However, one can also present

<sup>18</sup> Cf. SINOS 2005, 515.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. ZESIOS 1909, 441 (no. 149).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Cf. PAPALEXANDROU 2001; PAPALEXANDROU 2007.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Cf. GUILLOU 1996, 82–84 (no. 79) and tab. 75–77 (fig. 79a–e); FOLDA 1997, 496f. (no. 332) and fig. 332; D'AIUTO 2007, 436, 439; see also ŠEVČENKO 1998, 251f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> A revised edition of the epigram is included in the second volume (RHOBY 2010, No. Me 81) of the project "Byzantinische Epigramme auf Objekten" [Byzantine epigrams on objects].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Cf. GUILLOU 1996, 84.

an epigram to which much of attention has been paid but the conclusions which have been drawn are still inaccurate. In her recently published book about the cave churches of Cappadocia with the title "Sacred Art of Cappadocia"24 - which has proven to be very useful -Catherine Jolivet-Lévy devotes a long chapter to the richly decorated new church of Tokalı Kilise in Göreme (Cappadocia). In this church on the cornice of the nave the remains of a long epigram are preserved.25 The epigram once consisted of estimated 20 dodecasyllables, but more than half of them are not legible any more. It was first edited by Rott at the beginning of the 20th century, 26 later by Jerphanion.27 Hardly anything of the epigram's beginning is preserved. The first legible letters belong to the verses 3 and 4: From verse 3 which is preserved as [ανιστό]ρησεν Κωνσταντίνος ἐκ πόθου one learns that a certain Konstantinos commissioned the painting of the church.<sup>28</sup> Of verse 4 only the beginning and the end is preserved: One reads ΠΡΟΣΜΟ at the beginning and ATON (perhaps MATON) at the end.29 Jerphanion amended the lacuna with πρὸς μον[ὴν τῶν οὐρανίων ἀσω]μάτων ("to the monastery of the heavenly angels"). Since he was not certain of this amendment and regarded it as a mere proposal he put a question mark to the end of the line. Jolivet-Lévy (and others before her), however, did not pay attention to the fact that the verse was amended by Jerphanion. Thus, she writes in her book "The Sacred Art of Cappadocia" 30 that the inscription on the cornice states that the church belonged to the monastery of the archangels. However, as was shown above, there is no evidence for that except for the amended verse given by Jerphanion. The church might have belonged to a monastery, and art historians shall make a decision about it, but the only thing which can be stated for certain is the fact that in the epigram there is no distinct hint for a monastery.

The long epigram in the lavishly decorated new church of Tokalı Kilise is also interesting for another reason, namely for some inaccuracies between word and image. In the epigram on the cornice also a list of the scenes portrayed below and above it in the vault is given: In verse 16 the Feeding of the Multitude is mentioned. This scene however is not represented anywhere in the church. On the other hand many important scenes do appear in the paintings, but are omitted from the inscription. According to Maguire<sup>31</sup> that can be determined even though the inscription has lacunae, as there would not have been space to list all the scenes. As was pointed out before, there might be several reasons responsible for this discrepancy: The epigram was perhaps originally written for another church. Or it had been

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> JOLIVET-LÉVY 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ed. RHOBY 2009, no. 192.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> ROTT 1908, 227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> DE JERPHANION 1925, 306f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Konstantinos is rather the donor than the painter of the church as can be seen by similar expressions in other donors' / founders' inscriptions, cf. LAUXTERMANN 2003, 159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The end of the verse is indicated with three dots as it was at the end of verse 3.

<sup>30</sup> JOLIVET-LÉVY 2006, 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> MAGUIRE 1996, 7.

used before for another church and was later reused for this one. There is certainly also the possibility that the epigram was commissioned and composed at a time, when it was not yet clear what the actual decoration of the church would look like.

The second part of the paper is devoted to a rather unknown Byzantine object of art from the 14<sup>th</sup> century and its attached epigrams. Since the original object itself is now lost few things are known. It is the aim of the following presentation to show how the existing knowledge about the object and its purpose can be enlarged by carefully examining the accompanying epigrams.

