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ANDREAS RHOBY

A Short History of Byzantine Epigraphy*

Abstract: This article offers an overview of the history of the discipline of Byzantine epigraphy from the 19th century until today. It ranges from the description of the first attempts to create corpora of Greek Christian inscriptions at the time of the foundation of modern Byzantine Studies (especially within the French school) to the listing of online editions and other electronic tools. The history of the discipline of Byzantine Epigraphy is also a history of failures: many corpus projects started with very ambitious aims but very often did not manage to publish more than one or two volumes. Today the approach to Byzantine inscriptions is more realistic: already Paul Lemerle and his team decided to focus on a selection of inscriptions. New attempts adopt this idea by initiating coherent volumes based on commonly agreed editorial guidelines.

Byzantine studies and epigraphy have a difficult relationship. Some scholars think that a separate discipline of Byzantine epigraphy is unnecessary due to what they see as the minor role that inscriptions played after Late Antiquity, especially in the so-called *grande brèche* of the seventh to ninth centuries¹ when Greek epigraphic production decreased due to the decline of cities, the loss of provinces in the East that had been very active epigraphically, and other reasons.² Other scholars, however, regret the fact that no distinct field of Byzantine epigraphy—that is, a fundamental science dealing with epigraphic production between Late Antiquity and the fifteenth century—has developed to date. It is enough to cite Cyril Mango’s words in the entry “Epigraphy” in the 1991 *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*: “A discipline of Byzantine epigraphy does not yet exist.”³ Twenty years have passed since the publication of this statement, which in turn repeated an earlier observation by Paul Lemerle (“l’épigraphie Byzantine n’existe pas”),⁴ but the situation has not changed much.⁵ No handbook or thorough introduction to Byzantine epigraphy with a specific focus on middle and late Byzantine inscriptions has been published to date. In comparison to other so-called auxiliary fields within Byzantine studies (numismatics, palaeography, sigillography, etc.), epigraphy is far behind, especially if one compares it with the quantity of excellent tools for the study of inscriptions of Greco-Roman Antiquity.⁶ In addition, if we consider the place of the discipline of epigraphy in Western medieval studies, there is a big gap. In the words of Ihor Ševčenko, “A Byzantinist attempting to undertake a comparative study of inscriptions East and West will soon make a melancholy discovery. Information presented about the period beyond that covered by manuals of early Christian epigraphy . . . quickly makes it evident how much farther ahead

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¹ D. A. ZAKYTHINOS, *La grande brèche dans la tradition historique de l’hellénisme du septième au neuvième siècle*, in: *Χαρίστηριον εις Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὀρλάνδου*, III. Athen 1966, 300–327.

² Interestingly enough, the situation is different in the Islamic world because there the tradition of monumental inscriptions was not only pursued but even expanded; see Sh. S. BLAIR, *Islamic Inscriptions*. Edinburgh 1998.

³ C. M[ANGO], Epigraphy. *ODB* 1, 711–713: 711; IDEM, Epigraphy, in: E. JEFFREYS (with J. HALDON and R. CORMACK) (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*. Oxford 2008, 144–149: 149: “There is no general discussion of Byzantine epigraphy from the sixth century onwards.”

⁴ P. LEMERLE, *Journal des savants*, juillet-septembre 1950, 138; IDEM, *Instrumenta Studiorum – Epigraphie*, in: J. M. HUSSEY – D. OBOLENSKY – S. RUNCIMAN (eds.), *Proceedings of the XIIIth Congress of Byzantine Studies*. London 1967, 483.

⁵ Cf. W. KOCH, *Inschriftenpaläographie des abendländischen Mittelalters und der früheren Neuzeit. Früh- und Hochmittelalter (mit CD-ROM) (Oldenbourg Historische Hilfswissenschaften)*. Vienna – Munich 2007, 174: “Bedauerlicherweise liegt bis heute keine systematische byzantinische Epigraphik vor, die den Wandel und die Entwicklung der Formensprache nachvollziehen ließe;” I. TOTH, Epigraphy, Byzantine. *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (2012): “By and large, Byzantine epigraphy remains uncharted territory.”

⁶ Cf. e.g. M. GUARDUCCI, *L’epigrafia greca dalle origini al tardo impero*. Rome 1987; A. E. COOLEY, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*. Cambridge 2012; see also J. P. BODEL (ed.), *Epigraphic Evidence. Ancient History from Inscriptions (Approaching the Ancient World)*. London 2001; B. H. MCLEAN, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C. – A.D. 337)*. Ann Arbor, MI 2002.

Western colleagues have progressed compared to his fellow Byzantinists.”⁷ Medieval Latin epigraphy is indeed highly developed, with well-established corpora series that include “Die deutschen Inschriften,” the “Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale,” and the recently initiated “Inscriptiones Medii Aevi Italiae.”⁸

The wish to collect inscriptions is not a phenomenon of modern times; we may recall, for instance, the collections of ancient, late antique, and even Byzantine epigraphs in the famous *Anthologia Palatina*⁹ and in the works of the Italian humanist, merchant, and traveller Cyriacus of Ancona (Ciriaco de’ Pizziccolli) (ca. 1391–ca. 1455).¹⁰ By the first half of the nineteenth century the wish for systematic collections of inscriptions was being pursued via concrete projects, and with the publication of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (CIG) series at the Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften between 1828 and 1859, a major step in the documentation of ancient Greek inscriptions was taken.¹¹ As for early Christian and Byzantine inscriptions, a first fundamental collection was created by Adolf Kirchhoff as *pars XL* of CIG IV (1859).¹² The editions of some 1300 inscriptions dating from the whole Byzantine millennium are based on earlier transcriptions of the texts compiled mainly by Western travellers to the Balkans, Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, and the Levant between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, when modern Byzantine studies were established at the end of the nineteenth century it was soon discovered that the Kirchhoff collection did not correspond with the needs of the discipline.

Since that time, the creation of a corpus of Byzantine inscriptions has been considered a *desideratum*. In a revealing article entitled “Byzantinische Desiderata” in the first issue of *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, the famous Greek intellectual Spyridon Lampros (1851–1919)¹³ stated the following about his impression of the success of the CIG series:

“Eine weit größere Bedeutung hätte die Sammlung der byzantinischen Inschriften . . . aus ihren an Wänden und Kunstwerken, an Mauern und Kirchen, überall angebrachten Inschriften können wir reiche historische Aufschlüsse gewinnen. Nur müssen wir das Material gehörig sammeln und verwerten . . . Wir müssen nunmehr unser eigenes *Corpus Inscriptionum Byzantarum* haben. Unsere Aufgabe wäre die Inschriften zu sammeln, nach bestimmten Kategorien und Zeiten zu ordnen und kritisch zu publizieren . . . Zur kritischen Herstellung dieser Inschriften wird aber vor allem nicht vergessen werden dürfen, dass die Byzantiner ihre Inschriften meistens metrisch verfassten.”¹⁴

This statement is of particular interest. The majority of preserved Byzantine inscriptions are composed in prose, but Lampros managed to estimate correctly the number and the significance of verse epigraphs (*epi-*

⁷ I. ŠEVČENKO, *Inscriptions in East and West in the First Millennium: The Common Heritage and the Parting of the Ways*, in: *Cultures and Nations in Central and Eastern Europe: Essays in Honor of Roman Szporluk*. Cambridge, Mass. 2000 (= *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 22 [1998]) 527–537: 533.

⁸ Cf. the article by Walter Koch pp. 79–92.

⁹ P. WALTZ, *Anthologie palatine, I–XII*. Paris 1929–1970; H. BECKBY, *Anthologia Graeca. Griechisch – Deutsch, I–IV*. Munich 1957–1958.

¹⁰ M. MCC[ORMICK], *Cyriacus of Ancona*. *ODB* I 571; E. W. BODNAR, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens (Collection Latomus 43)*. Brussels-Berchem 1960; IDEM – C. FOSS, *Cyriac of Ancona. Later Travels*. Cambridge, MA 2003.

¹¹ Cf. http://www.degruyter.com/view/supplement/s16779_Geschichte_de.pdf; R. M. ERRINGTON – K. HALLOF, *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin 2002. The equivalent *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* was started in 1862. Cf. St. Rebenich, *Berlin und die antike Epigraphik*, in: W. ECK *et al.* (eds.), *Öffentlichkeit – Monument – Text. XIV Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae, 27.–31. Augusti MMXII. Akten (Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Auctarium, series nova IV)*. Berlin – Boston 2014, 7–75.

