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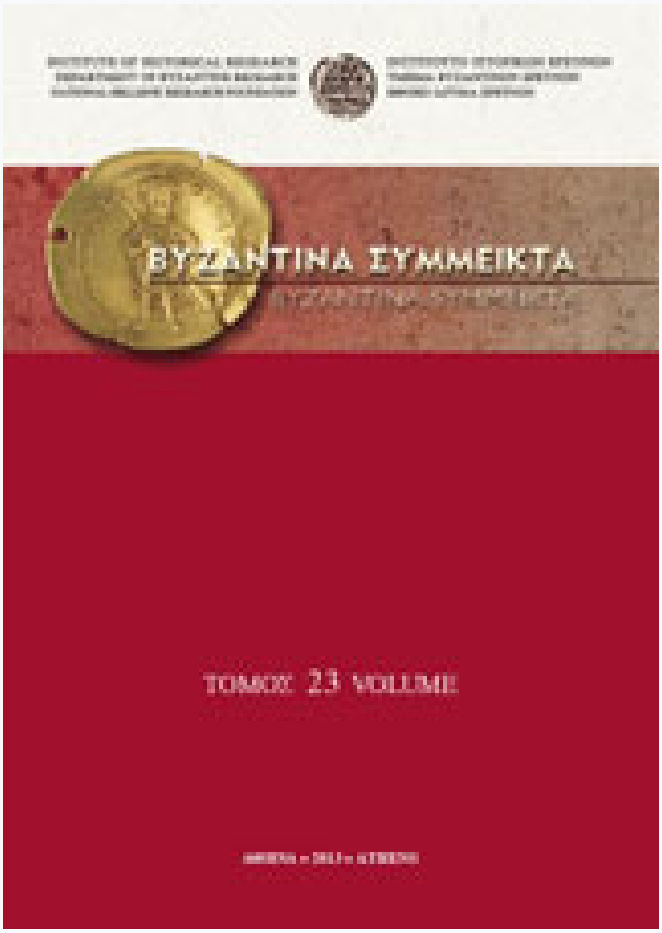

Review-article of ALEXANDRA-KYRIAKI WASSILIOU-SEIBT, Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden, Teil 1: Einleitung, Siegellegenden von Alpha bis inclusive My, Wien 2011. 619 p. with 8 plates of 80 b/w photos. ISBN 978-2-503-53443-5

Ολγα ΚΑΡΑΓΙΩΡΓΟΥ

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Apropos of a *corpus* of metrical legends on seals

Review-article of Alexandra-Kyriaki Wassiliou-Seibt, *Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden*, Teil 1: *Einleitung, Siegellegenden von Alpha bis inclusive My*, Wien 2011, 619 p. with 8 plates of 80 b/w photos. ISBN 978-2-503-53443-5*

The book by Alexandra-Kyriaki Wassiliou-Seibt (henceforward W.-S.) entitled *Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden*, Teil 1*: Einleitung, Siegellegenden von Alpha bis inclusive My* (henceforward *CByzMetrSiegel 1*) is the first part of a larger project that aspires to bring together all known (published and unpublished) metrical inscriptions on seals, presenting them according to the *incipit*, following the Greek alphabet. The volume under review (Teil 1) numbers 1464 of the almost 5000, in total, currently known metrical legends on seals (as stated by the editor in her Introduction (Einleitung, p. 32)[1]. The remaining material is scheduled to appear in two further volumes, the last one of which will also include the necessary indices on names, terms, iconography, etc. The editor obviously has an excellent overview of this abundant material, as shown in her discussion in the Introduction (esp. p. 33-45), as well as in her commentary of the individual metrical legends of the catalogue: whenever she refers to parallel examples of metrical legends, she already states in which of the two anticipated volumes they are bound

* The reviewer wishes to thank Prof. A. Berger (LMU, Munich), Dr. J. Shea (DO, Washington D.C.) and Dr. Chr. Fakas (Athens University) for taking the time to read an earlier version of this review-article, as well as Dr. I. Deligiannis (Academy of Athens) for his comments on some of the philological issues discussed in this paper. Possible errors and other blemishes within the present text are the sole responsibility of the author.

1. If we are right to suggest (cf. below: General Remarks II) that the legends treated under eight different entry nos. could have been treated under just four, then the real number of the examined legends in *CByzMetrSiegel 1* goes down to 1460. With the exception of two bilingual legends (nos. 279: Syriac-Greek and 339: Armenian-Greek), all other legends are in Greek. All of them have been struck on lead seals apart from no. 1218, which appears on a golden signet ring.

to appear. Thus, it becomes clear that the second volume (Teil 2) will include legends starting with the letter N up to some of the legends starting with the word Σφραγὶς, while the remaining legends of the latter group up to the legends starting with the letter Ω will be included in the final volume (Teil 3)[2]. There is no doubt that the completed result of this research will constitute an indispensable reference work for all future researchers in byzantine studies. Indeed, not only does it fill a long-standing *desideratum*[3]; it has also been entrusted to a scholar who has the necessary resources and, above all, the credentials to carry out such a difficult task.

As Prof. Werner Seibt notes in the opening pages (Zum Geleit) of the book under review, the close engagement of W.-S. with seals (metrical seals, in particular), goes back to her doctoral thesis, which scrutinized a total of 113 metrical legends on seals kept in Austrian collections. This material is being used in the systematic publication of the catalogue *Byzantinische Bleisiegel in Österreich*, which has been anticipated to appear in three parts, two of which have already been published[4]. The idea of compiling a *Corpus* of all known metrical legends on byzantine seals developed in parallel to the preparation of the latter project and was deemed necessary, as well as feasible, not just on the basis of the scholarly groundwork that W.-S. has already accomplished, but also on a number of important resources at hand, which Prof. Werner Seibt has been able to secure for the Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Abteilung Byzanzforschung of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. These resources include the photographic archive of V. Laurent and a copy of his valuable fichier on metrical seals (in the *CByzMetrSiegel 1* W.-S. makes ca. 40 references to it), as well as photos of a significant number of seals from the Zacos collection that enriched the valuable Wiener Siegel-Photothek,

2. On the cover of the book under review it is clearly stated that this is the first part (Teil 1) of the series WBS, Band XXVIII. Thus, a more correct reference to the two forthcoming volumes of this project would be Band XXVIII.2 (or simply Teil 2) and Band XXVIII.3 (or simply Teil 3), instead of Bd. II and Bd. III, respectively, as often stated in the Introduction and the commentary of the individual legends [cf. nos. 72, 76, 181, 194, 275, 357, 551, 695, 852, 859, 889 (2. Bd.), 988, 1023, 1037, 1038, 1052, 1058, 1070, 1071, 1074, 1076, 1078, 1110 and 1236].

3. I. Vassis, *Initia carminum byzantinorum* [Supplementa Byzantina 8], Berlin-New York 2005, XI: «... (die) vollständige Erschließung (der metrischen Siegellegenden) wartet noch auf ihrem fachkundigen Bearbeiter». The reference to I. Vassis' work was kindly provided by Prof. Th. Antonopoulou (Athens University).

4. W. Seibt, *Die Byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich. 1.Teil: Kaiserhof*, Wien 1977; W. Seibt, A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich, 2.Teil: Zentral- und Provinzialverwaltung*, Wien 2004. W.-S.'s work on metrical seals has and will be taken into account in the second and the third (forthcoming) part of this project.

comprising photos of almost half of all existing seals today (ca. 40000 photos) - it is indicative, for example, that the *CByzMetrSiegel 1* contains over 200 references to the Wiener Siegel-Photothek. In their overwhelming majority (more than three quarters) these references concern photos of seals from the former Zacos collection, but photos of unpublished specimens in other (sometimes less known collections) are also present, e.g. Copenhagen (nos. 489, 590); Hecht, New York (no. 859), O'Hara, London (no. 15); former O'Hara, London (no. 489); Thierry, Étampes (nos. 287, 374b, 385j, 494, 562, 568, 577); Utpadel, Munich (no. 994) and a Rumanian seal (with no further comment, mentioned in the commentary of no. 1210). Also beneficial in the preparation of the volume under review is the "beehive-like" working environment at the Institut für Mittelalterforschung, which hosts successfully a number of other research projects highly important to Byzantine Studies. W.-S. is to be congratulated on the fact that she brings her own research into a very productive dialogue with these projects, especially the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* (cf. for example the commentary on nos. 897, 910, 994, 1232) and the *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung* (cf. the chapter on "Metrik", esp. fn. 35, as well as the commentary on nos. 700, 743)[5].

The thirty pages long Introduction (Einleitung, p. 31-60) of the volume under review, which has been divided into eight small chapters, sets out with remarkable precision and clarity all the necessary information concerning metrical inscriptions on seals, in general, as well as the scope of the project, in particular. In the **first chapter** (Definition und bisheriger Forschungsstand, p. 31-33), W.-S. states that her objective is to offer an edition of all known (published and unpublished) seals according to the principles set by modern sigillographic studies. While sketching out the current state of research, W.-S. reminds us that the pioneer in the study of metrical legends as early as the 1890s was W. Froehner, while the undisputable leader in this field is V. Laurent with his publication of more than 700 seals with metrical legends in 1932. In the **second chapter** (Chronologische Eingrenzung, p. 33-35), W.-S. offers the reader a short (13 examples in total), but very valuable list of metrical legends on seals, all dated between the 8th and the 10th c.[6], which clearly demonstrate that legends in verse

5. The contribution of historical geography to the etymology of Byzantine family names is underlined by the direct testimony of the owner of the metrical legend under no. 1202, who clearly informs us that his last name derives from his place of origin!

