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Apropos of a corpus of metrical legends on seals


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 CByzMetrSiegel1) is the first part of a larger project that aspires to bring together all known (published and unpublished) metrical inscriptions on seals, presenting them according to the incipit, following the Greek alphabet.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)). 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 CByzMetrSiegel1 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). 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 longstanding desideratum; 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. 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 CByzMetrSiegel1 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).

comprising photos of almost half of all existing seals today (ca. 40000 photos) - it is indicative, for example, that the CByzMetrSiegel1 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).

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., 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 Ηπείρονδε. Proceedings of the 10th International Symposium of Byzantine Sigillography (Ioannina, 1-3 October 2009), ed. CHR. STANKOROS – 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: (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 subgroups. 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, anacolathon, 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 CByzMetrSiegel I 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 *CbyzMetrSiegel1* 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 *CbyzMetrSiegel1* 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). 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 *CbyzMetrSiegel1* according to the *incipit*, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Number of Legends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A: 1-174</td>
<td>174 legends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B: 175-221</td>
<td>47 legends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γ: 222-597</td>
<td>376 legends:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δ: 598-672</td>
<td>75 legends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E: 673-834</td>
<td>162 legends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z: 835-840</td>
<td>6 legends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H: 841-869</td>
<td>29 legends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Θ: 870-957</td>
<td>88 legends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I: 958-1083</td>
<td>126 legends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K: 1084-1244</td>
<td>161 legends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Λ: 1245-1340</td>
<td>96 legends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M:1341-1464</td>
<td>124 legends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1464 legends</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. Κολτσίδα-ΜαΚρή, Βυζαντινά μολυβδόβουλα συλλογῆς Ὀρφανίδη-Νικολαΐδη Νομισματικοῦ Μουσείου Ἀθηνῶν, Athens 1996 (henceforward KoltsidA-MAKre).

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

(3) Ch. Stavarakos, Die Byzantinischen Bleisiegel der Sammlung Savvas Kophopoulos. Eine Siegelsammlung auf der Insel Lesbos, Turnhout 2010 (henceforward Stavarakos, 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). Of the sixty-five legends with incipit A to M included in Stavarakos, 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. Stavarakos, FamiliennamenANM 211); the other one, reading Ἰωάννου σεβαστοῦ σφραγὶς τοῦ Δούκα has been engraved on an unpublished specimen of the Shaw collection (cf. Stavarakos, 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 Stavarakos, Koph. includes six metrical legends, all of which appear in the CByzMetrSiegel1 (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. Stavarakos, 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 CByzMetrSiegel1 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 CByzMetrSiegel1 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 CByzMetrSiegel1 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. 236e (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
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. Below, we offer a list of these numbers of photo negatives and the relevant entry no. in the CByzMetrSiegel I under which they appear (in brackets).

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. 55.87.11-3083a (not 55.87.3083a) (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. 55.87.12-3096 (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)

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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. 390f)
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. 60.10.12-3101 (W.-S., no. 429)
100) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.10.12-3106 (W.-S., no. 455)
101) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.10.12-3109 (W.-S., no. 467)
102) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.10.12-3112 (W.-S., no. 513)
103) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.06-3144b (not 60.18.3144b) (W.-S., no. 1007)
104) D.O. Neg. Nr. 60.18.06-3144b (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. 60.23.24-4027 (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 60.23.4030) (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)