The original object was once kept in the baptistery of the church San Giovanni at Florence / Italy. Since it obviously got lost as early as in the late 18th century it has never been described properly. It was in fact studied only once, but at a time when it was already incomplete and the different parts were separated. Antonio Francesco Gori included the remaining parts, three silver slabs, into the 3rd volume of his study Thesaurus veterum diptychorum consularium et ecclesiasticorum published in Florence, in 1759.32 In the second half of the 18th century casts of the silver slabs worked in lead-gilt were produced; they are now kept in the old depository of the Museo Cristiano in the Vatican.<sup>33</sup> Exactly when and how the original silver slabs disappeared remains unknown. Gori is certain that the silver slabs he is discussing originally belonged to a reliquary, however, without telling in detail how he came to this opinion. Did he manage to see the original complete object? To the best of my knowledge, there is only one further study in which the slabs from Florence were treated in some lines, namely in Wolfgang Fritz Volbach's article.34 The author rightfully dated the original slabs to the 14th century. He was, however, not fully convinced by Gori's idea that the three slabs once belonged to a reliquary. He rather thought that they served at one time as decorations for an icon of John Prodromos since the first slab (fig. 1) is entirely devoted to scenes of Prodromos' life.35 The following comments on the epigrams attached to the slabs will prove that Gori was right and that the object was originally a reliquary, however, a reliquary containing the relics of different saints and not only of Prodromos.

Gori's description of the slabs is not very accurate. He is hardly paying attention to the style of the scenes and the depicted persons while making the not always successful attempt of transcribing the Greek texts of the accompanying epigrams.

Upon taking a closer look at the engravings of the three slabs in Gori's book it can be seen that each slab consisted of six small plates with either scenes or depictions of persons.

The first slab (fig. 1) is dedicated to scenes of the life of John Prodromos. It shows the Birth of Prodromos and it incorporates the Naming of Prodromos by his father Zachari-

<sup>32</sup> GORI 1759, 349-56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Cf. SCHLUMBERGER 1905, tab. VI (after p. 440), tab. VII (after p. 512); MUÑOZ 1906, 177 (figs. 137–38); KATSIOTE 1998, 304 (figs. 147–48).

<sup>34</sup> VOLBACII 1947, p. 89, 93.

<sup>35</sup> See epigrams Ia-f in the appendix.

as, showing Zacharias writing Prodromos' name on a scroll. The next plate shows the young Prodromos who is guided by an angel to the desert. Next we see Prodromos in front of Herodes where he criticizes Herodes' relationship to his sister-in--law Herodias. The next scene presents Prodromos in prison. The following plate is devoted to Herodes' banquet with the famous Dance of Salome who requires Prodromos' head as reward for her dance.36 On the last plate the Discovery of Prodromos' head is depicted.

The second slab (fig. 2) is covered with plates with the depictions of the apostles Andrew, Petrus and Jacob and the saints Panteleemon, Akindynos and John the Merciful (Eleemon). The third slab (fig. 3) contains plates with the saints Euplos, Stephanos (the Younger), Theodoros Teron and Tryphon. The last two images are empty apart from the accompanying texts as the sole remains.

All the plates on the three slabs are combined with small plates with Greek inscriptions.<sup>37</sup> The Greek inscriptions on the small plates are all metrical consisting of two verses. The be-



Fig. 1. Florence reliquary (14th c.), scenes of the life of John Prodromos (after GORI 1759, tab. III; after p. 352)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> The severed head is already shown above her.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Besides, there are also inscriptions in the scenes themselves which can be seen upon closer inspection.



Fig. 2. Florence reliquary (14<sup>th</sup> c.), apostles and saints (after GORI 1759, tab. IV; after p. 354)

ginning of the epigrams is always marked with a cross, and sometimes the end of the each verse is marked with dots.