6. Eight of these legends appear also in the very useful study of eleven early seals with metrical inscriptions published by the editor in *Ἤπειρόνδε, Proceedings of the 10th International Symposium of Byzantine Sigillography* (Ioannina, 1-3 October 2009), ed. Chr. Stavrakos – B. Papadopoulou, Wiesbaden 2011, 221-236 (cf. esp. nos. 1, 2, 4, 6-8, 10-11). Another legend that must be added to this interesting group is the one examined under no. 750 of the volume under review, dated in 720-741.

appeared on seals well before the middle of the 11th c. (V. Laurent had placed their first appearance in the second half of the same century). In the **third chapter** (Inhalt und Form, p. 35-38), W.-S. uses specific examples in order to remind the reader of the two basic categories of metrical legends on seals as defined by Hunger: (a) legends with a *genitivus possessivus* without a *verbum finitum*, expressing ownership of the seal, and (b) legends with a *verbum finitum*, transitive or intransitive with variable content. W.-S. discusses the fairly large and distinctive group of the so-called anonymous metrical seal legends, i.e. those that do not reveal the identity of the owner of the seal, in the **fourth chapter** (Anonyme metrische Siegellegenden, p. 38-45), separating them into three subgroups[7]: (a) legends that prompt the receiver of the document to look at the seal or open the document, in order to inform themselves on the identity of the sender; (b) legends that express the supplication of the anonymous owner of the seal to God, the Theotokos or the various saints; and (c) legends, where the depicted holy figures (Theotokos, saints, the cross) take up the role of a guardian or of the seal itself. The editor brings also into the discussion two more, very interesting sub-groups. The first one includes those legends whose first part, the anonymous one, appears on the obverse, while the second part, introducing the owner of the seal, appears on the reverse. The second sub-group is formed by (what we would prefer to call) *semi-anonymous legends*, as these usually inform the reader on the office(s)/title(s) and the geographical jurisdiction of the owner of the seal without revealing his first and/or family name. The afore-mentioned categorization of the anonymous metrical legends on seals is accompanied by a thorough discussion on their purpose and meaning, where W.-S. puts forward some fresh and very convincing suggestions. In the **fifth chapter** (Sprache und Rhetorik, p. 45-51), W.-S. discusses the various literary figures of speech and rhetorical devices encountered in metrical legends (e.g. *alliteration, anacoluthon, homoioteleuton, hyperbaton, metaphor, metonymy, paronomasia, tautology*, etc.), as well the conscious use of words and citations from the ancient Greek and biblical literature. In this respect, metrical seals become a first-rate source for Byzantium's social history, reflecting the status and educational level of their compilers, as well as their (antiquarian or religious) literary preferences. In the **sixth chapter** (Metrik, p. 51-57), W.-S. discusses the metre of the verses on seals and observes that, in their overwhelming majority, these are dodecasyllable. Examples of the fifteen-syllable verse (otherwise known as *στίχος πολιτικὸς*) are also present,

7. A usual convention among sigillographers is to designate as "anonymous" also the seals that do not preserve the name of their owner, due to their bad state of preservation. We believe that it is important to make a distinction between the accidental and intentional anonymity expressed in the legends discussed in the fifth chapter of *CByzMetrSiegel1* and we would, therefore, propose the designation *intentionally anonymous seal legends* for the latter group.

but their number is smaller and they appear later (the earliest fifteen-syllable legends date from the second half of the 10th c.; the earliest dodecasyllable ones at least two centuries before). The *CbyzMetrSiegel 1* contains also the only, so far known, example of a metrical seal legend in hexameter (cf. no. 1138), dated in the first half of the 12th c. Worth noting is that the compilers of the dodecasyllable seal legends do not hesitate to 'destroy' their metre, if and when important information (e.g. on a newly acquired title, the latest promotion or an invocation) has to be added to an otherwise perfectly formed verse (cf. for example the entries nos. 60, 163, 265-266, 617, 990, 1257, 1370, 1379, 1403). W.-S. ends this chapter with the important note that in the *CbyzMetrSiegel 1* she has also collected legends whose structure shows a certain rhythm, despite the fact than they cannot be strictly designated as verses. The strong relation (even "harmony" in the editor's words) that exists between the verse and the image on metrical seals is analysed with specific examples in the **seventh chapter** (Relation zwischen Bild und Text. Ikonographie, p. 57-59)[8]. The Introduction concludes with some practical information on the critical signs and the method that has been followed in the presentation of the material (Aufbau der Lemmata, p. 59-60).

In the main catalogue that follows thereafter, each metrical legend receives a thorough commentary preceded by a brief description of the seal(s) bearing the legend under discussion and information on the present location (if known) of these specimens, their previous editions and proposed date (Dat.) [if unpublished, W.-S. offers a date only if she were able to inspect the specimen(s) under discussion – otherwise, no date is given (this is the case in a total of 101 entries)]. The statistics of the metrical legends included in the *CbyzMetrSiegel 1* according to the *incipit*, are as follows:

A: 1-174	174 legends	
B: 175-221	47 legends	
Γ: 222-597	376 legends:	legends beginning with the nouns Γραφὰς, Γραφὴ(ν) and Γραφῶν have in this section the lion's share, as they number 219, 21 and 53 legends, respectively.
Δ: 598-672	75 legends	
E: 673-834	162 legends	
Z: 835-840	6 legends	
H: 841-869	29 legends	
Θ: 870-957	88 legends	
I: 958-1083	126 legends	
K: 1084-1244	161 legends	
Λ: 1245-1340	96 legends	
M:1341-1464	124 legends	
Total	**1464 legends**	

8. Very characteristic examples of this close relationship between image and text in the volume under review are offered by the legends nos. 502, 950, 958, 1006 and 1356.

GENERAL REMARKS (I-V)

(I) 'Missing' metrical legends

The first question that naturally springs to mind when one browses through a *corpus* is to what extent this comprises all relevant items. The reviewer would have never been able to cross-check the *plethora* of published and unpublished collections that W.-S. consulted in order to collect her material for the volume under review; thus, we confined our check to the following three publications, all of which examine seals in Greek collections:

(1) I. Κολτσιδα-Μακρη, *Βυζαντινὰ μολυβδόβουλλα συλλογῆς Ὀρφανίδη-Νικολαΐδη Νομισματικοῦ Μουσείου Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens 1996 (henceforward Koltsida-Makre).

(2) Ch. Stavrakos, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel mit Familiennamen aus der Sammlung des Numismatischen Museums Athen* (Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantintistik 4), Wiesbaden 2000 (henceforward Stavrakos, *FamiliennamenANM*).

(3) Ch. Stavrakos, *Die Byzantinischen Bleisiegel der Sammlung Savvas Kophopoulos. Eine Siegelsammlung auf der Insel Lesbos*, Turnhout 2010 (henceforward Stavrakos, *Koph.*).

Of the thirty-seven legends listed in Koltsida-Makre's index of metrical seals with *incipit* A to M, the following six (cited by catalogue number) do not appear in the *CByzMetrSiegel1*: Koltsida-Makre 171, 51, 385, 55, 317 and 430. During our cross-check, we naturally took into account the review of Koltsida-Makre's book in *BZ* 91 (1998), 146-150 (by W. Seibt and A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt) and this is why we do not include in the group of the afore-mentioned six missing metrical legends the three seals of the Ophanides-Nikolaides collection (cf. Koltsida-Makre 389-391) bearing the inscription *Λέοντα Παρθένε σκέποις* (this was reconstructed by the reviewers of Koltsida-Makre as *Τὸν Σκυλίτζην Λέοντα, παρθένε σκέποις* and is, therefore expected to appear in the forthcoming *CByzMetrSiegel3*)[9]. Of the sixty-five legends with *incipit* A to M included in Stavrakos, *FamiliennamenANM* index of metrical legends, all but two appear in the *CByzMetrSiegel1*. Of the two missing metrical legends the first one, reading *Γεώργιον πάναγνε τὸν Πλευρῆν σκέπε* is found on an unpublished seal of the Fogg collection (cf. Stavrakos, *FamiliennamenANM* 211); the other one, reading *Ἰωάννου σεβαστοῦ σφραγὶς τοῦ Δούκα* has been engraved on an unpublished specimen of the Shaw collection (cf. Stavrakos, *FamiliennamenANM* 68). The index of metrical seals with *incipit*

9. During this cross-check it also became obvious that Koltsida-Makre's index of metrical seals does not include the legends *Κρήτης πρόεδρον ὡς ὁμώνυμον σκέποις* (Koltsida-Makre 256, cf. *CByzMetrSiegel1*, no. 1143) and *Μιχαὴλ ἀνθύπατος Ἀτταλειάτης* (Koltsida-Makre 172, cf. *CByzMetrSiegel1*, no. 1442).

A to M in Stavrakos, *Koph.* includes six metrical legends, all of which appear in the *CByzMetrSiegel 1* (cf. nos. 126, 441, 554, 608, 795 and 1356). However, in the commentary of the first legend (no. 126), which reads *Ἀποστόλων σκέποις με, δυὰς ἁγία, Τορνίκιον πρόεδρον ἐκ πάσης βλάβης*, W.-S. does not mention the specimen Kophopoulos 59 (cf. Stavrakos, *Koph.* 48), among the seals bearing it.

The reviewer would like to stress that she holds the number of the detected omissions negligible with regard to the herculean task that W.-S. has undertaken. A *corpus* of this magnitude is bound to receive *Addenda et Corrigenda*, including not just known (published or unpublished) metrical legends that may have escaped the eye of the editor, but also future discoveries of brand new legends on previously unknown specimens (e.g. excavation finds). We sincerely hope, therefore, that the material included in this and the subsequent two volumes will soon appear in a digitised database, widely accessible through the internet, which will facilitate new additions and/or alterations that may be deemed necessary as sigillographic studies advance and new seals come to light.

(II) Legends that could have been grouped under one and the same entry

In the following four cases, we believe that W.-S. should have examined a metrical legend under one (rather than two different) entries.