¹² CIG IV, *pars XL: Inscriptiones Christianae*, ed. A. KIRCHHOFF. Berlin 1877, 277–595 (Kirchhoff’s section was published in 1859 but the volume with an index created by H. Roehl was released in 1877); the dated inscriptions (from 527 A. D. onwards) of this corpus were collected (with the addition of new bibliography) by K. MENTZOU-MEIMARE, *Χρονολογημένα βυζαντινά ἐπιγραφαὶ τοῦ Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum IV,2. DChAE IV 9 (1977–1979) 77–131*.

¹³ W. PUCHNER, in: *Biographisches Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas, III (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 75/III)*. München 1979, 5–6.

¹⁴ Sp. LAMPROS, *Byzantinische Desiderata. BZ 1 (1892) 185–201: 191–192*.

grammata) in Byzantine culture. The huge number of verses dating between the seventh and the fifteenth centuries that are still preserved¹⁵ also contradicts Marc Lauxtermann's statement, about a decade ago, that "the number of epigrams still found *in situ* is extremely limited."¹⁶ Lampros very rightly also noted the interdisciplinary significance of Byzantine inscriptions, stating that by their thorough analysis "können wir reiche historische Aufschlüsse gewinnen". Karl Krumbacher (1856–1909), the founder of modern Byzantine studies in Germany and the first publisher of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*,¹⁷ made an argument in the bibliography section of his "Litteraturgeschichte" that was similar to that of Lampros: "Ein systematisches Corpus der byzantinischen oder vielmehr der christlichen griechischen Inschriften ist ein dringendes Bedürfnis . . . Ebenso erwünscht wäre eine theoretische Darstellung der byzantinischen Epigraphik."¹⁸

The plea for the creation of a corpus of Byzantine inscriptions was articulated not only in German publications. French scholars, traditionally very active in the fields of archaeology and epigraphy,¹⁹ more or less simultaneously expressed the need for a new compilation of Greek Christian inscriptions because the *Inscriptiones Christianae* collection in *CIG IV* was regarded as insufficient. In the introduction to his *Les inscriptions chrétiennes de l'Asie Mineure*, an inventory of remarks and notes on 463 Greek inscriptions from Asia Minor primarily of the early Christian period published in 1895, the Belgian archaeologist, epigraphist, and philologist Franz Cumont (1868–1947)²⁰ stressed "l'utilité d'un nouveau recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de langue grecque."²¹ In 1896, Louis Duchesne, then director of the École française in Rome (1895–1922)²² and (together with Charles Bayet) author of the book *Mémoire sur une mission au Mont Athos* (Paris 1876), explained some first concrete ideas about a collaborative *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Christianarum*.²³

Cumont's and Duchesne's contemporary Théophile Homolle (1848–1925), then director of the École française in Athens (1893–1903),²⁴ also emphasized "la nécessité d'un recueil nouveau" of Greek Christian inscriptions. Homolle very rightly recognized that Byzantine epigraphic habits and conventions did not cease in the fifteenth century. He therefore demanded "réunir en un recueil tous les documents épigraphiques chrétiens rédigés en langue grecque, des périodes romaine, byzantine et néo-hellénique." This approach was not

¹⁵ A. RHOBY, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken* (= *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, vol. 1) (*Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung XV*). Vienna 2009; IDEM, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst nebst Addenda zu Band 1 "Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken"* (= *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, vol. 2) (*Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung XXIII*). Vienna 2010; IDEM, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein* (= *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, vol. 3) (*Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 35*). Vienna 2014.

¹⁶ M. LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and Contexts* (*WBS XXVI/1*). Vienna 2003, 33.

¹⁷ P. SCHREINER – E. VOGT (eds.), Karl Krumbacher. *Leben und Werk. Sitzungsberichte, Bayer. Akad. der Wissensch., phil.-hist. Klasse* 2011/4.

¹⁸ K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)* (*Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft IX.1*). Munich ²1897, 1133.

¹⁹ *Pars pro toto* one should mention the Reinach brothers Joseph (1856–1921), Salomon (1858–1932) and Théodore (1860–1928), cf. S. BASCH – M. ESPAGNE – J. LECLANT (eds.), *Les frères Reinach. Colloque réuni les 22 et 23 juin 2007 à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (palais de l'Institut de France). Paris 2008.

²⁰ Cf. Franz Cumont et la science de son temps. Actes de la table ronde organisée par Aline Rousselle, Paris, 5–6 décembre 1997. *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 111/2 (1999) 501–666.

²¹ F. CUMONT, *Les inscriptions chrétiennes de l'Asie Mineure. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 15 (1895) 245–299: 247–248.

²² On Louis Duchesne, see B. WACHÉ, *Monseigneur Louis Duchesne (1843–1922). Historien de l'Église et directeur de l'École française de Rome*. Rome 1992.

²³ Duchesne's article "Note sur la publication d'un *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum christianarum*" is stored in the archives of Gabriel Millet (Collège de France, Paris) but was apparently never published, cf. D. FEISSEL, *Un siècle d'épigraphie chrétienne et byzantine: l'œuvre des savants français et belges en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, in: *Actes du colloque international du centenaire de L'Année épigraphique*, Paris: 19–21 octobre 1988. *Un siècle d'épigraphie classique: aspects de l'œuvre des savants français dans les pays du bassin méditerranéen de 1888 à nos jours*. Paris 1990, 239–249: 241–242.

²⁴ On Homolle's career, see R. CAGNAT, *Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. Théophile Homolle. Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 71/4 (1927) 296–313; see also Ch. VALENTI, *L'École française d'Athènes au cœur des relations franco-helléniques, 1846–1946. Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 50/4 (2003–2004) 92–107.

without parallel: when Konstantinos G. Zesiou (1848–1928)²⁵ published his collection of Greek Christian inscriptions of the Peloponnese he included epigraphs of the post-Byzantine period to a considerable extent.²⁶ Because Homolle knew that his proposed enterprise would require considerable funding, he approached people in the Greek and Ottoman administrations for support. He even succeeded in persuading the Greek minister of education to compose a letter (which he published in a footnote at the end of his article) that contained a plea to support the French enterprise.²⁷ It was addressed to the ecclesiastic and civic authorities, to employees of the archaeological institutions, and to professors and teachers.

The statement and exhortation by another French scholar, the Egyptologist and philologist Gustave Lefebvre (1879–1957),²⁸ at the end of the preface to his *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte*, published at Cairo in 1907, are similar to Homolle's remarks:

“Il me reste à exprimer un souhait, c'est de voir les savants de tous pays, les touristes cultivés, accorder quelque attention aux inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes que, dans les Musées d'Europe, en Égypte et surtout en Nubie, ils peuvent rencontrer: ils rendraient grand service à la science en prenant de ces inscriptions, connues ou inédites, une copie fidèle et, si possible, un estampage et une photographie. C'est avec gratitude que je recevrais ces documents et que j'en ferais profiter l'édition projetée du *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum Christianarum*.”²⁹

At the First International Congress of Archaeology, which was held in Athens in April 1905, Gabriel Millet (1867–1953)³⁰ presented the French enterprise on behalf of the École française.³¹ Several questions connected with the project were discussed: the time frame (specifically, whether Christian inscriptions of the Roman Empire and Greek inscriptions of the Ottoman period should be included³²—a question that has not lost its relevance, considering that Cyril Mango prefers a cutoff in the late eighteenth century because in his view the date 1453 is of no significance from the viewpoint of epigraphy);³³ the material (should inscriptions on portable objects, icons, and the like be included?); the exact name of the corpus; the use of diacritical signs (the so-called “Leiden conventions” for fixed diacritical signs had not yet been invented);³⁴ the need for fac-

²⁵ K. M. KONSTANTOPOULOS, Κωνσταντίνος Γ. Ζησίου. *Hell* 2 (1929) 252–253; E. G. P[ANTELAKES], Ζησίου, Κωνσταντίνος. *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία* 12, 45.

