

ANASTASIOS KANTARAS

*Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*

## **Some Thoughts on the Blood of Christ and Its Symbolism in Byzantine Epigrams Regarding the Cross And the Crucifixion**

*This study deals with the holy byzantine epigram regarding the Cross and the Crucifixion of Christ focusing on the presence, the position, and the importance of the blood of Christ on the instrument of torture that is the Cross. I will try to interpret and explain this repeated pattern through the lines of Byzantine epigrams, and, in the end, figure out any possible influences from other domains of Byzantine philology, such as hymnography and homilies, drawing further conclusions.*

**Keywords:** Byzantine holy epigram, Cross, Crucifixion, the blood of Christ, holy relics, soteriological connotations, Byzantine art

### **Introduction**

#### **Epigrams in the Byzantine period: development and function**

According to the Byzantine dictionary of *Souda* (10<sup>th</sup> century) πάντα τὰ ἐπιγραφόμενά τισι, κἂν μὴ ἐν μέτροις εἰρημένα, ἐπιγράμματα λέγεται.<sup>1</sup> This definition, in essence, defines the epigram as anything written on an object, even if it is written as verse and links the ‘epigram’ to the term ‘inscription’. It is in fact true that Byzantines rarely used the term ‘epigram’ (ἐπίγραμμα = ἐπὶ and γράφω)<sup>2</sup> and instead used the terms στίχοι or ἴαμβοι, as can be seen in the titles of those poems.<sup>3</sup>

Undoubtedly, the term ‘epigram’ is not new to the Byzantines, since it has been in use since the Classical Years, when distinguished scholars

---

<sup>1</sup> ΣΟΥΙΔΑ (2002: 2270).

<sup>2</sup> RHOBY (2009a: 37).

<sup>3</sup> KOMINΗΣ (1996: 20); RHOBY (2008: 16); RHOBY (2009a: 40–41).

composed epigrams in order to express themselves, their thoughts and emotions. The epigram, subsequently, became the norm during the Hellenistic Years with the work of poets such as Kallimachos, Apollonios of Rhodes and Meleager. Throughout that period, there was a noticeable influence of the epigram on Latin literature.<sup>4</sup> It continued to flourish during the Byzantine years,<sup>5</sup> and took on a new metric form dealing with new themes and topics heavily influenced by the new religion of Christianity.<sup>6</sup>

At this point, it is imperative to distinguish the Byzantine epigram from the epigram in the Antiquity. Their differences lie in two basic features; the first has to do with the length of the epigram given that the Byzantine epigram can be just one line, few lines, or a lot of lines, a feature that was not evident in the ancient Greek epigram which was composed of just a few brief lines.<sup>7</sup>

Secondly, the meter in the Byzantine epigram is significantly different from that of the Antiquity, which featured a hexameter or elegiac distich (the exclusive meters featured in the ancient epigram). The Byzantine epigram featured a new meter – one that was exclusively Byzantine, the Byzantine dodecasyllabic meter.<sup>8</sup> Essentially, it is a meter based on the ancient iambic trimeter thus consisting of twelve syllables.<sup>9</sup> The new Byzantine

---

<sup>4</sup> For the ancient epigram see e.g., GEFFCKEN (1969); KEYDELL (1962); CITRONI (2018: 21–42), for a complete definition of the Ancient epigram.

<sup>5</sup> For the influence of Ancient Greek and Latin poetry on the Christian epigram see e.g., CATAUDELLA (1982), and for the reception of later Antiquity to Byzantine see e.g., AGOSTI (2019), also AGOSTI (2010), for the format of lines (e.g., caesurae) of later Antiquity epigrams.

<sup>6</sup> KOMINHE (1966: 19); RHOBY (2009a: 37–45), for a brief presentation of the progress of the Byzantine epigram with its main representatives; LAUXTERMANN (2003a: 26–34), for the definition of the epigram and its Byzantine content.

<sup>7</sup> LIVINGSTONE–NIBSET (2010: 7).

<sup>8</sup> MAAS (1903). For the Byzantine dodecasyllabic verse, its format and particular features (caesurae, suffixes etc.) see also LAUXTERMANN (1998); RHOBY (2011); HÖRANDNER (2017: 52–55).

<sup>9</sup> At this point it should be mentioned that other meters were rarely used. See RHOBY (2018: 66–70); HÖRANDNER (1995); JEFFREYS (1982); JEFFREYS (2019b). For the political verse in Byzantine poetry see e.g., JEFFREYS (1974); LAUXTERMANN (1999); KODER (1983); LAVAGNINI (1983); HÖRANDNER (2017: 42–52); ALEXIOU–HOLTON (1976); ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ (1981). For the so-called ‘anacreontic’ verse of the first Byzantine years see NISSEN (1940); CICOLELLA (2000); CICOLELLA (2009). For the ‘heroic’ meter during late Antiquity or early Christian years see HÖRANDNER (2017: 57–61).

dodecasyllabic verse was largely introduced through the work of George of Pisidia during the 7<sup>th</sup> century<sup>10</sup> influencing subsequent poets.<sup>11</sup>

In this context, we see a plethora of ancient byzantine epigrams featuring a religious character drawing inspiration from holy persons and events. These epigrams expressed thoughts, fears, and wishes in a divine nature as well as prayers and requests towards God.<sup>12</sup> In detail, these holy epigrams, depending on their composer, can be categorized (and then subcategorized)<sup>13</sup> as follows: a) epigrams to Saints, called *συναξαριακά* – synaxarian epigrams (referring to the life and works of Saints); b) epigrams for holy events (festive epigrams); c) epigrams to persons and events of the Holy Scripture; d) epigrams to important persons of the Church, state officials, and the aristocracy; e) epigrams engraved on holy relics, vestments, and other ecclesiastical relics; f) epigrams on icons and church murals (frescos); g) epigrams on religious manuscripts (either in the beginning or ending of the manuscript as a plea for its successful completion); h) epigrams on *μολυβδόβουλα* and seals; i) epigrams on metric acrostics; and j) various epigrams which cannot be categorized in any of the above mentioned categories, still featuring a religious character.

This study deals with epigrams on the cross and the Crucifixion amongst all other categories. Their lines reveal a pattern, that of the blood of Christ spilling and soaking the wooden cross.

### **The Holy Blood: a general historical introduction**

Blood, as noticed in primitive peoples, is the component of the body which encloses the soul and life of people and animals, according to the teachings of the Old Testament.<sup>14</sup> In different parts of the Mosaic Law, it

---

<sup>10</sup> TARTAGLIA (1998: 53–54); KANTARAS (2019b). For the role of George of Pisidia in the Byzantine poetry see LAUXTERMANN (2003b); VASSIS (2019).

<sup>11</sup> RHOBY (2009a: 60–65); RHOBY (2010: 40–41).

<sup>12</sup> ΚΟΜΙΝΗΣ (1966: 25); ΤΩΜΑΛΑΚΗΣ (1993: 30).

<sup>13</sup> ΚΟΜΙΝΗΣ (1966: 26–47).

<sup>14</sup> Lev. 17, 11, 14 (ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ πάσης σαρκὸς αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ). It is worth mentioning that the concept of the living and embodied essence of blood can be seen in folk tales and traditions. A premium example is the act of *αδελφοποιΐας* (fraternization), which involves direct contact of the blood of its participants so as not only to achieve an artificial brotherhood but also to exchange each other's existence through blood. This is entirely a symbolic

is forbidden to consume it.<sup>15</sup> Spilling human blood, i.e., murder, is clearly stated in the Old Testament as the greatest sin,<sup>16</sup> reminding us of the corresponding Ten Commandment. One of the most distinct examples is the spilt blood of Abel shouting from the ground demanding the punishment of the murderer.<sup>17</sup> Animal blood, according to the Old Testament, was offered to God as redemption<sup>18</sup> and only specific animal blood was allowed in places of worship. The greatest sacrifice was spilling goat blood on the Arc by the high priest which served as redemption for himself and for his people. In essence, it is a sacrifice for shadowing the subsequent sacrifice of Christ. His sacrifice by spilling His blood saved the world and transcended eternally to the Kingdom of Heavens, both as a high priest and as the victim, as the perfect God and perfect human.<sup>19</sup>

This brings us to the New Testament, where we meet the greatest significance that can be attributed to αίμα (blood). The difference and distance between the bloody sacrifices in the Old Testament and the spilt

---

act taking place in difficult times such as wars, captivity, exile, and usually during Easter, the day of 'love'. There are later descriptions for these acts in churches in front of icons, e.g., of a saint whose grace was being evoked at the time, or around a table using a cross and a gospel, where in the end the participants would take a vow (much like the case with Φιλική Εταιρεία – Filiki Etairia – for the war of Greek independence in 1821). Of course, in Greece, such acts took place mostly during the Turkish occupation, they were denounced by the Church and were forbidden from taking place on church property. Still, this tradition is documented even in Antiquity. Herodotus was the first to report such an act between peoples in Asia Minor, particularly from Lydda, who – in their effort to establish a strong bond – would nick their forearms and would consume each other's blood by licking the wound (Hist. A' 74). See ΜΙΧΑΗΛΙΔΟΥ-ΝΟΥΑΡΟΥ (1952).

<sup>15</sup> Lev. 17, 10–15.

<sup>16</sup> Gen. 9, 6. ὁ ἐκχέων αίμα ἀνθρώπου, ἀντὶ τοῦ αίματος αὐτοῦ ἐκχυθήσεται, ὅτι ἐν εἰκόνι Θεοῦ ἐποίησα τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

<sup>17</sup> Gen. 4, 10. καὶ εἶπε Κύριος· τί πεποίηκας; φωνὴ αίματος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου ἐκτῆς χειρός σου. It is noted that after this biblical quote, the thought of the 'voice of blood' asking for revenge and leading to vendetta and vengeance or the direct punishment from God was common among peoples and we see something similar in the Greek reality, namely in proverbs (for instance παίρνω το αίμα μου πίσω; το ἀδικοχυμένο αίμα δικαιοσκοτώνει; το αίμα παίρνεται πίσω; το αίμα φωνάζει etc.).

<sup>18</sup> Ex. 12, 7, 13, 22 (quotes for the delineation of provisions regarding Easter). Lev. 17 (for the purgation of slaughtered animals).

<sup>19</sup> Paul underlines this sacrifice in his letter to Jews (Heb. 9, 11–22).

blood of the Savior is significant since the blood of sacrificed animals in the past involved only the purity of the body. The blood of Christ purifies the body as well as the soul relieving the human from guilt and saving him.<sup>20</sup> Revenge of the blood in the Old Testament, which remains at the disposal of God, as is any response of evil with evil,<sup>21</sup> is reversed in the New Testament with the teachings of Christ through loving everybody, even an enemy.<sup>22</sup> Christ Himself offered His blood to His students during the Last Supper in the form of wine, thus establishing the ritual of Communion, necessary for the salvation of man.<sup>23</sup>

In light of this, the blood of Christ, clearly stated in the New Testament,<sup>24</sup> is offered in releasing human from sin,<sup>25</sup> guaranteeing resurrection.<sup>26</sup> Through it, human is offered eternal, true life,<sup>27</sup> peace is established between God and the world,<sup>28</sup> and he comes closer to God<sup>29</sup> finding absolution.<sup>30</sup> Through His blood, Christ Himself was redeemed as human,<sup>31</sup> not for bearing sins but through the divination of human flesh. The blood of Christ also purges conscience,<sup>32</sup> and through it, humans can transcend to the Kingdom of Heavens.<sup>33</sup>

This symbolic value and meaning of the blood of Christ influenced all subsequent literature in Byzantium. Poetry – being delicate and fine in its expression – was heavily influenced as expected. So, studying Byzantine epigrams related to the cross and the crucifixion, the diachronic presence of a pattern regarding the blood of Christ spilling and soaking the cross can be distinguished. The timelessness of this pattern, which is evident

---

<sup>20</sup> Heb. 9, 13–14.

<sup>21</sup> Heb. 12, 17, 21.

<sup>22</sup> Rom. 12, 19–20.

<sup>23</sup> John 6, 53–56; Matt. 26, 28; Mark 14, 24; Luke 22, 20; 1 Cor. 10, 16 and 11, 25.

<sup>24</sup> Heb. 13, 20.

<sup>25</sup> Matt. 26, 28; Rom. 3, 25; Eph. 1, 7.

<sup>26</sup> John 6, 54.

<sup>27</sup> John 6, 53–54.

<sup>28</sup> Col. 1, 20.

<sup>29</sup> Eph. 2, 13.

<sup>30</sup> Eph. 1, 7; 1 Pet. 1, 18–19; Rev. 5, 6.

<sup>31</sup> Heb. 9, 12.

<sup>32</sup> Heb. 9, 14; 1 John 1, 7; Rev. 1, 5.

<sup>33</sup> Heb. 10, 19.

already from the early Byzantine era of Gregory of Nazianzus and continues up to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, helps to make several observations.

Specifically, among the sixteen epigrams in total, we observe that on the one hand, we get epigrams with lines referring clearly to the blood of Christ, a fact that is easily distinguished from the title (e.g., *Εἰς τὸ ἅγιον αἷμα* – Epigram no. 6) or the content of the lines. On the other hand, we see epigrams with lines that refer to the blood of Christ as being part of the Holy Relics, while other lines indirectly make that reference by reporting on the spilt blood of Christ after the spearing by the Roman soldier. Let us now explore each epigram individually and record the information they give us.

### Epigrams

#### *Epigram n. 1*

4<sup>th</sup> century, Gregory of Nazianzus

Εἰς τὴν σταύρωσιν  
 Ὡ Πάθος, ὦ σταυρὸς, παθέων ἐλατήριον αἷμα,  
 πλῦνον ἐμῆς ψυχῆς πᾶσαν ἀτασθαλίην.<sup>34</sup>

*Translation*<sup>35</sup>

For the Crucifixion  
 Oh passion, oh cross, blood that washes away all misfortunes,  
 clear my soul of all sins.

#### *Remarks*

As it can be understood by the title of the epigram, its two lines are devoted to the crucifixion of Christ (tit.: *Εἰς τὴν σταύρωσιν*). The poet, i.e., Gregory of Nazianzus,<sup>36</sup> in his first line appeals to the Passion of Christ and the cross (*Ὡ Πάθος, ὦ σταυρὸς*) and to the blood spilt by the Son of God to wash away the misfortunes (*παθέων ἐλατήριον αἷμα*), while

<sup>34</sup> BECKBY (1964: 1, 150, n. 54); WALTZ (1957: 29, n. 54); VASSIS (2005: 889).

<sup>35</sup> All translations have been written by the author of this study. Their aim is to help the reader and by no means serve as a literary recreation of the epigrams.

<sup>36</sup> For the role of Gregory of Nazianzus in Christianizing the epigram and evaluating the quality of his work by scholars see ΒΕΡΤΟΥΔΑΚΗΣ (2010); CRISCUOLO (2007); GOLDHILL–GREENSMITH (2020); SIMELIDIS (2019).

the second line refers to the cleansing of the soul from all sins (πλῦνον ἐμῆς ψυχῆς πᾶσαν ἀτασθαλίην).

At this point, we should notice the relation of blood to soul,<sup>37</sup> the latter being heavily emphasized in the Holy Scripture.<sup>38</sup> Specifically, the Old Testament attributed to the soul biological features such as breathing and life preservation,<sup>39</sup> as well as the essence of blood being the basis for life.<sup>40</sup> It also attributed higher, more spiritual features such as physical feelings, i.e. hunger,<sup>41</sup> thirst<sup>42</sup> and fulfillment,<sup>43</sup> etc., senses such as touch,<sup>44</sup> sight,<sup>45</sup> and emotions such as love,<sup>46</sup> hate,<sup>47</sup> bitterness,<sup>48</sup> sorrow,<sup>49</sup>

<sup>37</sup> We see the same correlation of blood and soul in epigram no. 6 of the 11<sup>th</sup> century by John Mauropous.

<sup>38</sup> Throughout the centuries, the soul was the topic of a lot of discussions, studies, opinion-making, and argumentation. In ancient years (see RHODE [2010]: for the perception of soul in the ancient world; MANTZANAS [2008: 27–32]: for the problem of soul in Ancient philosophy) ideas mostly by Plato (Φαίδων, Τίμαιος, Πολιτεία) for the afterlife travel of the human soul (see ELKAISY-FRIEMUTH – DILLON [2009]) influenced a great deal the majority of later philosophical and religious perceptions, as well as Christian ones (see ΖΗΣΗΣ [1972]), even today (see e.g. BOWKER [1996]; SNEATH [1922]). Let us note that the correlation of body and soul troubled even the Church fathers (see ΚΑΡΑΜΑΝΩΛΗΣ [2017: 241–279]; ΝΙΚΟΛΑΪΔΗΣ [2019: 135–150]), who believed that man is not just body or soul but a combination of both (see Gregory of Nyssa, Περὶ κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου, PG 44, 236 BC). What the soul knows, existing or not, is due to embodiment (John of Damascus, Πρὸς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας τὰς ἀγίας εἰκόνας, Λόγος Γ', §12. KOTTER [1975: 3, 123, 26–27: ἀδύνατον ἡμᾶς ἐκτὸς τῶν σωματικῶν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ νοητά]), that is, the 'residence' of the soul, the eye, and its speech (John of Damascus, Πρὸς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας τὰς ἀγίας εἰκόνας, Λόγος Α', §36 and Λόγος Β', §32. KOTTER [1975: 3, 148, 29–30: Ἐπεὶ ἀνθρώπος εἶμι καὶ σῶμα περικείμεαι, ποθῶ καὶ σωματικῶς ὀμιλεῖν καὶ ὁρᾶν τὰ ἅγια]). Also, for the church writers, the soul is not contained in the body but vice versa (see Nemesios of Emesa, Περὶ Φύσεως Ἀνθρώπου; MORANI [1987: 41, 8–10: Οὐ γὰρ κρατεῖται ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ κρατεῖ τὸ σῶμα, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ σώματι ἔστιν ὡς ἀγγεῖω ἢ ἀσκῶ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὸ σῶμα ἐν αὐτῇ]).