Commencing with the plates on the first slab (fig. 1) with the scenes of Prodromos' life: on the first plate both the Birth and the Naming of Prodromos by Zacharias are depicted. According to Angeliki Katsioti, who has studied the scenes of Prodromos' life in Byzantine art very carefully, it is rather exceptional that both scenes are combined,38 but one encounters similar examples especially in cycles of his life in the 13th to the 14th century. The epigram below the scene, however, only refers to the Naming of Prodromos by his father Zacharias with the words Φωνήν σὸ γεννᾶς τοῦ Λόγου, Ζαχαρία / πίστευε λοιπὸν καὶ γ' ἄνω κλῆσιν γράφε (see epigram no. Ia in the appendix).39

The next scene showing Prodromos guided by an angel to the desert is not based on a report in the gospels (and also not in the apocryphal Greek gospels). Strangely enough, this episode is mentioned for the first time in the chronicle of Georgios Kedrenos in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>40</sup> However, that does certainly not mean that Kedrenos is the source for this scene

<sup>38</sup> KATSIOTE 1998, 58f.

<sup>39</sup> Although the expression Φωνὴν σὰ γεννᾶς ... can also be understood as reference to Prodromos' birth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> KEDRENOS *Hist.* A.M. 5506 (ed. Bekker, vol. 1, p. 328).

and the accompanying epigram, which runs as Πρὸς τὴν ἔρημον θεῖος ἄγγελος φέρει / τὸν ἄγγελόν σε κἂν ἔτι βρέφος πέλης (no. Ib in the appendix). The source of this report is most likely a Slavic text of the apocryphal legend of Prodromos. A similar epigram from the middle of the 14th century is preserved in the exonarthex of the katholikon of the Prodromos monastery near Serres. There the text accompanying a similar scene runs as follows: "Αγγελος έλθων ἀφ' ὕψους οὐρανόθεν / άγγελον τὸν Πρόδρομον ἔρημον ἄγει.41 To the left of this scene one can see the beheading of Zacharias in the temple.42

The rest of the plates and the accompanying epigrams referring to John Prodromos do not offer very exciting insights. At first glimpse it looks as if there were only six plates / six scenes reserved for the life of Prodromos (on the first slab). However, there must have been another plate on the original object depicting another typical scene of Prodromos' life. It is not shown on any of the three slabs in Gori's study but it is preserved on one



Fig. 3. Florence reliquary (14<sup>th</sup> c.), saints (after GORI 1759, tab. V; after p. 356)

<sup>41</sup> Ed. RHOBY 2009, no. 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> The text of the Serres-epigram also contains an interesting linguistical detail: One would expect a preposition in front of ἔρημον. For this reason a previous editor added the preposition εἰς before ἔρημον. However, the preposition was left out intentionally since ἔρημον works here as an accusativus loci (for further references concerning ἄγω with the accusativus loci cf. LIDDELL/SCOTT/JONES/MCKENZIE 1925–1940, s.v. ἄγω I l).

of the two casts kept in the Vatican. It refers to the beheading of Prodromos' father Zacharias. This scene normally precedes the scene showing Prodromos guided by an angel to the desert as it is the case in the exonarthex of the Prodromos monastery near Serres. The content of the epigram referring to the beheading of Zacharias is based on Matthew 23, 35.<sup>43</sup> Since this additional epigram now gives proof of there having been at least another plate with a scene referring to the circle of Prodromos' life, new questions have to be asked: Were there more scenes of the circle of Prodromos' life on the original Byzantine object than Gori presents? Was there another slab with scenes of Prodromos' life? Were the plates perhaps already misplaced when Gori saw them? Or were they originally misplaced?

There is also another hint which indicates some misplacement within the slabs which were available to Gori. On the third slab (fig. 3) the image of saint Thryphon is depicted in the second row. The field reserved for his epigram is empty and Gori thought that the verses were lost. But Gori was wrong: The plate with the epigram referring to saint Tryphon is placed in the third row. The text of the epigram (see epigram no. IIIc in the *appendix*) does not mention Tryphon explicitly, but there is a pun by which it is quite obvious that the verses refer to Tryphon. The text reads as: Ἐπώνυμος σὺ τῆς τρυφῆς τῆς ἐνθέου / δίδου μοι ταύτην ὡς τρυφᾶν σοῖς λειψάνοις. The pun referring to saint Tryphon consists of the noun τρυφή in verse 1 and the verb τρυφᾶν in verse 2.<sup>44</sup>