²⁶ K. G. ZESIOU, Σύμμικτα. Πελοποννήσου ἐπιγραφαὶ Χριστιανικῶν χρόνων. Χρυσόβουλλα Μυστρᾶ. Ἔρευνα περὶ τῆς πολιορκίας καὶ ἁλώσεως τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν Βενετῶν. Καπνικαρέα. Καμουκαρέα. Athens 1892 (an elaborate appraisal of this study was published by G. MILLET, *BZ* 2 [1893] 336–338); see also IDEM, Μυστρᾶ ἐπιγραφαί. *Athena* 3 (1891) 434–487; later Zesiou published a collection of Greek Christian inscriptions from all of Greece: IDEM, Ἐπιγραφαὶ Χριστιανικῶν Χρόνων τῆς Ἑλλάδος. *Byzantis* 1 (1909) 114–145, 422–460, 541–556; 2 (1911–1912) 162–168. Another Greek scholar of this period was Georgios Lampakis (1854–1914) who also published a considerable number of inscriptions: <http://www.aol.org.gr/index.html>

²⁷ Th. HOMOLLE, Le corpus *Inscriptionum Graecarum Christianarum*. *BCH* 22 (1898) 410–415; Homolle's note (but without the footnote at the end) was also printed in *BZ* 8 (1899) 599–602. On that occasion Karl Krumbacher again stressed the importance of a corpus of Christian Greek inscriptions, *ibid.* 599, n. 1: “Der Plan eines Corpus der christlichen griechischen Inschriften berührt die in der Byz[antinischen] Z[eitschrift] vertretenen Studien aufs engste und ist für sie von eminenter Wichtigkeit”.

²⁸ Cf. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. Gustave Lefebvre. *Comptes-rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1959, 95–105.

²⁹ G. LEFEBVRE, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte*. Cairo 1907, XIII.

³⁰ Cf. <http://ica.princeton.edu/millet/biography.php>

³¹ Cf. *Comptes rendus du Congrès International d'Archéologie*. I^{re} session, Athènes 1905. Athens 1905, 316–317, 379–380; see also G. MILLET, *BZ* 15 (1906) 496–502; J. STRZYGOWSKI, *BZ* 14 (1905) 750; cf. FEISSEL, Un siècle d'épigraphie chrétienne et byzantine 243.

³² Another French scholar had already described the value of studying post-Byzantine inscriptions in 1898: J. LAURENT, Sur la valeur des inscriptions grecques postérieures à 1453. *BCH* 22 (1898) 569–572.

³³ C. MANGO, What is a Byzantine Inscription? In: *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies*. Sofia, 22–27 August 2011. Vol. II: Abstracts of Round Table Communications. Sofia 2011, 59. One such publication that takes account of inscriptions until the 18th century is Th. PAPAZOTOS, Ἡ Βέροια καὶ οἱ ναοὶ τῆς (11ος–18ος αἰ.). Ἱστορική καὶ ἀρχαιολογική σπουδὴ τῶν μνημείων τῆς πόλης (*Demosiuemata tou Archaiologikou Deltiou* 54). Athens 1994.

³⁴ On the so-called “Leiden conventions,” the result of an international meeting of scholars under the auspices of the Union académique internationale at Leiden in 1931, B. A. VAN GRONINGEN, *Projet d'unification des systèmes de signes critiques*. *Chronique*

similes; and so forth. As a result of the Congress, a committee was established and Gabriel Millet was assigned the role of editing the corpus. It was decided that inscriptions from the death of Theodosios until the Greek war of independence of 1821 would be included (with, however, the omission of some less-important inscriptions of the post-Byzantine period) and that the collection would be called *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Christianarum*.

The French School at Athens, under its above-mentioned director Homolle and his successors, tried very actively to fulfil the expectations. Of the French contributions to early Christian and Byzantine epigraphy mention must certainly be made of the above-cited studies by Cumont (n. 21) and Lefebvre (n. 29), as well as Millet's own publications on the Byzantine (and post-Byzantine) inscriptions of Mystras,³⁵ Trebizond,³⁶ and Mount Athos, the latter with Jean Pargoire and Louis Petit.³⁷ The first edition of inscriptions that fully respected the rules established at the first Congress of Archaeology was Lefebvre's *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte*³⁸ (n. 29). In the preface to the book, Millet considered the edition a model for the future French series,³⁹ in the course of which such titles as the *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie* (1910)⁴⁰ and Henri Grégoire's *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure* (1922),⁴¹ which continued Cumont's collection into the middle and late Byzantine periods,⁴² were published "conformément au 'programme d'Athènes' [i.e., the rules established at Athens in 1905]." Unfortunately, as with many other editions—for example, Millet's, and Pargoire's and Petit's on the inscriptions of Mount Athos—only the first fascicle of Grégoire's⁴³ book, covering the regions of Hellespontos, Asia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Lydia, and the islands was published, despite the fact that some decades later, at the Second International Congress of Epigraphy held in Paris in 1951, the desire to "publier sans délai le fascicule 2" was confirmed.⁴⁴

d'Égypte 7 (1932) 262–269; H. KRUMMREY – S. PANCIERA, Criteri di edizione e segni diacritici. *Tituli* 2 (1980) 205–215; cf. S. PANCIERA, I segni diacritici: riflessioni e proposte, in: *Épigraphie hispanique. Problèmes de méthode et d'édition (Publications du Centre Pierre Paris 10 = Collection de la Maison des Pays Ibériques 15)*. Paris 1984, 372–379; IDEM, Struttura dei supplementi e segni diacritici dieci anni dopo. *Supplementa Italica* 8 (1991) 9–21; a good overview of the editorial sigla is provided by MCLEAN, An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy 27–39 and G. BODARD: <http://www.nesc.ac.uk/talks/964/cheatsheet.pdf>

³⁵ G. MILLET, Inscriptions byzantines de Mistra. *BCH* 23 (1899) 97–156; IDEM, Inscriptions inédites de Mistra. *Ibid.* 30 (1906) 453–466.

³⁶ IDEM, Inscriptions byzantines de Trébizonde. *BCH* 20 (1896) 496–501.

³⁷ IDEM – J. PARGOIRE – L. PETIT, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de l'Athos. Première Partie (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 91)*. Paris 1904; see also G. MILLET, Recherches au Mont-Athos. *BCH* 29 (1905) 55–92, 105–141. Cf. B. MALADAKES, Οι έρευνες του Gabriel Millet στο Άγιον Όρος μέσα από το αρχείο της Γαλλικής Σχολής Αθηνών, in: Ζ' Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο "Το Άγιον Όρος στα χρόνια της απελευθέρωσης". Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου. Θεσσαλονίκη, 23–25 Νοεμβρίου 2012 / 7th International Scientific Conference "Mount Athos at the Years of Liberation". Conference Proceedings. Thessaloniki, 23–25 November 2012. Thessalonica 2013, 387–393.

³⁸ The metrical inscriptions of the Graeco-Roman period of Egypt were published decades later by É. BERNARD, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 98)*. Paris 1969.

³⁹ G. MILLET, in: LEFEBVRE, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte (op. cit.)* II. Lefebvre's edition has all the hallmarks of a modern edition: description of the monument, identification of the place of origin, date (if available), (diplomatic) edition of the text, mention of earlier editions, and (brief) philological commentary.

⁴⁰ J. G. C. ANDERSEN – F. CUMONT – H. GRÉGOIRE, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie. Fasc. 1 (Studia Pontica III)*. Brussels 1910; see also E. CUMONT – F. CUMONT, *Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la petite Arménie (Studia Pontica II)*. Brussels 1906; a first collection was put together by V. LANGLOIS, *Inscriptions grecques, romaines, byzantines et arméniennes de la Cilicie*. Paris 1854.

⁴¹ H. GRÉGOIRE, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure. Fasc. 1*. Paris 1922.

⁴² The collection was originally started by Cumont but was then handed over to Grégoire; see *ibid.* I.

⁴³ On the Belgian historian Henri Grégoire (1881–1964), see Ch. DELVOYE, Notice sur Henri Grégoire, Membre de l'Académie. *Académie Royale de Belgique. Annuaire* 1990, 133–262; I. ŠEVČENKO, Henri Grégoire. *Rivista di Bizantinistica* 1 (1991) 231–244; cf. FEISSEL, Un siècle d'épigraphie chrétienne et byzantine 244, n. 26.