<sup>39</sup> Gen. 2, 7. καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν.

<sup>40</sup> Gen. 9, 5. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ὑμέτερον αἷμα τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν ἐκ χειρὸς πάντων τῶν θηρίων ἐκζητήσω αὐτὸ καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀδελφοῦ ἐκζητήσω τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Certainly, the soul of animals in the Old Testament (Gen. 2, 19) clearly contrasts with human life (Lev. 24, 17–18; Prov. 12, 10).

<sup>41</sup> Prov. 19, 15; Isa. 22, 6; Ps. 106, 9.

<sup>42</sup> Ps. 106, 5; 147, 6.

<sup>43</sup> Ex. 15, 9; Ps. 106, 9.

<sup>44</sup> Lev. 5, 2; Num. 19, 22.

and more. These feelings and emotions also include religious sentiments towards God<sup>50</sup> and doxology to Him.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, ‘soul’ receives a rich definition which carries on to the New Testament,<sup>52</sup> where it is further attributed with being the basis for eternal life,<sup>53</sup> and for all emotions.<sup>54</sup>

Surely, the concept of blood purging and redeeming the human soul is not new in the writings of the Holy Scripture. This valuable human blood is the essence of life itself, the true component of soul, carrying on its life through various doxological manifestations. This concept is the basis for all primitive acts of human and then animal sacrifice on tombs and graves where the blood needs to infiltrate the ground and empower the dead.<sup>55</sup> In Homer<sup>56</sup> the blood is the basis for life,<sup>57</sup> and it is evident how the soul can and will survive after death. The fighter’s soul, after he has fallen in battle, exits through the mouth and the wound and descends to the underworld. There, it maintains the form of the dead man so that he is recognizable (like Achilles recognizes Patroclus in Hades) but is so frail and translucent that he cannot even receive a hug. Only blood can make this frail entity conscient again<sup>58</sup> (much like Odysseus

<sup>45</sup> Isa. 53, 10. [...] ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν ὄψεται σπέρμα μακρόβιον.

<sup>46</sup> Song 1, 71; 1 Kings 18, 1.

<sup>47</sup> Isa. 1, 14. καὶ τὰς νουνημίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐορτὰς ὑμῶν μισεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου; 2 Kings 5, 8. [...] καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας τὴν ψυχὴν Δαυίδ.

<sup>48</sup> 2 Kings 17, 8. [...] καὶ κατάπικροι τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῶν; Job 7, 11. ἀνοιξὼ πικρῖαν ψυχῆς μου συνεχόμενος.

<sup>49</sup> Job 19, 2. ἕως τίνος ἐγκοπον ποιήσετε ψυχὴν μου καὶ καθαιρεῖτέ με λόγοις.

<sup>50</sup> Lev. 6, 5; 13, 4.

<sup>51</sup> The doxological hymns are a fine example of glory towards God as it is revealed through the world and history. See e.g., Psalms 8; 18; 23; 28; 32; 102, 1; 103, 1, etc.

<sup>52</sup> See e.g., ΤΡΕΜΠΕΛΑΣ (1959: 1, 483–486; 493–494); MEINERTZ (1950). As a side note, soul in Christian art is mostly anthropomorphized, as seen in icons representing the Assumption of Mary (WRATISLAV-MITROVIC–OKUNEV [1931]) and the event of Second Advent, where the souls of the pure in heart people are shown to enjoy the bliss in Heaven while the sinful souls are shown in torture.

<sup>53</sup> Matt. 10, 28; Luke 17, 33.

<sup>54</sup> Luke 12, 19; 2; Cor. 1, 23; 1; Thess. 5, 23.

<sup>55</sup> See e.g., ΛΕΚΑΤΣΑΣ (1957: 58).

<sup>56</sup> For the influence of Homer in Byzantine epigrams see e.g., OPSTALL (2014).

<sup>57</sup> Hom. *Od.* γ 455. τῆς δ’ ἐπει ἐκ μέλαν αἶμα ῥύη, λίπε δ’ ὄστέα θυμός.

<sup>58</sup> Hom. *Od.* λ 50. [...] αἵματος ἄσσον ἵμεν [...]; 96. αἵματος ὄφρα πῖω καὶ τοι νημερτέα εἶπω. See ΠΑΝΤΑΖΙΔΗΣ (1982 [= 2009]: 25).



who – before his descent to Hades – slaughters his victim whose blood can retain the memory and feeling of life).

Returning to the epigram, the attribute of cleansing the soul from all sins and washing away all misfortunes given to the blood of Christ, is rendered through a request by the poet to the cross.<sup>59</sup> The use of the imperative *πλῦνον* attests to this assumption, while, finally, we ought to observe that generally the statement of a request by a believer (usually in the final lines of the epigram) towards the Divine is a common practice which we shall see in epigrams no. 14 (lines 15–18) and 15 (line 3).

*Epigram n. 2*

10<sup>th</sup> century, beginning of 960 (?),<sup>60</sup> anonymous

Χριστὸς δίδωσιν αἷμα τὸ ζωὴν φέρον.<sup>61</sup>

*Translation*

Christ offers the life-giving blood.

*Remarks*

This is a one-line epigram, the work of an anonymous poet, who makes reference to the blood offered by Christ in order to give life to sinful humans once again. As such, the epigram maker characterizes the blood of Christ as αἷμα τὸ ζωὴν φέρον.

Let's notice here that this epigram can be found engraved on the circumference of the rim of a chalice<sup>62</sup> from which the believers received the Holy Communion, blood and body of Christ,<sup>63</sup> during Mass in

---

<sup>59</sup> The blood of Christ is essentially presented as the link between universal salvation and personal devotion (see CHEPEL [2017: 67]), a distinctive link for the magical invocations in the early Christian years.

<sup>60</sup> For more information on the exact date of the composition of the epigram see ROSS (1959: 7–8); RHOBY (2010: 259).

<sup>61</sup> RHOBY (2010: 258–259, n. Me84; 511 [im. 56–59]); DURAND (1861: 339, n. 47); PASINI (1885–1886: 59, n. 3); PASINI (1888: 288); HAHNLOSER (1996: 67 [A. Grabar], n. 57; tab. LII); HÖRANDNER (1989: 152); GUILLOU (1996: 76, n. 72A; 65–67 [im. 72a-e]); VASSIS (2005: 277).

<sup>62</sup> See RHOBY (2010: 258–259, no. Me84; 511 [im. 56–59]).

<sup>63</sup> The blood of Jesus Christ is the basis for the New Testament. During the Last Supper the pouring of wine into the cup offered by Christ to His disciples symbolized His blood that would be shed during His crucifixion for the salvation of those who believed in Him. (Matt. 26, 27–29. καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ποτήριον καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς

church.<sup>64</sup> In this way, it is justified that the epigram is fairly short, a one-liner, given the limited area that it would be engraved onto. Consequently, the poet composed the epigram knowing the object so that he could adjust the length of the epigram. Further, the poet keeping in mind how this object is used, adjusted the content of the line.

*Epigram n. 3*

10<sup>th</sup> century, anonymous

Ἔχεις με Χριστὸν αἷμα σαρκός μου φέρων.<sup>65</sup>

*Translation*

You have me, Christ, since you bear the blood of my body.

---

λέγων· πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεςιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Mark 14, 23-24: καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς. καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τοῦτο ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον. Luke 22, 20. ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λέγων· τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἢ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον).

<sup>64</sup> At this point it is worth mentioning that after the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, the divine worship acquires a new dynamic, which includes the transition from realism to symbolism (MANTZARIΔΗΣ [1990: 195–196]: on the symbolic character of the Divine Liturgy). From the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, in fact, the interpretive liturgical tradition is formed through a series of texts-treatises with analysis and theological-symbolic memorization of the liturgical types and sacred ceremonies (ΦΟΥΝΤΟΥΛΗΣ [1981: 17]). Thus, one of the most important texts of the Divine Liturgy and the symbolic interpretation of what is performed throughout is that of Nicholas Kabasilas (in the 14<sup>th</sup> century: ODB III: 1088) *Εἰς τὴν θείαν Λειτουργίαν* or *Ἑρμηνεία τῆς θείας Λειτουργίας*, where during the change of bread and wine via invoking the body and blood of Christ he emphasizes the soteriological work of Christ (PG 150, 425CD). The last of the memorizers of the Divine Liturgy during the Byzantine period is Saint Symeon of Thessaloniki (15<sup>th</sup> century: ODB III: 1981–1982), who, utilizing the previous interpretive tradition, emphasizes the Christological content and meaning of the rites. (ΦΟΥΝΤΟΥΛΗΣ [1965: 121–141]; ΓΙΕΒΤΙΤΣ [1983: 265–308]). Essentially the Divine Liturgy or Communion is nothing more than the union of Christ with men through His flesh (bread) and blood (wine). (Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σεσάρκωται ἐκ Παρθένου, ἵνα ἡμῖν ἐνωθῆ. Τούτου τε χάριν ἐσταύρωται, καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐξέχεε δι’ ἡμᾶς, ἵν’ αὐτοῦ κοινωνῶμεν. [...] Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παραπλησίως κεκοινωνήκε σαρκός τε καὶ αἵματος, ἵνα κοινωνίαν ἔχωμεν μετ’ αὐτοῦ: PG 155, 233C [ΕΗ’]).

<sup>65</sup> RHOBY (2010: 272–274, n. Me91; 517 [im. 75–77]); COUGNY (1890: 1, 60, n. 369); PASINI (1885–1886: 2, 24); PASINI (1888: 249); FROLOW (1964–1965: 221); HAHNLOSER (1996: 180, n. 172; tab. CLXXII); GUILLOU (1996: 85–86, n. 81; tab. 74, n. 78 a-c); KRAUSE (2008: 46–47; im. 1g); HÖRANDNER–RHOBY (2008: 46); VASSIS (2011: 220).

*Remarks*

This is an epigram very relevant to the previous one, since we find it engraved on the circumference of a chalice made with enamel. Much like the previous epigram, this too refers to the blood of Christ and its soteriological attribute, since it bears the blood of Christ, which is received by each believer during Mass. We cannot be sure whether this is the same poet, who may have received an order to compose epigrams for two different chalices, because we have not further information on him. Still, it is worth noting that this same line with slight modifications (Ἐχεις με Θεὸν αἷμα σαρκός μου φέρων) is seen many years later in 1650 engraved on a valuable chalice made with gold-plated silver in the monastery of Tatarna in Karpenisi<sup>66</sup> that affords us to speak of a historical continuation and an imitation of the same line in subsequent years.

However, if one compares the two (similar in content) epigrams, they will see how there is a noticeable difference between them in format. In this epigram, we have Christ as a *persona loquens* (use of first-person singular pronouns makes it rather clear that it is a first-person narration), who addresses primarily the anonymous donor of the chalice emphasizing his sentiment towards Christ through His blood, and secondly, each person who wishes to receive the Communion, body and blood of Christ thus saving his sinful soul. This would justify the use of the second person singular form (Ἐχεις) making the epigram livelier and drawing the reader's attention.

*Epigram n. 4*

10<sup>th</sup> century, John Geometres

Εἰς τὴν λόγχην

Πλευρᾶς ἔπλασα πλάσμα σῆς Εὐαν πάλαι,  
 πλευρὰν δὲ ῥήσσεις τὴν ἐμὴν λόγχη σὺ μοι·  
 ὁμως τὸ τραῦμα φάρμακον κεραυνύει  
 τῶν τραυμάτων σου καὶ τὰ ῥεῖθρα βλυστάνει.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>66</sup> ΚΟΥΜΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ (1991: 142; 104 [im.]).

<sup>67</sup> ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗ (2014: 137, n. 126); CRAMER (1839 [= 1964]: 4, 302, 21–25); PG 106, Joannis Geometrae, carmina varia argument sacri vel historici, col. 939 (πβ'); COUGNY (1890: 5, 455–456, n. 71); VASSIS (2005: 623).

*Translation*

For the Spear  
 From your rib I once created Eve,  
 My rib you are (now) piercing with the spear;  
 still, (my) wound transforms into healing  
 and heals your wounds and springs up.

*Remarks*

This epigram, written by John Geometres, is devoted to the spear as we are informed by its title (tit.: Εἰς τὴν λόγχην) and specifically, to the event of piercing the rib of the crucified Christ with the spear of the Roman soldier.<sup>68</sup> It is interesting how this evangelical event inspired the poet to compose this epigram since he had followed a career in army being a protospatharios (πρωτοσπαθᾶριος).<sup>69</sup>

The use of acting on the part of the poet is noteworthy since it is presented as if Christ Himself is addressing each human. In that way, John Geometres, in the first two lines, attempts to juxtapose the creation of Eve from the rib of Adam<sup>70</sup> to the piercing of the rib of Christ on the cross (Πλευρᾶς ἔπλασα πλάσμα σῆς Εὐαν πάλαι, / πλευρᾶν δὲ ῥήσεις τὴν ἐμὴν λόγχη σύ μοι). However, this juxtaposition is not accidental since the epigram maker concludes with a soteriological message according to which, the wound from the spear on the body of Christ is transformed into a healing element that can heal all humans (ὅμως τὸ τραῦμα φάρμακον κεραυνῶει / τῶν τραυμάτων σου καὶ τὰ ρεῖθρα βλυστάνει – lines 3–4).<sup>71</sup> Let us make a note at this point that this heal-

<sup>68</sup> John's gospel refers to this exact incident (John 19, 34: ἀλλ' εἰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγχη αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρᾶν ἔνυξε, καὶ εὐθέως ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ).

<sup>69</sup> LAUXTERMANN (1994: 163).

<sup>70</sup> Gen 2, 21–22. καὶ ἐπέβαλεν ὁ Θεὸς ἔκστασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ, καὶ ὑπνώσε· καὶ ἔλαβε μίαν τῶν πλευρῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεπλήρωσε σάρκα ἀντ' αὐτῆς. καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν πλευρᾶν, ἣν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ, εἰς γυναῖκα καὶ ἤγαγεν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀδὰμ.

<sup>71</sup> It is highlighted here that the same soteriological message is found in hymnography (τὴν πλευρᾶν ἐνύγη ὁ πλευρᾶν εἰληφῶς, τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐξ ἧς τὴν Εὐαν διέπλασας καὶ ἐξέβλυσας κρουνοὺς καθαρτικούς: *Megalarion* from the Fists Stasis of the account of Epitaphios), and in homilies (ἐνύγη δὲ καὶ τῇ λόγχῃ τὴν πλευρᾶν, διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ληφθεῖσαν γυναῖκα: John Chrysostom, Εἰς τὴν τριήμερον Ἀνάστασιν, PG50, 822).

ing element consists of the blood and water that spilt out of the wound of the body of Christ on the cross.<sup>72</sup>

Finally, this poem – aside from expressing the symbolic nature of the spear, that is the relic of Christ which was kept with other relics in Nea Ekklesia (Virgin of the Pharos)<sup>73</sup> in the 10<sup>th</sup> century –, may be referring to the ‘spear’, that is the small knife symbolizing the spear of the Passion used to cut bread during the Liturgy of Preparation.<sup>74</sup> In this last case, there is a metaphorical analogy between the spear that pierced the body of Christ and the ‘spear’ (knife) that cuts the bread, body of Christ. In any case, we cannot be sure whether these lines were composed by John Geometres as an order so that they could be engraved on the surface of that knife.

*Epigram n. 5*

10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century (?),<sup>75</sup> anonymous

Τερπνὸν δοχεῖον αἵματος ζωφόρου  
πλευρᾶς ῥυέντος ἐξ ἀκηράτου Λόγου.<sup>76</sup>

*Translation*

A beautiful vessel of blood that gives life  
spilling from the rib of the indestructible Logos.

*Remarks*

This two-line epigram is engraved into a small cylindrical bronze vessel (Τερπνὸν δοχεῖον – line 1) with a cover top, in which the spilt blood of Christ was kept, after His torture on the cross (πλευρᾶς ῥυέντος ἐξ

---

<sup>72</sup> It is known from the Gospel of Matthew (Matt. 4, 23; 9, 35) that Jesus heals πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ μαλακίαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ (‘all sickness and sickness among men’), also for the protection offered by the heavenly God to the believer in Him there is a clear reference in the Psalms (Ps. 17, 3; Ps 90; Ps. 117, 6–7).

<sup>73</sup> KLEIN (2006: 88; 91).

<sup>74</sup> MENTIDAKHIS (1997: 172–173).

<sup>75</sup> A. GUILLOU (GUILLOU [1996: 81–82, n. 78B; im. 74, n. 78 a-c]) and Ed. COUGNY (COUGNY [1890: 1, 60, n. 370]) published this epigram with a different order: Αἵματος ζωφόρου τερπὸν δοχεῖον / ἐξ ἀκηράτου Λόγου πλευρᾶς ῥυέντος. Generally on the difficulties of reading this epigram see also HÖRANDNER (1989: 151).