Nos. 950+1378: Under no. 1378, W.-S. lists the legend that she has already examined under the entry no. 950, the only difference being that the verse that she assigned to the reverse of the seal under no. 950, appears under no. 1378 on the obverse. Since, however, the two verses reading *Θύτην, δορὰ θύματος ἡ χλαμύς, σκέπ(οι)ς* | *Μεσοποταμίτ᾽ ἔκγονον Κωνσταντῖνον* elucidate the more general content of the verse *Μάρτυς ὁ μάρτυς καὶ γραφῶν καὶ πρακτέων*, it would be better (also on the basis of what W.-S. writes in her Introduction, cf. esp. p. 42-44) to place the latter on the obverse of the seal and thus, examine this legend only under no. 1378.

Nos. 1029+1042: These two entry numbers present the two proposed readings of one and the same legend, appearing on a specimen kept at the Ermitaž, M-7995. What differs is the type of the family name, which may read as Nikoniates or Ikoniates. In any case, the lettering on the seal supports the first reading (although Nikoniates is not attested on any other sources, in contrast to Ikoniates, cf. e.g. the legend under no. 1205). Consequently, this legend should have been treated under one entry number, explaining in the accompanying commentary the possible double reading of the last name of the owner.

Nos. 1053+1065: The same observation applies to the legends treated under nos. 1053 and 1065, which actually offer two different proposed readings for the legend on one and the same seal of the Fogg collection (Fogg 3650).

Nos. 1172+1173. One could even group under one entry the legends nos. 1172

and 1173, since the only difference between them, an extra "καί" in the legend no. 1173, is an obvious mistake by the engraver.

(III) On (what we would call) the *acephalous metrical legends*

Within the *CByzMetrSiegel 1* we came across five entries (nos. 100, 1247, 1280, 1341 and 1446), which present metrical inscriptions whose beginning is lost. W.-S. has opted for placing these legends within the *CByzMetrSiegel 1* alphabetically, according to the first letter of the preserved *incipit*. In our view, it would have been more useful to group all such cases separately under a section entitled *An ihrem Anfang fragmentarischen Inschriften*, as this would probably facilitate comparisons and possible identifications with parallel metrical inscriptions that might appear in the future.

(IV) On the form of references to other (parallel) specimens

A complete reference to a seal should include the specific name and geographical location of the collection where it is kept, as well as its inventory number therein. However, under S. (Sammlungen), whenever referring to specimens kept in Athenian collections, in particular, W.-S. notes only "Athen" with no further details. Thus, the reader is unable to understand immediately (unless he/she is well acquainted with the scholarly literature that follows under Ed.), in which collection the specimen under discussion is kept. As a more complete type of references, we would propose Athen, ByzM (inventory number) (for all specimens kept in the Athens Byzantine Museum); Athen, Benaki (inventory number) (for all specimens kept in the Benaki Museum); Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. (inventory number) (for all specimens of the Orphanides-Nikolaides collection at the Athens Numismatic Museum), Athen, NM, Stamoules K(number) and Athen, NM, K(number) (where the number preceded by K is not the museum's inventory number, but the number given to these specimens in the well-known editions by Konstantopoulos, this being a well established convention among sigillographers). Consequently, the simple "Athen" in the entries of the *CByzMetrSiegel 1* concerning specimens at the Athens Numismatic Museum should be changed accordingly to what is shown in the brackets: no. 8 (Athen, NM, K623a), no. 41 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 22), no. 60 (Athen, NM, K390), no. 96a (Athen, NM, K286), 108 (Athen, NM, K636a), no. 110 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 545), no. 112 (Athen, NM, K603), no. 136 (Athen, NM, K606), no. 137a (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 515), no. 158a (Athen, NM, K493), no. 165 (Athen, NM, K609β), no. 204 (Athen, NM, K601α), no. 229 (Athen, NM, K681), no. 236a (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 231), no. 236c (Athen, NM, K623), no. 244 (Athen, NM, K676), no. 329 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 496), no. 377 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 494), no. 381g (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 526), no. 382 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 524), no. 384 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 533), no. 385i

(Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 149), no. 385k (Athen, NM, K933), no. 385r (Athen, NM, K939a and Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 472 und 473), no. 434 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 53), no. 657 (Athen, Benaki, MM 13922), no. 720 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 497), no. 736 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 84), no. 926 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 569), no. 935 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 488), no. 1011 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 403), no. 1039 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 453), no. 1069 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 30), no. 1084 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 239), no. 1102 (Athen, NM, K1010), no. 1131 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 388), no. 1135 (Athen, NM, Stamoules K109), no. 1143 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 535), no. 1168 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 347 and 348), no. 1182 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 468), no. 1320 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 171), no. 1323 (Athen, NM, K1146), no. 1391 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 457), no. 1395 (Athen, NM, Stamoules K111), no. 1398 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 513), no. 1407 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 562), no. 1411 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 8), no. 1429 (Athen, ByzM, inv. no. not stated), no. 1431 (Athen, NM, K952-953), no. 1442 (Athen, NM, Orph.-Nik. 449), no. 1443 (Athen, NM, K316). Accordingly, the reference to specimens in the Kophopoulos collection should be of the type "Lesbos, Kophopoulos (inventory number)", cf. no. 554 (Lesbos, Kophopoulos 82), no. 608 (Lesbos, Kophopoulos 98), no. 1356 (Lesbos, Kophopoulos 15).

Another remark on the form of reference to seals concerns certain specimens kept at DO. In one hundred and forty cases, W.-S. refers to them by using the number of their photo negative, rather than their accession number, a practice that causes confusion as the same specimen appears with different numbers in various publications[10]. Below, we offer a list of these numbers of photo negatives and the relevant entry no. in the *CByzMetrSiegel 1* under which they appear (in brackets)[11].

1) D.O. Neg. Nr. 54.11.02-1370 (W.-S., no. 705)
2) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.63.07-2378 (W.-S., no. 136)
3) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.65.09-2562 (W.-S., no. 642)
4) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.01-2824 (W.-S., no. 123)
5) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.01-2828 (W.-S., no. 520)
6) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.01-2831a (W.-S., no. 524c)
7) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.01-2842 (W.-S., no. 761)
8) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.01-2846a (W.-S., no. 868b)
9) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.02-2848 (W.-S., no. 1112a)
10) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.02-2850 (W.-S., no. 1431)

10. This review point was first raised by J. Nesbitt in *Speculum* 2000, 997. Cf. also *BZ* 99.2 (2006), 697.

11. Despite our best efforts, a "translation" of these numbers into proper accession numbers was not possible within the time limits for the preparation of this review. We were, however, able to retrieve two proper accession numbers (of. nos. 23 and 32 in the list that follows) as these have been quoted in *BZ* 99.2 (2006), 698.

11) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.03-2914 (W.-S., no. 37)
12) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.03-2926 (W.-S., no. 341)
13) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.04-2941 (W.-S., no. 385j)
14) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.04-2963 (W.-S., no. 626)
15) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.04-2967 (W.-S., no. 683a)
16) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.04-2968 (W.-S., no. 692)
17) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.05-2971 (W.-S., no. 816)
18) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.05-2973 (W.-S., no. 893)
19) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.05-2975a (W.-S., no. 985)
20) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.05-2982 (W.-S., no. 1290)
21) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.10-3075 (W.-S., no. 2)
22) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.10-3080 (W.-S., no. 81)
23) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.11-3083α (not 55.87.3083α) (W.-S., no. 125)= D.O. 55.1.3809
24) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.11-3089 (W.-S., no. 195)
25) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.11-3096 (W.-S., no. 274)
26) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.12-3098 (W.-S., no. 315)
27) D.O. Neg. Nr. 55.87.12-3104 (W.-S., no. 390p)
28) D.O. Neg. Nr. 56.55.09-3188 (not 56.55-3188) (W.-S., no. 263)
29) D.O. Neg. Nr. 56.55.01-3105 (W.-S., no. 450)
30) D.O. Neg. Nr. 56.55.01-3107 (W.-S., no. 457)
31) D.O. Neg. Nr. 56.55.02-3122 (W.-S., no. 665)
32) D.O. Neg. Nr. 56.55.02-3123 (W.-S., no. 682)**= D.O. 55.1.3860**
33) D.O. Neg. Nr. 56.55.03-3127 (W.-S., no. 754b)
34) D.O. Neg. Nr. 56.55.03-3135 (W.-S., no. 956)
35) D.O. Neg. Nr. 56.55.04-3140 (W.-S., no. 976)
36) D.O. Neg. Nr. 56.55.04-3144a (W.-S., no. 1007)
37) D.O. Neg. Nr. 56.55.05-3154 (W.-S., no. 1145)
38) D.O. Neg. Nr. 56.55.06-3159 (W.-S., no. 1244)
39) D.O. Neg. Nr. 56.55.06-3160a (W.-S., no. 1217a)
40) D.O. Neg. Nr. 56.55.06-3161 (W.-S., no. 1221)
41) D.O. Neg. Nr. 57.96.07-3266 (W.-S., no. 1031)
42) D.O. Neg. Nr. 57.96.09-3284 (W.-S., no. 1236)
43) D.O. Neg. Nr. 57.96.10-3307 (W.-S., no. 370)
44) D.O. Neg. Nr. 57.96.11-3312 (W.-S., no. 971)
45) D.O. Neg. Nr. 57.96.12-3345a (W.-S., no. 434)
46) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.109.24-2594 (W.-S., no. 1040)
47) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.116.01-2612 (W.-S., no. 588)
48) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.128.10-2798 (W.-S., no. 640)
49) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.128.13-2826 (W.-S., no. 157)
50) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.128.13-2827a-d (W.-S., no. 512)
51) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.128.14-2829 (W.-S., no. 523)
52) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.128.14-2830 (W.-S., no. 524a)

53) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.128.14-2831b-c (W.-S., no. 524c)
54) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.128.14-2832 (W.-S., no. 605c)
55) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.128.14-2835 (W.-S., no. 711b)
56) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.128.15-2836 (W.-S., no. 711d)
57) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.128.15-2840 (W.-S., no. 728)
58) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.128.15-2843 (W.-S., no. 764b)
59) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.128.15-2844 (W.-S., no. 764a)
60) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.128.21-2846b (W.-S., no. 868d)
61) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.128.21-2846c, d (W.-S., no. 868c)
62) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.128.21-2847 (W.-S., no. 1111)
63) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.128.21-2849 (W.-S., no. 1112b)
64) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.01-2911 (W.-S., no. 15b)
65) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.01-2912 (W.-S., no. 34)
66) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.02-2915 (W.-S., no. 149)
67) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.02-2917a, b (W.-S., no. 243)
68) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.03-2920 (W.-S., no. 296a)
69) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.03-2925a, b (W.-S., no. 334)
70) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.03-2928a, b (W.-S., no. 361b)
71) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.04-2931a, b (W.-S., no. 369e)
72) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.04-2936a, b, c (W.-S., no. 381o)
73) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.05-2937 (W.-S., no. 381l)
74) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.05-2938a, b (W.-S., no. 385h)
75) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.05-2942a (W.-S., no. 390l)
76) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.05-2942b (W.-S., no. 390m)
77) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.05-2949a, b, c (W.-S., no. 398b)
78) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.06-2952 (W.-S., no. 400b)
79) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.06-2956 (W.-S., no. 489)
80) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.06-2957 (W.-S., no. 490)
81) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.06-2958 (W.-S., no. 496)
82) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.07-2959 (W.-S., no. 544)
83) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.07-2960 (W.-S., no. 570)
84) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.07-2961 (W.-S., no. 621a)
85) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.07-2962 (W.-S., no. 625)
86) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.08-2970 (W.-S., no. 785)
87) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.08-2972 (W.-S., no. 851b)
88) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.08-2977 (W.-S., no. 1034)
89) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.09-2981 (W.-S., no. 1289)
90) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.09-2983 (W.-S., no. 1324)
91) D.O. Neg. Nr. 59.130.09-2986 (W.-S., no. 1337)
92) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.10.02-3033a (W.-S., no. 1152)
93) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.10.06-3061 (W.-S., no. 1152)
94) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.10.10-3079 (W.-S., no. 80)

95) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.10.10-3081 (not 60.10-3081) (W.-S., no. 86)
96) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.10.10-3084 (W.-S., no. 136)
97) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.10.10-3086 (W.-S., no. 188)
98) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.10.11-3088 (W.-S., no. 193)
99) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.10.11-3092 (W.-S., no. 236c)
100) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.10.12-3101 (W.-S., no. 429)
101) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.10.12-3106 (W.-S., no. 455)
102) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.10.12-3109 (W.-S., no. 467)
103) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.10.12-3112 (W.-S., no. 513)
104) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.06-3144b (not 60.18.3144b) (W.-S., no. 1007)
105) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.01-3113 (W.-S., no. 548)
106) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.01-3114a-c (W.-S., no. 553b)
107) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.02-3116a, b (W.-S., no. 577a)
108) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.03-3129 (W.-S., no. 800)
109) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.04-3134 (W.-S., no. 904)
110) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.04-3142 (W.-S., no. 998)
111) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.05-3145 (W.-S., no. 1012)
112) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.05-3150 (W.-S., no. 1058)
113) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.05-3151 (W.-S., no. 1071)
114) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.06-3156 (W.-S., no. 1187)
115) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.06-3158 (W.-S., no. 1205)
116) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.06-3163 (W.-S., no. 1232)
117) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.07-3165 (W.-S., no. 1231)
118) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.07-3167 (W.-S., no. 1254)
119) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.12-3209 (W.-S., no. 1071)
120) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.14-3221 (W.-S., no. 1037)
121) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.18-3264 (W.-S., no. 975)
122) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.23.02-3289 (W.-S., no. 1156c)
123) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.23.04-3305 (W.-S., no. 99)
124) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.23.04-3306 (W.-S., no. 161)
125) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.23.04-3308a (W.-S., no. 485)
126) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.23.05-3311 (W.-S., no. 939)
127) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.23.09-3345b, c, h (W.-S., no. 434)
128) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.23.10-3357 (W.-S., no. 1038)
129) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.23.12-3381a, b (W.-S., no. 1094)
130) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.23.18-3652 (W.-S., no. 1100)
131) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.23.23-4027 (W.-S., no. 465)
132) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.23.24-4029 (W.-S., no. 550)
133) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.23.24-4031 (W.-S., no. 769)
134) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.43.4030 (should probably change to 60.23.24-4030) (W.-S., no. 585)
135) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.70.01-4036 (W.-S., no. 1072a)
136) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.70.13-4096 (W.-S., no. 595)

137) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.84.04-2966bis (W.-S., no. 666a)
138) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.88.04-3648 (W.-S., no. 483)
139) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.88.05-3656 (W.-S., no. 922)
140) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.88.06-3686 (W.-S., no. 279)

(V) On the identification of the narrator and/or sealer in metrical legends

The legend *Γραφὰς σφραγίζω Χ(ριστὸ)ς τοῦ Κων(σταντίνου)* (*CByzMetrSiegel 1*, no. 502) is worth noting as one of the metrical legends where the identity of the narrator, who is simultaneously the sealer of Konstantine's writings, is clearly stated. In other cases, the identification of the narrator and/or sealer becomes clear through the syntax, the general context of the legend or the dialogue that develops between the legend and the iconography of the seal. Thus, the use of a *nominativus absolutus* in the legends under nos. 505 (*Γρα[φ]ὰς σφρα[γί]ζων (καὶ) [λ]όγους Κων(σταντῖνος)*; obv.: the Crucifixion), 509 (*Γραφ(ὰς) χαράπ(τ)(ω)ν | (καὶ) λόγους Κωνσταντῖν(ος)*) or 894 (*Θεόδωρος σφραγίσ(ας) ὁ Συναχέρις*; obv.: St. Theodoros) leaves no doubt about the identity of the narrator/sealer. In the legends nos. 679 (*Ἐγὼ σφράγ(ισ) μ[α] (καὶ) σκέπ(η) Νικολ(άῳ)*; obv.: St. Nikolaos) and 680 (*Ἐγὼ σφράγι(σ)μα (καὶ) σκέπη Χριστοφόρου*; obv.: Theotokos Episkepsis), the personal pronoun ἐγὼ can only refer to the holy persons depicted on the obverse, since in both cases these are designated also as the σκέπη of the owner (a personified seal cannot take up such a role). Another telling example is offered by the legend no. 673 (*Ἐγὼ Κομνηνοῦ τὸ κράτος Νικηφόρου φέρων σπάθην σφάττουσαν, οὓς ἐχθροὺς ἔχει*), which relates directly to the iconography on the obverse of the seal (the sword-bearing St. Demetrios), leaving thus no doubt on the identity of the active agent.

In the overwhelming majority of metrical legends, however, the identity of the narrator and/or sealer is not so clear. In such cases, the editor of the *CByzMetrSiegel 1* opts for the following rule of thumb: whenever the metrical legend extends on both sides of the seal, she holds the personified seal ["Das Siegel spricht (Ich-Form)"] as the narrator (speaker) and consequently as the conveyor of validity on the writings and acts of the owner; if, however, the metrical legend appears only on the reverse, she prefers to assign this same role to the holy person(s) depicted on the obverse. This practice is well exemplified in the commentary, for example, of the legends nos. 532 (specimens a-c: *Γραφῆς φράσις κ(αὶ) Κραγένου(ς) σφραγὶς πέλω*; obv.: St. Georgios, specimen d: *Γραφῆς φράσις κ(αὶ) Κραγέ | νους σφραγ(ὶς) πέλω*) and 683 (specimens a-b: *Ἐγὼ τὸ κῦρος | τῶν γραφῶν Ἰω(άννου)*, specimen c: *Ἐγὼ τὸ κῦρος τῶν γραφῶν Ἰω[ά]ννου*; obv.: Theotokos Episkepsis).[12]

12. It is on the grounds of the implementation of this rule of thumb that W.-S. prefers to reconstruct the verb of the legend under no. 1263 as τηρῶ (instead of φέρω, as given in *DOSeals* III 71.27). We do not hold this as a necessary reconstruction and we believe that

This line of thought, although interesting, cannot be applied, in our view, in all cases. A telling argument in this respect is offered by seals with metrical legends on their reverse whose verb is in the third-person singular, despite the fact that their obverse depicts more than one saints, e.g. nos. 304 (obv.: standing figures of Sts. Basileios and Nikolaos, but *βεβαιῶ*), 374a (obv.: standing figures of Sts. Georgios, Gregorios Theologos and Demetrios, but *σφραγίζω*), 388 (obv.: standing figures of Sts. Georgios and Theodoros, but *σφραγίζω*), 459 (obv.: standing figures of two military saints, but σφραγίζω), 492 (obv.: standing figures of Sts. Nikolaos, Georgios and Ioannes Prodromos, but *σφραγίζω*). If these saints were indeed the sealers, then the verb of the legend should have been in the plural. Such cases, with a direct link between the (more than one) saints on the obverse and the legend on the reverse, do exist as exemplified by the legends under nos. 556 (with a clear reference to the three holy persons depicted on the obverse), 94-95, 125 and 540 (with a verb in the second-person plural) and 669-672 (with a verb in the second-person singular, as it is dependent on the expression *δυὰς μαρτύρων*). Another argument that speaks against the strict implementation of W.-S.'s rule of thumb is offered by seals whose both sides are decorated with the bust of a saint in the central medallion, but the legend running along the circumference has a verb in the singular, as for example is the case under no. 1274 (obv.: bust of St. Nikolaos; rev.: St. Demetrios; *Λέοντος γρ*[*αφὰς*] ǀ *σφρ*(*α*)*γίζω τε* (*καὶ*) *λόγους*). In this particular case, W.-S. notes that "Der hl. Nikolaos spricht über das Siegel", but why should it be so? Should St. Demetrios be underestimated just because he is depicted on the reverse?[13]

Determining the active agent in a metrical legend should not be seen as a sterile philological exercise; on the contrary, it is of great importance for gaining a deeper insight into the mentality and religious feelings of the Byzantines themselves. We would, therefore, be inclined to propose a new scheme for the categorisation of the metrical legends on seals on the basis of their content, a scheme that goes beyond the presence or absence of a *verbum finitum* (used in Hunger's categorisation, cf. *CByzMetrSiegel 1*, p. 35ff.: Inhalt und Form), placing instead more emphasis on **who is addressing whom (and for what purpose)**. Within this scheme we hold as a safer rule of thumb to assume that the subject of the verbs in the first-person singular

both in the legend under no. 1263, as well as in the (similar in content) legend under no. 1253, it is the personified seal that speaks and thus, the verb φέρω makes perfect sense. On the other hand, W.-S. does not follow her rule of thumb in the case of the legends, for example, under nos. 736 (*Ἐμοὶ τὸ κρυφθὲν* [*τ*(*ὸν*)] *γράψαν*[*τ*]*α ἐκφέρ*(*ει*)), where she clearly states that Ἐμοὶ refers to the seal and not to the Theotokos Episkepsis depicted on the obverse), or 667 (*Δοχειαρίου κρατύνω μονῆς λόγους*), where she notes that the personified seal speaks, although the archangel Michael is depicted on the obverse.