⁴⁴ [L. ROBERT], in: *Actes du deuxième congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, Paris 1952*. Paris 1953, 275. There must also have been plans for a third fascicule, if we believe the statement by J. IRMSCHER, *Bemerkungen zur byzantinistischen*

In the proceedings of the Second International Congress of Byzantine Studies, convened in Belgrade in 1927, another quite interesting and very concrete proposal for the creation of a corpus of Byzantine inscriptions was announced. In a short presentation, the Italian archaeologist and historian Luigi Cantarelli (1858–1931) first complained about a “gran numero di siffatte iscrizioni ancora sepolte nei Codici Manoscritti delle antiche Biblioteche, o inesplorate nei luoghi ove furono incise, e a quelle che, sebbene edite, sono disseminate in piccole raccolte non facili a trovarsi, o in sillogi imperfette o in svariati periodici di ogni paese.”⁴⁵ Later in his report he stated “è necessario riunire sistematicamente in un Corpus affinché possano diventare accessibili agli studiosi dell’antico impero Greco-Romano.” Cantarelli was dissatisfied with the editions of the French series because they did not cover Latin inscriptions, which in his view “hanno diritto di essere unite alle iscrizioni Greco-cristiane.” He also demanded that the corpus be restricted to the milestones of the Byzantine empire (330–1453) and that it use Latin as its administrative language. In addition, Cantarelli required—if possible—the inclusion of sharp photographs. He was aware that a corpus could only be created with international cooperation: “A questo scopo, ogni Stato le cui regioni erano un tempo Provincie dell’antico Impero Greco-Romano, dovrà raccogliere le iscrizioni del proprio territorio.” At the same time, he demanded that the final redaction should be done in one place, ideally at an Academy:

“Ma questi volumi, prima di costituire il Corpus, durante la loro preparazione, dovranno essere riveduti e coordinati da un’Accademia scientifica designata dal voto delle Accademie predette, la quale avrà la direzione di tutto il lavoro e, in un volume di prolegomeni, scriverà la storia dei vari progetti che furono fino ad oggi proposti per la formazione del Corpus delle iscrizioni bizantine.”⁴⁶

Cantarelli’s plan was as ambitious as it was unrealistic. His concrete ideas for a *Corpus Inscriptionum Byzantinarum* would have been a far-reaching contribution to Byzantine epigraphy, but they were never pursued, not least because of his death in 1931.

When Guillaume de Jerphanion (1877–1948),⁴⁷ the famous French expert on Byzantine Cappadocia, gave a paper with the title “Projet de publication d’un choix d’inscriptions grecques chrétiennes” at the Fourth International Congress of Byzantine Studies at Sofia in 1934, he referred to Cantarelli’s proposal with the words “Il s’agissait d’un projet de Corpus inscriptionum byzantinarum qui, je le crois, est mort avec son auteur.”⁴⁸ Jerphanion, well aware of the earlier proposals and statements about Byzantine epigraphy, began his detailed Congress contribution with the succinct comment that “L’utilité d’un *Corpus* ou d’un *Recueil* des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes n’a plus besoin d’être démontrée.” In response to Cantarelli’s demand that Latin inscriptions be included, Jerphanion rightly stated that in this case one would also have to include in the corpus Coptic, Syriac, Nabatean, Armenian, Slavic, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish inscriptions, which would go beyond the bounds of a realistic enterprise.⁴⁹ Jerphanion therefore suggested that it be restricted to

Epigraphik, in: Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Cambridge 1967. Oxford 1971, 461–468: 464.

⁴⁵ Cf. P. TREVES, Cantarelli, Luigi. *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 18 (1975): [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luigi-cantarelli_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luigi-cantarelli_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)

⁴⁶ L. CANTARELLI, Proposta di un Corpus Inscriptionum Byzantinarum, in: D. ANASTASIJEVIĆ – Ph. GRANIĆ (eds.), *Deuxième Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, Belgrade, 1927. *Compte-Rendu*. Belgrade 1929, 173–175.

⁴⁷ G. DE JERPHANION, Une nouvelle province de l’art byzantin. Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce, I–II. Paris 1925–1942 (the following article proved to be a useful tool: L. BERNARDINI, Les donateurs des églises de Cappadoce. *Byz* 62 [1992] 118–140). Briefly on Jerphanion’s career R. WARLAND, Byzantinisches Kappadokien (*Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie, Sonderbände der Antiken Welt*). Darmstadt – Mainz 2013, 20–22; see also P. LUISIER (ed.), La Turquie de Guillaume de Jerphanion, s. j. Actes du colloque de Rome (9–10 mai 1997). *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome, Moyen-Age, Temps modernes* 110/2 (1998) 773–970. Jerphanion’s work on Cappadocia was continued by Nicole and Michel Thierry, e.g. Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce. Région du Hasan Dağı. New rock-cut churches of Cappadocia. Avant-propos par A. Grabar. Paris 1963.

⁴⁸ G. DE JERPHANION, Projet de publication d’un choix d’inscriptions grecques chrétiennes, in: B. D. FILOV (ed.), Actes du IV^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Sofia, Septembre 1934. Sofia 1935 (= *Izvestija na Bălgarskija Archeologičeski Institut / Bulletin de l’Institut Archéologique Bulgare* 9 [1935]), 129–136: 131.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 132.

Greek inscriptions and, to keep the project realistic, he planned to publish only “un choix d’inscriptions grecques chrétiennes” of the period agreed upon at Athens in 1905 (from 395 to 1821), with a focus on inscriptions produced after the sixth century.⁵⁰ In his view, this selection would mainly serve such non-epigraphists as travelers, historians, and philologists. Jerphanion also had very specific ideas about the layout of the publication: he insisted on editing the inscriptions with the orthography of the original and with comments on “les formes par trop barbares, ou les mots rendus méconnaissables par l’ignorance ou la maladresse du lapicide.” Difficult passages should be accompanied by a translation, he felt, but Jerphanion did not plan to translate all the inscriptions because “il faut économiser le temps et l’espace.”⁵¹ In addition, each text should be followed by a brief commentary, a bibliography, and, if affordable, a facsimile or a photograph, especially for the dated inscriptions, in order to create a repository for specific letterforms and writing types. Jerphanion also wanted to create two series, one with “inscriptions primitives” and one with “inscriptions byzantines et post-byzantines . . . qui se seraient vendues séparément, chacune pouvant avoir sa clientèle propre.”⁵² Despite his claim that he had already started to collect material with his students in Rome, neither of the planned volumes ever appeared. A short note in *Bulletin épigraphique* of 1939 (no. 513) is therefore not surprising: “L’épigraphiste ‘classique’, qui lit ces textes [i.e., the Byzantine inscriptions] et en voit tout l’intérêt, rêve d’avoir un traité d’épigraphie byzantine. Qui nous le donnera?” Many other obligations may have hindered Jerphanion’s work on the selective corpus, and he also may have been affected by the difficult times that followed the announcement of his proposal.

Another “corpus” that began to see the light of day a few years later shared a similar fate. Nikolaos A. Bees (1882–1958), one of the most important Greek scholars of the first half of the twentieth century,⁵³ was the editor of the first fascicle of a series titled *Corpus der griechisch-christlichen Inschriften von Hellas*;⁵⁴ plans for his corpus date back to the period before World War I,⁵⁵ when Bees published his first major work on inscriptions, namely the collection of Byzantine and post-Byzantine epigraphs of the Meteora monasteries.⁵⁶ When the “Die griechisch-christlichen Inschriften des Peloponnes” came out, in 1941, it was a miracle that it ever left the printer’s: the manuscript had been lost in the chaos following the German attack on Greece that same year. World War II also prevented the ambitious plan to move forward with a corpus that included the whole territory of modern Greece, with nine volumes planned to cover the Greek mainland and islands. Bees’s wish “dass uns mit Gottes Hilfe die Vollendung des Werkes in besseren Friedenstagen geschenkt sein möge”⁵⁷ was not fulfilled. However, an originally unplanned tenth volume of the series, an edition of the late antique and early Byzantine inscriptions of Crete, was published almost three decades later.⁵⁸ As in so many other cases, part two of the book, which would have contained the inscriptions of Crete after the ninth century, has never appeared. For the Greek inscriptions of the middle Byzantine and Venetian period on the island, one still has to use the outdated edition of Giuseppe Gerola (1877–1938).⁵⁹

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 133–136. Collections of examples of Greek Christian inscriptions published previously covered only material up to the seventh century: O. MARUCCHI, *Christian Epigraphy. An Elementary Treatise with a Collection of Ancient Christian Inscriptions Mainly of Roman Origin*. Cambridge 1912; C. M. KAUFMANN, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik*. Freiburg i. Br. 1917; L. JALABERT – R. MOUTERDE, *Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes. DACL VII* (1926) 623–694.