<sup>76</sup> RHOBY (2010: 257–258, n. Me83; 510 [im. 53–55]); VASSIS (2005: 724); VASSIS (2011: 264).

ἀκηράτου Λόγου – line 2). Specifically, this object was a gold-plated cylindrical vessel with a hinged cover top, which – when closed – gives the illusion of a building with a dome, clearly alluding to a church. On the surface of the cover top, the first line is engraved in a circular manner, while the second line is engraved at the base of the vessel. What we see, then, is a correlation between the context of the lines with the use of the object, which may indicate that the poet may have either seen this object beforehand and examined it thoroughly, or someone may have described it to him in detail so that he could compose the lines.

The blood is described as ζωηφόρον, giving life to sinful humans, an attribute that we saw in epigram n. 2 (αἷμα τὸ ζωὴν φέρον), which allows us to speak of an instance of conscious imitation, i.e., similar use of the lines.

*Epigram n. 6*

11<sup>th</sup> century, John Mauropous, metropolitan of Euchaita<sup>77</sup>

Εἰς τὸ ἅγιον αἷμα

Θεοῦ μὲν αἷμα, τῆς δ' ἐμῆς ψυχῆς λύτρον.<sup>78</sup>

*Translation*

For the holy blood

The blood is God's, but also the salvation to my soul.

*Remarks*

This epigram is the only one whose title refers distinctly to its content (tit.: Εἰς τὸ ἅγιον αἷμα). In the one and only line of the poem, we observe the following two elements regarding the blood of Christ. The first one regards the explicit reference to the divine nature of Christ, since in the first part of the line we read that Θεοῦ μὲν αἷμα, while the second part concerns the soteriological message and symbolism of the blood of Christ, which was spilt for the salvation of the writer's soul (τῆς δ' ἐμῆς ψυχῆς λύτρον), and by extension for all mankind, given that the poet speaks metonymically on behalf of all humans. The epigram reveals the

<sup>77</sup> For the epigrams of John Mauropous on the cross and the crucifixion of Christ see KANTARAS (2021).

<sup>78</sup> STERNBACH (1897: 160, n. V); VASSIS (2005: 339).

same relation of blood and soul, like the one we saw above in the first epigram. Specifically, the use of the word *λύτρον*<sup>79</sup> referring to the blood of Christ underlines this exact method of redemption for the salvation of humans, i.e., through the spilt blood of the Son of God on the cross.

*Epigram n. 7*

11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century, anonymous

Ὅν οἱ σταλαγμοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν αἱμάτων  
δόξαν θεϊκὴν ἐστόλισαν καὶ κράτος,  
πῶς δοξάσουσι μαργαρίται καὶ λίθοι;  
σὸς κόσμος ἐστὶ, στ(αυ)ρέ, πίστις καὶ πόθος·  
5 οὕτως σε κοσμεῖ καὶ βασιλὶς Μαρία.<sup>80</sup>

*Translation*

Him (meaning the Cross), who drops from the blood of God  
with power and glory donned,  
how are pearls and gems going to honor?  
An adornment for you, cross, is faith and love.  
In this way, queen Mary can adorn you.

*Remarks*

This epigram is noteworthy since it is engraved on a *staurotheke* that contained a –now lost – vessel with drops of the blood of Christ. For reasons of context and syntax, this epigram is quite unorthodox in its sequence of reading.<sup>81</sup> Therefore, the first line is engraved on the top part of the *staurotheke*, lines 2 and 3 are on its left, and the remaining two are on the right part. The bottom part of the *staurotheke* remains unwritten, and it may have been the place for a final line, but for unknown reasons, this did not happen.

Regarding the context of the lines, the first line explicitly states that it regards droplets of the blood of Christ (Ὅν οἱ σταλαγμοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν αἱμάτων) emphasizing the divine nature of the crucified Christ.

<sup>79</sup> See MONTANARI (2013: 1290 [*λύτρον*= means of redemption and buy out]); LIDDELL-SCOTT (3, 68); ΣΤΑΜΑΤΑΚΟΣ (1972: 587).

<sup>80</sup> HOBY (2010: 266–268, n. Me89; 515 [im. 69–70]); KRAUSE (2008: 39; im. 1a-e); FROLOW (1961: 296–297, n. 273); DURAND (1860: 310); VASSIS (2005: 531); VASSIS (2011: 244).

<sup>81</sup> See e.g., RHOBY (2010: 266).

Following, the (anonymous) poet states his doubtful question about the capacity of precious gems and pearls to accredit the real value of Him who spilt His blood for all humans (πῶς δοξάσουσι μαργαρίται καὶ λίθοι).<sup>82</sup> The answer is provided in the following line in which the only adornment suitable for the cross is faith and love towards it and not the stones and pearls that decorate it (σὸς κόσμος ἐστὶ, στ(αυ)ρὲ, πίστις καὶ πόθος – line 4).<sup>83</sup>

The epigram is concluded with the name of the person who is responsible for all that decoration of this sacred holy object, βασιλὶς Μαρία (queen Mary),<sup>84</sup> who was of noble descent – also, very powerful

---

<sup>82</sup> By the way in Byzantine times the love and admiration of Christians for valuable and semi-precious stones prompts them to the manufacturing of crosses and reliquaries using these stones masterfully. After all, we should not forget that the allure of precious stones due to their glamour and colors is justified up to a point on account of their rarity and difficulty in finding (for precious stones in early Christianity see e.g., SPIER [1997]). In cases where these valuable objects (crosses and staurothekes) were accompanied by engraved lines, we notice that their tangible beauty is a metaphor for the glory of the cross and the Crucified and that the persons ordering their engraving expressed their faith through them. Some examples: λίθων διαυγῶν συνθέσει κ(αὶ) μαργάρων: this is an epigram at the back side of the staurotheke of Limburg, 10<sup>th</sup> century, anonymous, line 4: RHOBY (2010: 163–166, n. Me8; 499 [im. 25]); σέβων ἐκαλλώπεισε τὴν θήκην ξύλου: this is an epigram at the circumference of the staurotheke of Limburg, which mentions the beautification of the staurotheke with precious stones, 10<sup>th</sup> century, anonymous, line 7: RHOBY (2010: 166–169, n. Me9; 499 [im. 26]); θήκη περιστέλλουσιν ἀργυροχρῶσι: regards the cross, 11<sup>th</sup> century, anonymous, line 4: RHOBY (2010: 295–296, n. Me106; 520 [im. 83]); κοσμεῖ χρυσῶ τε καὶ λίθοις καὶ μαργάροις / [...] / Κυριακὸς δὲ <τὴν> χρυσοῦν αὐτῶ θίβην: regards a staurotheke, 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 13<sup>th</sup> century, anonymous, lines 2 and 4: RHOBY (2010: 236–237, n. Me68; Εἰς ἐγκόλπιον σταυρὸν χρυσοῦν μετὰ λίθων / [...] / ὃς οὐ ταπεινοῖς ἐγκατεστρώθη λίθοις: regards an enkolpion (amulet). 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century, Manuel Philes, tit., line 3: RHOBY (2010: 180–183, n. Me18; 500 [im. 28]).

<sup>83</sup> In this case we observe an exception to the above-mentioned rule since the beauty and shine of the gold, as well as the pearls and the remaining precious gems, are in no way reflective of the actual shine of the cross embossed with the blood of Christ. On the contrary, these gems lose their shine when compared to the honest love and deep Christian faith.

<sup>84</sup> According to scholars, (see RHOBY [2010: 267]) it could possibly be either Maria of 'Alania' (1050–1103: see ODB II: 1298; GARLAND [1999: 180–186]), of Georgian descent, married initially to Michael VII Doukas (see ODB II: 1366–1367; POLEMIS [1968: 42–46]) and then Nikephoros III Botaneiates (see. ODB III: 1479; LEIB [1950]), or Maria of Antioch, of French descent (1140–1182/3: see ODB II: 1298; GARLAND [1999: 19–209]), sec-



and influential – and decided on the decoration of this specific stau-rotheke, on top of which, as mentioned before, there was a glass vessel keeping drops of the blood of Christ (οὕτως σε κοσμεῖ καὶ βασιλὶς Μαρία – line 5). Her noble descent and high social and financial status prompted her to address the personified cross (στ[αυ]ρόε – line 4), without causing any discomfort to the reader of these lines.<sup>85</sup>

This woman, then, inspired by her profound faith and honest love for Christ and his spilt blood on the cross, commissioned the composition of these lines to the poet – in which lines her name is mentioned – and the manufacturing of the stau-rotheke to a (possibly imperial) workshop,<sup>86</sup> in an effort to request redemption for her soul from earthly sins. Still, this request, which is common in epigrams of this kind and is mostly written in the last lines, is not present in this epigram. We could claim that this could be written in a final line engraved on the bottom part of the stau-rotheke (which is, however, absent).<sup>87</sup>

*Epigram n. 8*

12<sup>th</sup> century (1192), anonymous

Εύλον στομωθ(έν) αἵμασιν θεοορού(τοις).<sup>88</sup>

---

ond wife to Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (see ODB II: 1289–1290) – On December 25<sup>th</sup> 1161, when their wedding nuptials took place – after his death, she is strangled by the new emperor, Andronikos I Komnenos (see ODB I: 94) in 1182/3.

<sup>85</sup> There are examples of other women of noble decent ordering engraved crosses and stau-rotheke. A prime example is Irene Doukaina whose figure is embossed on the wood of a cross (11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century, Nicholas Kallikles: RHOBY (2010: 268–272, n. Me 90; 516 [im. 71–74]), while another mentionable is (‘purple-born’ / porphyrogenete) Eudokia Komnene, third daughter of Alexios I Komnenos and wife to Constantine Iasites (ODB II: 969), decorating a cross with engraved verses by Nicholas Kallikles, a favorite scholar in the imperial court of Komnenos family (FROLOW [1961: 317–318, n. 312]); ROMANO (1980: 105, n. 27). Lastly, we will mention Irene θυγάτηρ Παλαιολογίνα who decorates this time an image of the cross (RHOBY [2010: 248–251, n. Me 79; 475 [im. XLIX]).

<sup>86</sup> The deep faith and love are declared in the epigrams usually with the word ‘passion’ in the dative (πόθω) accompanied with the name of the believer. Some examples: κοσμεῖ δὲ Νικόλαος τὴν θήκην πόθω: RHOBY (2010: 201–203, n. Me34; 468 [im. XXXIV]); θήκην Ἰω(άννης) δὲ τεύχει νῦν πόθω: RHOBY (2010: 281–283, n. Me97; 475 [im. LI]).

<sup>87</sup> For this view see RHOBY (2010: 268).

<sup>88</sup> RHOBY (2009a: 328–329, n. 229; 458 [im. LIII]); WINFIELD–WINFIELD (2003: im. 263); VASSIS (2011: 242).

*Translation*

Wood steelified by the blood of God.

*Remarks*

This epigram is one single line found in fresco in the southern gate of the Church of Virgin Mary of Araka<sup>89</sup> in Lagoudera in Cyprus, placed under the horizontal part of the cross, separated in the left and right part of it. This epigram is devoted to the wood of the instrument of torture of Christ, i.e., the cross, which has received a soteriological attribute after the blood of Christ was spilt on it. It is the holy blood that after being spilt on the wood of the cross, made it holy, steelified it, and transformed it from an instrument of torture to an instrument of salvation.

*Epigram n. 9*

12<sup>th</sup> century (1192), anonymous

Ξύλον στομωθὲν αἵμασιν θεωρίας.<sup>90</sup>

*Translation*

Wood steelified by the blood of gazing (of God).

*Remarks*

This line, much like the previous one, is found on fresco of the same church in Cyprus. On the fresco, we see the cross and under its horizontal part and on the left and right of its vertical part we find the epigram.

In comparison of these two epigrams, it can be easily found that they share some commonalities both regarding their content and their form. Specifically, the blood of the Son of God which, during His crucifixion, soaks the wood of the cross is a central element in this line. As for

---

<sup>89</sup> It should be noted that the decoration of the church in December 1192 at the expense of Leo Authentis (according to an inscription above the northern entrance of the temple) was completed shortly after the legal acquisition of the mainland by the English king Richard I the Lionheart in May 1191 (see about WINFIELD–WINFIELD [2003: 50f]), as for the creator of the frescos, he is identified by some scholars as Theodore Apsevdīs – himself or at least a member of his laboratory (ΧΟΤΖΑΚΟΓΛΟΥ [2005: 649]). The connection of this temple with the art of Constantinople during this period is evident both in the style and in the iconographic program.

<sup>90</sup> RHOBY (2010: 413, n. Add33; 487 [im. LXXXII]); VASSIS (2011: 242).

the form, we can see the similarity in the choice of wording quite easily. It is true that in the four words that comprise the line, only the final one is different. That is, in the previous epigram (epigram n. 8) we see the word θεοορῶ(τοις) (= what pours out of God)<sup>91</sup> while in this case (epigram n. 9), we see the word θεωρία which ascribes a visual element to the epigram, since it refers to the gazing of God (θεωρία= viewing, observing, sight, the sense of vision).<sup>92</sup> There are still some metric similarities since the vertical part of the cross smoothly divides the line in the fifth syllable, making a visible penthemimeres caesura. We also see similarities in the spelling mistakes of the same words in both epigrams, since in one case (epigram n. 8) we read CTOMOOΘ(EN) EMACHN ΘEOPI(TOIC), and in the other case (epigram n. 9) we read CTOMOOΘEN EMACIN. These mistakes allow us to assume that the poet may not have been academically inclined – the poet may have been the painter of the frescos – and that the composition of both epigrams can be attributed to the same individual. Further, it can be assumed that the poet-painter may be responsible for the slight modification in the lines since he may not have remembered entirely how these lines were composed.

However, we should mention that this line (epigram n. 9) is also found in the (internally) completely covered by frescos church of Holy Cross<sup>93</sup> in Agiasmati in Cyprus and dates back to 1494. It is possible that it is a copy of epigram n. 8 while the difference in the final word can possibly be interpreted as wrong reading on behalf of the copier.<sup>94</sup> Briefly, what we see is a constant effort of conscious imitation of this one-line epigram with slight modifications among them, which accompanies the symbol of the cross in the murals of the Cypriot churches.

---

<sup>91</sup> See MONTANARI (2013: 966).

<sup>92</sup> See MONTANARI (2013: 973).

<sup>93</sup> It is worth noting the existence of an unusually large number of temples to the East dedicated to the Holy Cross since the mid-Byzantine years in Cyprus. In any case, it is certain that the special tradition that wants St Helen to pass through Cyprus on her journey between Constantinople and Jerusalem to find the Holy Cross, has always been strongly present on the island and is able to justify the construction of temples in honor of Cross.

<sup>94</sup> See RHOBY (2010: 413, n. Add33).

*Epigram n. 10*

12<sup>th</sup> century, Gregory Padros, metropolitan of Corinth

Σταυρῶ βλέπων σε τὸν Θεὸν καὶ δεσπότην  
 δέδοικα φρίττων καὶ πτοοῦμαι καὶ τρέμω.  
 ὃς οὐρανούς ἔτεινας, ἤπλωσας χθόνα,  
 πῶς χειῶρας ἐξήπλωσας ἐν σταυρῶ ξύλῳ,  
 5 ἤλων δὲ πῶς ἤνεγκας ἀλγεινούς πόνους,  
 πλευρὰν ἐνύγης, ἡμάτωσας τοὺς πόδας;  
 ἃ μὴ φέρουσα σείεται χθὼν αὐτίκα,  
 σκοτίζεται δὲ λαμπρὸν ἡλίου σέλας,  
 καταπέτασμα σχίζεται θείου δόμου,  
 10 θραύουσι πέτραι καὶ τρέμει πᾶσα κτίσις.  
 θρηνεῖ τεκοῦσα καὶ μαθητῆς δακρύοις.<sup>95</sup>

*Translation*

On the cross I see you, God and Lord  
 and I feel fear, I quiver and pother and shake.  
 You who unfolded the skies and laid out the earth,  
 how can your arms extend on the wood of the cross,  
 how did you suffer through the agonizing pain of the nails,  
 how your ribs were pierced and your feet bled?  
 The earth is shaking because it can't take it anymore  
 the light from your shining sun is darkening,  
 the temple curtain is ripped,  
 the stones are crashed and all creation is shaken  
 mother and student mourn in tears.

*Remarks*

The lines in this epigram are a successful depiction of the crucifixion in accordance with the evangelical descriptions of the event. This may have been an epigram referring to the crucifixion of the Christ while His mother and student mourn (θρηνεῖ τεκοῦσα καὶ μαθητῆς δακρύοις – line 10), as evidenced by the use of the verb ‘see’ in the first line (Σταυρῶ βλέπων). These descriptions are particularly known to the writer of the epigram since he has served as Metropolitan, which – in

<sup>95</sup> HUNGER (1982: 642, n. VI); VASSIS (2005: 687). For Gregory Padros, metropolitan of Corinth, and his work see ΚΟΜΙΝΗΣ (1960); BECK (1959 [= 1977]: 606); ODB III: 1587.

combination with the profound Christian and classical education – help him in the production of these lines showcase his expressivity and robustness. The former is achieved through the use of rhetorical questions<sup>96</sup> (lines 4–6) which express the emotional agony of the writer upon facing the crucifixion (Σταυρῶ βλέπων σε τὸν Θεὸν καὶ δεσπότην / δέδουκα φρίπτων καὶ πτοοῦμαι καὶ τρέμω – lines 1–2), while the use of verbs (ἔτεινας [...] ἤπλωσας – line 3, ἐξήπλωσας – line 4, ἤνεγκας – line 5, ἐνύγης, ἠμάτωσας – line 6) and of the personal pronoun (σε – line 1) in the second singular ascribe a liveliness to the epigram, drawing the interest of the reader when addressing Christ Himself.

