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WHAT'S IN A NAME?
IMAGES OF CHRIST INSCRIBED
WITH EPITHETS IN MIDDLE AND
LATE BYZANTINE ART

GEORGE WILLIAM LESLIE BARTLETT
THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:

VOLUME ONE

UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

GEORGE WILLIAM LESLIE BARTLETT
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SUMMARY

This thesis discusses images of Christ from the Middle and Late Byzantine periods where he is given epithet inscriptions in addition to IC XC. As a collective, these inscriptions have not yet received sustained academic attention, with scholars often making passing reference to epithets and alluding to a wider body of similar material, without any substantial empirical evidence. This thesis collates, presents and analyses images of Christ that are inscribed with epithets in order to show the merit of studying them together and to ask what difference the inscriptions made to objects on which they were displayed, had only IC XC been included.

To attempt to answer this question, I explore the ways that it is important to consider Christ's epithets as part of a collective, how the epithets were understood as names, functioned as devotional entities, and affected the meaning of the images they inscribed and vice-versa. I show that Christ's epithets offer an important insight into how the Byzantines understood and used His image, something that is important for examples of Byzantine art about which little contextual information is known. Further, I explore the ways that epithets were part of wider ideologies concerning identity in Byzantium. I argue that epithets commented on the ways in which names could reveal aspects of divine identity in Byzantine Orthodox belief and were used by certain individuals in order to add to their constructions of selfhood, whilst bolstering their political and social identities. I also examine the ways that certain epithets have been mishandled in Byzantine art scholarship, being incorrectly conflated with iconographic 'types'. Instead, I argue that the ways in which epithets related to the images they inscribed were quite complex. This provides new insight into how the Byzantines perceived image and text to work together to create meaning.

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NOTE ON GREEK LANGUAGE, TRANSLITERATIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Decisions about what to do for the transliterations and translations of Byzantine Greek are always tricky. For Christ's epithets I have tried to stick with the wider trends of Byzantine art scholarship, which means I switch between transliterations and translations. As a rule, scholarship tends to transliterate epithets when the transliterations are only a single word and translations for when they are more. Because of this, Ἐλεήμων becomes Eleemon, not Merciful, and Παλαιός τῶν ἡμερῶν becomes Ancient of Days, not Palios ton Emeron. Because of their frequency in the thesis, I have decided not to italicise the transliterations of epithets or over score the long vowel sounds, as this is distracting and again this sticks with trends in scholarship: Pantokrator, not Pantokratōr. For transliterations I have not Latinised the spelling. Where possible, I have used the spelling from the Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium. I have adopted the same approach to the names of churches and individuals.

When referencing specific inscriptions, I kept with the Byzantine appearance of sigma and omega: Σ becomes C; and Ω becomes GΩ. In the Appendix, I have catalogued the inscriptions according to their original appearance. Here, / represents a new line and – represents a divide or break to create a new part of the inscription, usually moving from the left to the right of Christ.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis draws together, analyses and interprets Byzantine images of Jesus Christ that contain epithets inscribed on them; epithets being elaborative and descriptive names in addition to the more standardised legend IC XC (Ι(ησοῦ)C X(ριστό)C, Iesous Christos, Jesus Christ). These images and inscriptions come from the years c. 843-1453, the period now known as Middle and Late Byzantium.¹

The aim of my thesis is to ask what difference it makes to Byzantine images of Christ when an epithet is inscribed in addition to IC XC. Each chapter will address different aspects of how this question might be answered, focusing on how the inscriptions were understood, used and affected the meaning of their accompanying iconographies. Chapter One will present and analyse the survey that I conducted for this thesis, of Byzantine objects featuring representations of Christ with epithets inscribed. This chapter draws together the primary visual material that will inform and be used in the subsequent chapters' discussions.

Furthermore, I shall argue that because all the objects share the motif of an inscribed epithet, in spite of their significant epigrammatic and iconographic divergences, it is important for them to be considered together as a corpus. This approach has been largely neglected in past scholarship. Chapter Two considers the functions that these inscriptions had as names. By placing them within wider Byzantine epigrammatic and onomastic ideologies, I shall show that Christ's epithets were part of a much larger and complex intellectual history. This discussion highlights some of the important factors that would have directly and indirectly informed the Byzantine understanding and function of the inscribed objects, such as a subject's relationship with its name and the theological significance this takes on with Christ's image and naming inscriptions in Byzantine culture. Building on this emphasis on the perceived function of inscribed images of Christ, Chapter Three asks how the inscriptions informed the inscribed objects' social and devotional uses. Whilst the inscriptions' primary function were to specify an aspect of Christ's identity, they could also affect the objects' devotional functions. Here, I shall argue that the inscriptions were part of larger socio-

¹ There is a strong emphasis on the years c. 1000 – 1453 in my thesis. These years match a new periodisation for Byzantium, which emphasises the connection between the Middle and Late periods. See: I. Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion in Later Byzantium* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016); F. Spingou (ed.), *Visual Arts, Material Culture, and Literature in Later Byzantium* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, expected 2020). Spingou spoke about this categorisation in her seminar, 'What is Later Byzantium? Towards a new periodisation of Byzantine cultural history (1081 – ca. 1330s)', *CHS Late Antique & Byzantine Studies Seminar Series*, Kings College London, 3 October, 2018.

political power structures such as imperial identity and gift-giving to achieve salvation. In such contexts, by venerating an image of Christ whose identity was specified by means of an epithet, certain individuals could elevate their status and construct important aspects of their selfhoods. Chapter Four will build on the observations made about iconography and inscriptions from Chapter One and will analyse the image-text relations envisaged in the inscribed images of Christ in order to show how together they constructed meaning. I shall argue that modern scholarly approaches to the relationships of epithet inscriptions with iconography have been incorrect and hinder the understanding of the Byzantine experience of such images.

Christ's epithet inscriptions have received very little direct attention in Byzantine scholarship. Most frequently, these inscriptions are cited in passing, with writers often acknowledging that they belong within a wider epigraphic trend. As there has not been a comprehensive survey of the inscriptions, these analyses are often vague, or unsupported by sufficient evidence. For instance, in her discussion on the images of Christ inscribed Ο ΥΠΕΡΑΓΑΘΟΣ (O Hyperagathos, The Supremely Good) [Figure 1] from the apse mosaic of the Pammakaristos funerary chapel, Doula Mouriki suggests that the inscription is part of a larger group of 'benevolence-stressing epithets', citing a small number of other examples, but without any specific reference to any larger body of inscribed objects.² Similar comments are made for other epithets in the work of scholars such as Cyril Mango and Robert Nelson.³ This lack of emphasis on the epithets makes sense in their contexts, as the respective scholars' focuses were not on naming inscriptions, but other topics such as specific churches and devotional practices. However, my thesis will argue that the epithets were an important factor in understanding the images, affecting issues such as their viewing spaces and devotional contexts.

The closest body of work to a survey for objects with images of Christ inscribed with epithets comes from Klaus Wessel in his entry for Christusbild in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen*

² D. Mouriki, 'The Iconography of the Mosaics' in *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul*, ed. C. Mango (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1978), p. 56.

³ C. Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople*, (Copenhagen: i kommission hos Munksgaard, 1959), pp. 142-48 and R. S. Nelson, 'Image and Inscription: Pleas for Salvation in Spaces of Devotion', in *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, ed. L. James (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007) pp. 100-19.

Kunst.⁴ This work is formalist in its approach and focuses predominantly on the relationship between epithets and iconography. Wessel argues for a definite relationship between epithets and iconography. This is a recurring theme in scholarship: for instance, adult Christs depicted in a bust are ubiquitously described as ‘Pantokrator’ (All-Ruler), and young Christs as ‘Emmanuel’ (transliteration of the Hebrew for ‘God with us’), whether there is an epithet or not.⁵ However, the evidence for this needs interrogating. The use of ‘Pantokrator’ to describe certain images of Christ in scholarship has been criticised by Jane Timken Matthews, who pointed out significant iconographic variations for works inscribed with the epithet and therefore argued against its conflation with a set iconography.⁶ Despite this, the relationship between epithet and iconography is still very much universally accepted.

In addition to formal analysis, another approach to inscribed images is to place the use of Christ’s epithets in Byzantine art within their social, political and devotional contexts. Ivan Drpić and John Cotsonis have both discussed how epithets were perceived and used by the Byzantines. Drpić places Christ’s epithets, along with those belonging to the Mother of God and saints, within the context of devotional epigraphic adornment culture in the period he refers to as ‘later Byzantium’, the period from around the eleventh to the fifteenth century.⁷ Cotsonis focuses on the role of epithets on Byzantine lead seals, arguing that only certain groups of individuals, such as members of the imperial elite, were able to use epithet inscriptions with no invocations because of their special relationships with the divine figures depicted.⁸ This was in contrast to non-imperial seal owners, who were not as inclined to use epithets and more frequently used invocations, which were inscriptions that directly called upon the help or assistance of a holy individual.⁹ This work was backed up by substantial

⁴ K. Wessel, ‘Christobild’ in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1966), cols. 1014–34.

⁵ For instance, ‘Pantokrator’ is used to describe images of Christ without the epithet present in H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom (eds.), *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), cat. 41, 83A, 83B, 112, 127 and H. C. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004), cat. 154, 217 and 307 and .

⁶ J. Timken Matthews, ‘The Byzantine Use of the Title Pantocrator’, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, XLIV (1978), pp. 442–62, this is based on J. Timken Matthews, *Pantokrator: Title and Image* (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1980).

⁷ Drpić, ‘Epithets’ in *Epigram, Art, and Devotion in Later Byzantium*, pp. 351-374, is by far the most thorough and comprehensive study of epithet inscriptions in Byzantine art. On p. 352, Drpić provides a literature review and identifies that the majority of literature is on Marian rather than Christological epithets, with work on the latter focusing predominantly on the relationship between epithets and iconography.

⁸ J. Cotsonis, ‘“To Invoke or Not to Invoke”. The Image of Christ on Byzantine Lead Seals. That Is the Question’, *Revue Numismatique*, Vol. 6 (2013), pp. 549–82.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 551.

empirical evidence, with Cotsonis using material from his survey of figurative Byzantine lead seals.

My thesis revisits and critically evaluates this and other relevant literature in greater detail later. The point of very quickly summarising this scholarship here is to highlight two ways in which my research will be different. First, my analyses will be informed by a wider set of material data, which will be outlined in the survey presented in Chapter One. This will allow my arguments to be supported and strengthened by a more solid body of evidence. Second, the emphasis of my thesis lies with objects where images of Christ are inscribed with epithets. In most other instances, Christ's epithets have been secondary concerns in scholarly studies covering issues such as devotional practices, liturgy and patronage. There has been a greater effort to discuss Marian epithets in Byzantine art, and whilst this is important, it is equally important to discuss her Christological counterpart. Byzantium was a predominantly Orthodox Christian society, and one whose political structure was theocratic.¹⁰ This means that images of Christ and the inscriptions associated with Him were extremely important and central to many ideological, devotional, political, social and artistic issues. By shifting the emphasis to the epithets of Christ, I shall be able to consider what difference they make to the objects on which they were written, a question that has not been discussed comprehensively. In doing so, I shall also outline the ways in which epithets of Christ, as a shared inscribed motif, were important aspects of Byzantine onomastics, devotional practices, identity and iconography.