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

The legend Γραφὰς σφραγίζω Χ(ριστὸς) τοῦ Κων(σταντίνος) (CByzMetrSiegel1, 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 (Γραφάς σφραγίζω καὶ λόγους Κωνσταντῖνος; obv.: the Crucifixion), 509 (Γραφάς χαράτη(το)ν (καὶ) λόγους Κωνσταντῖν(ος)) or 894 (Θεόδωρος σφραγίζο(ς) ὁ Συναχέρις; obv.: St. Theodoros) leaves no doubt about the identity of the narrator/sealer. In the legends nos. 679 (Ἐγὼ σφράγισ(α) μ[α] σκέπη Νικολάου; obv.: St. Nikolaos) and 680 (Ἐγὼ σφράγισ(α) καὶ λόγους Κωνσταντῖνος; 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 τὸ κῦρος τῶν γραφῶν Ἰωάννου), 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 CByzMetrSiegel1 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) Κραγένοις(ς) σφραγὶς πέλω; obv.: St. Georgios, specimen d: Γραφῆς φράσις κ(αὶ) Κραγένι οὐς σφραγὶς πέλω) and 683 (specimens a-b: Ἐγὼ τὸ κῦρος τῶν γραφῶν Ἰωάννου, specimen c: Ἐγὼ τὸ κῦρος τῶν γραφῶν Ἰωάννου; 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 and 567 (with a direct 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 διὰ τοῦ μαρτύρου). 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[αφάς] | σφραγίζω τε (και) 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?\footnote{For other similar examples, cf. CByzMetrSiegel I, nos. 390j, 411b and 412.}

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 \textit{verbum finitum} (used in Hunger’s categorisation, cf. \textit{CByzMetrSiegel I}, 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 (Εμοὶ τὸ κρυφθὲν [τὸν] γράψαντα ἐκφέξατε), where she clearly states that Εμοὶ 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.

\footnote{For other similar examples, cf. CByzMetrSiegel I, 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 I_, 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 suppliant(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-suppliant(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
   I.A. confirm his/her/their role as guardian(s)/sealer(s) of the writings of the owner of the seal
       Γραφὰς σφραγίζω Χ(ριστός) τοῦ Κων(σταντίνου) (no. 502)
       Γραφὰς σφραγίζων (nominativus absolutus) Χοίμιον τοῦ Θεοδώρου (no. 506) (obv.: St. Theodoros)
       [Ε]ἰ[α] (obv: Theotokos Hodegetria) ψε[δ][αξ] οὐθ καὶ γραφὸν εἰμι φύλαξ (no. 700)
       Ἐμὸς τύπος (obv: St. Georgios) σφράγισμα τοῦ συννο[ν] [μ]ον (no. 737)
       τὸ ἄννης πόθῳ με (obv.: Theotokos) τῇ βούλῃ γράφ (ει) (no. 1015)
   I.B. intercede on behalf of the owner of the seal
       Κὺριε Β(οήθει) τὸν βουλλ(ώ)ντα 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
               Σφραγίζεις γενοῦ μοι καὶ κράτος, Ἰησοῦς Λόγε, Ἰ αἰτήσθη σεβαστῷ τῷ Διεθνέ (CByzMetrSiegel1, p. 36 - to appear in CByzMetrSiegel2)
               [ille] Τῇ οὐ κρατατί δεξά, Θεοῦ Λόγε, Ἰ προσελθετε τὸν αὐτόν οἰκάτην (CByzMetrSiegel1, p. 37 - to appear in CByzMetrSiegel3)
               [ille] Ἐν σωλ πεποιήθη Κασταμονίτης Λέων ἐν τύχαιν, Χ(ριστός), ψυχικ(ῆς) σ(ωτη)ρίας (no. 743)

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

[ille] Гео́ргио́су́ μ(ά)ρ(ι)σ(υ)σ(ο) λιπ(αί̃) Λέζαρ(ον) σώσ(ον), Λόγε (no. 256)
[ille] Σόν Γρηγόρίων σίκετήν σώσον, Λόγε, 1 τόν δούκα λιταίς μάρτυρος Θεοδότον (CByzMetrSiegel1, p. 37 - to appear in CByzMetrSiegel2)
[ille] Ταῖς ἱκεσίαις τοῦ μάρτυρος (St. Theodoros), ὡ Λόγε, ἔλαχον φυλάττε κοινοπαλάτην (CByzMetrSiegel1, p. 37 - to appear in CByzMetrSiegel3)