As for the content of the epigram, there are references to the spear- ing of the rib of Christ,<sup>97</sup> to the nails on His feet (πλευρὰν ἐνύγης, ἠμάτωσας τοὺς πόδας – line 6), to the event of the sky darkening upon Christ’s last breath on the cross (σκοτίζεται δὲ λαμπρὸν ἡλίου σέλας – line 8), as we are informed by the Gospels of Matthew,<sup>98</sup> Mark,<sup>99</sup> and Luke,<sup>100</sup> as well as the earthquake that came after the darkening and destroyed buildings<sup>101</sup> and the temple of Solomon<sup>102</sup> (καταπέτασμα

<sup>96</sup> See GLÖCKNER (1901); SCHILLING (1903). On rhetorics in Byzantine poetry see JEFFREYS (2019a), and generally for rhetorics in Byzantium see e.g., JEFFREYS (2003); KENNEDY (1980); KENNEDY (1983); ΚΟΥΚΟΥΡΑ (2011<sup>3</sup>); MAGUIRE (2003); MULLET (2003); ΝΙΚΟΛΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ (1993); ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΗ (2016). For the use of rhetorical questions on Byzantine epigrams on the cross and crucifixion of Jesus Christ see ΚΑΝΤΑΡΑΣ (2019a: 87–89).

<sup>97</sup> See epigram n. 4 (tit. Εἰς τὴν λόγχην), 5 (line 2) and 13 (line 2).

<sup>98</sup> Matt. 27, 45. Ἀπὸ δὲ ἕκτης ὥρας σκότος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης. For more information see ΤΡΕΜΠΕΛΑΣ (1951: 510).

<sup>99</sup> Mark 15, 33. Γενομένης δὲ ὥρας ἕκτης σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ’ ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης.

<sup>100</sup> Luke 13, 44. Ἦν δὲ ὡσεὶ ὥρα ἕκτη καὶ σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ’ ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης, τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος. For the exact time of death of Christ see ΤΡΕΜΠΕΛΑΣ (1951: 510).

<sup>101</sup> Matt. 27, 51. Καὶ ἰδοὺ τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη εἰς δύο ἀπὸ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐσεισθη καὶ αἱ πέτραι ἐσχίσθησαν; Mark. 15, 38: Καὶ τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη εἰς δύο ἀπὸ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω. For the reaction of nature, which out of fear for the criminal nature of humans expresses its empathy towards the death of Christ, see comments in ΤΡΕΜΠΕΛΑΣ (1951: 512–513).

<sup>102</sup> The relevant first two verses from a four-line epigram of Theodore Prodromos in the same century (the 12<sup>th</sup>) bearing the title Εἰς τὴν σταύρωσιν (Ποῦ σέλας ἡ ελίοιο

σχίζεται θείου δόμου, / θραύουσι πέτραι καὶ τρέμει πᾶσα κτίσις – lines 9–10). Generally, the earth’s shattering is interpreted as the reaction of nature towards the terrifying view of the crucifixion (ἄ μὴ φέρουσα σείεται χθὼν αὐτίκα – line 7). The event of the Passion of Christ is completed with the mourning Virgin Mary and the tearful student of Christ, John (θρηνεῖ τεκοῦσα καὶ μαθητῆς δακρῦοις – line 10).

In this mood of fear and death, we see an indirect reference to the blood of the crucified Christ, which is spilt all over His feet (ἡμάτωσας τοὺς πόδας – line 6). It is that blood that led to the salvation of human-kind.

*Epigram n. 11*

12<sup>th</sup> century, Klemes the monk

Εἰς εἰκόνα<sup>103</sup> τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου, ἀπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου  
Τεροσολύμων κυροῦ Ἰωάννου.

Κλίνας κεφαλὴν καὶ θανῶν ἐπὶ ξύλου,  
ᾧ φρικτὲ νεκρὲ, 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 τυθεῖς, Πλαστοουργέ μου,  
τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σὴν σφαγὴν δεδεγμένος  
καὶ τὴν δέησιν ἣν δέδωκας λαμβάνων  
10 ἔμοι τὸ λύτρον ὡς Θεὸς δῶρον νέμοις·  
τί γὰρ πλεον τίς 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

---

διώχετο ἠδὲ σελήνης; / τίς δέ τε λατομίη πολιοῦς ἐτμήξατο πέτρους;) are indicative. See PAPAGIANNIS (1997: 239–240, n. 229b); VASSIS (2005: 641).

<sup>103</sup> In Byzantium, the term εἰκῶν is generally understood as depiction, representation, or portrait. Still, this term is also used to talk about the mobility of the icon, meaning icons on wood or other materials depicting Christ, the Virgin Mary, or saints (PENTCHEVA [2006: 631]). On an icon like this, the epigram could be engraved on the frame, the surface, or the back side (PENTCHEVA [2007: 120]).

καὶ τῆς τραπέζης συμμετασχεῖν τῆς ἄνω  
καὶ δοῦλον ὄντα προσλαβοῦ δαιτυμόνα  
τὸν πατριάρχην τῆς Σιών Ἰωάννην.<sup>104</sup>

*Translation*

On the icon of the crucified Christ by the Patriarch of Jerusalem John  
Supporting Your head on the cross and dying on it,  
oh frightful dead man, creation of living God (You), Logos,  
you look like a human that has a request  
toward Your father, to save the mortals' nature;  
because archbishop and great supporter  
You, our Savior, you see, just like Your Paul writes.  
You the sacrificed, my Creator,  
after you accepted Your sacrifice for us  
and received the request which you gave (to your father)  
gave to me as God the gift of my reward;  
what is more and who is bringing forgiveness to You  
aside from Your spilt blood?  
Of Your holy Jerusalem  
on a respectable throne you placed me as a Patriarch  
and in the skies I, now, sacrifice to You  
and in the Mass I participate  
and as Your servant accept me in the same table  
me the Patriarch of Sion, John.

*Remarks*

This is an epigram devoted to the event of the crucifixion, ordered by the Patriarch of Jerusalem John, as we are informed by the title (tit. Εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἑσταυρωμένου, ἀπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων κυροῦ Ἰωάννου) and by some lines (τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ δε σοῦ τῆς ἀγίας / θρόνῳ με σεπτῶ πατριαρχῶν ἰδούσας – lines 13–14; τὸν πατριάρχην τῆς Σιών Ἰωάννην – line 18). This regards the ‘spiritual father’ of the poet, monk Klemes, for whom we do not have enough information. It seems

---

<sup>104</sup> SPINGOU (2013: 97, no. 402); ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ (1910: 184, no. 363); ΜΙΟΝΙ (1981–1985: II 407 [524.XX.1]); VASSIS (2005: 409).

that Patriarch John<sup>105</sup> ordered the educated monk to compose the poem for an icon of the crucified Christ gifted to a monastery.<sup>106</sup>

The Patriarch, after mentioning how Christ has bowed his head on the cross, showing him like he is posing a request to His Father for the forgiveness of humans (lines 1–4; 9), asks from the crucified's divine nature forgiveness as a reward, which only the spilt blood of Christ can guarantee (ἐμοὶ τὸ λύτρον ὡς Θεὸς δῶρον νέμοις· / τί γὰρ πλέον τίς εἰς ἴλασμά σοι φέρει / ἢ τὸ προχυθὲν αἷμα [σοῦ] σταυρουμένου; lines 10–12). The lines are completed with the statement of the final request of the Patriarch of Sion, John, towards the crucified Christ to accept him in the same table in his Holy Kingdom (lines 15–18). We should note the continuous use of the verbs in the second person singular when addressing the crucified Christ (ἔουκας – line 3, ὠφθης – line 6, δέδωκας – line 9, νέμοις – line 10), of the pronouns (personal and possessive) also in the second person singular (σὼ – line 4, σὺ – line 6–7, σὴν – line 8, σοι – line 11, σοῦ – line 13, σοὶ – line 15) and finally, the use of clitics (ὦ φρικτὲ νεκρὲ, ζῶν Θεοῦ ζῶντος λόγε – line 2, Σῶτερ – line 6, Πλαστουργέ μου – line 7) creating in that way a sense of directness and liveliness in the lines.

*Epigram n. 12*

12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century, anonymous

Χιτῶν, χλαμύς, λέντιον, ἔνδυμα Λόγου,  
 σινδῶν, λύθρον, στέφανος ἠκανθωμένοι(ς),  
 ὄστοῦν, ξύλον, θριξ – διδύμου, σταυροῦ, λύχνου -,  
 ζώνης πανάγνου τμήμα, μανδύου μέρος,  
 5 [Εὐστρα]τίου λείψανον, ὄστοῦν Προδρόμου,  
 Εὐφημίας θριξ, λείψανον Νικολάου,  
 ὅστᾱ Στεφάνου τοῦ νέου, Θεοδώρου  
 [κα]ὶ Παντελεήμονος ἐκ τρι(ῶν) τρία.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>105</sup> The patriarch appears as a donor in five more epigrams. This John is probably John IX Merkouroupolos, patriarch of Jerusalem between 1156 and 1166 and author of the lives of John of Damascus and Kosmas of Maiouma (BHG 395). See PΑPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS (1897: 303–350); ENGLEZAKIS (1973: 508); PLANK (1994: 176–183).

<sup>106</sup> For more information see SPINGOU (2013: 205–206).

<sup>107</sup> RHOBY (2010: 283–285, n. Me98; 517 [im. 78]); ΚΑΠΠΙΑΣ (2004: 416; 430 [im. 2]); ŠEVČENKO (1998: 246, n. 115); VASSIS (2011: 276).



*Translation*

Alb, toga, lention, clothing of Logos,  
 shroud, blood, thorny wreath,  
 bone, wood, hair – of the twin, the cross, the light-,  
 part of the belt of the Virgin (Mary), part of the cloak,  
 relic of Eustratios, bone of John the Baptist,  
 hair of Euphemia, relic of Nicholas,  
 bones of Stephen the Younger, of Theodore  
 and of Panteleemon, three out of them three.

*Remarks*

These eight lines are a list of relics in a lipsanothek-enkolpion and they are engraved on the front part (cover) of the object.<sup>108</sup> Among these relics, we notice the blood of Christ (λύθρον<sup>109</sup> – line 2) and aside of any Christ-related relics (e.g., the alb, toga, lention, shroud, thorny wreath, lines 1–2), we also see a record of relics of John the Baptist (line 3: λύχνου<sup>110</sup>– line 5: ὁστοῦν Προδροῦμου), of the Virgin Mary (line 4), of Saint Eustratios (line 5), of Euphemia and Nicholas (line 6), of Stephen the Younger (line 7) and finally of Saint Panteleemon (line 8).

It is noteworthy to point out how such a great number of holy relics was accumulated in such a small object, as is the reliquary, measuring 9,5x8,5 cm.<sup>111</sup> Undoubtedly, its religious value would have been immeasurable exactly due to the plethora of relics in it.

Finally, we should point out the importance of the word used by the anonymous poet to signify the blood of Christ, ‘λύθρον’, a word we find in Homer,<sup>112</sup> which declares the blood coming out of the wounds, the lethal blood, mixed with sweat and dirt. This transcends to the Byzantines

<sup>108</sup> This lipsanothek-enkolpion is kept safe in Moscow National Museum. See RHOBY (2010: 283–285, no. Me98; 517 [im. 78]).

<sup>109</sup> MONTANARI (2013: 1285 [λύθρον = blood mixed with dust or sweat]); LIDDELL–SCOTT (3, 63); ΣΤΑΜΑΤΑΚΟΣ (1972: 585).

<sup>110</sup> RHOBY (2010: 285, n. 807).

<sup>111</sup> RHOBY (2010: 284).

<sup>112</sup> Hom. *Il.* Z 268. αἵματι καὶ λύθρῳ πεπαλαγμένον εὐχετάασθαι.; Λ 169: λύθρῳ ἐπαλάσσετο χειρᾶς; Υ 503: λύθρῳ δὲ παλάσσετο χειρᾶς ἀάπτους; Hom. *Od.* χ 402: αἵματι καὶ λύθρῳ πεπαλαγμένον; ψ 48: αἵματι καὶ λύθρῳ πεπαλαγμένον. See also ΠΑΝΤΑΖΙΑΗΣ (1982 [= 2009]: 399).

in this same sense.<sup>113</sup> The choice of this Homeric word by the poet shows knowledge of its existence and also, signifies a rather nuanced use of the word because it immediately recalls that the death of Christ is murder.

*Epigram n. 13*

13<sup>th</sup> century (1207), anonymous

Ἐσχηκα Χριστοῦ σπαργάνων μικρὸν μέρος,  
 ἦλων ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν σεβαστῶν τι τρύφος,  
 ζῶην κἀγὼ τὸ βλῦσαν αἶμα τῷ κόσμῳ,  
 στέφους ἀκανθίνου δὲ κἀγὼ τμημὰ τι.<sup>114</sup>

*Translation*

I have a small piece of the napkins of Christ,  
 I have a shard of the hallowed nails,  
 I have the blood that poured life for humans,  
 and I have a piece of the thorny wreath.

*Remarks*

In this epigram, much like the previous one (epigram n. 11), there is a listing of the holy relics of a lipsanothek that is unfortunately lost nowadays. The specific lines are engraved on its front part while all the holy relics listed are related to Christ (e.g., the napkins – line 1, the nails – line 2, and the thorny wreath – line 4). Among those relics, we see the blood, τὸ βλῦσαν ζῶην (line 3) for all humankind. What draws our attention is this specified, almost in a catalogue-making manner, format of the poem, since we are presented with a wealth of holy relics related to the life of Christ from birth till His crucifixion.

*Epigram n. 14*

13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century, anonymous

Εἰς τὴν σταύρωσιν  
 Διπλοῦς ὁ παθῶν· ζῶν γὰρ ἐστι καὶ νέκυς,  
 ὡς αἶμα δηλοῖ καὶ τὸ συμβλύσαν ὕδωρ·  
 οὐκ οὖν θεὸς κρᾶζουσι πέτραι γῆ σκότος.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>113</sup> ΣΟΥΤΙΔΑ (2002: 721).

<sup>114</sup> RHOBY (2010: 178–179, n. Me16); FROLOW (1961: 397–399, n. 473); VASSIS (2005: 260); VASSIS (2010: 219).

*Translation*

For the crucifixion

The sufferer has a dual nature, for he is living and dead,  
as shown by the blood and water poured (from His rib);  
so, the rocks, the darkness and the earth all scream 'God'.

*Remarks*

The writer of these lines, devoted to the crucifixion as we are informed by the title (tit. Εἰς τὴν σταύρωσιν), highlight the dual nature of Christ (Διπλοῦς ὁ παθῶν – line 1). Specifically, referring to the event of spear- ing of Christ's rib on the cross, the poet uses the water and the blood that poured out of His rib as proof of his dual nature ([...] ζῶν γάρ ἐστι καὶ νέκυς / ὡς αἷμα δηλοῖ καὶ τὸ συμβλύσαν ὕδωρ, lines 1–2). The third and last line comes to underline the divine substance of Christ, since the reaction of nature (such as the earthquake and the darkness) upon His excruciating death is valid proof that indeed the crucified is God (οὐκ οὖν θεὸς κρᾶζουσι πέτραι γῆ σκοτός – line 3).

*Epigram n. 15*

15<sup>th</sup> century, Michael Apostoles

Εἰς τὴν σταύρωσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ

Παθῶν ὁ σωτὴρ ἀνθρώπων ὑπὲρ γένους,  
ἔφηγεν αὐτοὺς τῶν παθῶν ἐλευθέρους·  
ἐγγιάλιζόν μοι θεὲ σεῖο πάθεσιν ἀπάθειαν·  
χειῖρας ἀειράμενος σταυροῦ ἔπι ὄρχαμος ἦς.  
5 αἷμα δέδωκε πατρὶ λύτρον ἀποικομένων·  
Χριστοῦ αἱματοέσσας δεξαμένη ραθάμιγγας  
Πουλυβότειρα χθῶν ἤμεσεν αἷμα νέκυς.<sup>116</sup>

*Translation*

For the Crucifixion of Christ

After the savior has suffered for humans,  
relieved them of their passions;

make me (then) an ally, my God, in the calmness of Your passions;  
since spreading your arms on the cross made you a leader.

His blood was given to the Father as reward of those who have died;

<sup>115</sup> HÖRANDNER (1994: 119, n. XIV); VASSIS (2005: 149).

<sup>116</sup> ΛΑΟΥΡΔΑΣ (1950: 190, n. 78); VASSIS (2005: 588).

The euphoric land received the drops from the blood of Christ and rolled over the dead.

*Remarks*

This is an epigram devoted to the crucifixion of Christ (tit. Εἰς τὴν σταύρωσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ), whose lines refer to the relief from the passions of sinful humans through the sacrifice of the savior Christ (Παθῶν ὁ σωτὴρ ἀνθρώπων ὑπὲρ γένους, / ἔφηεν αὐτοὺς τῶν παθῶν ἐλευθέρους) and his extension on the cross (χειρας ἀειράμενος σταυροῦ ἐπι ὄρχαμος ἦς – line 4). In this calmness of His Passions, the poet asks to participate (ἐγγιάλιζόν μοι θεὲ σεῖο πάθεσιν ἀπάθειαν – line 3).