13. For other similar examples, cf. *CByzMetrSiegel 1*, nos. 390j, 411b and 412.

contained in the legend (e.g. *πέλω*, *σφραγίζω*, *κομίζω*, etc.) is the personified seal itself, unless clearly implied otherwise. The tendency of the Byzantines to bring their seal in the flesh is very vividly illustrated in many examples within the large group of the *intentionally* anonymous seal legends, which prompt the receiver of the document to open it (cf. *CByzMetrSiegel 1*, p. 38ff.: Anonyme metrische Siegellegenden) and even more in legends such as nos. 1120 and 1149 (where the personified seal introduces its owner to the reader), or no. 1159 (where the personified seal takes up the role of an intercessor to God for the sake of its owner!). Of equal importance within the proposed categorisation scheme is our observation that many of the metrical legends employ illeism. By using this literary device, which imparts a certain degree of humility and objective impartiality, the owner of the seal dismisses his/her own importance in relation to the addressee - another telling observation concerning the ideology of the Byzantines. In view of the above, a working plan on the categorisation of metrical seal legends on the basis of their content may be articulated as follows:

Who speaks?

I. THE HOLY PERSON(S) depicted on the obverse, in order to

I.A. confirm his/her/their role as guardian(s)/sealer(s) of the writings of the owner of the seal

I.B. intercede on behalf of the owner of the seal

II. THE OWNER(S) of the seal

II.A. AS SUPPLICANT(S), using direct speech or illeism, addressing

II.A.1. Holy persons

II.A.1.1 God, Jesus Christ

II.A.1.2. God, Jesus Christ with other holy person(s) as intercessors

II.A.1.3. Virgin Mary alone

II.A.1.4. Virgin Mary with other holy person(s) as intercessors

II.A.1.5. One holy person

II.A.1.6. A combination of more than one holy persons

II.A.2. Sacred symbols

II.A.2.1. The Hand of God

II.A.2.2. The cross

II.B. AS NON-SUPPLICANT(S), using direct speech or illeism, addressing

II.B.1. the reader of the seal and/or addressee to express ownership or other information

II.B.2. Non-animate figures (e.g. their home city, the verses of their legend, etc.)

III. THE (PERSONIFIED) SEAL, in order to
III.A. reveal its owner or describe its role
III.B. prompt the receiver of the document to open it (*intentionally* anonymous seal legends)
III.C. act as intercessor

In what follows, we have tried to implement the afore-mentioned scheme on some of the legends included in the *CByzMetrSiegel1*, especially the ones that appear in the chapter on "Inhalt und Form" (p. 35-38). It goes without saying that the examination of a far greater sample of metrical legends may further refine the structure of this scheme. Of the metrical legend mentioned below, those employing illeism are preceded by **[ille]**.

Who speaks?
I. THE HOLY PERSON(S) depicted on the obverse, in order to
II.A. confirm his/her/their role as guardian(s)/sealer(s) of the writings of the owner of the seal
Γραφὰς σφραγίζω Χ(ριστὸ)ς τοῦ Κων(σταντίνου) (no. 502)
Γραφὰς σφραγίζων (*nominativus absolutus*) *Χούμνου τοῦ Θεοδώρου* (no. 506) (obv.: St. Theodoros)
[*Ε*]*ἰμὶ* (obv: Theotokos Hodegetria) *φύλ*[*αξ*] *σοῦ καὶ γραφῶν εἰμι φύλαξ* (no. 700)
Ἐμὸς τύπος (obv: St. Georgios) *σφράγισμα τοῦ συνωνή*[*μ*]*ου* (no. 737)
Ἰω(*άννης*) *πόθῳ με* (obv.: Theotokos) *τῇ βούλλῃ γράφ*(*ει*) (no. 1015)
I.B. intercede on behalf of the owner of the seal
Κ(*ύρι*)*ε β*(*οή*)*θ*(*ει*) *τὸν βουλλ*(*ώ*)*νοντα δι' ἐμὲ* (obv: the archangel Gabriel) δικαίως (no. 1156c)

II. THE OWNER(S) of the seal
II.A. AS SUPPLICANT(S), using direct speech or illeism, addressing
II.A.1. Holy persons
II.A.1.1 God, Jesus Christ
Σφραγὶς γενοῦ μοι καὶ κράτος, Θεοῦ Λόγε, | *οἰκτρῷ Μανουὴλ σεβαστῷ τῷ Διμύρῃ* (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 36 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel2*)
[ille] *Τῇ σῇ κραταιᾷ δεξιᾷ, Θεοῦ Λόγε,* | *Νικηφόρον φύλαττε τὸν σὸν οἰκέτην* (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 37 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel3*)
[ille] *Ἐν σοὶ πεποιθὼς Κασταμονίτης Λέων* | *τύχοιεν, Χ*(*ριστ*)*έ, ψυχικ*(*ῆς*) *σ*(*ωτη*)*ρίας* (no. 743)

II.A.1.2. God, Jesus Christ with other holy person(s) as intercessors

[ille] *Γεωργίου μ(άρ)τ(υρος) λιτ(αῖς) Λάζαρ(ον) σῶσ(ον), Λόγε* (no. 256)

[ille] *Σὸν Γρηγόριον οἰκέτην σῶσον, Λόγε,* | *τὸν δούκα λιταῖς μάρτυρος Θεοδώρου* (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 37 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel2*)

[ille] *Ταῖς ἱκεσίαις τοῦ μάρτυρος* (St. Theodoros), *ὦ Λόγε,* | *Χαμδούνιον φύλαττε κουροπαλάτην* (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 37 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel3*)

II.A.1.3. Virgin Mary alone

Σφραγίδα γραφῶν τῶν ἐμῶν σε, παρθένε, Στρατήγιος τίθημι Βοῦνος, ὃν σκέποις (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 36 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel2*)

[ille] *Τῶν ἐξισωτῶν τῆς Ἀχυράους, κόρη,* | *καὶ τοῦ Καράντου πρακτέα διευλύτου* (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 36 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel3*)

[ille] *Ἔσο σφραγὶς, πάναγνε, Θεοφυλάκτ(ῳ)* (no. 798a, b, c)

[ille] *Σφραγὶς γενοῦ σῷ Μιχαήλ, ἁγνή, λάτρει* (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 36 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel2*)

[ille] *Τῇ σῇ σεβαστὸς Περγαμηνὸς εἰκόνι τὸ γράμμα κυροῖ καὶ Φαρισαῖος, κόρη* (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 36 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel3*)

[ille] *Μονήν, κόρη, σὴν Παραδείσιον σκέποις* - the owner of the seal is the monastery (no. 1455)

II.A.1.4. Virgin Mary with other holy person(s) as intercessors

Εὐστάθιον, πάναγνε καὶ μύσται Λόγου, τῆς Ἀδριανοῦ τὸν θύτην σκέποιτέ με (no. 819)

[ille] *Λιταῖς Μηνᾶ μάρτ(υ)ρος, τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ Μ(ῆτ)ερ,* | *φύλαττε τὸν σὸν οἰ(κέ)την Θεοφά(νην)* (no. 1287)

II.A.1.5. One holy person

Εἰκὼν ἀθλητοῦ (St. Georgios), *Φωκᾶν με φρούρει, σκέπε* (no. 697)

Σὲ φρουρὸν τίθημι, Νικόλαε, τρισμάκαρ (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 36 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel2*)

Ψυχῆς ἐμῆς φρουρόν σε (St. John Prodromos) *καὶ γραφῶν γράφω,* | *εἰ καὶ κατ' ἄμφω, πλὴν ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς πλέον* (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 37 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel3*)

[ille] *Θερμὲ προστάτ(α)* (St. Nikolaos), *πρ(όσ)τηθι τῷ σ(ῷ) Νικήτ(α)* (no. 939)

II.A.1.6. A combination of more than one holy persons

[ille] *Ἀποσ[τόλ]ων πρώτ[ισ]τε, μαρτύρ[ω]ν κλέος* (Mark the Evangelist and St. Theodoros), *Ξηρὸν σκέποιτε Βασίλειον βεστάρχη(ν)* (no. 125)

II.A.2. Sacred symbols

II.A.2.1. The Hand of God

Φρουρὸν γραφῆς τέθεικα Χεῖρα Κυρίου, | *εἰς ὃν Μιχαὴλ ἐλπίδα πᾶσαν ἔχει*

(*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 38 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel3*)
[ille] *Ἐπισφραγίζου Μανουὴλ Μονομάχου πράξ(ει)ς, Θ(εο)ῦ χείρ* [*sic pro* Χείρ], *εἰς τέλος ταύτας μένειν* (no. 775)
[ille] *Σὸν Ἀττικὸν Λέοντα, Χεὶρ Θεοῦ, σκέποις* (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 38 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel2*)
[ille] *Χεὶρ Κυρίου, ἐπὶ κορυφὴν στῆθι τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου* (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 38 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel3*)