II.A.1.3. Virgin Mary alone

Σφραγίδα γραφῶν τῶν ἐμῶν σε, παρθένε, Στρατηγίος τίθημι Βοῦνος, ὃν σκέποι (CByzMetrSiegel1, p. 36 - to appear in CByzMetrSiegel2)
[ille] Τῶν ἐξισωτῶν τῆς Ἀχυράους, κόρη, καί τοῦ Καράντου πρακτέα διευλύτου (CByzMetrSiegel1, p. 36 - to appear in CByzMetrSiegel3)
[ille] Τῇ σῇ σεβαστὸς Περγαμηνὸς εἰκόνι τὸ γράμμα κυροῖ καὶ Φαρίσαιος, 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 σκέποιμε (no. 819)
[ille] Λιταῖς Μηνᾶ μάρτυρος, τοῦ Θεοῦ Μῆτερ, λάτρει (CByzMetrSiegel1, p. 36 - to appear in CByzMetrSiegel2)

II.A.1.5. One holy person

Εἰκών 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, 1 εἰ καὶ κατ’ ἄμφω (CByzMetrSiegel1, p. 37 - to appear in CByzMetrSiegel3)
[ille] Θεωρέ προστάτ(α) (St. Nikolaos), πρ(ό)τηθι τῷ σ(ῳ) Νικήτ(α) (no. 939)

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

[ille] Ἀποστόλων πρωτ(ό)τ(α)τε, μαρτύρ(ο)ν κλέος (Mark the Evangelist and St. Theodotos), Σημάτων σκέποτε Βασιλείου βεστάρχ(ι)ν (no. 125)

II.A.2. Sacred symbols

II.A.2.1. The Hand of God

Φρουρὸν γραφῆς τέθεικα Χεῖρα Κυρίου, 1 εἰς ὃν Μιχαήλ ἐλπίδα πάσαν ἔχει
II.A.2.2. The cross

Φρουρὸς βίου μοι καὶ σφραγὶς σταυρὸς πέλει ἄριστον ὁ ὅπλον τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦτο σκέπης (CByzMetrSiegel1, p. 38 - to appear in CByzMetrSiegel3)

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[τω] καὶ λόγους Κωνσταντίνου (CByzMetrSiegel1, p. 38 - to appear in CByzMetrSiegel2)

[ille] Σταυρὸς σκέπη, φῶς, δόξα τῷ Θεοφάνει (CByzMetrSiegel1, p. 38 - to appear in CByzMetrSiegel2)
μάρτυς Κυρίου (St. Demetrios) (CByzMetrSiegel1, p. 37 - to appear in CByzMetrSiegel2)

[ille] Σφραγίς πέλουσα δεσπ(ό)τη(ον) Νικηφόρου | Ἐπισφραγιζώ καὶ πεδῶ βούλῃ τάδε (no. 776). W.-S. places the legend “Σφραγίς πέλουσα δεσπ(ό)τη(ον) 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] Ἐπισφραγίζω τὰς γραφὰς Ἰωάννου, | σὺ δυὰς σφραγίζω τοῦ κριτοῦ Κολωνείας (no. 493)

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

Σεβαστὸν ἤδη καὶ δομέστικον μέγαν | Ἀλέξιον νῦν τὸν Κομνηνὸν δεικνύω (no. 667)

Γραφὰς σφραγίζω Χωματηνοῦ τοὐπίκλην, ἀθλητά, τοῦ σοῦ δούλου καὶ ὁ[ν]νύμου - the personified seal addresses St. Theodoros depicted on the obverse (no. 503)

[ille on the obv] Σφραγίς σεβαστοῦ Ἀτούμη Νικηφόρου | σφραγίζω τὸν τύπον τοῦ Ἀτούμη | Νικηφόρου | σφραγίζω τὸν τύπον τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ

[ille on the obv] Γραφὴ παριστά γένος | σφραγίζω τὸν τύπον τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ - the seal addresses its owner (no. 514). The first part of the last two metrical legends (Σφραγίς σεβαστοῦ Ἀτούμη and Γραφὴ παριστά 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)

㎍οὶ τὸ κρυφθὲν [τ(ὸν)] γράψαν[t]α ἐκφέρ[ε]ι (no. 736)
Εἰ τις διελθεῖν βουλέται, νῦν ἄφιξθος ἐμοὶ προσίτω (και) οὐφαγίδα λαβέτ[ω] (no. 686)

III.C. act as intercessor
Κύριε βοήθει 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 iunctio14.

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

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

Θεοδώρου (instead of Ἰωάννου). W.-S. may (in this instance) have thought of the specimen KoltsidA-Makre 385 (Γραφᾶς 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(βì)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. 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 “Ἐν σοὶ πεποιθὼς” is obviously inspired from the expression “Ἐπὶ σοὶ πεποιθῶς” often encountered in byzantine psalms, cf. for example, Eusebius (“ἐπὶ σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ μου πεποιθῶς”)15, Didymus Caecus (“ἐπὶ σοὶ πεποιθῶς”)16, Diodorus (“ὁ ἐπὶ σοὶ πεποιθῶς”)17, John of Damascus (“ὁ πεποιθῶς ἐπὶ Κύριον, σωθήσεται”)18, or (contemporary to the metrical legend under review)
St. Neophytos of Cyprus (“ὁ ἐπὶ σοὶ πεποιθὼς”)\textsuperscript{19}. \textit{Metri causa}, the preposition \textit{Ἐν} replaces \textit{Ἐπὶ}.

\textbf{No. 772}: For the legend on the obverse of the DO 58.106.11 specimen, W.-S. (following obviously Laurent’s text in \textit{Corpus V/1}, 676), notes that “Die Buchstaben \textit{(nur)} auf der rechten Seite der Beischrift sind kreuzförmig angeordnet”. The same layout, however, is followed by the legend to the left (O | 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 \textit{Corpus V/1}, Pl. 92, 676.

\textbf{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 \textit{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.

\textbf{No. 796}: All five known seals of Basileios Erotikos are illustrated in O. \textsc{Karakitou}, Byzantine themes and sigillography. I. The sigillographic \textit{corpora} of the themes of Hellas, Opsikion and Armeniakon, \textit{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.

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

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

\textbf{No. 842}: In the second line of the legend \textit{κοιμησκωμα[θ]ο[ν]} or \textit{(κ)οιμησκωμα[θ]ο[ν]} (instead of \textit{ουμερκιαρί[ου]})

\textbf{No. 844}: W.-S. rightly underlines the unclear meaning of the first part of this legend «\textit{Ἡ κλείς μὲν τὴν φραγίδα φυλάς}>, since the \textit{κλείς} (for \textit{φυραγίς}) and \textit{φωραγίδα} form a tautology. Provided that Laurent’s transcription is correct, we wonder whether \textit{κλείς} could be understood as the knot, i.e. \textit{δεσμὸς}\textsuperscript{19}.

\textsuperscript{19} Th. Detorakès, \textit{Ἑρμηνεία τοῦ ψαλτήρου}, in I. Karabedrėlios, C. Oikonomou, D.G. Tsames and N. Zachariopoulou (eds.), \textit{Ἄγιον Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἑγκλείστου Συγγράμματα}, v. 4. Paphos: Ιερά Βασιλεία καὶ Σταυροπηγιακὴ Μονὴ Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου, 2001, chapter 5, psalm 73, line 86. All references stated in fns. 15-19 were taken from the \textit{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. 903: Die Siegelinhaberin, ...ist die jüngste Tochter (not Tochter) Alexios’ III....

No. 905: In the transcription of the legend and under K. (Kommentar), the word Μαλεϊνον needs an acute 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.