The writer of these lines<sup>117</sup> sees the spilt blood of Christ as definitive since that was what was gifted to His Father as reward for the salvation of the dead (αἷμα δέδωκε πατρὶ λύτρον ἀποικομένων – line 5). In short, it is the blood, the drops of which soaked the earth, rolling over the dead with their future resurrection (Χριστοῦ αἱματοέσσας δεξαμένη ραθάμιγγας / Πουλυβότειρα χθῶν ἤμεσεν αἷμα νέκυς – lines 6–7). These last two lines draw our attention because of the use of particular vocabulary so as to create the intensity of the image of the crimson blood of Christ (αἱματοέσσας – line 6)<sup>118</sup> spilling on the fertile ground (Πουλυβότειρα χθῶν – line 7),<sup>119</sup> soiling it (ἤμεσεν αἷμα – line 7).<sup>120</sup> The persistence on the hue of the blood is profound and it is a guarantee for the salvation of humans as reward (λύτρον – line 5) by God.

<sup>117</sup> For some basic information about the writer of these verses, Michael Apostoles, see ODB (I: 140–141).

<sup>118</sup> MONTANARI (2013: 97); ΣΤΑΜΑΤΑΚΟΣ (1972: 38).

<sup>119</sup> The word *πουλυβότειρα* / *πολυβότειρα* (stemming from the words *πολύς* and the poetic *βοτέω* = herd: MONTANARI [2013: 441]) usually accompanies the word *χθῶν* (= land. LIDDELL–SCOTT [3: 632]) carrying the meaning of fertile land and for many, land that can provide sustenance (ΠΑΝΤΑΖΙΔΗΣ [1982: 539]; ΣΤΑΜΑΤΑΚΟΣ [1972: 809]; ΣΟΥΛΙΑ [2002: 938]). We also see it in Homer (ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ). See Hom. *Il.* Γ 195 (τεύχεα μὲν οἱ κεῖται ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ); Ζ 213 (ἔγχος μὲν κατέπηξεν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ); Φ 426 (τῶ μὲν ἄρ' ἄμφω κείντο ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ). Hom. *Od.* θ 378 (ὄρχαισθην δὴ ἔπειτα ποτὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ); τ 408 (ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξὶν ἀνὰ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν). Also, the word *βότειρα* is seen as adjective for Demetra in the corresponding Homeric Hymn (ALLEN–HALLIDAY–SIKES [1936<sup>2</sup>: Εἰς Δήμητραν 122]).

<sup>120</sup> LIDDELL–SCOTT (1: 68).

*Epigram n. 16*

15<sup>th</sup> century (1494), anonymous

Κὰ γὰρ συνάδω, Δέσποτα, τῇ μ(η)τρί σου  
 φωνῇ φιλικῇ προδρομικῇ σου, Λόγε·  
 οὓς ἠγόρασας αἵματι σῶ τιμίῳ  
 σ(αυ)ρῶ κρεμασθεῖς, πλαστουργέ, ἀνευθύνως,  
 5 τούτοις καταλλάγηθι δωρεὰν πάλιν,  
 εὖσπλαχνε Σ(ῶ)τερ, ἐκ φιλαν(θρῶπ)ου τρόπου.<sup>121</sup>

*Translation*

Me too, Lord, I agree with your mother  
 speaking with the voice of your friend and precursor, Logos.  
 Those whom you bought out with your holy blood  
 when you were hanged on the cross, oh Creator, innocent as you were,  
 with them you make peace again rewardless  
 oh compassionate savior, in a benevolent manner.

*Remarks*

This final epigram poses a particularity in its content and its form since it is an answer to another epigram. The two epigrams are drawn on a cylinder<sup>122</sup> at the church of the Holy Cross in Agiasmatai, Cyprus and date back to 1494.<sup>123</sup> In one of those, the conversing personas are the Virgin Mary and Christ,<sup>124</sup> while the other (which interests us more) refers to John the Baptist and Christ.<sup>125</sup> Both address Christ to persuade

<sup>121</sup> RHOBY (2009a: 370–373, n. 253; 498 [n. 100]); ΑΡΓΥΡΟΥ–ΜΥΡΙΑΝΘΕΥΣ (2004: 32 [im.]); ΔΟΜΗΤΙΟΣ (2007: 228 [im.]); VASSIS (2005: 372); VASSIS (2011: 231).

<sup>122</sup> For the presence and the cylinder in the icon decoration of the Byzantine church, see GERSTEL (1994).

<sup>123</sup> For the decorative program of Byzantine churches with saints that hold written papyri, see RHOBY (2017: 277–278); RHOBY (2012: 738).

<sup>124</sup> The epigram is the following: Ὡ Δέσποτα, παῖ καὶ Θεοῦ ζῶντος Λόγε· / σὺ μὲν προελθ(ὼν) ἐξ ἐμοῦ σπορᾶ(ς) ἄν(ευ) / ἐκ δὲ Π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς φύς ῥεύσ(εω)ς, Σ(ῶ)τερ, δίχ(α) / αὐτῶ τε συνῶν οὐρανῶν ὕψει κλίνας / σῆς κλίσεως {HEN} τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἄφες / καὶ μ(η)τρί(κὰς) πλήρωσον ἰκ(ε)τηρίας. See RHOBY (2009a: 369–370, n. 252; 460 [im. LVIII]).

<sup>125</sup> It is worth mentioning that the verb choice is συνάδω to declare the unanimous view of John the Baptist and the Virgin Mary (συνάδω = agree with somebody), a verb that has a rhythmical tune to it and could mean ἀδω = sing with somebody

Him to show mercy and save humans from sin with his crucifixion and His spilt blood on the cross (στ[αυ]ρῶ κρεμασθείς, πλαστουργέ, ἀνευθύνως, / τούτοις καταλλάγηθι δωρεὰν πάλιν, / εὔσπλαχνε Σ[ῶτ]ερ, ἐκ φιλαν[θρώπ]ου τρόπου – lines 4–6). John the Baptist is presented as speaking with φωνῇ φιλικῇ προδρομικῇ (line 2) as the mediator of the request of the Virgin Mary towards her Son, which is common in Christian Literature. There is a distinct reference to the blood of Christ that was spilt to buy off the salvation of those who crucified Him (οὐς ἠγόρασας αἷματι σῶ τιμίῳ – line 3). In any case, the mediation begins with the Virgin Mary<sup>126</sup> and continues with John the Baptist to reach Christ.<sup>127</sup>

### Epigrams and Art

Without a doubt, this interaction between text and image is a significant manifestation of Byzantine culture.<sup>128</sup> The value of these epigraphs on icons and objects is priceless. Byzantine epigrams, – which as we saw

---

(MONTANARI [2013: 2031]; ΣΤΑΜΑΤΑΚΟΣ [1972: 941]; LIDDELL–SCOTT [4, 195]), thus reinforcing the performativity of the epigram.

<sup>126</sup> Typical examples of mediation are found in the *Akathistos Hymn* and the *Theotokia*, where the Virgin Mary is often presented as γέφυρα μετάγουσα τοὺς ἐκ γῆς πρὸς οὐρανόν (ΠΑΠΑΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ [2006: 58; γ' 11]) and πάλιν μετὰ θάνατον, ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ κρῖσει μεσίτρια καὶ βοηθός (ΣΤΑΘΗΣ [1977: 185, n. 26]).

<sup>127</sup> Let's note that in Byzantium there was a commonly accepted kind of 'written communication' between sky and earth, e.g. the dual image of donors in codex Iveron Monastery of Mount Athos 5 in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (φ. 456<sup>v</sup>/457<sup>r</sup>) where we have the depiction of four persons; the Virgin Mary with an eiltarion on her hand representing the Byzantine empire employee τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων and in her capacity as mediator between God and humans she begs for the atonement of sins for her protégé, John (the second form of the bureaucratic scene). Christ on His part responds positively to the request and dictates to His secretary, John Chrysostom (the fourth person), the absolution of sins (see HUNGER [1995: 18; 19; im. 4]).

<sup>128</sup> In Byzantium, the power of the icons and by extension their influence has been tremendous in conveying ideas, perceptions, and opinions to people (either laymen or others). It suffices to consider the charm and allure still carried by the icons in our world today up to the point where people understand the reality they live only through icons, thus avoiding the actuality of the reality today making it just a spectacle (see ΣΠΗΛΙΩΤΗΣ [2017: 24–25; 42–43, n. 14]; BAUDRILLARD [1995: 18]: for the characterization of this situation as 'the perfect crime').

are a subcategory of these epigraphs – are preserved in manuscripts,<sup>129</sup> icons, church murals/frescos, crosses, staurothekes, and other objects. It is also possible that the epigrams we get from manuscripts bearing features like acceptance verbs, deictic adverbs and pronouns, references to the construction materials and/or the donor's name, were engraved on some other object which is lost now.<sup>130</sup> Further, an epigram engraved on a piece of art may not be referring to it either because it was not meant to be engraved on it initially, or it was composed for something else entirely.<sup>131</sup> At the same time, there may have been cases in which the poet composed an epigram knowing exactly the object it would be engraved on,<sup>132</sup> thus influencing the composition of the epigram, on account of its extent. This allows us to think that the poet may have either examined the object carefully or it was described to him thoroughly or even, he might have made it himself. Finally, there are those Byzantine epigrams which were composed for a particular object, epigrams that do not give us specific information for the object meaning that we cannot know for sure the date of that object, and lastly, those epigrams which were used from former literary collections or poets and were subsequently engraved on more modern artefacts.<sup>133</sup>

### **Depiction of blood of Christ in Byzantine art**

As a side note, it would be interesting to mention the most usual depiction of the spilt blood of Christ on the cross of Byzantine art (mostly in

---

<sup>129</sup> The majority of the preserved epigrams in manuscripts start with the preposition εἰς and a noun in their title, which could indicate the object on which they were engraved or were supposed to be engraved or simply the topic of the epigram. For example, the epigrams titled εἰς τὴν σταύρωσιν could indicate that the epigram was either engraved or was supposed to be on an icon of the crucifixion or that the topic was the crucifixion. See LAUXTERMANN (2003a: 152); DRPIĆ (2016: 26).

<sup>130</sup> DRPIĆ (2016: 25); LAUXTERMANN (2003a: 151).

<sup>131</sup> MAGUIRE (1996: 6); MAGUIRE (2008: 724–725).

<sup>132</sup> Indeed, there are epigrams engraved on mosaics, icons, and frescos which describe each piece on which they are engraved (LAUXTERMANN [2003a: 151]), illustrating the level of knowledge on the part of the poet.

<sup>133</sup> HÖRANDNER (2003: 157–158).

icons and frescos),<sup>134</sup> since it is certain that the makers of the epigrams we mentioned already must have known about it quite well, and maybe this was a type of inspiration to them for the production of their lines. It is worth noting that there was an intense effort by some Byzantine artists to depict as vividly as possible the blood of Christ pouring down the cross. A fine example is a double face icon of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (in the collection of the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople) in whose back side the painter focuses on the naturalness of the blood dripping down to the feet of the crucified forming a stream.<sup>135</sup> Similar depictions can be found in post-Byzantine period, such as in the icon of the Crucifixion in temple (iconostasis)<sup>136</sup> in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Iveron Monastery of Mount Athos, to which the painter places particular emphasis on the blood pouring down from the wounds in the body of Christ.<sup>137</sup>

Finally, we should not forget about the rare but interesting depiction in Byzantine art of two female figures under the hands of the crucified Christ, one young and beautiful and the other old. The younger of the

---

<sup>134</sup> It is worth mentioning that Byzantine art is religious or theological art (see LEMERLE [1943]), through which the artist tries to address his spirit avoiding any personal experience in his creation and simultaneously, carrying the ambition to humbly reproduce a type that has already been noted as bearing the holy spirit. This is a sacred task that he is doing, much like a priest in church (see ΟΥΣΙΠΕΝΕΚΥ [1999: 38]). Therefore, these masterpieces are characterized by their grace, economy, and sensitivity mostly evident in painting, which is no longer a purely religious art, but also a didactic one since it aspires to teach even the feeblest of believers (see ΜΙΧΕΛΗΣ [2004]; ΑΡΑΜΠΙΑΤΖΗΣ [2014: 109–115]; CUTLER [2014: 548]; ΚΟΚΟΣΑΛΑΚΗΣ [1995]). That is why Byzantine icons are thought of as βιβλίον γλωττοφόρον by Gregory of Nyssa (Εἰς τὸν Μέγαν Μάρτυρα Θεόδωρον, PG 46, 737), since they can feature through imitation all those that ὁ λόγος τῆς ἱστορίας διὰ ἀκοῆς παρίστησι (Basil of Caesarea, Εἰς 40 Μάρτυρας, PG 31, 508–509; Germanos, patriarch of Constantinople, Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Θωμᾶν, ἐπίσκοπον Κλαυδίουπόλεως, PG 172D–173A), allowing us to talk for theology written in icons (see SENDLER [2014: 70]; BROWN [1999]; CORMACK [1991]; BRUBAKER [1995: 209–211]: on theology of icons according to John of Damascus; ΤΣΕΛΕΓΓΙΑΔΗΣ [1984]). Generally, for art (in all forms) in the service of impressions, teaching, and emotion of its audience from the Antiquity, then the Byzantine and the modern times in the West and Orient see ΓΙΑΝΝΑΡΑΣ (2010<sup>4</sup>: 138–156).

<sup>135</sup> See e.g., ΒΑΦΕΙΑΔΗΣ (2015: 313–315; im. 267).

<sup>136</sup> For the iconostasis, its importance and place in the orthodox Christian church, see e.g., ODB III: 2023–2024; EPSTEIN (1981); THON (1986).

<sup>137</sup> See Θησαυροὶ Ἁγ. Ὁροῦς (1997: 181–182; im. 2, 116).



two is the one who collects the pouring blood into a vessel symbolizing the New Testament and reflecting the establishment of Church as described by John Chrysostom (ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἅπασα συνέστηκε).<sup>138</sup> In contrast, the older woman can be identified as the Old Testament. A fine example of this rare representation full of symbolisms is seen in fresco at the old katholikon of the Holy Monastery of Great Meteoron of the year 1483, while a few more frescos also bear that depiction from the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>139</sup> We therefore observe that the art of the Church has a symbolic and reducing character, as it introduces and mystifies the Christian in the divine truths. The depiction of the blood of the Godman on the cross for the sake of the people is one such truth.

### Depiction of the blood of Christ in Western art

The shed blood from the body of the crucified Christ could not be an iconographic theme that would leave Western artists unmoved, especially from the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Clearly, we mention two characteristic examples of images, in which Christ is depicted crucified on the wood of the cross, while the blood that flows either from His hands or from His feet is depicted in a brilliant way, making clear references to the Holy Communion.

The first such example is the work of Raphael, one of the leading artists of the Renaissance period<sup>140</sup> (along with Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo). This wood oil painting, preserved in the main collection of the National Gallery in London<sup>141</sup> and known as the 'Mond Crucifixion'<sup>142</sup> depicts the crucified Christ having two angels, one on the right and one on the left, holding a chalice and collecting the blood that flows from His hands.

The second example belongs to Domenikos Theotokopoulos, the so-called El Greco, and to one of the many Crucifixions he painted, in which the viewer sees a crucified Christ bleeding from everywhere. Two

---

<sup>138</sup> PG 51, 229.

<sup>139</sup> See ΑΧΕΙΜΑΣΤΟΥ-ΠΙΟΤΑΜΙΑΝΟΥ (2006: 182; 254; im. 161).

<sup>140</sup> MUNTZ (1989).

<sup>141</sup> Exhibition number NG3943 (Room 61).

<sup>142</sup> The painting was created between 1502 and 1503 by the then young Raphael for the Gavari chapel of the church of San Domenico in Città di Castello, Umbria.

angels, one on each side of the painting, collect the blood with their bare hands from the palms and sides of the Godman, while another – together with Mary Magdalene – does exactly the same at His feet, but using white cloths.<sup>143</sup> And in this case the correlation of the blood shed on the cross of Christ with the divine Communion is strong and obvious.

### Conclusions

After the study of the epigrams mentioned above, we observe that the presence of the blood of Christ in the epigrams related to the cross and the crucifixion is diachronic,<sup>144</sup> since it is seen from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Still, the frequency of this pattern is not particularly great, given the only sixteen epigrams found about it, most of which have been composed during 10<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries. In this time period, we see those epigrams, whose writers make reference to the spilt blood in relation to another object that was used for safekeeping this holy blood, or which is somehow related to it.<sup>145</sup> These are engraved on holy objects and their composition was ordered by a prominent person in the Byzantine society, one that had the financial means to pay for such a costly endeavor.

---

<sup>143</sup> This work, the creation of which dates between 1597 and 1600, is housed in the Prado Museum in Madrid with the exhibition number P000823 room 009B. See RUIZ GÓMEZ (2017); Museo Nacional del Prado (1985: 314); ÁLVAREZ LOPERA (1993: 186–188, n. 154).

<sup>144</sup> The apotropaic character of the blood of Christ, which drives away every demon and protects the faithful Christian, can be considered the continuation of the corresponding apotropaic character of the blood of Isis, found in Ancient Egyptian magic and especially in amulets of the Pharaonic period (FRANKFURTER [1990]). In other words, there is a historical continuity of the apotropaic character, first of Isis and later of Christ in the perception and consciousness of the faithful. For the importance of the blood of Christ in Greek Magical Amulets see CHEPEL (2017).