As a result of the wide chronological and artistic scope of my dissertation topic, my thesis will cover a large body of visual material. Because of this, it is important to define the parameters of my material, particularly what I am defining as Byzantine art. For the purpose of this study, I have adopted the traditional dates of the Byzantine Empire, 330 to 1453. These dates represent the move of the Roman Empire's capital to Constantinople and the sack of the city by the Ottomans. The question of geographical boundaries is somewhat trickier and I have decided that I shall focus on Orthodox art in the eastern Mediterranean. I shall outline my rationale and logic behind these and other definitions in greater detail in

¹⁰ For the Byzantine theocratic political structure, see S. Runciman, *The Byzantine Theocracy* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), esp. pp. 162-63.

Chapter One, as it directly informed the scope of my survey of objects I shall examine throughout this thesis.

THE ICON OF CHRIST PANTEPOPTES

In order to keep the discussions and analyses of my dissertation focused, I shall use a single Byzantine icon as a specific example at the start and end of each chapter. The purpose of this is to provide a single tangible example through which to frame each chapter's questions and analyses. The Byzantine object I shall be using is the icon of Christ Pantepoptes from the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (accession number 63.68.1-.13) [Figure 2 and Figure 3].¹¹ I have chosen this icon as my case study as it is an especially pertinent example of topic of the thesis. I shall now outline the iconography and inscriptions of the Pantepoptes icon and a series of questions arise from focusing on the epithets inscribed on it. It is important to do this here, as the initial questions that arise from examining Christ's epithets on the Pantepoptes icon will be the ones that inform the structure and content of the main chapters' analyses and the main thesis question of what difference Christ's epithets made to the objects on which they were written.

The Pantepoptes icon's exact location of production is not known, nor are its dates, with Constantinople and 1300-1500 speculatively given for each. The icon consists of thirteen separate carved steatite plaques that once would have formed a single icon, which would have been held together by a now-lost frame.¹² These plaques are very small: the central large plaque measures 8.8 x 6.3 cm, and the twelve smaller framing plaques are just 3.5 x 2.7 cm. Despite this small size, the thirteen plaques feature an abundance of figurative relief carvings and inscriptions, including a significant number of epithets for Christ.

In the middle of the central plaque there is a depiction of Christ, who is shown seated on a high-backed throne [Figure 4]. Christ stares directly at the viewer, His right hand is held

¹¹ The entry for the icon is misspelt on the *Metropolitan Museum of Art* website, 'Icon with Christ Pantepotes [sic] and the Chorus of Saints', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/468607>> [accessed 27 February 2020]. For more detailed catalogue entries see I. D. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985), cat. 168, pp. 230-33 and Evans, *Byzantium*, cat. 143, pp. 235-36.

¹² Evans, *Byzantium*, pp. 235-36 and pp. 234-35 for an example of the hypothesised lost frame of the Pantepoptes icon.

directly in front of His body in a gesture of blessing and His left hand holds an open gospel book. Inside this gospel book is an inscription which reads, ΕΓ(ΓΩ) ΕΙ(ΜΙ) ΤΟ Φ(ΩΣ) ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜ(ΟΥ), ('I am the light of the world...'), from John 8:12. Above this central panel there is an inscription that names the enthroned Christ as IC XC Ο ΠΑΝΤΕΠΟΠΤΗΣ. IC XC is an abbreviated form of Greek for Jesus Christ, and the epithet Ο ΠΑΝΤΕΠΟΠΤΗΣ, Pantepoptes, translates as 'The All-Seeing'.¹³ In this central plaque, the enthroned Christ is framed by twelve separate narrative scenes, which from left to right, top to bottom, depict the Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation at the Temple, Baptism, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Transfiguration, Crucifixion, Deposition, Entombment, Anastasis and Ascension.¹⁴

On the smaller outer twelve plaques there are a further eleven depictions of Christ [Figure 5 and Figure 6]. In all but the bottom right corner plaque, there are identical depictions of a young and beardless Christ shown in a bust, with His arms outstretched to either side above various symmetrically organised groups of figures. These groups are all framed by an arch supported by flanking columns. The four plaques on the top register depict prophets, the two on the register below show the apostles, below these are Church Fathers and on the bottom register are martyrs, Saints Constantine and Helena, and healing saints. The final scene is from the Old Testament and it depicts three Hebrews being rescued from a furnace by an angel (Daniel 3) [Figure 7]. Like the panels from the central plaque, each of the scenes has an accompanying inscription running above the relief carvings. The structuring of these inscriptions is slightly more complex than those in the central panel. Each group of individuals is named in the inscription, which runs across the top each of registers from left to right. In all but the final scene where He is absent, Christ also receives naming inscriptions. These naming inscriptions interrupt the syntax of those belonging to the groups, in order to formally align with the positioning of the young Christ's head in each of the scenes. For instance, on the top register, the epigraphic frieze reads ΟΧΟΡΟ-ΙCXCΟΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ-CΤΩΝ-ΙCXC-ΟΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ-ΠΡΟΦΗΤΩΝ-ΙCXCΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ.¹⁵ Here, the

¹³ R. S. Binning, 'Christ's All-Seeing Eye in the Dome', in *Aural Architecture in Byzantium: Music, Acoustics, and Ritual*, ed. B. Pentcheva (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp.101-25. Although this article focuses on the use of the 'all-seeing' Christ in Byzantine dome decoration, the Pantepoptes icon is glaringly omitted from the discussions.

¹⁴ Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, p. 231 provides a full list of these inscriptions in Greek.

¹⁵ I have placed '—' to represent where the syntax of the prophets' naming inscription has been interrupted by those belong to Christ.

prophets' naming inscription O XOPOC TGON ΠPOΦHTGON (the Chorus of Prophets) is interrupted three times by IC XC EMMANOYHA (Jesus Christ Emmanuel), so that Christ's inscribed name aligns horizontally with His depiction.¹⁶ In all twelve plaques depicting Christ He is inscribed with IC XC. However, in the first nine scenes He also receives epithets. In the first six scenes, on the top two registers which depict the prophets and the apostles, the inscriptions read IC XC O EMMANOYHA (Jesus Christ, the Emmanuel), with Λ being omitted on two occasions. In the following three scenes depicting the Church Fathers and the martyrs, Christ is inscribed IC XC N(I)KA (Jesus Christ Conquers). In scenes depicting Saints Constantine and Helena, and the healing saints Christ is inscribed as simply IC XC. So, on the Pantepoptes icon, there is one Christ Pantepoptes, six images of Christ Emmanuel and three of Christ Nika.

Epithets certainly seem like an important part of the epigraphic scheme of this icon, but the question is what difference do they make to it? How different would the object have been had only IC XC been inscribed throughout? I shall revisit this question throughout this thesis and use it as a starting point to consider the extent to which the arguments made concerning His icon and its inscriptions can be applied to other images of Christ inscribed with epithets. Before embarking on these bigger discussions, it is important to outline what is known about the Pantepoptes icon and its inscriptions. The purpose of this is to see whether there are any significant factors that might inform its use of inscriptions, which will be important for the direction and scope of the rest of the thesis.

The recurring depiction of Christ and the frequency of His inscribed name with additional epithets suggest that this icon had some sort of Christocentric function. The omission of the more Marian-focused scenes of the Pentecost and Koimesis in favour of the more Christological scenes of the Deposition and Entombment highlight this, as does the soteriological interpretation of the Three Hebrews scene. From the Early Christian period, this story was used as a typological prefiguration of Christ's salvation of humanity and would

¹⁶ This interruption of syntax is possible in Greek because sentence structure does not matter in the same way that it does in English. The case of each word dictates its form, which allows sentences to make perfect sense no matter their running order. For instance, the first panel is identified as O XOPOC TGON ΠPOΦHTGON (the Choir of Prophets), but the inscription is split over the top four panels, interrupted three times by IC XC O EM(M)ANOYH(Λ). B. Hostetler, 'Towards a Typology for the Placement of Names on Works of Art', in *Inscribing Texts in Byzantium: Continuity, Invention, Transformation*, ed. I. Toth and M. Lauxtermann (Oxford, Routledge, 2018), pp. 267-90, argues that patrons' names in Byzantine art of the tenth to thirteenth centuries were strategically placed in order to make 'visual and extra-textual messages' about the relationship between humans and the divine.

have undoubtedly been understood as such in the context of this icon.¹⁷ There are other obvious examples that contribute to this Christological reading of the icon. The entire composition is centred on an image of an enthroned Christ, who is by far the largest individual depicted on the object. This central icon is one of 22 depictions of Christ included in this single object, where He is represented as an infant in earlier narrative scenes, slightly older but still beardless in the framing plaques, where He blesses the choirs of holy figures and as a bearded adult in the later narrative scenes and in the central image.

The inscriptions featured in the icon add to this Christological reading. Aside from in the ten narrative scenes where He is depicted, Christ is always inscribed with a name. In all twelve instances of naming, Christ is inscribed IC XC and in ten of these cases He also receives epithets: one Pantepoptes; six Emmanuel; and three Nika. This emphasis on naming inscriptions is notable because of their very small scale. The inscriptions would have taken considerable time and effort to carve out and therefore seem to be a very important aspect of the viewing experience of the icon. As noted, on the outer plaques, Christ's naming inscriptions interrupt the syntax of the naming inscriptions of the choirs of holy figures, so that His inscribed names compositionally align with His depiction in each scene. In this icon, Christ's names and epithets take up 47.6% of the total words inscribed on this object and 37% of the total characters.¹⁸

So, Christ's image and names were clearly an important part of the Byzantine viewing experience of the Pantepoptes icon, together contributing to its Christocentric function. However, it must be considered whether these naming inscriptions were a unique characteristic of this icon, or something that commonly happened elsewhere, as this is an important aspect of what difference epithets make to the icon. In Ioli Kalavrezou's catalogue of Byzantine works of art in steatite, it is clear that the extensive naming inscriptions of the Pantepoptes icon were not common practice.¹⁹ Out of the 238 entries, there are 38 icons of Christ inscribed IC XC. However, this data might be problematic, as the steatite medium is susceptible to considerable wear and the IC XC inscription is usually rendered in quite low

¹⁷ K. Corrigan, 'The Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace: An Early Byzantine Icon at Mt. Sinai', in *Anathēmata Eoritka: Studies in Honor of Thomas F. Mathews*, ed J. D. Alchermes (Mainz, 2009), pp. 91–101.

¹⁸ There are 84 words and 324 characters inscribed on the epigraphic friezes of this object; Christ's naming inscriptions take up 40 words in 120 characters. I have not included the inscription from John 8:12 in this total, as it is presented differently from all the other inscriptions and should be considered as a separate entity. I have not included missing letters in this total; i.e., EMANOYH, rather than EMMANOYHA.