II.A.2.2. The cross

Φρουρὸς βίου μοι καὶ σφραγὶς σταυρὸς πέλει | ἄριστον ὅπλον τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦτο σκέπης (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 38 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel3*)
[ille] *Σταυρὸς σκέπη, φῶς, δόξα τῷ Θεοφάνει* (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 38 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel2*)

II.B. AS NON-SUPPLICANT(S), using direct speech or illeism, addressing

II.B.1. the reader of the seal and/or addressee to express ownership or other information

Γραφ(ὰς) χαράτ(τ)(ω)ν (*nominativus absolutus*) | *(καὶ) λόγους Κωνσταντῖν(ος)* (no. 509)
Γραφὴ παριστᾷ | καὶ γένος μοι καὶ τύχ(ην) (no. 515)
[ille] *Δέξαι πενιχρὸν δάνος ἐκ βασιλέων* (no. 607)
[ille] *<Ἀ>νζᾶ Μιχαὴλ σφραγίς, ὅν, σεμνή, σκέποις* (no. 111)
[ille] *Μακρεμβολίτα Μιχαήλ, γραφὰς δέχου | ἐκ τῆς σῆς ὁμευνέτιδος Εἰρήνης φίλης* (no. 1345)
[ille] *Ἄννης Κομνηνῆς ἡ σφραγὶς ἀνὰ στίχους | δι' εὐλάβειαν οὐ φέρει θείους τύπους* (no. 119)
[ille] *Εἰς κῦρος ἔργων καὶ σφραγῖ[δ]α γραμμάτων | γράμματα τυποῖ Λαχα[ν]ᾶς Ἰωάννης* (no. 704)
[ille] *Εἶχον Ραδηνὸν ἡ σφραγὶς [Ἰω]άνν(ην) | ἱλ(λ)ούστριον πρίν, νῦν δὲ (καὶ) δ(ι)κα[σπόλ(ον)]* (no. 706)
[ille] *Ἐξ εὐλαβ(εί)ας ἡ γραφὴ Νικηφόρου | στίχους ἔχει σήμαντρον, οὐ σεπτοὺς τύπους* (no. 747)
[ille] *Κυροῦσ[ι] πράξεις καὶ γραφὰς Ἀκινδύνου | τοῦ Καλαμαρᾶ δύο καὶ μόνοι στίχοι* (no. 1180)
[ille] *Ἀρταβάσδου σφράγισμα τοῦ Νικηφόρου* (no. 140)
[ille] *Σφραγὶς ἐπάρχου Παντεχνῆ Θεοδώρου | τὸ δ' ἀξίωμα πρωτονωβελισσίμου* (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 35 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel2*)
[ille] *Σφραγὶς σεβαστοῦ κρατόρων τριῶν κλάδου Κοντοστεφάνου Κομνηνανθοῦς Στεφάνου* (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 35 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel3*)
[ille] *Σφραγὶς σεβαστοῦ Κομνηνοῦ Νικηφόρου, | ὃν σαῖς λιταῖς σκέποις,*

μάρτυς Κυρίου (St. Demetrios) (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 37 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel2*)

[ille] *Σφραγὶς πέλουσα δεσπ(ό)τ(ου) Νικηφόρου* | *Ἐπισφραγίζω καὶ πεδῶ βούλλη τάδε* (no. 776). W.-S. places the legend "*Σφραγὶς πέλουσα δεσπ(ό)τ(ου) Νικηφόρου*" on the reverse of the seal, but on the analogy of the three preceding examples we would be inclined to place it on the obverse. This metrical legend is worth noting as it combines a first part in illeism, while its second part is in direct speech.

II.B.2. Non-animate figures (their home city, the verses of their legend, etc.)

Ἔχεις τροφόν με Μιχαὴλ Ἰταλόθεν | *πόλις Φιλίππου θρέμματος ἀποστόλων* - the owner addresses his home city (no. 832)

[ille] [*Ἐπι*]*σ*[*φραγ*]*ίζοις τὰ*[*ς*] *γραφὰς Ἰωάννου* | *Σ*π[*ρ*]*ατηγοπούλου, σὺ δυὰς σ*π[*ί*]*χων μόνη* (no. 773)

III. THE (PERSONIFIED) SEAL, in order to

III.A. reveal its owner or describe its role

Εὐγενειανοῦ Μιχαὴλ σφρα[*γ*(*ὶ*)*ς*] *πέ*[*λω*] (no. 800)

Γραφὰς <σ>φραγίζω τοῦ κριτοῦ Κολωνείας (no. 493)

Ἐπισφραγίζω τὰς γραφὰς Ἰωάννου, | *οὗ κλῆσις ἐστίν ἡ Χρυσουβαλαντίτ*(*ων*) (no. 778)

Τοῦ Φραγγοπώλου τὰς γραφὰς προμηνύω (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 36 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel3*)

Σεβαστὸν ἤδη καὶ δομέστικον μέγαν | *Ἀλέξιον νῦν τὸν Κομνηνὸν δεικνύω* (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 36 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel2*)

Τὸν Αἰδέσιμον ἐκ γένους Ἰωάννην | *Νέας τε χαρτουλάριον γράφω* (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 36 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel3*)

Δοχειαρίου κρατύνω μονῆς λόγους– the owner of the seal is the monastery (no. 667)

Γραφὰς σφραγίζω Χωματηνοῦ τοὐπίκλην, ἀθλητά, τοῦ σοῦ δούλου καὶ σ[*υν*]*ωνύμου* - the personified seal addresses St. Theodoros depicted on the obverse (no. 503)

[ille on the obv] *Σφραγὶς σεβαστοῦ Ἀτούμη Νικηφόρου* | *φέρω ἀετὸν ἀντὶ σημάντρου τύπον* (*CByzMetrSiegel1*, p. 37 - to appear in *CByzMetrSiegel2*).

[ille on the obv] *Γραφὴ παριστᾷ γένος* | *σὸν τύπον φέρω* - the seal addresses its owner (no. 514). The first part of the last two metrical legends (*Σφραγὶς σεβαστοῦ Ἀτούμη* and *Γραφὴ παριστᾷ γένος*) employ illeism and could, therefore, be ascribed to the owner of the seal; in this particular case, however, the illeism on the obverse may be equally assigned to the personified seal, as this is undoubtedly the subject of the continuation of these legends on the reverse.

III.B. prompt the receiver of the document to open it (*intentionally* anonymous seal legends)

Ἐμοὶ τὸ κρυφθὲν [*τ*(*ὸν*)] *γράψαν*[*τ*]*α ἐκφέρ*(*ει*) (no. 736)

Εἴ τις διελθεῖν βούλεται, νῦν ἀφόβως | *ἐμοὶ προσίτω* (*καὶ*) *σφραγῖδα λαβέτ*(*ω*) (no. 686)

III.C. act as intercessor

K(*ύρι*)*ε β*(*οή*)*θ*(*ει*) *τῷ ἔχοντί με* (no. 1159)

REMARKS ON SPECIFIC PAGES/ENTRIES

p. 56 (12th line from the top): ...Fortsetzung in einem paroxytonen Siebensilber (not Achtsilber) ...

No. 15: In the K. (Kommentar), ... Siegels (not Siels).

Nos. 126 and 1323: The obverse portrays the well-known scene of the embracing (ἐναγκαλισμός, Umarmung) or kissing (ἀσπασμός) of the two apostles, not the two apostles in *dextrarum iunctio*[14].

No. 229: W.-S. writes Πελαμ(ί)δη, while on the Athenian specimen one can clearly read Πελαμήδη, cf. also Stavrakos, *Familiennamen* *ANM* 204.

No. 236c: On the Athens specimen (NM, K623) one reads Γεώργιων, thus, the transcription of the legend should read Γεώργι(ο)ν.

No. 380: We wonder whether the ending of the verb σφραγίζω could be reconstructed as σφραγίζων (or is there not enough space for two letters?). If, however, σφραγίζων is possible, should this legend have been treated under (the identical) no. 504? Furthermore, the specimen DO 58.106.4955 is surprisingly enough listed under S. (Sammlungen) in both entries (nos. 380 and 504).

No. 385r: Under S. (Sammlungen), the correct reference to the edition of Athens (Orphanides-Nikolaides 472 und 473) is Koltsida-Makre 371 und 369, respectively (not *vice versa*).

No. 390p (esp. under Ed.): The legend of the specimen edited by Koltsida-Makre 373 (which W.-S. quotes here) depicts the bust of an unidentified military saint on the obverse and reads *Γραφὰς σφραγίζω καὶ λόγους Ἰωάννου* (not Κωνσταντίνου, as on the specimens treated under the entry no. 390). Furthermore, in their review of the edition of the Orphanides-Nikolaides sigillographic collection at the Athens Numismatic Museum by Koltsida-Makre [cf. *BZ* 91 (1998), 149], Werner Seibt and W.-S. note that the name of the owner of this specimen may also be reconstructed as

14. On seals with portraits of Sts. Peter and Paul, cf. J. Cotsonis, The contribution of byzantine lead seals to the study of the cult of the saints (sixth-twelfth centuries), *Byz* 75 (2005), 419-421 (with references to the gesture of embracing). On the old rite of the *dextrarum iunctio*, cf. A. Iacobini, *Dextrarum iunctio*. Appunti su un medaglione aureo protobizantino, *Notizie da Palazzo Albani. Rivista di storia e teoria delle arti* 20 (1991), 49-66.

Θεοδώρου (instead of Ἰωάννου). W.-S. may (in this instance) have thought of the specimen Koltsida-Makre 385 (*Γραφὰς κομίζω καὶ λόγους Κωνσταντίνου*; obv: bust of Theotokos), where, however, the verb reads securely κομίζω (not σφραγίζω – as on the legends listed under no. 390).