<sup>145</sup> In general, the blood of the crucified Christ is associated with a series of relevant objects (engraved or not with an inscription) for the preservation of this sacred relic. These are objects that today are found and kept in various churches in Europe and that the authenticity many of which is disputed by some scholars. Indicatively, we mention the lipsanotek-enkolpion of the Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopedi of Mount Athos in Greece, the relevant reliquaries of Saint Mark of Venice, the vials in the abbey of Fécamp (Abbaye de la Trinité de Fécamp) of Normandy in northern France, the two drops of blood in the shape of two clotted tears in Neuvy-Saint-Sépulchre, France, the relics of Christ's blood in the church of St Waltrude in Mons, Belgium and the Byzantine enkolpion at the Museum of Siena Santa Maria della Scala in Italy.

We see two epigrams of the 10<sup>th</sup> century engraved on a chalice<sup>146</sup> which must have been used for Holy Communion.<sup>147</sup> Another case is about a two-line epigram<sup>148</sup> (of 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century) engraved on a small cylindrical vessel with a cover used for keeping the blood of Christ,<sup>149</sup> while we should also mention the also engraved epigram (11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century) on a staurotheke with a (now lost) vessel containing droplets of the blood of Christ,<sup>150</sup> according to that same epigram.<sup>151</sup> In this particular epigram, the writer expresses his question whether precious stones and pearls can glorify Him who has spilt His blood for humans.<sup>152</sup> The last example regards a lipsanothek-enkolpion that bears an engraved eight-line epigram referring, among others, to the *λύθρον* of Christ.<sup>153</sup>

As for the possible readers and viewers of these lines, they have a direct relation to either the object or the surface on which these lines appear. Specifically, the epigrams we see on church murals/frescos<sup>154</sup> were visible by virtually all individuals depending on the position of the epigram in the church and the educational level of individuals.<sup>155</sup> Epigrams

---

<sup>146</sup> See RHOBY (2010: 258–259, n. Me 84; 511 [im. 56–59]) and RHOBY (2010: 272–274, n. Me 91; 517 [im. 75–77]).

<sup>147</sup> Epigram n. 2 (Χριστὸς δίδωσιν αἷμα τὸ ζωὴν φέρον) and epigram n. 3 (Ἐχεις με Χριστὸν αἷμα σαρκὸς μου φέρον).

<sup>148</sup> Epigram n. 5 (Τερπνὸν δοχεῖον αἵματος ζωηφόρου / πλευρᾶς ῥυέντος ἐξ ἀκηράτου Λόγου).

<sup>149</sup> See RHOBY (2010: 257–258, n. Me 83; 510 [im. 53–55]).

<sup>150</sup> See RHOBY (2010: 266–268, n. Me89; 515 [im. 69–70]).

<sup>151</sup> Epigram n. 7, line 1 (Ὅν οἱ σταλαγμοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν αἱμάτων).

<sup>152</sup> Epigram n. 7, lines 1–3 (Ὅν οἱ σταλαγμοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν αἱμάτων / δόξαν θεϊκὴν ἐστόλισαν καὶ κράτος, / πῶς δοξάσουσι μαργαρίται καὶ λίθοι).

<sup>153</sup> Epigram n. 12, line 2.

<sup>154</sup> Epigrams n. 8; 9; 15; 16.

<sup>155</sup> Even if believers were not in a position to read and understand the engraved lines, either due to distance (RHOBY [2012: 746]; BREDEHOFT [2006]: for the same iconographic impact in medieval West), because of the position of the epigram high enough, or due to their low academic level (MULLET [1990]: for the literacy level in early Byzantium; BROWNING [1979]; JAMES [2007: 191]; LAUXTERMANN [2003a: 272–273]; CAMILLE [1985]; ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΙΔΗΣ [2011]), in any case they were able to understand that something important was featured in these lines. This weakness added an extra charm to them (see RHOBY [2017: 275]; NELSON [2000: 148–149]). These words that had a knowledgeable meaning were thought of as having magical powers, something that inspired awe

that are engraved on objects such as ecclesiastical chalices<sup>156</sup> or vessels with a top cover,<sup>157</sup> were primarily accessed by priests and the clergy since they were the ones using them for liturgical reasons and secondarily, by individuals who came into contact with them during Mass. In the case of epigrams referring to the crucifixion,<sup>158</sup> naming the donor and/or the person who ordered them,<sup>159</sup> the audience is clearer since it could be anyone who came into visual contact at the place of exhibition (e.g., church, Monastery). The case of epigrams on staurothekes and reliquaries is a bit different,<sup>160</sup> because they were not on display for everyone to see largely due to the value of the construction materials. These would be kept in the ecclesiastical vault, and they would be exhibited in special occasions.

The remaining epigrams refer to the blood of Christ as the necessary λύτρο (= means of redemption and buy out)<sup>161</sup> for the salvation of humans and their original sin.<sup>162</sup> This is the blood of His passion that washes away all misfortunes and cleanses the human soul from all sins,<sup>163</sup> the life-giving blood,<sup>164</sup> the ζωηφόρον blood,<sup>165</sup> that which

---

and respect to the people regardless of them understanding it or not. For this magical power of words (and consequently of the text) and the corresponding relationship and interaction that they have with the viewer see JAMES [2007: 197–198]; HÖRANDNER [1990]; BARBER [2002: 125–137]; RHOBY [2009b: 319; 325–326]; RHOBY [2017: 273–275]; HUNGER [1984]; KESSLER [2007: 142]; BERNARD [2014: 62–64].

<sup>156</sup> Epigrams n. 2; 3.

<sup>157</sup> Epigram n. 5.

<sup>158</sup> Epigrams n. 10; 11; 14.

<sup>159</sup> Epigram n. 11

<sup>160</sup> Epigrams n. 7; 12; 13.

<sup>161</sup> See MONTANARI (2013: 1290).

<sup>162</sup> See ΓΙΑΝΝΑΡΑΣ (1983<sup>1</sup>: 168–172).

<sup>163</sup> Epigram n. 1, lines 1–2 ([...], παθέων ἐλατήριον αἶμα / πλῦνον ἐμῆς ψυχῆς πᾶσαν ἀτασθαλίην). It is about Christ τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς καὶ λούσαντι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ (Apos. 1, 5).

<sup>164</sup> Epigram n. 2 (Χριστὸς δίδωσιν αἶμα τὸ ζῶην φέρον). In the Gospel of John, we read the following words of Christ: ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ φάγητε τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πίνητε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἶμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζῶην ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἶμα ἔχει ζῶην αἰώνιον, καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ (John 6, 53–54).

<sup>165</sup> Epigram n. 5, line 1 (Τεραπευτὸν δοχεῖον αἵματος ζωηφόρου).

springs up life for humans,<sup>166</sup> the blood that was spilt to buy off the salvation of mortals.<sup>167</sup> It is the blood that poured from the rib<sup>168</sup> of ἀκηράτου Λόγου (indestructible Logos), i.e. Christ, and His bloody nailed feet,<sup>169</sup> transforming His wound into healing element for all wounds of humankind,<sup>170</sup> since it was offered not only to His Father as reward for those who died<sup>171</sup> but also saves the souls of each believer<sup>172</sup> leading to forgiveness.<sup>173</sup> It is the blood (and body) that the believer receives during the Divine Liturgy in the form of wine (and bread), the abominable and saving properties of which were emphasized by the Fathers of the Church, such as Cyril of Jerusalem<sup>174</sup> and John Chrysostom.<sup>175</sup> Finally, it is the blood that soaked the wood of the cross<sup>176</sup> which highlights, aside from its divine nature,<sup>177</sup> its human, mortal aspect.<sup>178</sup>

---

<sup>166</sup> Epigram n. 13, line 3 (ζωὴν κάγω τὸ βλῦσαν αἷμα τῷ κόσμῳ).

<sup>167</sup> Epigram n. 16, line 3 (οὓς ἠγόρασας αἷματι σῶ τιμίῳ). Let's note that in the First Letter of Apostle Peter (1 Peter 1, 19) the blood of Christ is characterized as fair.

<sup>168</sup> Epigram n. 5, line 2 (πλευρᾶς ῥέντος ἐξ ἀκηράτου Λόγου).

<sup>169</sup> Epigram n. 10, lines 5–6 (ἦλων δὲ πῶς ἠνεγκας ἀλγεινοὺς πόνους, / πλευρᾶν ἐνύγης, ἡμάτωσας τοὺς πόδας;).

<sup>170</sup> Epigram n. 4, lines 3–4 (ὅμως τὸ τραῦμα φάρμακον κεραννύει / τῶν τραυμάτων σου καὶ τὰ ῥεῖθρα βλυστάνει).

<sup>171</sup> Epigram n. 15, line 5 (αἷμα δέδωκε πατρὶ λύτρων ἀποιομένων). See about ΤΡΕΜΠΕΛΑΣ (1956: A' 356).

<sup>172</sup> Epigram n. 6 (Θεοῦ μὲν αἷμα, τῆς δ' ἐμῆς ψυχῆς λύτρων).

<sup>173</sup> Epigram n. 11, lines 11–12 (τί γὰρ πλέον τίς εἰς ἴλασμά σοι φέρει / ἢ τὸ προχυθὲν αἷμα [σου] σταυρουμένου;). Let's not forget that the capacity of forgiveness (ἰλασμοῦ) for Christ is seen in the first letter of Evangelist John twice (καὶ αὐτὸς ἰλασμός ἐστι περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, οὐ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου: 1 John 2, 2; ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὸς ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἰλασμὸν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν: 1 John 4, 10).

<sup>174</sup> ἐκεῖ αἷμα ἀμνοῦ ὀλοθρευτοῦ ἦν ἀποτρόπαιον, ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Ἄμνοῦ τοῦ ἀμόμου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ αἷμα δαιμόνων καθέστηκε φυγαδευτήριον (Cyril of Jerusalem, Myst. 1, 3; SC, 126 bis. 86).

<sup>175</sup> Τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα ἀξίως λαμβανόμενον ἐλαύνειμὲν δαίμονας καὶ πόρρωθεν ἡμῶν ποιεῖ, καλεῖ δὲ ἀγγέλους πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὸν Δεσπότην τῶν ἀγγέλων. Ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ἴδωσι τὸ αἷμα τὸ Δεσποτικόν, φεύγουσι μὲν δαίμονες, συντρέχουσι δὲ ἄγγελοι. Τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα ἐκχυθὲν πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐξέπλυνε. Πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ αἵματος τούτου καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐφιλοσόφησε (John Chrysostom, In Ioh. Hom., PG 59, 261).

In conclusion, Christ with his blood which ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐπήγαγε τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς ζωῆς τὸν γλυκασμόν, according to Oktoechos,<sup>179</sup> appears in the lines of Byzantine epigrams for the cross and the crucifixion to highlight its soteriological symbolism.

### Abbreviations

ACD	Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis
AnArch	Annales Archéologiques
AnBoll	Analecta Bollandiana
AB	Art Bulletin
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BSI	Byzantinoslavica
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
ΔΧΑΕ	Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας
ΕΕΒΣ	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
GLB	Graeco-Latina Brunensia
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
JTS	The Journal of Theological Studies
NE	Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων
ODB	Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium
OrChr	Oriens Christianus
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca, acc. J. P. Migne, vol. 1–161 (Parisiis, 1857–1866)
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum. I. Stuttgart 1950.
SC	Sources Crétiennes
SUC	Sapiens Ubique Civis
WSt	Wiener Studien

<sup>176</sup> The image of Christ bloody on the cross is seen in hymnography, as in e.g., Romanos the Melode, who while addressing the cross, he writes σὺ βωμὸς ἐγένου θεϊότατος, καλὸν θυσιαστήριον / τὸ αἶμα δεξάμενον τῆς θυσίας τὸ ἄχραντον (Rom. Mel., 23 η').

<sup>177</sup> Epigram n. 8 (Ἐύλον στομωθ[έν] αἵμασιν θεορρύ[τοις]); n. 9 (Ἐύλον στομωθὲν αἵμασι θεωρίας).

<sup>178</sup> Epigram n. 14, lines 1–2 (Διπλοῦς ὁ παθῶν· ζῶν γάρ ἐστι καὶ νέκυς, / ὡς αἶμα δηλοῖ καὶ τὸ συμβλύσαν ὕδωρ).

<sup>179</sup> Παρακλητικὴ (Oktoechos): Περίοδος βαρέος ἤχου, Κυριακὴ πρωΐ, Ἐν τῇ Λειτουργίᾳ, Τὰ Τυπικὰ καὶ οἱ Μακαρισμοί, τροπάριον δ'. On Oktoechos see about GUILLAUME (1977–1979); TAFT (1982: 365–367).

## Bibliography

- AGOSTI 2010 G. AGOSTI: *Eisthesis, divisione dei versi, percezione dei cola negli epigrammi epigrafici in età tardoantica*. *Segno e Testo* 8 (2010) 67–98.
- AGOSTI 2019 G. AGOSTI: *Late Antique Poetry and Its Perception*. In: W. Hörandner – A. Rhoby – N. Zagklas (eds.): *A Companion to Byzantine Poetry*. Leiden – Boston 2019, 115–148.
- ALEXIOU–HOLTON 1976 M. ALEXIOU – D. HOLTON: *The Origins and Development of “Politicos Stichos”: a Select Critical Bibliography*. *Μαντατοφόρος* 9 (1976) 22–34.
- ALLEN–MONRO 1920 Th. W. ALLEN – A. T. MONRO: *Homeri Opera*. Oxford 1920.
- ALLEN–HALLIDAY–SIKES 1936<sup>2</sup> T. W. ALLEN – W. R. HALLIDAY – E. E. SIKES: *Όμηρος και ομηρική ποίηση. Ομηρικοί Ύμνοι*. Oxford 1936<sup>2</sup>.
- ÁLVAREZ LOPERA 1993 J. ÁLVAREZ LOPERA: *El Greco: la obra esencial*. Madrid 1993.
- ΑΡΑΜΠΑΤΖΗΣ 2014 Γ. ΑΡΑΜΠΑΤΖΗΣ: *Βυζαντινή Φιλοσοφία και Εικονολογία*. Αθήνα 2012.
- ΑΡΓΥΡΟΥ–ΜΥΡΙΑΝΘΕΥΣ 2004 Χρ. ΑΡΓΥΡΟΥ – Δ. ΜΥΡΙΑΝΘΕΥΣ: *Ο ναός του Τιμίου Σταυρού του Αγιασμάτι*. Λευκωσία 2004.
- ΑΧΕΙΜΑΣΤΟΥ–ΠΟΤΑΜΙΑΝΟΥ 2006 Μ. ΑΧΕΙΜΑΣΤΟΥ–ΠΟΤΑΜΙΑΝΟΥ: *Ελληνική τέχνη. Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες*. Αθήνα 2006.
- BARBER 2002 C. BARBER: *Figure and Likeness: On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm*. Princeton 2002.
- ΒΑΦΕΙΑΔΗΣ 2015 Κ. Μ. ΒΑΦΕΙΑΔΗΣ: *Ύστερη Βυζαντινή Ζωγραφική. Χώρος και μορφή στην τέχνη της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως 1150–1450*. Αθήνα 2015.
- BAUDRILLARD 1995 J. BAUDRILLARD: *Le crime parfait*. Paris 1995.
- BECK 1959 (= 1977) H. G. BECK: *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich (HdA [= Byzantinisches Handbuch] XII. 2.1)*. München 1959 (= repr. 1977).
- BECKBY 1964 H. BECKBY: *Anthologia Graeca: Griechisch–Deutsch, I–IV (citantur liber et carminis numerus)*. München 1964<sup>2</sup>.
- BERNARD 2014 F. BERNARD: *Writing and Reading Secular Poetry, 1025–1081*. Oxford 2014.
- ΒΕΡΤΟΥΔΑΚΗΣ 2011 Β. Π. ΒΕΡΤΟΥΔΑΚΗΣ: *Το όγδοο βιβλίο της Παλατινής Ανθολογίας. Μια μελέτη των επιγραμμάτων του Γρηγορίου του Ναζιανζηνού*. Αθήνα 2011.
- BOWKER 1996 J. BOWKER: *Ο θάνατος και οι θρησκείες*. Μ. Οικονομάκη – Α. Λογιάκη (transl.). Αθήνα 1996.