Moreover, this and all the other epigrams on slabs II and III refer not only to the depicted saints but also to their relics starting with the epigram below the apostle Andrew. In this epigram (no. IIa in the appendix), which runs as: 'Ο πρωτόκλητος 'Ανδρέας σὰν λειψάνοις / ἀντιλαβοῦ μου τῆ τελευταία κρίσει, also a reference to the donor and / or the owner of the object can be found. He asks the apostle in the tradition of similar dedicatory or donor's inscription for support on the Day of the Last Judgement (ἀντιλαβοῦ μου τῆ τελευταία κρίσει) by means of his relics. One can read about the donor / owner of the object also in the epigram below the depiction of saint Panteleemon, which reads as: [Τὸ] Παντελεήμονος λείψανον φέρων / – εὖ οἶδα – πηγὴν τῶν ἰαμάτων ἔχω (no. IIb in the appendix). The donor/owner is speaking (to the beholder) in the first person (ἔχω). Here, perhaps another hint providing information on the purpose of the original object can be obtained. The donor/owner states that he is "carrying the relics of Panteleemon" ([Τὸ] Παντελεήμονος λείψανον φέρων). Is that a hint that the original object was always with him? Was the whole object or at least this plate perhaps used as an encolpion? Or was the epigram originally composed for a reliquary-encolpion of St. Panteleemon and reused for this object?

One can compare the wording of the epigram for Saint Panteleemon with similar expression on other objects: e.g. the verse:  $\Lambda \epsilon \iota \mu \hat{\omega} \nu \alpha \pi \alpha \theta \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \hat{\upsilon} \Theta(\epsilon o) \hat{\upsilon} \sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \nu o \iota \zeta \phi \epsilon \rho \omega v$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Zacharias' alleged father Barachios is already mentioned there; but in fact Barachios is not the father of this Zacharias, but of the small prophet Zacharias of the Old Testament. This mistake is either due to Matthew himself, the Greek translator or a later commentator on the text.

<sup>44</sup> The epigram reminds on similar puns to be found in iambic synaxarium verses, cf. HUNGER 1985.

on an encolpion kept in Siena,  $^{45}$  or the epigram:  $Στ(αυ)ρέ, ξύλον τίμιον ἡγιασμένο(ν), / ὅπλον κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἀφανῶν ὁρωμένων / Ἰωάννης φέρω σε Δούκας Νοστόγκων on a cross-encolpion kept in Leipzig, <math>^{46}$  or the verse: Φέρω σε τὴν φέρουσαν ἁγνῶς τὸν Λόγον on an encolpion kept in the monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos.  $^{47}$  Of these objects it is known that they were used as encolpia for sure.  $^{48}$ 

The remaining epigrams are all characterized by some pun referring to the depicted persons. In the epigram below Saint Akindynos (no. IIc in the *appendix*) the author plays with ἀκίνδυνος and κίνδυνος, in the epigram below St. Euplos (no. IIIa in the *appendix*) with the saint's name and the noun εὔπλοια and – as was mentioned before – in the epigram referring to St. Tryphon (no. IIIc in the *appendix*) with τρυφή and τρυφάν. From the epigram which is placed under St. Stephen (no. IIIb in the *appendix*) it is obvious that it is not St. Stephen who is depicted but St. Stephen the Younger (the first verse of the epigram saying: Tòv Στέφανον ... τὸν νέον).

After having taken a closer look at the text, are more facts now known about the original object? On the one hand, yes, on the other, no. Arguably, it can be said – as Volbach thought – that the three slabs did not originally belong to the decoration of an icon of John Prodromos. If the three slabs belonged together from the very beginning they must have been part of a reliquary most probably containing both relics of Prodromos and of all the other depicted apostles and saints. That is clearly indicated by the accompanying verses. Was the object also used as an encolpion or at least parts of it? It is not known.

It is interesting to see that the person who was responsible for the arrangement of the casts in the late 18th century had no idea about the meaning of the texts whatsoever. The plates with the images and the plates with the inscriptions are completely misplaced. As a result, there are some absurd combinations. For example: the epigram referring to Saint Euplos was put on top of the scene with Prodromos and the angel; St. Euplos himself is depicted on the other cast. By accident the apostle Jacob was copied twice, also the plates with the epigrams next to him. However, they do not refer to him but to Prodromos' naming by Zacharias.