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 Basilios Kladon, protospatharios and strategos of Sicily and Longobardia, mentioned in an ἑνταλμα 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 Falkenhäusen, 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 Δέωντος ἢ γραφή ταύτης or αὐτῆς.

No. 1345: The vocative of the addressee's last name needs a circumflex, Μακρεμβολίτα. W.-S. transcribes the second part of this metrical legend on the reverse as "ἐκ τῆς οὗς ὀμευνετίδος Εἰρήνης φιλῆς", commenting further that "Ohne σῆς hätte man einen korrekten Zwölfser". 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 ὀμευνετίδος Εἰρήνης φιλῆς".

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 cows), which the Ottomans used when referring to the monks of the monastery of St. Stephen of Meteora, cf. N. Beldiceanu-P. S. Năsturel, 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 CByzMetrSiegel1 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 CByzMetrSiegel1 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 CByzMetrSiegel1 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. 132 (Ἀρετὴν τὴν Δούκαιναν, instead of Ἀρετήν τὴν δέσποιναν), 186 (ποτ οὐσία, but δεξιὰ), 230 (Πρόδρομε), Σφραγὶς Κρατεροῦ τοῦ Νικηφόρου, instead of Σφραγίς Κρατεροῦ τοῦ Νικηφόρου), 273 (οἰκειογράφων), 533 (Γράφοντα), 599 (Δαβὶδ Βρουλᾶ, instead of Δασερούλα), 1104 (Κήρυξ, μὲ, instead of Πρόδρομε), 1355 (Μαυριάνον, instead of Ανδριανόν).

\(^{22}\) 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 (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 Εὐγενειανός), 806 (Μιχαήλ Εὐγενοχώρας), 850 (Σιμώνικους, attested on seals for the first time), 854 (Θεόδωρος Καραντηνὸς, bishop of Tenedos), 881 (Θεόδωρος Σκλήραινα), 904 (Σοροφίτης), 906 (Φυλεώτης), 907 (Μεθόδιος), 911 (the combination of the family names Ρωμᾶς-Βατάτζης), 963 (Μεθόδιος), 1020 (Πιστόφιλος), 1026 (Τίλαπος?), 1039 (Ιωάννης Καμύτζης), 1048 (Μιχαήλ Εὐγενειανός), 1056 (Εὐδόκιμος), 1073 (Σωτηροσφαίριος), 1101 (the earliest and only sigillographic evidence on the family name Φιλὴς, attested in other sources between the middle of the 13th and the middle of the 15th c.), 1129 (Κυρινάκιος, instead of the usual Κυρινάκιος), 1178 (Ιωάννης 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). 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 portrait 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 decorate them with verses, rather than with holy figures. 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 CbyzMetrSiegel 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, γραφάς δέχου | εκ 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 (Ἀννης Κομνηνῆς ἡ σφραγὶς ἀνὰ στίχους | δι’ εὐλάβειαν οὐ φέρει θείους τύπους, ca. second quarter of 12th c.) and 747 (Ἐξ εὐλαβής ἡ γραφὴ Νικηφόρου | στίχοι έχει σήμαντρον, οὐ σεπτοὺς τύπους, end of 11th-early 12th c.), but cf. also nos. 1350 (Μακρεμβολίτου τῶν γραφῶν Ἐυμαθίου | στίχοι σφραγίς, οὐ τύπος εἰκονισμάτων, second half of 12th c.) and 541 (Ὑποστειοδότης Μαραχᾶ καὶ παρατητόν | στίχοι σφραγίς, οὐ τύπος εἰκονισμάτων, second half of 12th c.), as well as nos. 773 (Ἰοάννης Στράτηγος Λικρινίαν | Θηρασιάτης Χρυσότρυς, οὐ διὰ στίχοι | σφραγὶς Ἰωάννου, second half of 12th c.) and 1018 (Ἰωάννης σφραγῖς ἐγραφέω, late 12th-early 13th c.).