- BREDEHOFT 2006 T. A. BREDEHOFT: *Literacy without letters: pilgrim badges and late medieval ideology*. *Viator* 37 (2006) 433–445.
- BROWN 1999 P. BROWN: *Images as a substitute for writing*. In: E. Chrysos – I. Wood (eds.): *East and West: Modes of communication*. Leiden 1999, 15–34.
- BROWNING 1979 R. BROWNING: *Literacy in the Byzantine world*. *BMGS* 4 (1979) 39–54.
- BRUBAKER 1995 L. BRUBAKER: *Conclusion: Image, audience and place: interaction and reproduction*. In: R. Ousterhout – L. Brubaker (eds.): *The Sacred Image East and West*. Urbana – Chicago 1995, 204–220.
- CAMILLE 1985 M. CAMILLE: *Seeing and reading: Some implications of medieval literacy and illiteracy*. *Art History* 8 (1985) 26–49.
- CATAUDELLA 1982 Q. CATAUDELLA: *Influssi di poesia classica anche latina negli epigrammi cristiani greci*. In: *Studi in onore di Aristide Colonna*. Perugia 1982, 79–92.
- CHEPEL 2017 E. CHEPEL: *Invocations of the Blood of Christ in Greek Magical Amulets*. *Scrinium* 13 (2017) 53–71.
- CICCOLELLA 2000 F. CICCOLELLA: *Cinque poeti bizantini. Anacreontee dal Barberiniano greco 310*. Alessandria 2000.
- CICCOLELLA 2009 F. CICCOLELLA: *Octosyllables, Dodecasyllables or Hexameters? Reading anacreontic poetry in Byzantium*. In: P. Odorico – P. A. Agapitos–M. Hinterberger (eds.): *‘Doux Remède...’*. Poésie et poétique à Byzance. Actes du IV<sup>e</sup> colloque international philologique «Ερμηνεία», Paris, 23–25 février 2006 (Dossiers Byzantins 9). Paris 2009, 245–265.
- CITRONI 2018 M. CITRONI: *What Is an Epigram? Defining a Genre*. In: Ch. Henrik-sén (ed.): *A Companion to Ancient Epigram*. USA 2018.
- CORMACK 1991 R. CORMACK: *Reading Icons*. *Valor. Konstvetenskapliga Studier* 4 (1991) 1–28.
- COUGNY 1890 E. COUGNY: *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et Appendice Nova*. Paris 1890.
- CRAMER 1839 (= 1964) J. A. CRAMER: *Anecdota Graeca e codd. Manuscriptis bibliotheca eregiae Parisiensis*. I–IV. Oxford 1839 (= Hildesheim 1964).
- CRISCUOLO 2007 U. CRISCUOLO: *Sugli epigrammi di Gregorio di Nazianzo*. In: G. Lozza – S. Martinelli-Tempesta (a cura di): *L’epigramma greco. Problemi e prospettive*. Milano 2007, 19–52.
- CUTLER 2014 A. CUTLER. *Κατασκευαστές και χρήστες*. In: L. James: *Εγχειρίδιο Βυζαντινών Σπουδών*. Αιμ. Μαυρουδής – Α. Ρεγκάκος (transl.). Αθήνα 2014, 529–550.
- ΔΟΜΗΤΙΟΣ 2007 (Μοναχός) ΔΟΜΗΤΙΟΣ: *A Journey Through the Painted Churches of Cyprus*. Nikosia 2007.
- DRPIĆ 2016 I. DRPIĆ: *Epigram, Art, and Devotion in Later Byzantium*. Washington 2016.



- DURAND 1860 J. DURAND: *L'art byzantin à Saint-Marc de Venise*. AnArch 20 (1860) 307–315.
- DURAND 1861 J. DURAND: *Trésor de Saint-Marc à Venise*. AnArch 21 (1861) 94–104, 336–344.
- ELKAISY-FRIEMUTH–DILLON 2009  
M. ELKAISY-FRIEMUTH – J. M. DILLON: *The afterlife of the platonic soul*. Leiden 2009.
- ENGLEZAKIS 1973 B. ENGLEZAKIS: *Jean le Chrysostomite. Patriarche de Jérusalem au XIIe siècle*. Byzantion 43 (1973) 506–508.
- EPSTEIN 1981 A. EPSTEIN: *The middle Byzantine sanctuary barrier: Templon or iconostasis*. Journal of the British Archaeological Association 134 (1981) 1–28.
- FRANKFURTER 1990 D. FRANKFURTER: *Tabitha in the Apocalypse of Elijah*. JTS n.s. 41 (1990) 13–25.
- FROLOW 1961 A. FROLOW: *La relique de la vraie croix. Recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Archives de l'Orient chrétien 7). Paris 1961.
- FROLOW 1964–1965 A. FROLOW: *Notes sur les reliques et les reliquaires byzantins de Saint-Marc de Venise*. ΔΧΑΕ 4 (1964–1965) 205–226.
- GARLAND 1999 L. GARLAND: *Byzantine Empresses. Women and Power in Byzantium AD 527–1204*. London – New York 1999.
- GEFFCKEN 1969 J. GEFFCKEN: *Studien zum griechischen Epigramm*. In: G. Pfohl (Hrsg.): *Das Epigramm. Zur Geschichte einer inschriftlichen und literarischen Gattung*. Darmstadt 1969, 21–46.
- GERSTEL 1994 S. GERSTEL: *Liturgical Scrolls in the Byzantine Sanctuary*. GRBS 35 (1994) 195–204.
- ΓΙΑΝΝΑΠΑΣ 1983<sup>1</sup> Χ. ΓΙΑΝΝΑΠΑΣ: *Αλφαβητάρι τῆς πίστεως* (ἑκδ. Δόμος). Αθήνα 1983<sup>1</sup>.
- ΓΙΑΝΝΑΠΑΣ 2010<sup>4</sup> Χ. ΓΙΑΝΝΑΠΑΣ: *Ἐνάντια στή θρησκεία*. ἑκδ. Ἴκαρος. Αθήνα 2010<sup>4</sup>.
- ΓΙΕΒΤΙΤΣ 1983 Α. ΓΙΕΒΤΙΤΣ: *Ὁ ἅγιος Συμεὼν Θεσσαλονίκης ὡς ἐρμηνευτὴς τῶν ἱερῶν Ἀκολουθιῶν. ἐν Χριστὸς ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος*. Αθήνα 1983.
- GLÖCKNER 1901 St. GLÖCKNER: *Quaestiones rhetoricae. Historiae artis rhetoricae quails fuerit aevo imperatorio capita selecta* (Bresalauer Philol. Abh. VIII 2). Breslau 1901.
- GOLDHILL–GREENSMITH 2020  
S. GOLDHILL – E. GREENSMITH: *Gregory of Nazianzus in the Palatine Anthology: The Poetics of Christian Death*. CCL 66 (2020) 29–69.
- GUILLAUME 1977–1979  
D. GUILLAUME (transl.): *Paraclitique ou Grande Octoèque*. Rome 1977–1979.
- GUILLOU 1996 A. GUILLOU: *Recueil des inscriptions grecques médiévales d'Italie*. Rome 1996.
- HAHNLOSER 1996 H. R. HAHNLOSER (ed.): *Il Tesoro di San Marco I*. Firenze 1965.

HARRIES–HANTS 2004

R. HARRIES – A. HANTS: *The Passion in art*. England 2004.

HÖRANDNER 1989 W. HÖRANDNER: *Poetic Forms in the Tenth Century*. In: A. Μαροπούλου (ed.): *Κωνσταντίνος Ζ' ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος καὶ ἡ ἐποχὴ του. Β' Διεθνῆς Βυζαντινολογικὴ Συνάντηση, Δελφοί, 22–26 Ἰουλίου 1987*. Αθήνα 1989, 135–153.

HÖRANDNER 1990 W. HÖRANDNER: *Visuelle Poesie in Byzanz. Versuch einer Bestand-saufnahme*. JÖB 40 (1990) 1–42.

HÖRANDNER 1994 W. HÖRANDNER: *A Cycle of Epigrams on the Lord's Feast in Cod. Marc. gr. 524*. DOP 48 (1994) 117–133.

HÖRANDNER 1995 W. HÖRANDNER: *Beobachtungen zur Literarästhetik der Byzantiner. Einige byzantinische Zeugnisse zu Metrik und Rhythmik*. BSI 56 (1995) 279–290.

HÖRANDNER 2003 W. HÖRANDNER: *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*. In: W. Hörandner – M. Grünbart (Hrsg.): *L'épistolographie et la poésie épigrammatique: projets actuels et questions de méthodologie. Actes de la 16e Table ronde organisée par W. Hörandner et M. Grünbart dans le cadre du XXe Congrès international des Études byzantines, Collège de France – Sorbonne, Paris, 19–25 Août 2001 (Dossiers byzantins 3)*. Paris 2003, 153–160.

HÖRANDNER 2017 W. HÖRANDNER: *Η ποίηση στη βυζαντινὴ κοινωνία. Μορφή και λειτουργία*. I. Βάσσης – Μ. Λουκάκη (transl.). Αθήνα 2017.

HÖRANDNER–RHOBY 2008

W. HÖRANDNER – A. RHOBY (Hrsg.): *Die kulturhistorische Bedeutung byzantinischer Epigramme. Akten des internationalen Workshop (Wien, 1–2. Dezember 2006) (Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung XIV)*. Wien 2008.

HUNGER 1982 H. HUNGER: *Gregorios von Korinth. Epigramme auf die Feste des Dodekaorton*. AnBoll 100 (1982) 637–651.

HUNGER 1984 H. HUNGER: *Die Herrschaft des 'Buchstabens'. Das Verhältnis der Byzantinischer zu Schrift- und Kanzleiwesen*. ΔΧΑΕ περ. IV 12 (1984) 17–38.

HUNGER 1995 H. HUNGER: *Ο Κόσμος του Βυζαντινού Βιβλίου. Γραφή και Ανάγνωση στο Βυζάντιο*. Γ. Βασιλάρος (transl.). Αθήνα 1995.

JAMES 2007 L. JAMES: *"And shall these mute stones speak?" Text as Art*. In: L. James (ed.): *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*. Cambridge 2007, 188–206.

JEFFREYS 1974 M. J. JEFFREYS: *The Nature and Origins of Political Verse*. DOP 28 (1974) 141–195.

JEFFREYS 1982 M. J. JEFFREYS: *Rhythm and Metre: A Supplementary Review of Three Recent Publications*. JÖB 32 (1982/1) 241–245.

- JEFFREYS 2019a E. JEFFREYS: *Byzantine Poetry and Rhetoric*. In: W. Hörandner – A. Rhoby – N. Zagklas (eds.): *A Companion to Byzantine Poetry*. Leiden – Boston 2019, 92–113.
- JEFFREYS 2019b M. JEFFREYS: *From Hexameters to Fifteen-Syllable Verse*. In: W. Hörandner – A. Rhoby – N. Zagklas (eds.): *A Companion to Byzantine Poetry*. Leiden – Boston 2019, 66–91.
- JEFFREYS 2003 E. JEFFREYS (ed.): *Rhetoric in Byzantium*. Aldershot 2003.
- KANTARAS 2019a A. KANTARAS: *Le caractère dramatique des épigrammes de la Croix et la Crucifixion du Christ*. GLB 24 (2019/2) 79–95.
- KANTARAS 2019b A. KANTARAS: *Byzantine Epigrams on the crucifixion of Jesus Christ: the case of Georgios Pisides*. ACD LV (2019) 175–193.
- KANTARAS 2021 A. KANTARAS: *Byzantine Epigrams on the Cross and Crucifixion of Jesus Christ: The Case of John Mauropous*. SUC 2 (2021) 163–196.
- ΚΑΠΠΙΑΣ 2004 Μ. ΚΑΠΠΙΑΣ: *Το εγκόλπιο-λειψανοθήκη του κρατικού μουσείου ιστορίας και πολιτισμού της Μόσχας*. Βυζαντινά 24 (2004) 409–434.
- ΚΑΡΑΜΑΝΩΛΗΣ 2017 Γ. ΚΑΡΑΜΑΝΩΛΗΣ (ed.): *Εισαγωγή στην Αρχαία Φιλοσοφία*. Ηράκλειο Κρήτης – Αθήνα 2017.
- KENNEDY 1980 G. KENNEDY: *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition*. North Carolina 1980.
- KENNEDY 1983 G. KENNEDY: *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*. Princeton 1983.
- KESSLER 2007 H. L. KESSLER: *Neither God nor Man. Words, Images, and the Medieval Anxiety about Art* (Quellenzur Kunst 29). Freiburg i. Br. – Berlin – Vienna 2007.
- KEYDELL 1962 R. KEYDELL: *Epigramm*. RAC 5 (1962) 539–577.
- KLEIN 2006 H. A. KLEIN: *Sacred Relics and Imperial Ceremonies at the Great Palace of Constantinople*. In: F. A. Bauer (Hrsg.): *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft* (BYZAS 5). Instabul 2006, 79–100.
- KODER 1983 J. KODER: *Kontakion und politischer Vers*. JÖB 33 (1983) 45–56.
- KOKOSALAKIS 1995 N. KOKOSALAKIS: *Icons and non-verbal religion in the Orthodox tradition*. Social Compass 42 (1995) 433–449.
- KOMINΗΣ 1960 Α. Δ. ΚΟΜΙΝΗΣ: *Γρηγόριος Πάδρος μητροπολίτης Κορίνθου και το έργο του*. Ρώμη-Αθήνα 1960.
- KOMINΗΣ 1966 Α. Δ. ΚΟΜΙΝΗΣ: *Τò βυζαντινόν ιερόν επίγραμμα και οι έπιγραμματοποιοί*. Αθήνα 1966.
- ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΙΔΗΣ 2011 Γ. Ν. ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΙΔΗΣ. *Η εκπαίδευση στο Βυζάντιο. Από την πρώιμη περίοδο έως τον 11ο αιώνα*. Θεσσαλονίκη 2011.
- KOTTER 1975 B. KOTTER: *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos III* (Πρός τούς διαβάλλοντας τας άγιας εικόνας). Berlin – New York 1975.
- ΚΟΥΚΟΥΡΑ 2011<sup>3</sup> Δημ. Α. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΡΑ: *Η Ρητορική και η Εκκλησιαστική Ρητορική. Διαχρονική Μελέτη*. Θεσσαλονίκη 2011<sup>3</sup>.

- ΚΟΥΜΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ 1991 I. Α. ΚΟΥΜΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ: *Το μοναστήρι της Τατάρνας. Ιστορία και κειμήλια*. Αθήνα 1991.
- KRAUSE 2008 K. KRAUSE: *The Staurotheke of the Empress Maria in Venice: a Renaissance replica of a lost Byzantine Cross reliquary in the Treasury of St. Mark's*. In: W. Hörandner– A. Rhoby (Hrsg.): *Die kulturhistorische Bedeutung byzantinischer Epigramme. Akten des internationalen Workshop (Wien, 1–2. Dezember 2006) (Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung XIV)*. Wien 2008, 37–53.
- ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ 1910 Σπ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ: *Ὁ Μαρκιανὸς Κῶδιξ 524*. NE 7 (1910) Τεύχος Α' 3–59, Τεύχος Β' 113–192.
- ΛΑΟΥΡΔΑΣ 1950 Β. ΛΑΟΥΡΔΑΣ: *Μιχαὴλ Ἀποστόλη, ἀνέκδοτα ἐπιγράμματα*. ΕΕΒΣ 20 (1950) 172–208.
- LAUXTERMANN 1994 M. D. LAUXTERMANN: *The Byzantine Epigram in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries. A Generic Study of Epigrams and some other Forms of Poetry*. Ph.D. diss. Amsterdam 1994.
- LAUXTERMANN 1998 M. D. LAUXTERMANN: *The velocity of pure iambs. Byzantine observations on the metre and rhythm of the dodecasyllable*. JÖB 48 (1998) 9–33.
- LAUXTERMANN 1999 M. D. LAUXTERMANN: *The spring of Rhythm. An Essay on the Political Vers and Other Byzantine Metres (BV XXII)*. Wien 1999.
- LAUXTERMANN 2003a M. D. LAUXTERMANN: *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and Contexts*. Vol. I (Wiener Byzantinische Studien XXIV/1), Wien 2003.
- LAUXTERMANN 2003b M. D. LAUXTERMANN: *Some remarks on Pisides' epigrams and shorter poems*. In: W. Hörandner – M. Grünbart (Hrsg.): *L'épistolographie et la poésie épigrammatique: projets actuels et questions de méthodologie. Actes de la 16e Table ronde organisée par W. Hörandner et M. Grünbart dans le cadre du XXe Congrès international des Études byzantines, Collège de France – Sorbonne, Paris, 19–25 Août 2001 (Dossiers byzantins 3)*. Paris 2003, 177–189.
- LAVAGNINI 1983 B. LAVAGNINI: *Alle origini del verso politico (Istituto Siciliano di Studi bizantini e neoellenici, Quaderni 11)*. Palermo 1983.
- LEIB 1950 B. LEIB: *Nicéphore III Botaneiatès (1078–1081) et Marie d'Alaine*. Actes du VIe Congrès international d'études byzantines (1948). Vol. I, 129–140. Paris 1950.
- ΛΕΚΑΤΣΑΣ 1957–1958 Π. ΛΕΚΑΤΣΑΣ: *Η ψυχή*. Αθήνα 1957–1958.
- LEMERLE 1943 P. LEMERLE: *Le style byzantine*. Paris 1943.
- LIDDELL–SCOTT H. LIDDELL – R. SCOTT: *Μέγα Λεξικόν της Ελληνικής Γλώσσης*. Τομ. 5. Αθήνα s.a.
- LIVINGSTONE–NIBSET N. LIVINGSTONE – G. NIBSET: *Epigram. Greece and Rome. New Surveys in the Classics no. 38*. Cambridge 2010.