⁵¹ DE JERPHANION, *Projet de publication d’un choix d’inscriptions grecques chrétiennes (op. cit.)* 135.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ L. BRANOUSES, Βέης, Νίκος. *Εκπαιδευτική Ελληνική Εγκυκλοπαιδεία. Παγκόσμιο βιογραφικό λεξικό II* (1994) 220–221.

⁵⁴ N. A. BEES, *Corpus der griechisch christlichen Inschriften von Hellas. Band I: Die griechisch-christlichen Inschriften des Peloponnes. Lieferung I: Isthmos – Korinthos*. Athens 1941 (reprint with a preface by A. N. OIKONOMIDES. Chicago 1978). This edition received some harsh—but in my view undeserved—criticism; cf. [L. ROBERT], in: *Actes du deuxième congrès international d’épigraphie grecque et latine (op. cit.)* 274: “On a protesté unanimement contre la verbosité de cette publication”; IRMSCHER, *Bemerkungen zur byzantinistischen Epigraphik (op. cit.)* 464: “verbose Materialdarbietung”.

⁵⁵ N. A. B[EES], *BNJ* 12 (1935–1936) 438.

⁵⁶ N. A. BEES, *Σύνταγμα ἐπιγραφικῶν μνημείων Μετεώρων. Byzantis* 1 (1909) 557–626.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* IX.

⁵⁸ A. C. BANDY, *The Greek Christian Inscriptions of Crete, vol. X, part I: IV–IX A. D. (Christian Archaeological Society – Athens)*. Athens 1970.

⁵⁹ G. GEROLA (with St. A. XANTHODIDIS), *Monumenti Veneti dell’isola di Creta, IV (R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti)*. Venice 1932, 390–593; on Gerola G. M. VARANINI, *Gerola, Giuseppe. Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 53 (2000):

Given all of these attempts to create a corpus or collection of Byzantine inscriptions, the great epigraphist of the twentieth century, Louis Robert (1904–1985),⁶⁰ correctly observed in 1952 at the Second International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy in Paris that the situation of Byzantine epigraphy was “un peu chaotique, où il y a eu un grand nombre de projets, plusieurs débuts de travaux, pas d’achèvements.”⁶¹ When, at the Eighth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, held in Palermo in 1951, the academies of all countries were again asked to contribute—as suggested by Cantarelli a quarter-century earlier—to a *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Christianarum*, especially with regard to inscriptions discovered outside of Greece,⁶² the plea seems to have been merely symbolic in character rather than a sincere attempt at a new initiative.

Only in 1966, at the Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, held in Oxford, did Byzantine epigraphy again become a focus of international Byzantine studies. Paul Lemerle (1903–1989)⁶³, then president of the Association Internationale des Études Byzantines, opened his report on the discipline within the *Instrumenta Studiorum* section by saying “L’épigraphie byzantine pose un problème.”⁶⁴ In a brief overview he summarized the different past efforts to create a corpus of Byzantine inscriptions. Lemerle was well aware of the fact that another call for a corpus would make no sense, especially for a practical reason: “un corpus doit être par définition complet, et pour rassembler à grand-peine et à grands frais des textes souvent insignifiants ou des fragments inutilisables, on retarderait indéfiniment la connaissance commode des textes importants.”⁶⁵ He therefore suggested—and his suggestion reminds us of the proposal of Jerphanion some thirty years earlier—a concentration on “un choix,” namely, on the “inscriptions historiques.” Lemerle also reported that the work on this genre of Byzantine inscriptions had already begun at the Centre de recherches sur l’histoire et la civilisation byzantines at Paris.⁶⁶ His plan was welcomed by the scholarly community,⁶⁷ and at the Sixth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, held in Munich in 1972, Hélène Ahrweiler presented the project in more detail.⁶⁸ During the following years and decades, a considerable number of editions of Byzantine inscriptions resulting from Lemerle’s initiative were published by such scholars as Denis Feissel, Georges Kiourtzian, Jean-Michel Spieser, and others.⁶⁹

[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giuseppe-gerola_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giuseppe-gerola_(Dizionario-Biografico)/). A new edition of the Greek Cretan inscriptions of the Venetian period is in preparation by Vassiliki Tsamakda and her team at the University of Mainz: “Dokumentation und Auswertung der griechischen Inschriften Kretas (13.–17. Jh.)” <http://www.byzanz-mainz.de/forschung/a/article/die-griechischen-inschriften-kretas-13-17-jh/>.

⁶⁰ Cf. P. GAUTHIER, Louis Robert, in: D. ROUSSET [et al.] (eds.), Louis Robert. Choix d’écrits. Paris 2007, 11–18.

⁶¹ [L. ROBERT], in: Actes du deuxième congrès international d’épigraphie grecque et latine (*op. cit.*) 273.

⁶² Cf. F. DÖLGER, *Gnomon* 23 (1951) 293.

⁶³ Cf. H.-G. BECK, *BZ* 82 (1989) 34; G. DAGRON: http://www.college-de-france.fr/media/professeurs-disparus/UPL1031_necro-lemerle1.pdf.

⁶⁴ LEMERLE, *Instrumenta Studiorum – Epigraphie* (*op. cit.*) 482.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 483. Lemerle himself was not only the organiser of the epigraphic project but in his earlier years he had also proved himself to be an epigraphist: P. LEMERLE, *Inscriptions latines et grecques de Philippes*. *BCH* 58 (1934) 448–483; 59 (1935) 126–164; IDEM, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale à l’époque chrétienne et byzantine*. *Recherches d’histoire et d’archéologie (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d’Athènes et de Rome)* 158. Paris 1945.

⁶⁷ Cf. IRMSCHER, *Bemerkungen zur byzantinistischen Epigraphik* (*op. cit.*) 466.

⁶⁸ H. AHRWEILER, *Les inscriptions historiques de Byzance*, in: *Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik*, München 1972 (*Vestigia, Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte* 17). Munich 1973, 515–518.

⁶⁹ E.g. J.-M. SPIESER, *Inventaires en vue d’un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance*. I. *Les inscriptions de Thessalonique*. *TM* 5 (1973) 145–180; D. FEISSEL – J.-M. SPIESER, *Inventaires en vue d’un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance*. II. *Les inscriptions de Thessalonique*. Supplément. *TM* 7 (1979) 303–348; D. FEISSEL, *Inscriptions byzantines de Ténos*. *BCH* 104 (1980) 477–518; IDEM, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du III^e au VI^e siècle* (*BCH*, Supplément VIII). Athen – Paris 1983; G. DAGRON – D. FEISSEL, *Inscriptions inédites du Musée d’Antioche*. *TM* 9 (1985) 421–461; D. FEISSEL – A. PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT, *Inventaires en vue d’un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance*. III. *Inscriptions du Péloponnèse (à l’exception de Mistra)*. *TM* 9 (1985) 267–395; A. AVRAMEÁ – D. FEISSEL, *Inventaires en vue d’un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance*. IV. *Inscriptions de Thessalie (à l’exception des Météores)*. *TM* 10 (1987) 357–398; G. DAGRON – D. FEISSEL, *Inscriptions de Cilicie* (*TM, Monographies* 4). Paris 1987; G. KIOURTZIAN, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes des Cy-*

At that same epigraphy congress at Munich, a first report on Ihor Ševčenko's and Cyril Mango's project of dated (and datable) Byzantine inscriptions was delivered,⁷⁰ after the plan had already been announced by Lemerle in 1966.⁷¹ In his paper, Ševčenko (1922–2009) stated that the corpus would contain images of all inscriptions and “will lay the groundwork for Byzantine epigraphy [and] will help students in various branches of Byzantinology in dating their evidence.” Ševčenko also announced that the work would be published in five fascicles, but despite the fact that he stated that “the documentation for the first fascicule (98 entries, covering Thrace, Istanbul, Bithynia) has been gathered, and the commentaries are in an advanced state of preparation,”⁷² the book has not yet been published.⁷³ However, there is encouraging news: the collection—now consisting of 120 dated and datable Byzantine inscriptions from Constantinople, Bithynia, and eastern Thrace between the fourth and fifteenth centuries—may be nearing completion with the help of Anne McCabe as a new collaborator.⁷⁴ In 1966 Ševčenko published another important study for Byzantine epigraphy, the edition of the inscriptions of the Sinai monastery and its immediate neighbourhood dating between 500 and 700 AD.⁷⁵