No. 455 (under Ed.): ... from Mystras: New (not nwe) historical...

No. 461: The information on the date of this specimen (Dat.) is missing. Laurent (V/2, 1380) proposed the 10th/11th c.

No. 535a-b: The abbreviated name of the owner is here reconstructed as Δα(υί)δ, while under No. 598a-c the editor opts for Δα(βὶ)δ.

No. 598: Under S. (Sammlungen), W.-S. notes that the Benaki Museum possesses two seals belonging to David Komnenos, one of them representing type (b) and the other one type (c). The museum, however, has only one such specimen (Benaki 13925) depicting David Komnenos seated on a folded stool and bearing the word βασιλεγγόνου on the reverse; this particular seal belongs, therefore, to type 598a.

No. 607: *Δέξαι πενιχρὸν δάνος* (instead of δῶρον) *ἐκ βασιλέων* (obv.: Christ washing the feet of the apostles). The interpretation by W.-S. that this seal/token had been used almost certainly as "Almosensiegel oder Wohltätigkeitsmarke" is very convincing, but whether βασιλέων refers to Jesus Christ (as she suggests) is a more difficult question (in such a case shouldn't it read βασιλέως?). Could βασιλέων simply refer to the imperial patronage of a public bath?

No. 618: Under K. (Kommentar), on the seal of *Ioannes Pantechnes, megas oikonomos*, now at the BnF (Zacos 488) cf. lately: J.-Cl. Cheynet, Les gestionnaires des biens impériaux: étude sociale (Xe-XIIe siècle), *TM* 16 [*Mélanges Cécile Morrisson*], Paris 2010, 203-204 (no. 34).

No. 674: Under S. (Sammlungen): Ermitaž, M-6502 (not M-5733).

No. 741: part of the 5th and 6th lines from the top of page 336 (warum esatntinos... Siegel angeführt) should be deleted.

No. 743: The starting expression *"Εν σοὶ πεποιθὼς"* is obviously inspired from the expression *"Επὶ σοὶ πεποιθὼς"* often encountered in byzantine psalms, cf. for example, Eusebius (*"ἐπὶ σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ μου πεποιθὼς"*)[15], Didymus Caecus (*"ἐπὶ σοὶ πέποιθα"*)[16], Diodorus (*"ὁ ἐπὶ σοὶ πεποιθὼς"*)[17], John of Damascus (*"ὁ πεποιθὼς ἐπὶ Κύριον, σωθήσεται"*)[18], or (contemporary to the metrical legend under review)

15. *Commentaria in Psalmos*, in *PG* 23, col. 224.

16. M. Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde. Psalmenkommentar*, pt. 2 [*Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 4. Bonn, 1968, p. 76].

17. J.-M. Olivier, *Diodori Tarsensis commentarii in psalmos. I: Commentarii in psalmos I-L*, v. 1 [CCSG 6. Turnhout, 1980, psalm 17, verse 42].

18. *Sacra parallela*, in *PG* 95, col. 1425.

St. Neophytos of Cyprus (“*ὁ ἐπὶ σοὶ πεποιθὼς*”)[19]. *Metri causa*, the preposition Ἐν replaces Ἐπὶ.

No. 772: For the legend on the obverse of the DO 58.106.11 specimen, W.-S. (following obviously Laurent’s text in *Corpus* V/1, 676), notes that “Die Buchstaben (*nur*) auf der rechten Seite der Beischrift sind kreuzförmig angeordnet”. The same layout, however, is followed by the legend to the left (Ο | ΑΓΙ | Ο | C), where the letters ΑΓΙ form the horizontal arm of the cross, as is to be clearly seen on the accompanying photo published in Laurent’s *Corpus* V/1, Pl. 92, 676.

No. 784: The translation of this legend is quite demanding. Of the two possibilities offered by the editor we hold the second one as more successful. On the basis of the scheme that we proposed above concerning the categorisation of metrical legends on seals, we would prefer to assume that here (once again) it is the owner of the seal who speaks, referring to himself in the third person (illeism). W.-S. does not offer a German translation for all the metrical legends examined in *CByzMetrSiegel1* (a direct translation or description of the content is included in the commentary of ca. seventy legends). A translation of these verses, however, is of importance as it broadens the appeal of byzantine sigillography (and by extension of byzantine studies) to the general public.

No. 796: All five known seals of Basileios Erotikos are illustrated in O. Karagiorgou, Byzantine themes and sigillography. I. The sigillographic *corpora* of the themes of Hellas, Opsikion and Armeniakon, *Bsl* LXVII (2009), 28, fig. 1. The specimen that used to be part of the Zacos collection is now kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, no. 915.

No. 798c: In *Sig.* 724c, Schlumberger comments “Sceaux communiqué par M. Lambros”, which suggests that this piece is most probably identical to the Athens, NM, K965.

No. 813: Under K. (Kommentar), ... der Kirche des hl. Ioannes Chrysostomos in Koutsoventi... (not Kutzopedi).

No. 842: In the second line of the legend κουμερκιαρί[ου] or (κ)ουμερκιαρί[ου] (instead of ουμερκιαρί[ου])

No. 844: W.-S. rightly underlines the unclear meaning of the first part of this legend «*Ἡ κλ(ει)*[*ς*] *μὲν τὴ*<*ν*> [*σ*]*φραγίδ*<*α*> *φυλά*[*τ*(*τει*)]», since the κλεὶς (for σφραγὶς) and σφραγίδα form a tautology. Provided that Laurent’s transcription is correct, we wonder whether κλεὶς could be understood as the knot, i.e. δεσμὸς (κόμπος

19. Th. Detorakes, Ἑρμηνεία τοῦ ψαλτῆρος, in I. Karabidopoulos, C. Oikonomou, D.G. Tsames and N. Zacharopoulos (eds.), *Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Συγγράμματα,* v. 4. Paphos: Ἱερὰ Βασιλικὴ καὶ Σταυροπηγιακὴ Μονὴ Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου, 2001, chapter 5, psalm 73, line 86. All references stated in fns. 15-19 were taken from the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae,* www.tlg.ucl.edu.

in modern Greek), referring to the knot made with the thread (μήρινθος) passing through its channel after the seal had been struck.

Nos. 863 and 864: Ἡ "σωστικὴ δύναμις ἡ πανταιτία" refers, according to W.-S. to God, i.e. Jesus Christ. We would entertain the view that it may also refer to the Holy Trinity, since the expression "σωστικὴ δύναμις" is encountered in the *De trinitate* by Didymus Caecus, cf. I. Seiler, *Didymus der Blinde. De trinitate, Buch 2, Kapitel 1-7* [*Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 52. Meisenheim am Glan, 1975, 1.11.4 (reference found in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae,* www.tlg.ucl.edu).

No. 913: Die Siegelinhaberin, ...ist die jüngste Tochter (not Tochtes) Alexios' III....

No. 965: In the transcription of the legend and under K. (Kommentar), the word Μαλεΐνον needs an accute accent (not circumflex).

No. 1039: Although in the review on the book by Koltsida-Makre in the *BZ* 91 (1998), 149, the name of the owner of this seal is corrected to Konstantinos, W.-S. adopts here the (erroneous?) reading of Koltsida-Makre (i.e. Ioannes) and notes that "Der Vorname Ioannes ist bisher nicht auf einem weiteren Siegeltypus bekannt".

No. 1040: The accession number of the "Oxford 59" specimen in the Ashmolean belonging to Michael Mosele is 1978.64; the obverse of this specimen bears the bust of Theotokos Hodegetria (not Episkepsis). W.-S. refers also to "Oxford 29" (Λογαριαστοῦ Συμεὼν σφραγὶς πέλω), whose accession number is 1978.114[20].

No. 1077: We would prefer to write προεξίμου, instead of Προεξίμου - unless we are supposed to interpret this as a last name (?). W.-S. interprets ὁ τοῦ Προεξίμου as a nickname (sobriquet). Provided that the lower military office of pro(e)ximos still existed in the second half of the 12th c., we wonder if the double article τοῦ τοῦ may also imply that Ioannes (the owner of this seal) was a subordinate (or close associate, or even a close relative) of a pro(e)ximos. A certain Ioannes, *imperial spatharokandidatos and proeximos of the strategos of Hellas* (beg. 11th c.) is attested on an unpublished seal at the Benaki Museum (Benaki 13856; obv: foliate patriarchal cross).

No. 1082: W.-S. understands the expression ὁ τοῦ Εὐστρατίου as a nickname (sobriquet). Would it be possible to interpret Eustratios as the father's name of Ioannes? A similar expression in the legend under no. 1294 (ὁ τοῦ Νικαίας) refers to the nephew of the metropolitan of Nicaea.

No. 1084: Under S. (Sammlungen) Fogg 2380; however, in *BZ* 91 (1998), 148 (no. 291) the same specimen is referred to as Fogg 2830.

No. 1183: Members of the family of Kladon [Κλάδων, gen. Κλάδωνος, dat. Κλάδωνι, acc. Κλάδωνα(ν)] are known already during the Middle Byzantine period. The first attested member of this family (as far as we know) is Basileios Kladon, *protospatharios and strategos of Sicily and Longobardia*, mentioned in an ἔνταλμα of the year 938,

20. We are grateful to Dr. Marlia Mundell Mango for providing the accession numbers of the Oxford specimens.

which confirmed property to bishop Ioannes of Benevento (cf. V. von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert,* Wiesbaden 1967, 28); his contemporary, Leon Kladon, was, according to Scylitzes, one of the plotters of the unsuccessful coup against Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos in December 947; in 975, Theodoros Kladon, *protospatharios epi tou magglaviou and ek prosopou of Thessalonica*, certified a document at the monastery of Iveron (Jordanov, *Corpus II*, nos. 314-317, esp. p. 211); finally, an Anonymus Kladon, *imperial protospatharios and strategos of Hellas* (second half of the 10th c.) is the owner of a seal at the Athens Numismatic Museum (K48b).