- MAAS 1903 P. MAAS: *Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber*. BZ 12 (1903) 278–323.
- MAGUIRE 1996 H. MAGUIRE: *Image and Imagination: The Byzantine Epigram as Evidence for Viewer Response*. Toronto 1996.
- MAGUIRE 2003 H. MAGUIRE: *Byzantine Rhetoric, Latin drama and the portrayal of the New Testament*. In: E. Jeffreys (ed.): *Rhetoric in Byzantium*. Aldershot 2003, 215–233.
- MAGUIRE 2008 H. MAGUIRE: *Art and Text*. In: E. Jeffreys – J. Haldon – R. Cormark (eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*. Oxford 2008.
- MANTZANAS 2008 M. MANTZANAS: *Η Ηθική του Αριστοτέλους και η Μεταφυσική του Γρηγορίου Παλαμά*. Αθήνα 2008.
- MANTZARIΔΗΣ 1990 Γ. Ι. ΜΑΝΤΖΑΡΙΔΗΣ: *Κοινωνιολογία τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ. Θεσσαλονίκη* 1990.
- MEINERTZ 1950 M. MEINERTZ: *Theologie des Neuen Testaments II*. Bonn 1950.
- ΜΕΝΤΙΑΚΗΣ 1997 Γ. ΜΕΝΤΙΑΚΗΣ: *Τύπος και Συμβολισμός στην Ορθόδοξη λατρεία*. Τομ. 1. Ηράκλειο 1997.
- MIONI 1981–1985 E. MIONI: *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum Codices Graeci manuscripti. Thesaurus antiquus*. I–II. Roma 1981–1985.
- ΜΙΧΑΗΛΙΔΟΥ-ΝΟΥΑΡΟΥ 1952 Γ. ΜΙΧΑΗΛΙΔΟΥ-ΝΟΥΑΡΟΥ: *Περὶ τῆς ἀδελφοποιΐας ἐν τῇ Ἀρχαίᾳ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ*. Επιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίδα Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης. Τόμος Κ (1952) 251–313.
- ΜΙΧΕΛΗΣ 2004 Π. Α. ΜΙΧΕΛΗΣ: *Η Βυζαντινὴ τέχνη ὡς θρησκευτικὴ καὶ διδακτικὴ τέχνη*. Αισθητικὰ Θεωρήματα Γ'. Αθήνα 2004, 207–216.
- MONTANARI 2013 F. MONTANARI: *Vocabolario della Lingua Greca*. Torino 1995 (A. ΡΕΓΚΑΚΟΣ [eds.]. *Σύγχρονο Λεξικό της Αρχαίας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας*). Αθήνα 2013.
- MORANI 1987 M. MORANI: *Nemesii Emesini. De Natura Hominis*. Bibliotheca Teubneriana Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum. Leipzig 1987, 1–136.
- MULLET 1990 M. MULLET: *Writing in early medieval Byzantium*. In: R. McKitterick (ed.): *The uses of literacy in early mediaeval Europe*. Cambridge 1990, 156–185.
- MULLET 2003 M. MULLET: *Rhetoric, theory and the imperative of performance: Byzantium and now*. In: E. Jeffreys (ed.): *Rhetoric in Byzantium*. Aldershot 2003, 151–172.
- MUNTZ 1989 E. MUNTZ: *Raphael, sa vie, son oeuvre et son temps*. Paris 1989.
- MURRAY 1924 A. T. MURRAY (transl.): *Homer. Illiad. Odyssey*. A. T. M. London – Cambridge 1924.
- Museo Nacional del Prado 1985 Museo Nacional del Prado: *Museo del Prado. Catálogo de las pinturas*. Madrid 1985.

- NELSON 2000 R. NELSON: *To say and to see: ekphrasis and vision in Byzantium*. In: R. Nelson (ed.): *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance*. Cambridge 2000, 143–168.
- NEW TESTAMENT 1968 K. ALAND – M. BLACK – C. M. MARTINI – B. M. METZGER – A. WIKGREN (eds.): *The Greek New Testament*. Stuttgart 1968.
- ΝΙΚΟΛΑΪΔΗΣ 2019 Α. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΪΔΗΣ: *Θρησκείες και Ηθική. Από την Ηθική της Θρησκείας στην Ηθική των Θρησκειών*. Αθήνα 2019.
- ΝΙΚΟΛΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ 1993 ΝΙΚΟΛΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ: *Καινή Διαθήκη και Ρητορική. Τα ρητορικά σχήματα διανοίας στα ιστορικά βιβλία της Καινής Διαθήκης*. Κατερίνη 1993.
- NISSEN 1940 Th. NISSEN: *Die byzantinischen Anakreonten* (Sitzungsber. der Bayer. Akad. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Abt. 1940, 3). München 1940.
- OLD TESTAMENT 1935 A. RAHLFS (ed.): *Septuaginta*. Vols. 12. Stuttgart 1935.
- OPSTALL 2014 E. Van OPSTALL: *Echoes of a distant poet: Homer in Byzantine epigrams*. In: Y. Durbec – D. Pralon – F. Trajber: *Traditions épiques et poésie épigrammatique*. Leuven 2014.
- OUSPENSKY 1999 L. OUSPENSKY: *Η εικόνα στο φως της Ορθόδοξης Ερμηνείας*. Αθήνα 1999.
- ΠΑΝΤΑΖΙΔΗΣ 1982 (= 2009) I. ΠΑΝΤΑΖΙΔΗΣ: *Λεξικόν Ομηρικόν*. Αθήνα 1892 (= 2009).
- ΠΑΠΑΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ 2006 Γ. Παπαγιάννης: *Ακάθιστος Ύμνος. Άγνωστες πτυχές ενός πολύ γνωστού κειμένου*. Θεσσαλονίκη 2006.
- PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS 1987 A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS: *Ανάλεκτα ιεροσολυμιτικής σταχυολογίας*. Vol. 5. St. Petersburg 1987.
- PAPAGIANNIS 1997 G. PAPAGIANNIS: *Theodoros Prodromos. Jambische und hexametrische Tetrasticha auf die Haupterzählungen des Alten und des Neuen Testaments. Einleitung, kritischer Text, Indices* (Meletemata 7). I/II. Wiesbaden 1997.
- Παρακλητική 1858 *Παρακλητική, ἤτοι Ὀκτώηχος ἡ Μεγάλη*. Βενετία 1858.
- PASINI 1885–1886 A. PASINI: *Il Tesoro di San Marco in Venezia illustrato da Antonio Pasini, canonico della Marciana*. 2 Vols. Venedig 1885–1886.
- PASINI 1888 A. PASINI: *Guide de la basilique St. Marc à Venise*. Schio 1888.
- PENCHEVA 2006 B. V. PENCHEVA: *Performative icon*. AB 88 (2006) 631–655.
- PENCHEVA 2007 B. V. PENCHEVA: *Epigrams On Icons*. In: L. James (ed.): *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*. Cambridge 2007, 120–138.
- PLANK 1994 P. PLANK: *Ioannes IX. von Jerusalem (1156/57 – vor 1166), Patriarch im Exil*. In: M. Kohlbacher – M. Lesinski (Hrsg.): *Horizonte der Christenheit. Festschrift für Friedrich Heyer zu seinem 85. Geburtstag*. Erlangen 1994, 176–191.

- POLEMIS 1968 I. D. POLEMIS: *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*. London 1968.
- ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ 1981 Λ. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ: *Νεώτερες απόψεις για τη γέννηση και τη δομή του δεκαπεντασύλλαβου*. Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών 56 (1981) 211–228.
- ΨΑΛΛΜΟΙ 2015 Ψαλλήριον. *Κείμενο των Ο' και Μετάφραση στην Νεοελληνική*. Μ. ΧΑΤΖΗΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ (Hrsg.): *Ελληνική Βιβλική Εταιρεία*. Αθήνα 2015.
- RHOBY 2008 A. RHOBY: *Thematische Einführung*. In: W. Hörandner – A. Rhoby (Hrsg.): *Die kulturhistorische Bedeutung byzantinischer Epigramme*. Akten des internationalen Workshop (Wien, 1–2. Dezember 2006) (Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung XIV). Wien 2008, 15–17.
- RHOBY 2009a A. RHOBY: *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken* (= W. Hörandner – A. Rhoby – A. Paul [Hrsg.]: *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*. Vol. 1). Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung XV. Wien 2009.
- RHOBY 2009b A. RHOBY: *Interactive Inscriptions: Byzantine Works of Art and Their Beholders*. In: A. M. Lidov (ed.): *Proceedings of the symposium Spatial Icons. Textuality and Performativity*, Moscow 23–25 June 2009. Moscow 2009, 317–333.
- RHOBY 2010 A. RHOBY: *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst* (= W. Hörandner – A. Rhoby – A. Paul [Hrsg.]: *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*. Vol. 2). Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung XXIII. Wien 2010.
- RHOBY 2011 A. RHOBY: *Vom jambischen zum byzantinischen Zwölfsilber. Beobachtung zur Metrik des spätantiken und byzantinischen Epigramms*. *WSt* 124 (2011) 117–142.
- RHOBY 2012 A. RHOBY: *The Meaning of Inscriptions for the Early and Middle Byzantine Culture. Remarks on the Interaction of Word, Image and Beholder*. In: *Scrivere e leggere nell'alto Medioevo*. Spoleto, 28 aprile – 4 maggio 2011 (Settimane di Studio della Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo LIX). Spoleto 2012, 731–757.
- RHOBY 2017 A. RHOBY: *Text as Art? Byzantine Inscriptions and Their Display*. In: I. Berti – K. Bolle – F. Opdenhoff – F. Stroth (eds.): *Writing Matters. Presenting and Perceiving Monumental Inscriptions in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Berlin – Boston 2017, 265–283.
- RHOBY 2018 A. RHOBY: *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung* (= W. Hörandner – A. Rhoby – A. Paul [Hrsg.]: *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*. Vol. 4). (Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 42). Wien 2018.
- ROHDE 2010 E. ROHDE: *Psyche: the cult of souls and the belief in immortality among the Greeks*. New York 2010.

- ROMANO 1980 R. ROMANO: *Nicola Callicle, Carmi. Testo critico, introduzione, traduzione, commentario e lessico* (Byzantina et Neo-Hellenica Neapolitana VIII). Napoli 1980.
- ROSS 1959 M. C. ROSS: *The Chalice of Sisinius, the Grand Logothete*. GRBS 2 (1959) 5–10.
- RUIZ GÓMEZ 2017 L. RUIZ GÓMEZ: *El Greco en el Museo Nacional del Prado. Catálogo razonado*. Madrid 2007.
- SCHILLING 1903 L. SCHILLING: *Quaestiones rhetoricae selectae*. Jbb. Class. Philol. Supplementum 28 (1903) 663–778.
- SENDER 2014 E. SENDER: *Τό Εικόνισμα. Εικῶν τοῦ Ἀοράτου. Στοιχεῖα Θεολογίας, Αἰσθητικῆς καὶ Τεχνικῆς*. Α. Δ. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΥ (transl.). Ἄγιον Ὅρος 2014.
- ŠEVČENKO 1998 I. ŠEVČENKO: *Observations Concerning Inscriptions on Objects Described in the Catalogue "The Glory of Byzantium"*. Palaeoslavica 6 (1998) 234–252.
- SIMELIDIS 2019 C. SIMELIDIS: *Gregory and Nazianzus and the Christian epigram in the East*. In: Ch. Henriksen (ed.): *A Companion to Ancient Epigram*. Oxford 2019, 633–648.
- ΣΟΥΛΙΑ 2002 ΣΟΥΛΙΑ: *Βυζαντινό Λεξικό. 10<sup>ος</sup> αι. μ.Χ.*. Βασ. ΚΑΤΣΑΡΟΣ (introduc.). Εκδ. Θύραθεν. Θεσσαλονίκη 2002.
- SPIER 1997 J. SPIER: *Early Christian gems and their rediscovery*. In: C. M. Brown (ed.): *Engraved gems: survivals and revivals. Studies in the History of Art 54*. Washington 1997, 33–43.
- SNEATH 1922 H. SNEATH: *Religion and the future life. The development of the belief in life after death*. London 1922.
- ΣΠΗΛΙΩΤΗΣ 2017 Κ. ΣΠΗΛΙΩΤΗΣ: *Ἡ εἰκόνα τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ καταναλωτισμοῦ. Ὁ Μπωντριγιάρ στὸν καθρέφτη τοῦ Ντεμπόρ*. Αθήνα 2017.
- SPINGOU 2013 F. SPINGOU: *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*. Ph.D. diss. Oxford 2013.
- ΣΤΑΘΗΣ 1977 Γ. Θ. ΣΤΑΘΗΣ: *Ἡ Δεκαπεντασύλλαβος Ὑμνογραφία ἐν τῇ Βυζαντινῇ Μελopoία*. Αθήνα 1977.
- ΣΤΑΜΑΤΑΚΟΣ 1972 Ι. ΣΤΑΜΑΤΑΚΟΣ: *Λεξικὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐλληνικῆς γλώσσης*. Αθήνα 1972.
- STERNBACH 1897 L. STERNBACH: *Methodi patriarchae et Ignatii patriarchae carmina inedita*. Eos 4 (1897) 150–163.
- TAFT 1982 R. F. TAFT: *Select Bibliography on the Byzantine Liturgy of the Hours. appendix to «The Byzantine Office in the Prayerbook of New Skete»*. OrChr 48 (1982) 358–370.
- TARTAGLIA 1998 L. TARTAGLIA: *Georgios Pisides. Carmi*. Classici greci: Autori della tarda antichità e dell'età bizantina. Turin 1998.



- Θησαυροὶ Ἁγ. Ὅρους 1997  
 Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὅρους, Κατάλογος Ἐκθεσης. Θεσσαλονίκη 1997.
- THON 1986  
 N. THON: *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Ikonostase*. Zeitschrift für ostkirchliche Kunst 2 (1986) 193–207.
- ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗ 2014  
 Μ. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗ: *Ιωάννης Γεωμέτρης Ιαμβικά Ποιήματα. Κριτική Ἐκδοση, Μετάφραση και Σχόλια*. Ph.D. diss. Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης. Θεσσαλονίκη 2014.
- ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ 1993  
 Ν. Β. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ: *Ἡ βυζαντινὴ ὕμνογραφία καὶ ποίησις ἤτοι Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν βυζαντινὴν φιλολογίαν*. Τομ. 2. Θεσσαλονίκη 1993.
- ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΡΗ 2016  
 Σ. Α. ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΡΗ: *Ἡ ρητορική, ἡ τέχνη τῆς ἐπικοινωνίας ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα στο Βυζάντιο. Ἡ ἐπικαιροποίηση τῆς ρητορικῆς καὶ ἡ ἐξέλιξή τῆς*. Θεσσαλονίκη 2016.
- ΤΡΕΜΠΕΛΑΣ 1951  
 Π. Ν. ΤΡΕΜΠΕΛΑΣ: *Υπόμνημα εἰς τὸ Κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον*. Αθήνα 1951.
- ΤΡΕΜΠΕΛΑΣ 1956  
 Π. Ν. ΤΡΕΜΠΕΛΑΣ: *Υπόμνημα Εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης*. Τομ. Α'. Αθήνα 1956.
- ΤΡΕΜΠΕΛΑΣ 1959  
 Π. Ν. ΤΡΕΜΠΕΛΑΣ: *Δογματικὴ τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*. Τομ. 1. Αθήνα 1959.
- ΤΣΕΛΕΓΓΙΔΗΣ 1984  
 Δ. ΤΣΕΛΕΓΓΙΔΗΣ: *Ἡ θεολογία τῆς εἰκόνας καὶ ἡ ἀνθρωπολογικὴ σημασία τῆς*. Θεσσαλονίκη 1984.
- ΦΟΥΝΤΟΥΛΗΣ 1965  
 Ι. Μ. ΦΟΥΝΤΟΥΛΗΣ: *Τὸ λειτουργικὸν ἔργον Συμεῶν τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης (Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ θεωρίαν τῆς θείας Λατρείας)*. Διατριβὴ ἐπὶ Ὑφηγεσίᾳ. Θεσσαλονίκη 1965.
- ΦΟΥΝΤΟΥΛΗΣ 1981  
 Ι. Μ. ΦΟΥΝΤΟΥΛΗΣ: *Λειτουργικὴ (Πανεπιστημιακαὶ παραδόσεις)*. Θεσσαλονίκη 1981.
- WALTZ 1957  
 P. WALTZ: *Anthologie Grecque. Première Partie. Anthologie Palatine, vol. 7 (Livres IX, Épigr. 1–358) (Collection des Universités de France, publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé)*. Paris 1957.
- WINFIELD–WINFIELD 2003  
 D. WINFIELD – J. WINFIELD: *The Church of the Panagia tou Arakos at Lagoudhera, Cyprus: The Paintings and Their Painterly Significance (DOS XXXVII)*. Washington D.C. 2003.
- WRATISLAV-MITROVIC–OKUNEV 1931  
 WRATISLAV-MITROVIC – N. OKUNEV: *La Dormition de la Vierge dans la peinture medievale orthodoxe*. BSI 3 (1931) 134–180.
- VASSIS 2005  
 I. VASSIS: *Initia Carminum Byzantinorum (Supplementa Byzantina, Texte und Forschungen 8)*. Berlin – New York 2005.
- VASSIS 2011  
 I. VASSIS: *Initia Carminum Byzantinorum. Supplementum I*. Παρεκβολαὶ 1 (2011) 187–285.

- VASSIS 2019 I. VASSIS: *George of Pisidia: the Spring of Byzantine Poetry?*. In: W. Hörandner – A. Rhoby – N. Zagklas (eds.): *A Companion to Byzantine Poetry*. Leiden – Boston 2019, 149–165.
- ΧΟΤΖΑΚΟΓΛΟΥ 2005 Χ. ΧΟΤΖΑΚΟΓΛΟΥ: *Βυζαντινή αρχιτεκτονική και τέχνη στην Κύπρο*. In: Θ. Παπαδόπουλος (ed.): *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*. Τόμ. Γ': *Βυζαντινή Κύπρος. Πίνακες*. Λευκωσία 2005, 465–787.
- ΖΗΣΗΣ 1972 Θ. ΖΗΣΗΣ: *Ἡ ἐσχατολογία τοῦ Πλάτωνος κατὰ τὸν Εὐσέβιον Καισαρείας*. Κληρονομιά 4 Α' (1972) 229–239.