¹⁹ Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*.

relief and would be quick to disappear, as opposed to the often much higher relief used to render the figure of Christ.²⁰ Nonetheless, it remains compelling that out of these 38 icons where IC XC remains, only six, 15.8%, feature epithets: two inscribed Antiphonetes (the One Who Responds) [Figure 8 and Figure 9]; one Pantokrator (All-Ruler) [Figure 10]; two King of Glory [Figure 11 and Figure 12]; and those from the Pantepoptes icon.²¹ Therefore, it seems that this icon is notable for its naming inscriptions within the group of works in steatite. The icon is the only surviving work in steatite where Christ receives more than one epithet.

It seems highly likely, therefore, that the inscriptions of the Pantepoptes icon mark it as distinct. Despite this, neither the naming inscriptions, nor their interaction with their accompanying iconographies, are discussed much in the scholarship on the icon. Kalavrezou identified that there was a monastery dedicated to Christ Pantepoptes in Constantinople (Μονὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Παντεπόπτου), but did not attempt to draw any link between the icon and this site.²² The *Byzantium: Faith and Power* catalogue suggested that Christ Pantepoptes might have enjoyed popularity elsewhere in the Byzantine Empire.²³ Interestingly, the icon is omitted in Ravinder S. Binning's article on the judgemental All-Seeing Christ in Byzantine church decoration.²⁴ In both catalogue entries, all of the youthful framing Christs are referred to as Emmanuel, despite only the top six being inscribed as such, falling into the same iconography trap. The *Faith and Power* catalogue entry does not directly refer to Emmanuel as an inscription and makes no mention of the Nika inscriptions. Kalavrezou simply identified the inscriptions, but did not analyse them in any way, not sufficiently acknowledging an important part of the icon's Christocentric function.

My question is how does a shift in emphasis towards Christ's inscribed epithets provide new ways of understanding and using this icon, other works in steatite that feature such inscriptions, and even works in other media? The purpose of my thesis is to explore this

²⁰ Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, cat. 135, p. 250, the naming inscriptions for Christ Antiphonetes are now barely legible.

²¹ *Ibid.*, for Antiphonetes, cat. 135, 147, pp. 210, 216; for Pantokrator, cat. 155, pp. 222; for King of Glory, cat. 167, A.26a, pp. 230, 243.

²² R. Janin, *Les Églises et les monastères* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1969), pp. 513-15.

²³ Evans, *Byzantium*, pp. 235-36.

²⁴ Binning, 'Christ's all-seeing eye in the dome', pp. 101-26.

question not only in relation to the Pantepoptes icon, but also other works where Christ also receives epithet inscriptions.

By placing the Pantepoptes icon within the corpus of other steatite icons where images of Christ are inscribed with epithets, it is possible to see what difference they make.

Pantepoptes, Emmanuel, Nika, Antiphonetes, King of Glory and Pantokrator are all epithets because they are inscribed in addition to IC XC for images of Christ on Byzantine steatite icons. However, these names are quite different and describing them simply as ‘epithets’ does not acknowledge these significant divergences. These differences come in the form of the epithets’ various meanings and connotations, relationships with other onomastic ideologies, devotional functions and perceived interactions with iconographies. This diversity is a crucial starting point for answering what difference epithets make to Byzantine images of Christ, whilst also demonstrating the importance of widening the body of primary visual material.

In terms of comparing the inscriptions in the steatite medium, there are some epithets that invite comparison to others. For instance, Pantepoptes (All-Seeing) stresses the supreme and transcendental characteristics of God; there are similar evocations with Pantokrator (All-Ruler) and King of Glory. Furthermore, this last is part of a group of epithets that derive from specific biblical passages, with King of Glory coming from the Septuagint Psalm 23, Emmanuel from Isaiah 7-14 and Matthew 1:22-23.²⁵ In contrast to these, Antiphonetes (the One Who Responds) appears to stand alone with a general meaning and might be part of Mouriki’s ‘benevolent-stressing epithets’ from other media such as mosaic and wall painting.²⁶ So, whilst these are all epithets used in addition to IC XC, they are all quite different and might very well have had different effects on the icons they inscribe.

²⁵ Psalm 23 is 24 in the NIV. 7-10 reads, ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάρθητε, πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης; Κύριος κραταιὸς καὶ δυνατός, Κύριος δυνατὸς ἐν πολέμῳ. ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάρθητε, πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. τίς ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης; Κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. (Lift up your gates, ye princes, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors; and the king of glory shall come in. Who is this king of glory? the Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle. Lift up your gates, ye princes; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the king of glory shall come in. Who is this king of glory? The Lord of hosts, he is this king of glory.); Isaiah 7-14 reads, διὰ τοῦτο δώσει Κύριος αὐτὸς ὑμῖν σημεῖον· ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει, καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ· (Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign: The virgin will conceive and give birth to a son, and will call him Immanuel); Matthew 1: 22-23 reads, Τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος, Ἴδου ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ, ὃ ἐστιν μεθερμηνεύμενον Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός. (All this took place to fulfil what the Lord had said through the prophet: 23 “The virgin will conceive and give birth to a son, and they will call him Immanuel” (which means “God with us”).).

²⁶ Mouriki, ‘The Iconography of the Mosaics’, p. 56.

Interestingly, Pantepoptes, Pantokrator and King of Glory are all used in a biblical context to refer to God and not Christ. Furthermore, Emmanuel literally means ‘God with us’, so stresses the unique relationship between the two. These epithets make reference to a much larger history concerning Judeo-Christian theology and philosophy of names. These intellectual approaches to divine names both direct and indirectly informed very specific readings of IC XC in the ninth and tenth centuries, and would have informed Christ’s epithets.

Moving away from the specific meanings or origins of the epithets, there are also important points about the ways these objects were used and relate to specific individuals. As mentioned above, Kalavrezou made reference to the Constantinopolitan Pantepoptes monastery, and its founder Anna Dalassene.²⁷ Despite this attempt to find a link between a link between the icon and specific individual or site, nothing certain can be proven. This is not the case with other images of Christ with epithets inscribed. A link between another imperial individual and an inscribed epithet can be identified between Empress Zoe and Christ Antiphonetes. Zoe’s special relationship with that particular Christ was noted by the Byzantine historian Michael Psellos.²⁸ Beyond this Zoe’s coins were struck with an image of Christ inscribed O ANTIΦΩΝΗΤΗΣ (Antiphonetes) [Figure 13], she commissioned and was buried in a church dedicated to the same Christ, and probably commissioned a church where a mosaic of the very same Christ was depicted [Figure 14].²⁹ If one accepts Kalavrezou’s dates, the steatite icons were probably made around 300 years after Zoe’s objects. However, despite belonging to different periods and inscribed on different objects, it

²⁷ Evans, *Byzantium*, pp. 235-36. I have not found any scholarship that confirms a link between the icon and the site.

²⁸ M. Psellos, ‘Chronographia’, ‘Concerning the Antiphonetes’, VI, 66-68, in *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: The Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (London: Penguin, 1966), pp. 188-89. M. Mavroudi, ‘Licit and Illicit Divination: Empress Zoe and the Icon of Christ Antiphonetes’, in *Les savoirs magiques et leur transmission de l’Antiquité à la Renaissance*, ed. V. Dasen and J-M. Spieser (Florence: SISMEL / Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2014), pp. 431-60, gives a good literature review of Zoe and the Antiphonetes icon.

²⁹ For the coin, see A. R. Bellinger and P. Grierson, *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, Vol. 3, Pt. 2, (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1973), pl. LVIII, p. 162; for the church, see Janin, *Les Églises et les monastères*, p. 520; for the mosaic, see C. Mango, ‘The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 13 (1959), pp. 245-52.

needs to be asked what how epithets like Antiphonetes affected the devotional experience and uses of objects where Christ's image was shown and how this changed from name to name.³⁰

Both Antiphonetes images on the steatite icons look very much the same, depicting Christ in a bust with His left hand in front of his chest in a gesture of blessing. This opens up the question of how Christ's inscribed epithets relate to their accompanying iconographies: do other representations of Christ Antiphonetes look this way? Can other depictions of Christ that look like these be inscribed with different names? What does this tell us about how epithets affected the viewing experience of such images? On the Pantepoptes icon the same depiction of the young Christ was inscribed both Emmanuel and Nika: does this show that the same images were identified and perceived to function differently? Furthermore, there are some possible consistent epithet and iconographic relationships. Both King of Glory epithets were used on Crucifixion scenes, for instance, and it needs to be asked whether this a consistent practice, and if so, how the epithet affected the understanding of the scene. Furthermore, as I have already identified, the epithets that modern viewers associate with fixed 'types' – Emmanuel and Pantokrator – seem to deviate within the steatite medium, with the young Christ inscribed Nika and the Pantokrator depicted standing, rather than in a bust.³¹ So, what functions and implications did these inscriptions have for their inscribed images?

At this stage, just by comparing the Pantepoptes icon's inscriptions with other works in steatite, significant lines of enquiry emerge that directly relate to the discussions of my thesis. I have already mentioned a number of other inscribed works in passing in this introduction, but it is time to make that pool of data more substantial by presenting and analysing the survey I conducted for this research. This wider pool of data is crucial for this thesis, as it is needed to see whether it will further corroborate the research direction and questions that were highlighted by works in the steatite medium, or whether any new lines of enquiry emerge.

³⁰ Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion in Later Byzantium*, pp. 351-374, does touch on this, but his discussions are not solely focused on Christ, nor are his discussions lengthy enough to consider how different epithets were used in different devotional contexts.

³¹ Evans, *Byzantium*, pp. 235-36, describes all eleven young Christs on the frames of the Pantepoptes icon all as 'Emmanuel' even though only six are inscribed as such. For the standing Christ Pantokrator, see Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, cat. 155, p. 222-23.

CHAPTER ONE: MATERIAL

The purpose of this chapter is twofold: first, to present and analyse the primary visual material that will be used to inform the subsequent chapters' discussions; second, to analyse the extent to which situating objects such as the Pantepoptes icon within a wider body of similar objects where Christ receives an epithet, makes a difference to them. The latter is necessary, because, as I pointed out in the Introduction, there were some important questions to be asked by comparing the Pantepoptes icon to six similarly inscribed icons in the steatite medium.

If the purpose of this chapter is to contextualise the Pantepoptes icon within a wider body of similarly inscribed objects, and to see what different they make to our understanding of it, then what questions need to be asked? Starting with the epithets themselves: are there other instances of Pantepoptes, Emmanuel and Nika being used to inscribe images of Christ in Byzantine art? What other names survive? In what contexts were these used and viewed? What did they look like? The purpose of answering these questions in this chapter is to invite direct comparison between the images and inscriptions of the Pantepoptes icon and to see whether comparing it with other inscribed works can bring about a better understanding of the former, of which very little is known.

There are three epithets inscribed on the Pantepoptes icon and it should be asked how many other names survive elsewhere. I identified six in the Introduction, just by surveying the steatite medium. As was done with these epithets, it needs to be established what connotations, meanings and origins these have and whether they extend beyond that of supremacy and transcendence, and benevolence-stressing names, as well as those of a biblical origin. What other inscribed media are there? Were these portable or site specific works? Large or small scale? Expensive or low value? Can we tell? Does it matter? And does this reveal anything about the function of the inscribed objects? These questions are crucial as they begin to open up some important ideas about the perceived function of the inscribed objects, which will be necessary to aid discussions concerning the ways in which the inscriptions informed the social, devotional and political use of their inscribed objects.