In conclusion: it was this paper's purpose to show how the thorough study and the close examination of inscriptions can help to learn more about the object they are attached to or the image they are accompanying. In this way, some Byzantine works of art come clearer into focus offering many hidden, unexpected messages.

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<sup>45</sup> GALLAVOTTI CAVALLERO 1985, 89; BONFIOLI 1996, 108.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> EFFENBERGER 1983, 116; HÖRANDNER 2007, 120.

<sup>47</sup> FROLOW 1966, 625; PITARAKIS 2006, 141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> The epigrams of all three mentioned objects are included in the second volume (RHOBY 2010, No. Me 75, Me 7, Me 35), of the project "Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung" [Byzantine epigrams on objects].

#### Appendix (cf. RHOBY 2010, No. Me 53-67)

#### slab 1:

Ia) Birth and naming of Prodromos:Φωνὴν σὺ γεννᾶς τοῦ Λόγου, Ζαχαρία:

πίστευε λοιπὸν καὶ γ' ἄνω κλησιν γράφε.

Ib) Prodromos guided to the desert by an angel:

Πρὸς τὴν ἔρημον θεῖος ἄγγελος φέρει τὸν ἄγγελόν σε κὰν ἔτι βρέφος πέλης.

Ic) Prodromos' criticism of Herodes:

"Εχεις, Ήρώδη, τὴν γυναῖκα Φιλίππου παράνομα δρᾶς καὶ μισῶ παρανόμους.

Id) Prodromos in prison:

Οἰκεῖς φυλακὴν ἐκ τυράννου μανίας, ὧ λύχνε φωτός, ἀλλ' ἐλέγχεις καὶ πλέον.

Ie) Banquet of Herodes / dance of Salome: Πότος μυσαρὸς μυσαροῦ βασιλέως

κόνδυ κεραννύς αίμάτων πλήρης φόνου.

If) Discovery of Prodromos' head:

Πάντων κεφαλὴν προκηρύττει <σὸν> κάρα· γῆς ἐξ ἀδύτων νῦν ἀνίσχει Προδρόμου.

#### slab 2:

IIa) St. Apostle Andrew:

Ό πρωτόκλητος 'Ανδρέας σὺν λειψάνοις ἀντιλαβοῦ μου τῆ τελευταία κρίσει.

IIb) St. Panteleemon:

[Τὸ] Παντελεήμονος λείψανον φέρωνεὖ οἶδα – πηγὴν τῶν ἰαμάτων ἔχω.

IIc) St. Akindynos:

'Ακινδύνου λείψανα παντὸς κινδύνου γένοισθε λυτήρια τοῖς αἰτουμένοις.

#### IId) St. John Merciful:

Τὴν κλησιν αὐχεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐποιΐας:

ω Ἰωάννη, τοῖς γοῦν λειψάνοις σκέπε.

#### slab 3:

#### IIIa) St. Euplos:

Εὔπλοιαν ἡμῖν Εὔπλος δίδου τρισμάκαρ, βίου πελάγει σῶν χάριτι λειψάνων.

#### IIIb) St. Stephen the Younger:

Τὸν Στέφανον δὲ τῶν μαρτύρων τὸν νέον ἀσπάζομαί σε προσκυνῶν σὰν λειψάνοις.

#### IIIc) St. Tryphon:

Ἐπώνυμος σὺ τῆς τρυφῆς τῆς ἐνθέου δίδου μοι ταύτην ὡς τρυφᾶν σοῖς λειψάνοις.

#### IIId) St. Sampson:

Λείψανα Σάμψωνος δὲ τοῦ ξενοδόχου βρύοντα πᾶσιν ἀκεσώδυνον χάριν.

#### IIIe) Zacharias:

Τὸν Ζαχαρίαν τὸν υἱὸν Βαραχίου παράνομοι σφάττουσι τοῦ νεὼ μέσον.

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