Despite the fact that the Lemerle model of concentrating on a specific genre of Byzantine inscriptions proved to be a realistic solution, the Bulgarian scholar Veselin Beševliev (1900–1992), author of the two important volumes *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften*⁷⁶ and *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien*,⁷⁷ only a few years later welcomed in principle the idea of publishing specific collections of Byzantine inscriptions but also stated that “Sie [i.e., these collections] können jedoch nicht ein Corpus ersetzen, das in vielen Beziehungen eine Fundgrube neuer Erkenntnisse sein dürfte.”⁷⁸ Obviously unaware of the difficulties faced by all earlier corpora plans, Beševliev was convinced that “die Aussichten für die Vorbereitung eines Corpus der byzantinischen Inschriften sind . . . nicht so hoffnungslos, wie sie auf den ersten Blick erscheinen mögen.”⁷⁹ He again called for international cooperation, the installation of a committee, and, as a first task, the creation of an inventory of already-published local collections of Byzantine inscriptions.⁸⁰ As we might expect, Beševliev's call did not find any takers, and he was the last scholar to demand a corpus of Byzantine inscriptions.

clades. De la fin du IIIe au VIIe siècle après J.-C. (*TM, Monographies* 12). Paris 2000. Whereas most of the above-mentioned editions were created as “inventories” with a choice of inscriptions as intended by Lemerle, the books by Feissel (Macedonia) and Kiourtzian (Cyclades) are corpora with *grosso modo* complete documentation of the inscriptions of the defined period.

⁷⁰ I. ŠEVČENKO, The Corpus of Dated Byzantine Inscriptions, in: Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik (*op. cit.*) 526.

⁷¹ LEMERLE, *Instrumenta Studiorum – Epigraphie* (*op. cit.*) 482.

⁷² Specimina of the corpus were published by both Cyril Mango and Ihor Ševčenko, e.g. C. MANGO, A Byzantine Inscription Relating to Dyrhachium. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1966, 410–414; IDEM, When was Michael III Born? *DOP* 21 (1967) 253–258; I. ŠEVČENKO, Inscription Commemorating Sisinnios, ‘Curator’ of Tzurulon (A. D. 813). *Byz* 35 (1965) 564–574; IDEM, Inscription in honor of Empress Eudoxia. *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States* 12 (1969–1972) 204–216 etc.

⁷³ And although the edition was already listed among the “Books Forthcoming” in the 1990: I. ŠEVČENKO – I. HUTTER (eds.), ΑΕΤΟΣ. Studies in Honor of Cyril Mango presented to him on April 14, 1998. Stuttgart – Leipzig 1998, XIV; cf. also St. EFTHYMIADIS – C. RAPP – D. TSOUGARAKIS (eds.), Bosphorus. Essays in Honour of Cyril Mango presented in Oxford, 6 July 1995. Amsterdam 1995 (= *BF* 21 [1995]), 3.

⁷⁴ A. MCCABE, The Corpus of Dated and Datable Inscriptions from Constantinople, Bithynia, and Eastern Thrace, in: Thirty-sixth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 8–10 October 2010. Abstracts of Papers, 6–7.

⁷⁵ I. ŠEVČENKO, The Early Period of the Sinai Monastery in the Light of its Inscriptions. *DOP* 20 (1966) 255–264.

⁷⁶ V. BEŠEVLIEV, Die protobulgarischen Inschriften (*BBA* 23). Berlin 1963 (= IDEM, Pärvo-bälgarski nadpisi [2., preraboteno i dop. izd.]. Sofia 1992);

⁷⁷ IDEM, Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien (*BBA* 30). Berlin 1964.

⁷⁸ V. BEŠEVLIEV, Über das Corpus der byzantinischen Inschriften. *Byzantina* 5 (1973) 309–311: 309; enlarged version IDEM, Probleme der byzantinischen Epigraphik, in: J. IRMSCHER – K. TREU (eds.), Das Korpus der griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller. Historie, Gegenwart, Zukunft (*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 120). Berlin 1977, 179–182.

⁷⁹ BEŠEVLIEV, Über das Corpus der byzantinischen Inschriften (*op. cit.*) 310.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 310–311.

This does not mean, however, that Byzantine epigraphy has not experienced any activities since then. The French series for the edition of Byzantine historical inscriptions produced some decent corpora in the 70s, 80s, and 90s of the twentieth century (see n. 69). Other useful editions of Byzantine inscriptions have also been published. Here it is possible to mention only a few: in 1973 Anastasios K. Orlandos (1887–1979)⁸¹ and Leandros Branouses (1921–1993) published the corpus of early Christian and Byzantine graffiti in the Parthenon;⁸² in 1992 Sophia Kalopissi-Verti published her corpus of dedicatory inscriptions of the thirteenth century in Greece;⁸³ in 1996 André Guillou's *Recueil des inscriptions grecques médiévales d'Italie*⁸⁴ appeared, and in 2003 Catherine Asdracha's collection of articles on the Byzantine inscriptions of eastern Thrace.⁸⁵ Since 2009, several volumes of a corpus of Byzantine metrical inscriptions have been published by Andreas Rhoby (see n. 15). Of less value, but still worth mentioning, is the compilation of fresco, mosaic and lapidary inscriptions from the Balkan peninsula that contain proper names, dating between the seventh and the thirteenth century.⁸⁶

In addition, valuable bibliographies, overviews, and multi-author volumes on Byzantine epigraphy have been produced over the past half century. An early forerunner was Cyril Mango's still-useful bibliographic survey of the Byzantine inscriptions of Constantinople.⁸⁷ One of the most valuable tools was published in 1981: in the *Dumbarton Oaks Bibliographies* series, a volume dedicated to Byzantine epigraphy compiled all the bibliographic entries published in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* between 1892 and 1977.⁸⁸ The collected material was divided into different sections: bibliographies, museum catalogues, general studies, inscriptions listed by language, inscriptions listed by location, special topics, and miscellanea. Indices at the end of the book increase its usefulness. A reviewer concluded his report with the statement "Wollen wir hoffen, daß die byzantinische Epigraphik nun endlich den überfälligen Aufschwung schafft."⁸⁹ One year later the important *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz* was published by Johannes Karayannopoulos and Günter Weiss.

⁸¹ Orlandos was also the editor of the journal *Archeion ton Byzantinon mnemeion tes Hellados* 1 (1935) – 10 (1964) in which he published many Byzantine inscriptions.

⁸² A. K. ORLANDOS – L. BRANOUSES, *Tà charáγματα tou Parthenōnos* [...]. Athens 1973. Maria Xenaki, who also contributes to this volume (pp. 157–166), is currently working on a new study of the Acropolis graffiti. For the Byzantine and post-Byzantine graffiti of the rest of Greece one still has to rely on M. Ch. ΓΚΕΤΑΚΟΣ, *Ἀνέκδοτοι ἐπιγραφαὶ καὶ χαράγματα ἐκ βυζαντινῶν καὶ μεταβυζαντινῶν μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Corpus ἐπιγραφῶν καὶ χαραγμάτων*. Athens 1957.

⁸³ S. KALOPISSI-VERTI, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece (VTIB 5)*. Wien 1992.

⁸⁴ A. GUILLOU, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques médiévales d'Italie*. Rom 1996; on the severe weaknesses of this edition, see W. HÖRANDNER, *JÖB* 48 (1998) 307–316 and C. MANGO, *BZ* 91 (1998) 129–132. In order to obtain a thorough picture of Byzantine inscriptions in Southern Italy one must also consult the numerous publications by André Jacob; for an overview A. JACOB, *Épigraphie et poésie dans l'Italie méridionale hellénophone*, in: *L'épistolographie et la poésie épigrammatique: projets actuels et questions de méthodologie*. Actes de la 16^e Table ronde organisée par W. HÖRANDNER et M. GRÜNBART dans le cadre du XX^e Congrès international des Études byzantines, Collège de France – Sorbonne, Paris, 19–25 Août 2001 (*Dossiers byzantins* 3). Paris 2003, 161–176; L. SAFRAN, *The Medieval Salento. Art and Identity in Southern Italy*. Philadelphia, PA 2014; see also F. FIORI, *Epigrafi greche dell'Italia bizantina (VII–XI secolo)*. Bologna 2008.