In terms of context, the steatite icons with epithets come from the years c. 1250 to 1500. Some are known to have come from places like Saint Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai,

whereas others have speculated locations including Constantinople and Thessaloniki.³² These icons were inherently portable objects, making contextual information such as date and location difficult to ascertain. Even so, it should be asked whether this data is representative of the wider body of material: is it possible to say whether Christ's epithets were a response to historically-specific or local concerns or part of a much wider and more diffused trend?

After I have presented my survey of objects where images of Christ receive epithets, I shall be in a better position to critically re-evaluate the dominant approach to the inscriptions. Informed by larger body of primary visual material, I shall analyse the extent to which André Grabar's 'toponymic' and 'qualitative' categories for Marian epithets apply to their Christological counterparts.³³ Here, I shall argue that whilst these rigid labels do seem to apply to Christ's epithets in Byzantine art, they do not offer enough of a nuanced understanding of the breadth and variety of the inscribed names. In doing to, I shall propose a different method for classification.

In order to try to answer these questions, I conducted a survey of Byzantine art to find as many objects as possible where images of Christ are inscribed with epithets. I shall present a catalogue of these objects, grouped together and analysed according to epithet. More detail is provided for each individual work in the Appendix. I shall propose that my further categories for organising and classifying Christ's epithets were part of broader ways of comprehending Him in Byzantine ideology. I shall also cross-compare the data, according to a number of variables, in order to see whether any significant patterns emerge. At the end of the chapter, I shall return to the Pantepoptes icon, informed by this new set of data. Here, I shall determine the extent to which the above questions can be answered and whether situating the Pantepoptes icon's images and inscriptions within a wider body of material makes a difference to our understanding of it.

³² Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Works of Art in Steatite*, cat. 135, p. 210; cat. 143, 235; cat. 146, p. 216; cat. 155, p. 222; cat. 167, p. 230; A26a.

³³ A. Grabar, 'Les images de la Vierge de tendresse: Type iconographique et thème', *Zograf*, Vol. 6 (1975), pp. 25-30.

SURVEY OF BYZANTINE OBJECTS WITH IMAGES OF CHRIST INSCRIBED WITH EPITHETS

The subject of my thesis is broad: I am focusing on Byzantine objects where images of Christ have epithets in addition to IC XC. The implications of this is it involves objects from any media, geography and date range where such inscriptions appear. Because of this, the survey that I conducted for this thesis was constricted by a set of necessary boundaries and limitations. Before presenting analysing this data, it is necessary to outline these.

For this survey, I have focused almost entirely on published Byzantine works of art rather than original archaeological field work. This published material was sourced mainly through corpora, databases, exhibition catalogues, edited books and monographs. This introduces the risk of publication bias. Some epithets are more thoroughly researched, such as Jane Timken Matthews' survey of images inscribed with the Pantokrator epithet. As a result of this, there are now 25 entries for this epithet in the database, mostly taken from her study.³⁴ In contrast, there has been no such research on the Antiphonetes epithet, for instance.

Doing archaeological research for the full breadth of the icons would not be feasible within the confines of a doctoral thesis. Because of this, my survey should be taken as incomplete and by no means exhaustive. As a result, I shall avoid creating grand narratives or concrete assertions about the objects and their inscriptions. Rather than providing definite answers, this material will be used to inform the lines of questioning outlined above.

Survival of objects adds another bias. There were probably more than 24 images of Christ inscribed as Pantokrator in Byzantium. So, my data should be treated as a partial group of sporadically surviving examples, rather than a coherent body of evidence.

I used the traditional and conservative dates of 330-1453 for the Byzantine Empire to define the chronological scope of this research.³⁵ It is undeniably the case that the Byzantine and Byzantine-affiliated territories of Mystras and Trebizond were not conquered until a few

³⁴ Timken Matthews, 'The Byzantine Use of the Title Pantocrator', pp. 442–62 and Timken Matthews, *Pantokrator: Title and Image*.

³⁵ R. Cormack, 'Rethinking *Byzantine Art*: An Epilogue for the New Second Edition', in *Byzantine Art*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, repr. 2018), pp. 207–211, argues against 1453 in creating the distinction Byzantine and post-Byzantine art.

years later and there is a certainly a valid argument for Cretan art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as a legitimate heir to the Byzantine legacy.³⁶ However, reassessing the dates of the Byzantine Empire is beyond the scope of this thesis, and chronological lines had to be drawn in order to conduct this survey. To navigate around these grey areas of chronology, I shall not completely ignore or exclude so-called ‘post-Byzantine’ art. Where necessary, I shall reference to late fifteenth- and even sixteenth-century examples, but they will not be included in the main catalogue. For instance, there is a wall painting inscribed with the epithet King of Glory in the Hermitage of Neophytos in Cyprus, c. 1503 [Figure 15], and I shall discuss this image in relation to other iconographies which inscribe the same epithet, but it will not be included in the Appendix, nor will it be one of the focal objects under discussion.³⁷

The types of epithets that I catalogued directly affect the chronological emphasis. My research focuses on names used in addition to IC XC, because an epithet’s definition is centred on additional and adjectival information extra to the so-called ‘proper’ name.³⁸ IC XC emerged in the period just before, or immediately following, the end of Byzantine Iconoclasm in 843, but it does not seem to be standard practice until around the tenth or eleventh centuries. In my material research I found no surviving images of Christ inscribed with IC XC and an epithet before the eighth or ninth century and they do not appear to be popular until later centuries. For this reason the years c. 843-1453, referencing the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, have been stipulated in my thesis title. My data will question Ivan Drpić’s speculation that Christological epithets start in the eleventh century.³⁹

This emphasis on epithets inscribed in addition to IC XC means that certain naming inscriptions will be omitted from the main catalogue. For instance, I have not included the Early Christian images where Christ is inscribed ΨΩΤΗΡ (Psotir, Saviour), Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ (O Basileus ton Ioudaion, The King of the Jews), or ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ C. Mango and E. T. J. Hawkins, ‘The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 20 (1966), fig. 74 and p. 169.

³⁸ *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium (ODB)*, ed. A. P. Kazhdan et al, 3 Vols (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), vol. 1, ‘Epithet’, by A. Kazhdan, pp. 196-201.

³⁹ Drpić, *Epigram, Art and Devotion in Later Byzantium*, p. 352.

(Emmanuel, ‘God with us’), as the inscriptions are not prefaced by IC XC.⁴⁰ However, I shall not completely ignore this material. Instead, it will be drawn upon when crucial to understand aspects of the core data.

I have also not included images where O GON (Ο ὢν, Ho on, The one/He who is) is inscribed on the three cruciform arms of Christ’s halo. This is because the inscription is consistently featured in the halo and therefore seems to be much more of an iconographic feature, rather than an epigraphic one. Furthermore, ho on is not always inscribed with IC XC, suggesting that it possessed an autonomy in a way that other epithets did not.

My emphasis on names being preceded by IC XC is why I have included NIKΑ (Νικᾷ, Conquers) in the main catalogue. Nika is an imperative verb rather than a nominative noun or adjective.⁴¹ This means that the word’s grammatical function is very different from the other naming inscriptions on the Pantepoptes icon, which are nouns or adjectives with definite articles. However, its relationship with the icon’s wider epigraphic and iconographic schema invites the viewer to contemplate it in relation to the other ‘proper’ nominative epithets.

The geographical limitations to this study are also problematic. The obvious and most logical step might be to take the political borders of Byzantium as the artistic ones. However, this approach presents a series of methodological issues that are difficult to tackle as the cultural and religious remits of Byzantium extend beyond definitive political borders.⁴² One main issue for this is the problem of uncertain dates. For instance, in this study, there are several wall paintings from Kastoria which are broadly dated from 900 to 1600.⁴³ However, over the course of these centuries Kastoria was under control of the Byzantines, Normans and

⁴⁰ K. Boston, ‘The Power of Inscriptions and the Trouble with Texts’, in *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium: Studies Presented to Robin Cormack*, ed. A. Eastmond and L. James (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 37-39; B. Kiilerich, ‘What’s in a name? The meaning of name inscriptions in Byzantium’, in *Mediove: imagine e racconto*, ed. A. C. Quintavalle (Milan: Electa, 2003), pp. 89-90.

⁴¹ Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, p. 783, identifies νικᾷ as the imperative of νικάω.

⁴² A. Eastmond, ‘On the Limits of Byzantine Art’, in *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. L. James (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 313-322; L. James, ‘Global or Local Art? The Mosaic Panels of Justinian and Theodora in S Vitale Ravenna’, interrogates the definition of ‘Byzantine’ in relation to geography, material and style; L. James, ‘Made in Byzantium? Mosaics after 1204’, considers the presupposed ‘Byzantineness’ of mosaic, focusing on artists, style, material and patronage.

⁴³ The standing Christ Pantokrator in Hagoi Anargyroi, Kastoria is dated to 900-1600, in Matthews, ‘The Byzantine Use of the Title Pantocrator’, p. 450, there is no dated offered in S. Pelekanidis, and M. Chatzidakis, ‘Hagoi Anargyroi’ in *Kastoria, Byzantine Art in Greece* (Athens: Melissa, 1985), pp. 22-49.

Serbian.⁴⁴ If political frontiers are taken as artistic ones, then it would be extremely problematic to classify these paintings. Furthermore, this places a rather crude framework onto the art, implying that the work from any given place would instantly stop being ‘Byzantine’ if produced after a moment of political siege. This uncertainty can also be said of art from Cyprus. The island had a longstanding history of being a political battleground between east and west, having Arab influence from the seventh century, and came under increasing Latin political control from the twelfth century onwards.⁴⁵ Despite this, art that certainly seems ‘Byzantine’ in terms of function and appearance was created in subsequent centuries. For instance, the Hermitage of Neophytos from the late twelfth century and the wall paintings from the Church of Panagia Phorbiotissa in Asinou have been consistently classified as ‘Byzantine’, despite Cyprus not necessarily being Byzantine territory during their respective times of creation.⁴⁶ There were also monasteries such the Pantokrator Monastery on Mount Athos and Saint Catherine’s on Mount Sinai, which were originally founded by Byzantines, but were not in Byzantine territories when the last Emperor died at the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. Of course, these examples can and should be considered in terms of their local geography – art from Kastoria, Cyprus and monasteries – however, for the sake of this study it needs to be asked in what ways they can be considered in a broader sense: in what ways they can be considered ‘Byzantine’, and what does ‘Byzantine’ even mean?

What appears to unite these images in their various localities, dotted around the Eastern Mediterranean, is their function and viewing context, as determined by Orthodox Christianity.⁴⁷ It is important to note that Orthodoxy might have meant something quite different for a fourteenth-century Kastorian viewer to say, an eleventh-century Constantinopolitan one, but they both very firmly fall under the Orthodox umbrella in terms

⁴⁴ *ODB*, ‘Kastoria’, pp. 1110-11.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, ‘Cyprus’, pp. 567-570.