No. 1316: If the article τοῦ is omitted, then the genitive Ἐλπιδίου offers a proper dodecasyllable (B5).

No. 1319: Another possibility would be Λέοντος ἡ γραφὴ ταύτη or αὕτη.

No. 1345: The vocative of the addressee's last name needs a circumflex, Μακρεμβολῖτα. W.-S. transcribes the second part of this metrical legend on the reverse as "ἐκ τῆς σῆς ὁμευνέτιδος Εἰρήνης φίλης", commenting further that "Ohne σῆς hätte man einen korrekten Zwölfsilber". In fact, it is the τῆς that must be omitted, as it does not appear on the facsimile published by Schlumberger (*Sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris 1884, 674, no. 2), which is our only information on the physique of this seal at the moment (this specimen was part of Schlumberger's private collection, but its present location remains unknown). V. Laurent (*Les Bulles métriques dans la Sigillographie Byzantine*, Athens 1932, 84, no. 238) and H. Hunger (Die Makremboliten auf byzantinischen Bleisiegeln und in sonstigen Belegen, *SBS* 5 (1998), 20, no. 13), which W.-S. duly cites, follow also Schlumberger's facsimile and transcribe the second part of this legend as a proper 12-syllable: "ἐκ σῆς ὁμευνέτιδος Εἰρήνης φίλης".

No. 1377: In her commentary on the family name of Kalampakes, W.-S. makes a brief reference to the city of Kalampaka in western Thessaly, which, during the byzantine period, was known as Stagoi. It is not clear if W.-S. tries to bring forward a direct link between the name of this city and the family name Kalampakes. Such a link would, in our view, be problematic, since the first (known to us) mention of Kalampaka (f. Stagoi) appears more than 200 years later, i.e. in the Ottoman census of 1454/5. The city's new name seems to derive from the turkish Qalabaqqaya (meaning the rock with the cowls), which the Ottomans used when referring to the monks of the monastery of St. Stephen of Meteora, cf. N. Beldiceanu-P. S. Nâsturel, La Thessalie entre 1454/55 et 1506, *Byz* 53 (1983), 143. Kalampakes must, therefore, have been originally a nickname (sobriquet) that the owner of this seal acquired because of his dress code.

No. 1429: (under Ed.) N. Zekos, Μολυβδόβουλλα τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ (not Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ) Μουσείου...

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Alone the fact that the *CByzMetrSiegel 1* presents over five hundred previously unpublished legends is enough to underline how important this volume is to the field of byzantine sigillography. Its value, however, is significantly multiplied by the excellent treatment that all these metrical legends have received by its most capable editor. As a result, the *CByzMetrSiegel 1* offers the reader a good number of new important readings[21], (re)datings[22] and apt prosopographic remarks[23]. Due to the excellent job that W.-S. has accomplished, the *CByzMetrSiegel 1* will undoubtedly become an indispensable source of material and inspiration for all scholars of byzantine literature, prosopography and above all social history.

The reader of the volume under review will certainly be impressed by those metrical legends whose literary treatment has turned them into "philologisch anspruchsvolle kleine Kunstwerke", as aptly remarked by Prof. W. Seibt[24]. The

21. For these new readings W.-S. relies either on (previously unknown) better preserved parallel specimens (cf. for example nos. 315, 695, 1048), on the rules dictated by the metre of the legends (cf. for example nos. 335, 363, 1089, 1220, 1278), or - in most cases - on her excellent editorial skills, cf. for example nos. 132 (Ἀρετὴν τὴν Δούκαιναν, instead of Ἀρετήν τὴν δέσποιναν), 186 (not οὐσίᾳ, but δεξιᾷ), 230 (Γεώργιε, πρόστηθι τοῦ Νικηφόρου, instead of Σφραγὶς Κρατεροῦ τοῦ Νικηφόρου), 273 (οἰκειογράφων), 533 (Γράφοντα, instead of Γραφὰς), 599 (Δαβὶδ Βρουλᾶ, instead of Δασερούλα), 1104 (Κήρυξ, μὲ, instead of Πρόδρομε), 1355 (Μαριανὸν, instead of Ἀνδριανὸν).

22. Cf. for example nos. 39, 65, 69, 76, 79, 96, 164, 171, 466, 774, 995, 1356.

23. Cf. for example the editor's proposed identifications under no. 746 (Eudokia Laskarina Dukaina Angelina Komnene, whose grandmother, Anna, was a daughter of Alexios III) and 979 (Ioannes IV, patriarch von Alexandria, ca. 1062-ca. 1110). Worth noting are also the legends that present officials and members of byzantine families not known from elsewhere, cf. 535b (Δαβίδ Ξιφιλίνος), 587 (Μακρυγέννης, instead of the usual Μακρογένης), 641 (Ἀηλγάζης), 651 (Στραβοβασιλειάδης), 723 (Φαΐκας), 741 (Ἀσίμης), 782 (Μαγγανίτης, unless it describes the office of the owner in the imperial house of the Manganon), 800 (Μιχαήλ Εὐγενειανὸς), 806 (Μωροχαρζάνης), 850 (Σακούλης, attested on seals for the first time), 854 (Θεόδωρος Καραντηνὸς, bishop of Tenos), 881 (Θεοδώρα Σκλήραινα), 904 (Σοροφίτης), 906 (Φαλαΐτης), 907 (Φυλεώτης), 911 (the combination of the family names Ρωμᾶς-Βατάτζης), 963 (Μεγέθης), 976 (Κόσσυφος), 1020 (Πιστόφιλος), 1026 (Τίλαπος?), 1039 (Ἰωάννης Μαχητάριος), 1056 (Εὐδόκιμος), 1073 (Σγουρόπωλλος), 1101 (the earliest and only sigillographic evidence on the family name Φιλῆς, attested in other sources between the middle of the 13th and the middle of the 15th c.), 1129 (Κομνηνίδης, instead of the usual Komnenos), 1178 (Ἰωάννης Καμύτζης), 1180 (Καλαμαρᾶς), 1358 (this legend offers evidence for the only, so far known, member of the Skleros family called Georgios), 1366 (Βοληνὸς), 1367 (Ἀλτόμης), 1387 (Ἄνθης Βασιλάκης), 1397 (Μεθόδιος, bishop of Adraneia in Hellespontos).

24. Zum Geleit, p. 8.

reviewer's preferences nevertheless lie closer to these legends whose content offers us an unprecedented insight into the mentality of the Byzantines, whether on a strictly individual or a more collective socio-political level. Indicative for the latter case are, for example, all these metrical legends (dated from the late 12th c. onwards), with a content that intentionally stresses the close relation of their owner to the imperial family, rather than his office and/or titles (obviously a sign of nepotism)[25]. More personal (esp. religious) feelings are expressed by Epiphanios Kamateros, who attributes his title and office to the help of the Theotokos (no. 754). In the case of Ioannes Kantakouzenos (no. 1022), it is his personified ardent devotion towards St. Demetrios (not Kantakouzenos himself!) that engraves the protrait of the martyr on the latter's seal. Finally, a group of six legends inform us that by reason of their piety some owners of seals have opted to decorade them with verses, rather than with holy figures[26]. Contrary to the aforementioned religious attitudes, Constantine decides to set a lion on his seal as guardian of his writings (no. 1264).

We wish to conclude our report on the *CbyzMetrSiegel1* with a reference to another remarkable metrical legend (no. 1345), engraved on the seals that secured exclusively the letters that Eirene Makrembolitissa sent to her husband, Michael, identified most probably with the homonymous dux of Lemnos (1284-5): *Μακρεμβολῖτα Μιχαήλ, γραφὰς δέχου | ἐκ σῆς ὁμευνέτιδος Εἰρήνης φίλης*. The simple and straightforward content of this legend makes it stand out as the only (known, so far, to us) legend, presenting the names of both the sender as well as the addressee of the letter that the seal secures. In this respect, this particular seal finds a direct parallel to a modern used postal envelope: the seal, as well as the used envelope give away the names of the sender and the addressee and both have lost the documents they once secured!

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25. Cf. nos. 187, 264, 767, 839, 1033, 1114, 1116, 1120, 1121 (strangely enough not stating specifically the very close relation to the reigning emperor) and 1372.

26. This is clearly stated in nos. 119 (*Ἄννης Κομνηνῆς ἡ σφραγὶς ἀνὰ στίχους | δι' εὐλάβειαν οὐ φέρει θείους τύπους*, ca. second quarter of 12th c.) and 747 (*Ἐξ εὐλαβ(εί)ας ἡ γραφὴ Νικηφόρου | στίχους ἔχει σήμαντρον, οὐ σεπτοὺς τύπους*, end of 11th-early 12th c.), but cf. also nos. 1350 (*Μακρεμβολίτου τῶν γραφῶν Εὐμαθίου | στίχοι σφραγίς, οὐ τύπος εἰκονισμάτων*, second half of 12th c.) and 541 (*Γραφῶν Μανουὴλ Μαραχᾶ καὶ πρακτέων | στίχων σφραγὶς, οὐ τύπος εἰκονισμάτων*, second half of 12th c.), as well as nos. 773 ([*Ἐ*]*πισ*[*φρα*]*γίζοις τὰ*[*ς*] *γραφὰς Ἰωάννου | Στ*[*ρ*]*ατηγοπούλου, σὺ δυὰς στ*[*ί*]*χων μόνη*, ca. first half of 13th c.), 1180 (*Κυροῦσ*[*ι*] *πράξεις καὶ γραφὰς Ἀκινδύνου | τοῦ Καλαμαρᾶ δύο καὶ μόνοι στίχοι*, second half of 12th c.) and 1018 (*Ἰωάνν<ης> σφραγῖ<δι> γραφὴ<ν ἐγ>γρά<φει>*, late 12th-early 13th c.).