⁸⁵ C. ASDRACHA, *Inscriptions protobyzantines et byzantines de la Thrace Orientale et de l'île d'Imbros (IIIe – XVe siècles)*. Présentation et commentaire historique. Athens 2003; see also EADEM – Ch. BAKIRTZIS, *Inscriptions byzantines de Thrace (VIIIe–XVe siècles)*. Edition et commentaire historique. *AD* 35 (1980), Μέρος Α' – Μελέτες, 241–282.

⁸⁶ V. DJURIĆ – A. TSITOURIDOU, *Namenträgende Inschriften auf Fresken und Mosaiken auf der Balkanhalbinsel vom 7. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert (= Glossar zur frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte im östlichen Europa, Beiheft 4)*. Stuttgart 1986; see also R. MIHALJČIĆ – L. STEINDORFF, *Namenträgende Steininschriften in Jugoslawien vom Ende des 7. bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts (= Glossar zur frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte im östlichen Europa, Beiheft 2)*. Wiesbaden 1982; a new collection will be available soon: G. SUBOTIĆ – B. MILJKOVIĆ – I. ŠPADIJER – I. TOTH (eds.), *Dedicatory Inscriptions from the Central Balkans, Vol. 1: Thirteenth Century*, forthcoming.

⁸⁷ C. A. MANGO, *The Byzantine Inscriptions of Constantinople: A Bibliographical Survey*. *AJA* 55 (1951) 52–66.

⁸⁸ J. STANOJEVIĆ ALLEN – I. ŠEVČENKO (eds.), *Literature in Various Byzantine Disciplines 1892–1977*, vol. I: Epigraphy (*Dumbarton Oaks Bibliographies based on Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, series II). Washington, D.C. 1981.

⁸⁹ W. SEIBT, *JÖB* 34 (1984) 265.

This valuable book devotes ten pages to the inscriptional sources.⁹⁰ The authors deal with the inscriptions' value as a source and provide a detailed annotated bibliography of editions of and literature on Byzantine inscriptions. A similar and equally thorough overview of editions of Byzantine inscriptions and useful literature was published by Emilian Popescu in 1990.⁹¹ A detailed introduction to the historical value of Byzantine inscriptions is found in the Prolegomena volume of the first division of the *PmbZ*.⁹² The specific features of epigraphic production in Byzantium between the fourth and tenth centuries were analyzed by Mango in a persuasive paper given at the Second Congress on Greek Palaeography and Codicology, held in Berlin and Wolfenbüttel in 1983.⁹³ There Mango clearly demonstrated that the beginning of the eleventh century marks a break in the layout of epigraphic script caused, *inter alia*, by the insertion of accents and breathings and the manifold use of ligatures. Together with Guglielmo Cavallo, Mango is also the editor of an anthology on medieval Greek and Latin epigraphy that resulted from a conference at Erice in 1991.⁹⁴ The content of the book is rich and diverse: inscriptions of specific regions (e.g., Italy) are analyzed along with those that serve a specific purpose (e.g., tomb inscriptions). Questions about the palaeography of Greek and Latin inscriptions are addressed, and the impact of inscriptions on society is considered.

One of the most useful tools for Byzantine epigraphy was published by Denis Feissel in 2006.⁹⁵ His *Chroniques d'épigraphie byzantine: 1987–2004* is an updated collection of his notes on early Christian and Byzantine inscriptions of the period 330–1453 published in the “Bulletin épigraphique” of the *Revue des études grecques*. The volume consists of more than 1200 entries listed according to geographic criteria based on Diocletian's division of the Roman provinces.⁹⁶ A useful resource for (mainly classical) epigraphists is the *Guide de l'épigraphiste*, now in its fourth edition.⁹⁷

Technological advances have also opened new possibilities for the display of inscriptions.⁹⁸ A tool of considerable value for early Christian and Byzantine inscriptions is the “Searchable Greek Inscriptions Data-

⁹⁰ J. KARAYANNOPULOS – G. WEISS, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324–1453)*. Erster Halbband, Erster bis Dritter Hauptteil: Methodik, Typologie, Randzonen (*Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa* 14/1). Wiesbaden 1982, 162–172.

⁹¹ E. POPESCU, Griechische Inschriften, in: F. WINKELMANN – W. BRANDES (eds.), *Quellen zur Geschichte des frühen Byzanz (4.–9. Jahrhundert)* (*BBA* 55). Amsterdam 1990, 81–105.

⁹² R.-J. LILIE – C. LUDWIG – Th. PRATSCH – I. ROCHOW [et al.] (nach Vorarbeiten F. Winkelmanns), *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Erste Abteilung (641–867)*. Prolegomena. Berlin – New York 1998, 266–284; cf. also IDEM, *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Zweite Abteilung (867–1025)*. Prolegomena. Berlin – New York 2009, 302–303. A chapter analyzing the epigraphic record of the iconoclast era is part of the study by L. BRUBAKER – J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680–850): the Sources. An annotated survey. With a section on The Architecture of Iconoclasm: the Buildings* by R. Ousterhout (*Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs* 7). Aldershot – Burlington – Singapore – Sydney 2001, 141–145.

⁹³ C. MANGO, Byzantine Epigraphy (4th to 10th Centuries), in: D. HARLFINGER – G. PRATO (con la collaborazione di M. D'AGOSTINO e A. DODA) (eds.), *Paleografia e codicologia greca. Atti del II colloquio internazionale* (Berlino – Wolfenbüttel, 17–21 ottobre 1983). Alessandria 1991, I 235–249, II 115–146. On the epigraphy of the eleventh century see the contribution by Ida Toth pp. 203–225.

⁹⁴ G. CAVALLO – C. MANGO (eds.), *Epigrafia medievale greca e latina. Ideologia e funzione. Atti del seminario di Erice (12–18 settembre 1991)* (*Biblioteca del “Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici in Umbria”, Collana* 11). Spoleto 1995.

⁹⁵ On Feissel's rich bibliography, focusing mainly on early Christian and early Byzantine epigraphy, see http://www.cfeb.org/frameset_membres.htm. Some of his highly valuable studies were reprinted in D. FEISSEL, *Documents, droit, diplomatique de l'Empire romain tardif* (*Bilans de recherche* 7). Paris 2010.

⁹⁶ D. FEISSEL, *Chroniques d'épigraphie byzantine 1987–2004* (*Collège de France – CNRS, Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies* 20). Paris 2006; cf. A. RHOBY, *JÖB* 58 (2008) 235–239. Mention must also be made of Feissel's *Notes d'épigraphie chrétienne I–IX* published in *BCH* 100 (1976) – 118 (1994).

⁹⁷ F. BERARD [et al.], *Guide de l'épigraphiste. Bibliographie choisie des épigraphies antiques et médiévales*. Paris 4^e 2010; further supplements can be found at <http://www.antiquite.ens.fr/ressources/publications-aux-p-e-n-s/guide-de-l-epigraphiste/article/presentation>.

⁹⁸ Cf. e.g. S. ORLANDI [et al.] (eds.), *Information Technologies for Epigraphy and Cultural Heritage. Proceedings of the First EAGLE International Conference*. Rome 2014: <http://www.eagle-network.eu/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Paris-Conference-Proceedings.pdf>. On EAGLE (Electronic Archive of Greek and Latin Epigraphy) see the contribution of Charlotte Roueché in this volume (pp. 117, 119).

base” of the the Packard Humanities Institute, first published as a CD-ROM and now available online.⁹⁹ A more elaborate digital edition of early Christian and Byzantine inscriptions was created by Charlotte Roueché, who turned her book about the late Roman and Byzantine inscriptions of Aphrodisias¹⁰⁰ into a database.¹⁰¹ There is a consensus that this database can serve as a model for future digital editions of (Byzantine) inscriptions,¹⁰² and there are more databases to come,¹⁰³ including the digital editions of the inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania (already completed)¹⁰⁴ and Roman Cyrenaica,¹⁰⁵ and as well as an online corpus, “Ancient Inscriptions of the Northern Black Sea,”¹⁰⁶ created according to the Aphrodisias model. These digital editions are based on EpiDoc, which is “an international, collaborative effort that provides guidelines and tools for encoding scholarly and educational editions of ancient documents” using “a subset of the Text Encoding Initiative’s (TEI)¹⁰⁷ standard for the representation of texts in digital form using the Extensible Markup Language (XML).”¹⁰⁸ Two databases with a considerable amount of late antique/early Byzantine epigraphic material are hosted at Oxford: the MAMA XI Project¹⁰⁹ and The Last Statues of Antiquity¹¹⁰. The launch of the new Athena Ruby font created at Dumbarton Oaks generates even more possibilities for the accurate (online) representation of (Byzantine) inscriptions.¹¹¹

Fresh impetus for the field of Byzantine epigraphy was provided at the Twenty-second International Congress of Byzantine Studies, held in Sofia in 2011, with a round table entitled “Towards a Corpus of Byzantine Inscriptions” organized by Andreas Rhoby.¹¹² The possibility of a new initiative for systematic research on Byzantine inscriptions¹¹³ was discussed, and an epigraphy commission under the auspices of the Association Internationale des Études Byzantines was installed¹¹⁴ with the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna as central coordinator.¹¹⁵ In discussions before, during, and after the Sofia congress, it was agreed that a new

⁹⁹ Greek Documentary Texts. (1) Inscriptions, (2) Papyri. CD-ROM 7. The Packard Humanities Institute, 1991–1996, <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/>. The Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg database covers Latin inscriptions: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home?lang=de>.