⁴⁶ A. Stylianou and J. A. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus: Treasures of Byzantine Art* (London: Trigraph for the A.G. Leventis Foundation, 1985).

⁴⁷ For insightful comments on ‘Byzantine style’ mosaics having a different function because of their Latin Rite context, see L. James, ‘Torcello and eleventh-century mosaics in Italy’ in *Mosaics in the Medieval World: From Late Antiquity to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 344-55.

of religious definition and function.⁴⁸ This emphasis on Orthodoxy as the definition of Byzantine art in the context of this study is particularly important considering its subject - Christ, His image and name - all of which were subjected to definition in Orthodox Ecumenical Councils and Orthodox theology.⁴⁹ Therefore, the material that forms will form the basis for this material research was directly informed by Orthodox belief, as defined by Ecumenical definitions, which in turn informed art, liturgy and theology – just to give three examples – all of which were centred around the concept of Orthodoxy, a single ‘correct’ Christian faith.

This logic for this definition of Byzantine art is validated if one considers its appropriation into non-Orthodox contexts. For instance, it would erroneous to group together the late twelfth-century mosaics of the Cathedral at Monreale in Sicily, with Kastorian wall paintings which were painted outside of the town’s Byzantine rule. Sicily might have previously been under Byzantine rule until the tenth century, but Monreale was a Latin Rite church, with a Latin patron.⁵⁰ It was not Orthodox. This Latin context would have meant a fundamentally different dogmatic, liturgical and theological function for the images, as opposed to the Orthodox viewing experience of Kastoria’s wall painting, despite looking relatively similar in terms of style and iconography.

Essentially, it should be viewed that in terms of geographical identity, Byzantium is not a monolith. Various elements feed into what should be regarded under the term ‘Byzantine’, including by not exclusively, culture, faith and politics, but it is Orthodoxy that is the defining aspect. This emphasis on Orthodoxy is important as it would have been completely central to the perception and function of Christ’s image and naming inscriptions.

⁴⁸ *Byzantine Orthodoxies: Papers from the Thirty-sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Durham, 23-25 March 2002*, ed. A. Casiday and A. Louth (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), esp. L. Brubaker, ‘“In the beginning was the Word” Art and Orthodoxy at the Councils of Trullo and Nicaea II’, pp. 97-104, L. James, ‘“and the Word was with God” What makes Art Orthodox?’, pp. 105-12 and R. Cormack, ‘“And the Word was with God” Art and Orthodoxy in Late Byzantium’, pp. 113-22.

⁴⁹ ‘Definition of the Holy Great and Ecumenical Council, the Second in Nicaea’, 373D-380E, particularly 337D-E, which makes the distinction between venerating icons and worshiping God, *Icon and Logos: Sources in Eighth-Century Iconoclasm*, trans. and ed. D. J. Sahas (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1986), pp. 176-181. For the theology of Christ’s name in art see Boston, ‘The Power of Inscriptions and the Trouble with Texts’, pp. 41-46 and K. Parry, *Depicting the Word: Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 55-57, for homonymy in Byzantine image theory.

⁵⁰ James, *Mosaics in the Medieval World*, pp. 344-55 and 399-405.

DATA

Having outlined the limitations and scope of this survey it is now time to present the data, which can be found in full as the Appendix. The purpose of these sections is to place objects with images of Christ inscribed with epithets together as a collective group. In doing this, I shall evaluate whether the raw data alone can prove that epithets made a difference to the objects they inscribe and whether they further confirm or provide any compelling paths of enquiry. To do this I shall focus on four main variables: epithet; date; iconography; and medium.

The first section will present the individual epithets found in the survey. First, I shall present the epithets in relation to their overall quantities. I shall then present and analyse the inscribed images' iconographies. After presenting this initial data, I shall argue for new ways of categorising Christ's epithets, critically applying and building upon existing scholarly approaches. In the following section, I shall present and analyse the spread of epithets across chronology and medium.

EPITHETS

In Table 1, I have grouped together images according to individual epithets. The purpose of this is to see how many different epithets survive and whether certain ones might have been more popular than others. This will help to provide understanding of the way in which certain epithets affect our understanding of the inscribed objects.

Table 1: Quantities of Christ's epithets

Greek	Transliteration	Translation	Quantity
Ἡ Ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ Ζωή	E Anastasis kai e Zoe	The Resurrection and the Life	1
Ὁ Ἀντιφωνητής	O Antiphonetes	The One Who Responds	6
Ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῆς Δόξης	O Basileus tes Doxes	The King of Glory	12
Ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων	Basieus ton Ioudaion	The King of the Jews	2
Ὁ Ἐλεήμων	O Eleemon	The Merciful	7
Ὁ Ἐλεήμων καὶ Ἐύσπλαγχος	O Eleemon kai Eusplachnos	The Merciful and Compassionate	1
Ὁ Ἐμμανουήλ	O Emmanuel	The Emmanuel ('God with us')	67
Ὁ Εὐεργέτης	O Evergetes	The Benefactor	2
Ὁ Ζωοδότης	O Zoodotes	The Life-Giver	1
Ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν	O Theos Emon	God of Us	1
Ὁ Ἰώμενος Πάσαν Νόσον	O Ieumenos Pasan Noson	The One Curing Every Infirmary	1
Ὁ Λυτρωτής	O Lytrotēs	The Redeemer	1
Μονογενής	Monogenēs	Only Begotten	1

Ὁ Παλαιός τῶν ἡμερῶν	O Palios ton Emeron	The Ancient of Days	8
Ὁ Παντεπόπτης	O Pantepoptes	The All-Seeing	1
Ὁ Παντοκράτωρ	O Pantokrator	The All-Ruler	24
Ὁ Πληροφορίτης	O Plerophorites	The One Who Fulfils	1
Ἡ Σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ	E Sophia tou Theou	The Wisdom of God	1
Ὁ Σωτήρ	O Soter	The Saviour	11
Ὁ Σωτήρ καὶ Ζωοδότης	O Soter kai Zoodotes	The Saviour and Life-Giver	1
Ὁ Ὑπεράγαθος	O Hyperagathos	The Supremely Good	1
Υἱὸς Θεοῦ	Uios Theou	Son of God	1
Ὁ Φιλανθρώπος	O Philanthropos	The Human-Loving	10
Ὁ Φοβερός Κριτής	O Phoberos Krites	The Terrible Judge	1
Ὁ Φωτοδότης	O Photodotes	The Light-Giver	2
Ὁ Χαλκίτης	O Chalkites	Relating to the Bronze (Χαλκῆ, Chalke) Gate	11
Ἡ Χώρα τῶν Ζώντων	E Chora ton Zonton	The Land of the Living	3
Ὁ Ψυχοσώστης	O Psychosostes	The Soul-Saviour	1
N/A	N/A	N/A	1

Table 2: Bar graph showing the quantities of Christ's epithets

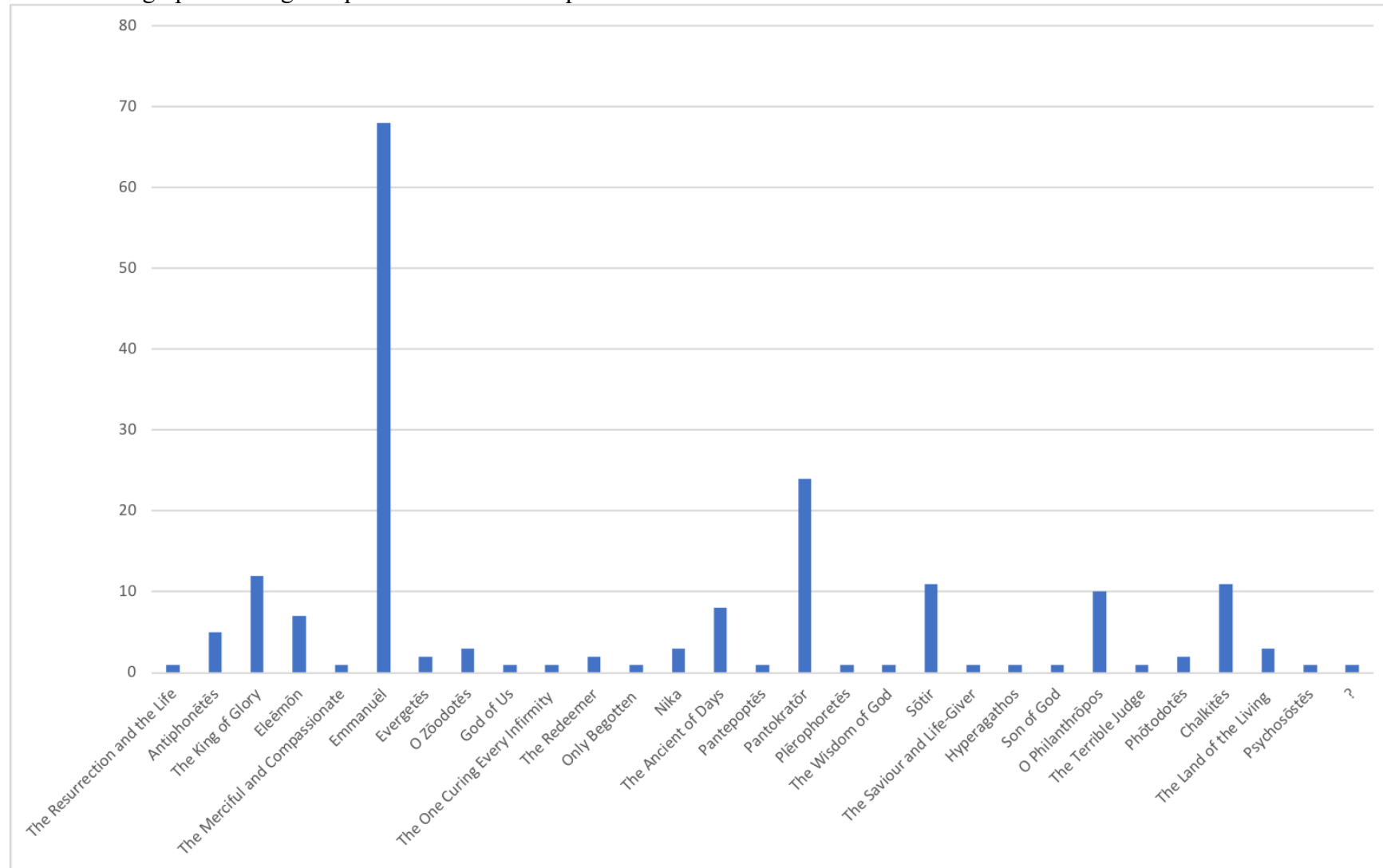


Table 1 and 2 show that I found 29 epithets inscribed across 187 images, including one illegible epithet. Although the issue of survival makes this data problematic, it does seem that certain epithets were more popular than others. By far the most popular epithet was Emmanuel, with 68 entries. Other popular epithets were Pantokrator, King of Glory, Chalkites, Soter and Philanthropos, with 24, 12, 11, 11 and 10 entries, respectively. Furthermore, over half of the entries – 16 in total – have just one or two entries. Of course, this does not mean that there only one or two examples of said epithet that ever existed in Byzantium. However, these quantities are in sharp contrast to the 68 entries for Emmanuel, or even the 24 for Pantokrator. These apparently less popular epithets might be testament to the breadth and quantity of Christological epithets from Byzantium. One could look to Theodore II Laskaris's list of God's 700 names for ideas of some of the epithets that might have existed.⁵¹

Even from the basic translations I have given in Table 1, one can begin to see the range of Christ's epithets. He could be the Ancient of Days, the Supremely Good or Terrible Judge. I shall now provide a fuller catalogue of the entries, grouped together and analysed according to each epithet. Furthermore, I shall outline the dates and medium of the work of art for each epithet. I shall also give a brief description of each epithet image's iconography. The purpose of outlining these variables together alongside epithets, is to start identifying whether there were specific patterns of usage in relation to certain epithets: do all Ancient of Days images look the same? Do certain media seem more popular for Pantokrator images? Were Emmanuel images popular during certain centuries? The emphasis on iconography in this section will also help address some of the questions I had regarding the relationship between epithets and iconographies in the introduction: is there such a thing as an iconographic 'type'? Do epithets describe their iconography? How much iconographic variation can there be with images inscribed with the same epithet? Can the same iconographies be used for different epithets?

⁵¹ Theodore II Laskaris, *On the Divine Names*, in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus Series Graeca (PG)*, ed. J-P. Migne (Paris, 1857-66), Vol. 100, cols. 763-770.

CATALOGUE OF THE EPITHETS OF CHRIST IN MIDDLE AND LATE BYZANTINE ART

I have ordered the epithets according to the modern Greek alphabet, not including definite articles, where used. For additional information on each individual entry see the Appendix.

Ἡ Ανάστασις καὶ Ἡ Ζωή, E Anastasis kai E Zoe, The Resurrection and the Life **1 example: Sakkos (liturgical textile); c. 1300 – 1400**

Name: In John 11:25-26 it was written:

I am the resurrection and the life (Εγώ εἰμι ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωή), Whoever believes in me, though he dies, yet shall he live, and everyone who lives and believes in me shall never die. Do you believe this?

This passage is part of the account which recites the Raising of Lazarus. The last miracle performed by Christ before His crucifixion and was understood to be a prefiguration for His resurrection on Easter Sunday.

Iconography: The inscribed image of Christ is part of a much wider iconographic scheme on the front of the Sakkos [Figure 16].⁵² Christ is depicted young, but not infantile, beardless and long haired. He sits on a rainbow within a gold circle and holds His right arm far from his body. In His left hand, He holds an open gospel, which rests on His lap. This central image is flanked by the Mother of God and John the Baptist, choirs of angels above to the left and to the right are apostles, saints and prophets. These groups of individuals are framed within another circular form. On the sleeves of the Sakkos there are depictions of the Communion of the Apostles, and on the reverse of the object is a depiction of the Transfiguration.

⁵² Evans, *Byzantium*, cat. 177, p. 300 and G. Millet, *La dalmatique du Vatican: Les élus, images et croyances* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1945). For a Hesychast theological reading of the sakkos, see, I. Drpić, 'Art, Hesychasm, and Visual Exegesis: Paris Graecus 1242 Revisited', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 62 (2008), pp. 242-45.

Ὁ Ἀντιφωνητής, O Antiphonetes, The One Who Responds**6 examples: 2 icons (both steatite); 2 wall paintings; 1 coin; 1 mosaic; 1028 – c. 1500**

Name: There are references to an image of Christ Antiphonetes dating back to Early Byzantium and possibly even the reign of Constantine I.⁵³ There are several accounts detailing the cultic relationship between Emperor Maurice and an icon of Christ Antiphonetes held at the Church of Theotokos Chalkoprateia, Constantinople. This icon was famous for its miracle-performing qualities.⁵⁴ In *Chronographia* Michel Psellos mentions Empress Zoe's dedication to an icon of the Antiphonetes, which she owned. She might have been buried in a church dedicated to Christ Antiphonetes.⁵⁵ Zoe's icon was said to change colour and to be able to predict the future. Zoe commissioned an extravagant new floor for the Chalkoprateia Church, which might suggest a link between her devotion of Christ Antiphonetes and earlier ones, such as the one to which Maurice was associated.⁵⁶ As none of these icons of Christ Antiphonetes survive, it is not clear whether the name was inscribed or simply an informal nickname, describing its perceived qualities.

Iconography: Both the eleventh-century coin and mosaic images show Christ standing, but cropped as to show only three quarters of His body. In both images, Christ is shown holding a closed scroll with His left hand and his right hand directly in front of His body in a gesture of blessing. The coin belonged to Empress Zoe and the Nicaea mosaic might have been commissioned by her or her husband Constantine IX.⁵⁷ This might mean there was a connection between these two Antiphonetes images. The Christ Antiphonetes mosaic was placed on the south proskynetarion of the Church of the Koimesis, Nicaea (now-destroyed). An image of the Mother of God inscribed Ἡ Ελεούσα (E Eleousa, the Merciful) was shown on the north proskynetarion.

In the Panagia tou Arakou wall painting, 1192, Christ is again shown standing, but this time in full view [Figure 17]. Here, He is in a gesture of blessing with His right hand and holds an

⁵³ Mango, *The Brazen House*, pp. 142-48 and *ODB*, pp. 439-40.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 142-48.

⁵⁵ Psellos, 'Chronographia', VI, 66-68.

⁵⁶ Mango, *The Brazen House*, p. 142-48.

⁵⁷ Bellinger and Grierson, *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection* p. 162 and Mango, 'The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea', pp. 245-52.

open gospel book (John 8:12) with His left. Christ's right hand is placed more centrally than in the eleventh-century examples. This image is shown in the south proskynetarion of the Panagia tou Arakou. Like in the Koimesis church on the north proskynetarion there is an image of the Mother of God inscribed Eleousa. She holds an open scroll recording dialogue between herself and her son.⁵⁸

The two fourteenth-century small steatite icons show Christ Antiphonetes in a bust. In both icons He holds a closed gospel book with His left hand and blesses with His right. In the Padua icon Christ's hand is shown in front of His body but to the left, whereas in the Metropolitan Museum icon the hand is shown centrally.

There is a wall painting of Christ Antiphonetes from the Hagios Demetrios, Thessaloniki, which has been dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The painting is located southwest of the bema. Christ is depicted standing and flanked by two saints.⁵⁹

Ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῆς Δόξης, O Basileus tes Doxes, The King of Glory

16 examples: 13 icons (8 painted, 2 steatite, 1 ivory, 1 micro mosaic, 1 mixed media); 2 enkolpia; 1 wall painting; c. 1050 – c. 1500

Name: King of Glory derives from Psalm 24: 7-10:

Lift up your heads, you gates;
be lifted up, you ancient doors,
that the King of glory may come in.

⁸ Who is this King of glory?
The Lord strong and mighty,
the Lord mighty in battle.

⁹ Lift up your heads, you gates;
lift them up, you ancient doors,
that the King of glory may come in.

¹⁰ Who is he, this King of glory?
The Lord Almighty—
he is the King of glory.

⁵⁸ A. Nicolaïdès, 'L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa à Lagoudéra, Chypre: étude iconographique des fresques de 1192', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 50 (1996), p. 108; Nelson, 'Image and Inscription', pp. 100-19.

⁵⁹ Mango, *The Brazen House*, p. 252 cites G. A. Soteriou and M. G. Soteriou, *Ἡ βασιλικὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης* (Athens: Hē en Athēnais Archaïologikē Hetaireia, 1952), p. 209.

This Psalm was used as the basis for the description of the Anastasis (Christ's visit to Hell on Easter Saturday) in the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus.⁶⁰ However, the readership and influence that this had on Byzantine art is difficult to determine: Anna Kartsonis argued for little or no influence.⁶¹

Psalm 24 was used in the antiphonal chants in the Great Entrance of the Liturgy of John Chrysostom, but it appears to have fallen out of usage by the tenth century.⁶²

Iconography: In most examples King of Glory is featured in depictions of the Crucifixion or Paschal scenes. This is probably because of its similarity with the title 'the King of the Jews', which was recorded with slight variations in each of the synoptic gospels as the inscription written on the titulus of the cross.⁶³ All Crucifixion uses of the King of Glory epithet bear some relationship to the titulus, whether the inscription is written on the titulus itself, as in the late twelfth-century Man of Sorrows icon from Kastoria [Figure 18], or placed immediately above it, as with the early thirteenth-century enkolpion pendant from Thessaloniki [Figure 19].

A further two different iconographies are inscribed King of Glory. In an enkolpion from 1050-1150, Christ is shown adult and bearded in a bust, in a gesture of blessing with His right hand and holding a closed gospel book with His left [Figure 20]. The King of Glory inscription is written in lobes above and below Christ and abbreviated to the first letters of each word OB TA. This inscription mirrors the form of IC and XC, which are shown respectively to the left and right of Christ.

The final King of Glory iconography shows Christ seated, dressed in gold and situated in a circular form [Figure 21]. Here, Christ is flanked by apocalyptic beasts and celestial beings.

⁶⁰ 'Christ's Descent into Hell', in *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, in *The Apocryphal New Testament*, trans. J. K. Elliot (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 185-204.

⁶¹ A. D. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 14-16.

⁶² R. J. Taft, *The Great Entrance: a history of the transfer of gifts and other preanaphoral rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Rome: Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1975), pp. 98-112 and R. Taft, 'Psalm 24 at the Transfer of Gifts in the Byzantine Liturgy: A Study in the Origins of Liturgical Practice', in *The Word in the World: Essays in Honor of Frederick L. Moriarty, S. J.*, ed. R. Clifford and G. MacRae (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 159-177.

⁶³ Matthew 27:37, Mark 15:26, Luke 23:38, John 19:19-20. A. Büchler, 'King of Glory and King of the Jews: The Titulus of Cross in the Christian East', in *Sixteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers* (Baltimore, 1990), pp. 67-8.

The King of Glory inscription runs horizontally across the top of this image. This representation is part of a much larger visual programme, which forms an icon centred around an image of the enthroned Mother of God and Christ Child [Figure 22]. This central image is flanked by numerous depictions of saints and prophets, most of whom relate to the Mother of God, or Marian Theology, such as her parents Joachim and Anna.⁶⁴

Ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, O Basileus ton Ioudaion, The King of The Jews

2 examples; 2 icon (painted); c. 700 – 1300

Name: ‘The King of the Jews’ Biblical title used to refer to Christ in Nativity and Passion narratives.⁶⁵ Notably, each of the synoptic gospels records the title as being inscribed on the titulus of the Christ’s cross.⁶⁶

Iconography: Both icons depict the Crucifixion [Figure 23 and Figure 24]. The Athens icon has a simpler iconography than the Saint Catherine’s Monastery one. In the former, Christ is flanked by His mother, John the Evangelist and two weeping angels. In the latter, these groups are all present, but additionally there are the good and bad thieves, as well as two further angels. In the Athens icon, the inscription sits below the arms of the cross, whereas in the one in Saint Catherine’s, the inscription is on the titulus.