¹⁰⁰ Ch. ROUECHÉ, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity. The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions. With contributions by J.M. REYNOLDS (JRSt, Monographs 5)*. London 1989.

¹⁰¹ <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/>; new version with inscriptions found up to the end of 1994 <http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/index.html>

¹⁰² Cf. Ch. ROUECHÉ, Digitizing inscribed texts, in: M. DEEGAN – K. SUTHERLAND (eds.), *Text Editing, Print and the Digital World*. Farnham 2009, 159–168 and her article in this volume pp. 115–1198.

¹⁰³ Cf. H. CAYLESS – Ch. ROUECHÉ – T. ELLIOTT – G. BODARD, Epigraphy in 2017. *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 3/1 (2009): <http://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/3/1/000030/000030.html>

¹⁰⁴ <http://www.ircyr.kcl.ac.uk/projects/irtrip.html>

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.ircyr.kcl.ac.uk/index.html>

¹⁰⁶ See the article by Andrey Vinogradov in this volume pp. 55–72.

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.tei-c.org/index.xml>

¹⁰⁸ <http://www.stoa.org/epidoc/gl/latest/>; <http://sourceforge.net/p/epidoc/wiki/Home/>; all the EpiDoc projects are listed at <http://www.stoa.org/epidoc/gl/latest/app-bibliography.html>

¹⁰⁹ <http://mama.csad.ox.ac.uk/index.html>; cf. Ch. ROUECHÉ, The history of an idea: tracing the origins of the MAMA project, in: P. THONEMANN (ed.), *Roman Phrygia. Culture and Society (Greek Culture in the Roman World)*. Cambridge 2013, 249–264.

¹¹⁰ <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/>

¹¹¹ See the article by Joel Kalvesmaki in this volume pp. 121–126.

¹¹² Cf. Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies (*op. cit.*) II 54–60. Within the framework of the 2011 Sofia congress Denis Feissel published an informative overview of the achievements in the field of Byzantine epigraphy from 2001 to 2011 with a specific focus on “les inscriptions protobyzantines”: D. FEISSEL, Une décennie d’épigraphie byzantine (2001–2011): <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/propylaeumdok/volltexte/2012/1527>

¹¹³ At the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies at London in 2006 there had already been a panel entitled “Words Inscribed,” organized by Tassos Papacostas which, however, did not discuss the possibilities for systematic editorial work on Byzantine inscriptions. Cf. Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies. London, 21–26 August, 2006. Vol. II: Abstracts of Panel Papers. Aldershot – Burlington, VT 2006, 126–130.

¹¹⁴ Cf. <http://www.aiebnat.gr/fr/aiebnat/commissions-of-the-aieb.html>

¹¹⁵ In this context mention should be made of the late Herbert Hunger’s contribution to a discussion following the presentation of a paper by Guglielmo Cavallo entitled “Le tipologie della cultura nel riflesso delle testimonianze scritte” at the 34th Settimana di Studio at Spoleto in 1986: “Ich möchte hier unterstreichen, daß es eine byzantinische Epigraphik nicht gibt, oder noch nicht gibt. Es haben verschiedene einzelne Kollegen zu verstreuten Inschriften publiziert, aber es gibt keine Übersicht, keine Systematik, es gibt nichts Grundsätzliches. Also, byzantinische Epigraphik ist eine wichtige Aufgabe unseres Faches für die Zukunft . . . Und

series, entitled *Inscriptiones Graecae Aevi Byzantini*, would be created; in it—as in the well-established text series *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*—international cooperative partners will publish corpora of inscriptions edited according to the highly appropriate guidelines¹¹⁶ of the French series of medieval Latin inscriptions, “Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale.”¹¹⁷ These guidelines require, *inter alia*, a transcription of the inscription as exact as possible, a transliteration of the text (and in exceptional cases also a “literary” edition of the inscription), a translation, and a commentary. So far, two current inscription projects have been admitted to the new series: the edition of Greek inscriptions of Crete from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries by Vasiliki Tsamakda (see n. 59) and the dated and datable inscriptions of Constantinople and its hinterland (see p. 25) by Mango and McCabe.

While older collections of Byzantine inscriptions always included primarily, or even exclusively, those on stone, the new initiative aims to cover all inscriptions (excluding coins and seals) according to the definitions of Rudolf Kloos (“Inschriften sind Beschriftungen verschiedener Materialien—in Stein, Holz, Metall, Leder, Stoff, Email, Glas, Mosaik usw.—, die von Kräften und mit Methoden hergestellt sind, die nicht dem Schreibschul- und Kanzleibetrieb angehören”),¹¹⁸ Denis Feissel (“c’est une convention commode de définir comme épigraphique tout document écrit autrement qu’à l’encre, d’ordinaire gravé sur pierre ou sur bronze mais à l’occasion peint sur divers supports”)¹¹⁹ and Cyril Mango (“on a broad definition the discipline of epigraphy embraces all inscriptions other than those in manuscripts”)¹²⁰. In this context we should not forget that the term “inscription” had already been broadly defined at the First International Congress of Archaeology at Athens in 1905: “On admettra les inscriptions des objets mobiliers à l’exception des sceaux, monnaies, poids.”¹²¹

Needless to say, the *Inscriptiones Graecae Aevi Byzantini* project is open to traditional paper publications as well as digital editions that make use of the manifold search opportunities of online platforms. A further duty of studies on Byzantine epigraphy will be the extensive discussion of the context of inscriptions.¹²² This kind of research, however, must be built upon a secure textual basis in order to avoid incorrect interpretations.

ich darf für Wien sprechen, daß ich hoffe, daß wir einen Beitrag dazu leisten können” (Bisanzio, Roma e l’Italia nell’alto medioevo, 3–9 aprile 1986 [*Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo* 34]. Spoleto 1988, II 517).

¹¹⁶ Cf. BEŠEVĽIEV, Über das Corpus der byzantinischen Inschriften (*op. cit.*) 310: “Die einzelnen Publikationen, die eigentlich in diesem Fall Teile des gesamten Corpus darstellen werden, sollten allerdings nach bestimmten einheitlichen Prinzipien und Schemata mit gleichem Titel und Format verfasst und ediert werden”.

¹¹⁷ Cf. e.g. R. FAVREAU, Calvados, Eure, Manche, Orne, Seine-Maritime (*Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale* 22). Paris 2002.

¹¹⁸ R. M. KLOOS, Einführung in die Epigraphik des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit (*Die Kunstwissenschaft. Einführungen in Gegenstand, Methoden und Ergebnisse ihrer Teildisziplinen und Hilfswissenschaften*). Darmstadt²1992, 2.

¹¹⁹ D. FEISSEL, Épigraphie et constitutions impériales: aspects de la publication du droit à Byzance, in: CAVALLO – MANGO, Epigrafia medievale greca e latina (*op. cit.*) 67–98: 75.

¹²⁰ MANGO, Epigraphy (*op. cit.*) 144.

¹²¹ Comptes rendus du Congrès International d’Archéologie. I^{re} session, Athènes 1905 (*op. cit.*) 317.

¹²² For a starting point, see the contributions in L. JAMES (ed.), *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*. Cambridge 2007; for the Latin West, see, e.g., V. DEBIAIS, Messages de pierre. La lecture des inscriptions dans la communication médiévale (XIII^e–XIV^e siècle) (*Culture et société médiévales* 17). Turnhout 2009.