Ὁ Ἐλεήμων, O Eleemon, The Merciful

7 examples: 4 wall paintings; 1 icon (micromosaic); 1 manuscript illumination; 1 pendant (bloodstone); c. 950 - 1391

Name: As Eleemon is a general adjectival name, it is impossible to determine a single source for its use as an epithet for images of Christ. There are multiple instances in the Bible that refer to the merciful qualities of both God and Christ. There were also various grammatical forms of ἐλεήμων used in the Liturgy of John Chrysostom, which was the most widely

⁶⁴ Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, cat. 244, p. 372.

⁶⁵ Matthew, 2:2, 27:37, Mark 15:26, Luke 23:38, John 19:19-20.

⁶⁶ Matthew, 27:37, ‘οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων’; Mark 15:26, ‘ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων’; Luke 23:38, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων οὗτος’; John 19:19-20, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων’.

celebrated liturgy in Byzantium.⁶⁷ Forms of Eleemon were also used frequently featured in Byzantine prayers.⁶⁸

Iconography: There is no totally consistent iconography for images inscribed Eleemon. In all instances Christ Eleemon is shown as an adult, however, He is shown standing, in a bust and enthroned; His right hand is shown in a variety of different gestures of blessing, both outstretched and in front of His body. In all instances His left hand holds a gospel, either opened or closed.

All wall paintings where Christ is inscribed Eleemon are displayed at floor level in the south proskynetarion, or in the south narthex.

Ὁ Ἐλεήμων καὶ Ἐὐσπλαγχνός, O Eleemon kai Eusplanchnos, The Merciful and Compassionate

1 example: 1 wall painting; c. 1250-1300

Name: Eleemon is a general adjectival name that stresses Christ's generosity and benevolence, without a specific origin. In a similar manner to Eleemon it would be impossible to determine a single authoritative source for Christ the Compassionate. This quality of Christ is referenced in Ephesians 4:32, for instance:

Be kind and compassionate (εὐσπλαγχοί) to one another, forgiving each other, just as in Christ God forgave you.

Merciful and Compassionate are used together in standard Middle Byzantine funerary prayer, along with other names which were used to inscribe images of Christ such as Pantokrator and Philanthropos:

ὁ μόνος ἐλεήμων καὶ εὐσπλαγχνός

[Christ] the only merciful and compassionate.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ *The Divine Liturgy of John Chrysostom*, Greek with English trans. 3rd edn (London: The Faith Press, n.d.), p. 20, the choir chant aloud “Ὁτι ἐλεήμων (eleemon, merciful) καὶ φιλόανθρωπος (philanthropos, lit. man-loving) Θεὸς ὑπάρχεις...”.

⁶⁸ For instance, B. V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), p. 182 cites, *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum complectens ritus et ordines divinae liturgiae*, ed. J. Goar (Lyon: Bibliothéque jésuite des Fontaines, 1730), 725-85. Greek reads ὁ μόνος ἐλεήμων καὶ εὐσπλαγχνός, ‘Oh [Christ] the only merciful and compassionate’.

⁶⁹ *Euchologion*, ed.. Goar, 725-85.

Iconography: Christ is shown standing, in a gesture of blessing in His right hand. His left hand holds and open gospel book, which contains John 8:12 [Figure 25]. This wall painting a bit larger than life-size and is on floor level on the south wall of the nave of Hagios Stephanos in Kastoria, leading up to the apse. The vaulting directly above it has a trio of large paintings showing Christ inscribed Ancient of Days, Emmanuel and Pantokrator [Figure 26].⁷⁰

Ὁ Ἐμμανουήλ, O Emmanuel, The Emmanuel ('God with us')

67 examples: 35 seals (33 lead, 2 gold); 18 coins; 7 icons (all steatite); 6 wall paintings; 1 manuscript illumination; c. 976-1349

Name: Derives from the Hebrew phrase עִמָּנוּ אֱל (Immanuel), which translates to 'God with us'. The name is a reference to two passages in the Bible, one in the Old Testament and one in the New:

Therefore, the Lord Himself will give you a sign: The virgin will conceive and give birth to a son, and will call Him Immanuel (Isaiah 7:14).⁷¹

All this took place to fulfil what the Lord had said through the prophet: "The virgin will conceive and give birth to a son, and they will call Him Immanuel (which means "God with us"))" (Matthew 1: 22-23).⁷²

Despite being a noun given in the Greek nominative case, the Emmanuel inscription possessed some both adjectival and verbal content, with the name being a transliteration of the Hebrew עִמָּנוּ אֱל (Immanuel, 'God with us'). Both a transliteration of the Hebrew and translation were also offered in Greek on a Byzantine lead ampullae from the Holy Land,

⁷⁰ Pelekanidis and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, pp. 18-19. The authors do not include an illustration for Christ Pantokrator in their book and because of the scholarly trend to conflate the epithet with an iconographic type, inscribed or not, I could not determine whether the image actually featured the inscription. I visited the church in July 2018 and found that the image was in a very poor condition compared to the Ancient of Days and Emmanuel. Despite this, there was a Pantokrator epithet for the image.

⁷¹ διὰ τοῦτο δώσει Κύριος αὐτὸς ὑμῖν σημεῖον· ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει, καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ·

⁷² Τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος, Ἴδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ, ὃ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνευόμενον Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός.

which had inscribed on its circumference ‘EMMANOYHA MEΘ HMGON GΩ ΘEGOC’, ‘Emmanuel, God with us’ [Figure 27].⁷³

Iconography: In wall painting from the Church of Archangel Michael in Lesnovo, 1346-9, Christ is shown adult but beardless, sitting on a rainbow in a mandorla flanked by angels. Other than this, all surviving images from the twelfth century on, show Christ Emmanuel as young and beardless. In all instances the young Christ is shown in a bust and placed in a roundel. In most cases, He blesses with His right hand and holds a scroll with His left. In the Pantepoptes icon the six Emmanuel images show Christ above choirs of saints, with both arms outstretched in blessing.

Prior to the twelfth century, surviving images of an adult bearded Christ were inscribed Emmanuel on various imperial coins and seals. In most cases Christ is shown in a bust, however, there is one example where Christ is shown enthroned and His right arm extends out in blessing.

It is also worth mentioning that Emmanuel is inscribed against a grey-haired individual in a seventh-century icon from St Catherine’s Monastery, Mount Sinai [Figure 28]. This figure has been identified as the Ancient of Days.⁷⁴

‘Ο Εὐεργέτης, O Evergetes, The Benefactor
2 examples: 1 seal (lead); 1 wall painting; 1143-1259

Name: Anthony Cutler suggested the term might be a reference to the Hellenistic and Roman tradition of commemorating rulers as ‘εὐεργέται’.⁷⁵ The term is also used in Luke 22:25 referencing rulers:

⁷³ K. Corrigan, ‘Visualising the Divine: An Early Byzantine Icon of the “Ancient of Days” at Mount Sinai’, in *Approaching the Holy Mountain: Art and Liturgy at St Catherine’s Monastery in the Sinai*, ed. S. E. J. Gerstel and R. S. Nelson (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2010), p. 300.

⁷⁴ K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: the Icons* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976), B16, pp. 41-42. For a more up-to-date and nuanced look at this icon see Corrigan, ‘Visualising the Divine’, pp. 286-303.

⁷⁵ A. Cutler, ‘The Dumbarton Oaks Psalter and New Testament. The Iconography of the Moscow Leaf’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 37 (1983), p. 44.

Jesus said to them, “The kings of the Gentiles lord it over them; and those who exercise authority over them call themselves Benefactors.”⁷⁶

Grabar argued that the use of this ‘archaic’ expression was to emphasise the mystical bond between Christ and the emperor.⁷⁷

There was a monastery dedicated to Christ Evergetes in Constantinople, which was rebuilt under John, son of the sebastokrator Isaac Komnenos, in the twelfth century. The lead seal is linked to this homonymous monastery.⁷⁸

Iconography: The twelfth-century seal shows a standing Christ with His right hand in front of His body and His left holding a gospel book [Figure 30]. There has been considerable wear to the seal and as result all detailing is lost from Christ’s face.

Anthony Cutler argued for the Evergetes as an iconographic type where Christ’s eyes look off to the viewer’s left, the direction followed by His “forelock”.⁷⁹ This argument is based on the Christ Evergetes from Boiana, Bulgaria, 1259 [Figure 29], where a Christ Chalkites is also displayed [Figure 31], as well as uninscribed examples, such as a late eleventh-century manuscript illumination now in Moscow, but originally from Mount Athos, Pantokrator Monastery cod. 49.⁸⁰

Ὁ Ζωοδότης, O Zoodotes, The Life-Giver **3 examples: 3 wall paintings; 1390 – c. 1425**

Name: Zoodotes stresses the benevolent generosity of Christ and His role the source of eternal life through His role as Saviour. There are multiple instances in the New Testament where Christ refers to Himself as ‘the life’ (John 14:6; John 11:25).⁸¹

⁷⁶ ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν κυριεύουσιν αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἐξουσιάζοντες αὐτῶν εὐεργέται καλοῦνται

⁷⁷ A. Grabar, ‘L’art religieux et l’empire byzantin ai l’époque des Macedoniens’ *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Section des Sciences Religieuses, Annuaire* (1939-1940), reprinted in A. Grabar, *L’art de la fin de l’Antiquité et du Moyen-Age*, I (Paris, 1968), p. 157.

⁷⁸ Cotsonis, ‘To Invoke or Not to Invoke’, p. 567.

⁷⁹ Cutler, ‘The Dumbarton Oaks Psalter and New Testament’, p. 37.

⁸⁰ A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* (Paris: Geuthner, 1928); in *Ibid.*, p. 38, Cutler identifies a marble relief of Christ Evergetes from Serres but discounts it from his discussions because of ‘chronological uncertainty’.

⁸¹ λέγει αὐτῷ [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς, Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ ζωή: οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ δι’ ἐμοῦ and εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωή: ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ κἂν ἀποθάνῃ ζήσεται,.

There were monasteries dedicated to Christ Zoodotes in Thrace and in Emborion.⁸²

Iconography: Different iconographies are used for both images of the Christ Zoodotes. In the Ohrid wall painting He is shown enthroned and flanked by Peter and Paul [Figure 32]. Very little information is available concerning the Kastoria wall painting, but it appears that this adult Christ is shown alone, either standing or in a bust. Lozanova argues that Christ might be inscribed Zoodotes in the Emborion wall painting, although it is impossible to tell because of the painting's very poor condition.⁸³ Here He is positioned between the Mother of God and John the Baptist.

Ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν, O Theos Emon, Our God
1 example: 1 wall painting; c. 1260 – 1280

Name: There does not appear to be a single external origin. Without the definite article the translation reads as 'our God', which had a very wide usage in Byzantine literature. It is used to refer to both God and Christ. For instance, in the Second Prayer of the Faithful in the Divine Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts the priest starts:

Holy Master, infinitely good, we entreat You, rich in mercy, to be gracious to us sinners, and to make us worthy to receive Your only Son and our God, the King of Glory.⁸⁴

Iconography: A very rare example depiction of the Holy Trinity from Byzantine art.⁸⁵ In a large green oval, likely a mandorla, a grey-haired man with a cruciform nimbus sits on a rainbow [Figure 33]. He holds an almost identical man, who is much smaller but with dark hair in the space between His robes on His chest. This smaller man holds a white circle containing a bird. Each part of the Holy Trinity are identified with naming inscriptions: Father, Son and Holy Spirit. 'Our God' is the only name prefaced with IC XC.

⁸² R. Lozanova, 'The Church of Christ Zoodotes in Embore (Albania)', in *EIKONA KAI AIOFOS*, ed. D. Asiniia (Sofia: Éditions universitaires 'St. Clément d'Ohrid', 2004), pp. 151-162.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 157.

⁸⁴ *Divine Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts* (New Jersey: Eparchy of Passaic, 1998), 'Second Prayer of the Faithful', reads, Ἄγιε, ὑπεράγαθε, δυσωπούμέν σε, τὸν ἐν ἐλέει πλούσιον, ἵλεων γενέσθαι ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀμαρτωλοῖς, καὶ ἀξιῶς ἡμᾶς ποιῆσαι τῆς ὑποδοχῆς τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ, καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, τοῦ Βασιλέως τῆς δόξης, (O holy Master, who art most good, we pray Thee who art rich in mercy, be merciful unto us sinners, and make us worthy to receive Thine only-begotten Son and our God, the King of glory).

⁸⁵ Pelekanidis and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, pp. 87-89.

The grey-haired man's foot is shown very foreshortened. This closes the distance between viewer and painting, something that is further exacerbated by the painting's viewing context. The painting takes up the whole space of the relatively low vault of the narthex of the Church of the Panagia Koubelidiki in Kastoria, creating an enveloping and intense viewing experience.

**Ὁ Ἰώμενος Πάσαν Νόσον, O Iomenos Pasan Noson, The One Curing Every Infirmary
1 example: 1 icon (silver revetment frame on a painted icon); c. 1350**

Name: There does not appear to be a single source for this name. In the synoptic gospels Christ's acts of healing were the largest group of miracles that He performed. Depictions of these miracles were popular in Late Byzantine monumental art.⁸⁶

Iconography: The single example of the 'Curing' icon is framed by a larger icon, which is dated to the fifteenth century and depicts Christ flanked by archangels, below whom are Peter and Paul, and on the bottom register are three military saints [Figure 34]. The 'Curing' icon itself is divided into two panels. Christ, inscribed with the epithet is on the top register, shown as an adult in a bust and flanked by two archangels. On the bottom register there is a representation of the Mother of God and Christ Child who are flanked by another archangel and John the Baptist.

**Ὁ Λυτρωτής, O Lytrotēs, The Redeemer
2 examples: 2 seals (lead); 1221-1241**

Name: There does not appear to be a single specific source for Lytrotēs. The concept of redemption was a fundamental tenet of Byzantine Orthodoxy. In the New Testament, the redemption for mankind was achieved through Christ's death and in the Old Testament redemption is achieved by the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, led by Moses.⁸⁷ It has

⁸⁶ N. P. Ševčenko, 'Healing Miracles of Christ and the Saints', in *Life is Short, Art is Long: The Art of Healing in Byzantium*, ed. B. Pitarakis (Istanbul: Pera Müzesi, 2015), pp. 27-40; M. A. Rossi, 'The Miracle Cycle between Constantinople, Thessaloniki, and Mistra' in *From Constantinople to the Frontier: the City and the Cities*, eds. N. Matheou, T. Kampianaki and L. Bondioli (Leiden: Brill, 2016) 226-242.

⁸⁷ *ODB*, 'Redemption', p. 1778.

been noted that the concept of redemption had both political and cosmic meanings in Byzantium.⁸⁸

Iconography: Both examples of Lytrotēs are on the coins of Eirene Doukas, wife of the Nicaean Emperor John III Doukas Vatatzes [Figure 37]. Both Christ Lytrotēs are shown standing with His right arm outstretched and left hand holding a closed gospel book. Zacos and Veglery noted that this iconography was identical to the Christ Chalkites, depicted on John III's coins.⁸⁹

Μονογενῆ, Monogenēs, Only Begotten
1 example: 1 coin; 1282-1294

Name: Direct reference to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, written in 381 which was an amended form of the original Nicene Creed of 325. The former text reads:

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten (μονογενῆ) Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father.⁹⁰

The Creed was quoted in the Liturgy of John Chrysostom.⁹¹

Iconography: The epithet has been abbreviated to only two letters (Μ Γ) on the coin [Figure 36] Christ is shown standing, His left hand holds a gospel book and His right stretches out to bless an individual in proskynesis before him. This individual is named by an inscription as Emperor Andronikos II. An image of the Mother of God in an orant pose within the city of Constantinople is shown on the reverse.

Νίκα, Nika, Conquers
3 examples: 3 icons (all steatite); c. 1300-1500

Name: There was a legacy of fighting battles in the name of the Christian God from the early fourth century onward, with Emperor Constantine the Great at the Battle of the Milvian

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ G. Zacos and A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals* (Basel: Glückstadt, 1971), Vol. 1, Pt. 1, 119a and 119b.

⁹⁰ *The Divine Liturgy of John Chrysostom*, pp. 34-36, gives both Greek and English.

⁹¹ Ibid.

Bridge in 312. According to historian Eusebius, at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, Constantine saw a cross of light, with which it was written ‘ἐν τούτῳ νικά’ (‘in this, conquer’).⁹²

Inscribing IC XC with Nika was a long-established tradition in Byzantine epigraphy, often inscribed against image of the cross and sometimes with other letters as cryptograms.⁹³

There is no definite article, as the epithet is a verb.

Iconography: All three images of the Christ Nika depict a young beardless Christ in a bust above choirs of holy individuals. The iconography is identical to the images inscribed Emmanuel on the same object.

Ὁ Παλαιός τῶν ἡμερῶν, O Palios ton Emeron, The Ancient of Days
8 examples: 5 manuscript illuminations, 3 wall paintings; c. 1000 - c. 1400

Name: The Ancient of Days is a direct reference to Daniel 7:9, where there is a description of His formal appearance:

As I looked, thrones were set in place, and the Ancient of Days took his seat. His clothing was as white as snow; the hair of his head was white like wool. His throne was flaming with fire, and its wheels were all ablaze.⁹⁴

This description is repeated, but without directly mentioning the Ancient of Days in Revelation 1: 14-15.⁹⁵

⁹² Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 1, 26-31, *PG*, 20, col. 939

⁹³ A. Frolow, ‘IC XC NI KA’, *Byzantinoslavica*, Vol. 17 (1956), pp. 98-113, and C. Walter, ‘IC XC NI KA. The Apotropaic Function of the Victorious Cross’, *Revue Des Études Byzantines*, Vol. 55 (1997), pp. 193–220.

⁹⁴ ἐθεώρουν ἕως ὅτου οἱ θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν, καὶ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν ἐκάθητο, καὶ τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ λευκὸν ὥσει χιῶν, καὶ ἡ θριξὶς τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὥσει ἔριον καθαρὸν, ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ φλόξ πυρός, οἱ τροχοὶ αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον·

⁹⁵ ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τρίχες λευκαὶ ὥς ἔριον λευκόν, ὥς χιῶν, καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὥς φλόξ πυρός, καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ ὥς ἐν καμίνῳ πεπυρωμένης, καὶ ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ ὥς φωνὴ ὑδάτων πολλῶν (His head and His hair were white like white wool, like snow; and His eyes were like a flame of fire. His feet were like burnished bronze, when it has been made to glow in a furnace, and His voice was like the sound of many waters).

Iconography: All representations show the Ancient of Days with grey hair and a beard. He is shown either in a bust form or enthroned. In each image, He holds either a scroll or a gospel book with His left hand and blesses with His right.

Each representation of the Ancient of Days is part of a larger visual schema. On fol. 7 of a copy of John Klimakos' *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* (MSS Vat. Gr. 394), the Ancient of Days holds the Christ Child and is observed by Klimakos on the left and the apostles on the right [Figure 35]. In the Gospel Book Paris Gr. 74, fol. 1r displays the Ancient of Days above two cherubim [Figure 38]. In fol. 167r of the same manuscript, the figure is placed within the central of three medallions, to the left is an image of an adult Christ inscribed IC XC and to the right a youthful Christ inscribed EMMANOYA (Emmanuel) [Figure 40]. In the Psalter BL MS 19352, fol. 1r, the image is placed in a mandorla, flanked by two angelic beings [Figure 39]. In Hagios Stephanos, Kastoria, the image is again in the middle of a trio of Christological representations, with one image inscribed Emmanuel and another that has been very poorly restored, inscribed Pantokrator.⁹⁶ In, the later addition of Book of Revelation to a Gospel Book, Ms. Dd. 9.69, fol. 139r, the figure is situated within a blue diamond-circular composite form, which is flanked by four apocalyptic beasts [Figure 41].⁹⁷ In Panagia Phorbiotissa the image is placed within an Annunciation scene, in the triumphal arch before the apse of the church [Figure 42].⁹⁸

Ὁ Παντεπόπτης, O Pantepoptes, The All-Seeing
1 example: 1 icon (steatite); c. 1300 – 1500

Name: There was a monastery dedicated to Christ Pantepoptes in Constantinople, founded by Anna Dalassene in the late eleventh century.⁹⁹

Although not inscribed with IC XC in any other examples of Byzantine art, there are examples of Christ being referred to as Pantepoptes in cupola inscriptions such as of Panagia Theotokos, Trikomo, Cyprus, where it is written:

He who sees all from the distant place

⁹⁶ Pelekanidis and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, p. 11.

⁹⁷ Evans, *Byzantium*, p. 263.

⁹⁸ A. and J. Stylianou, *Panagia Phorbiotissa Asinou* (Cyprus: Nicosia, 1973), p. 63.

⁹⁹ Janin, *Les Églises et les monastères*, pp. 513-15.

Sees all those who enter here.
 He examines their souls and the movements of their hearts. Mortals, tremble
 (with fear) before the Judge [at Judgment!].¹⁰⁰

There is an Old Testament reference to the Israelite God as ‘All-Seeing’ in 2 Maccabees 9:5.¹⁰¹

Iconography: Christ is shown on a high-backed throne holding an open gospel book which reads from John 8:12 and holds His right hand in front in a gesture of blessing. This image of Christ is the central image of a wider iconographic scheme, consisting of 25 individual scenes with over 100 figures depicted, of which the Christ Pantepoptes is the largest image.

Ὁ Παντοκράτωρ, O Pantokrator, All-Ruler ¹⁰²

24 examples: 11 wall paintings, 6 seals (all lead), 5 icons (four painted, 1 steatite), 1 manuscript illumination, 1 pendant (rock crystal with a gemmed frame); c. 900¹⁰³ or c. 1000 – c. 1400

Name: Pantokrator was applied as an epithet to God and the individual persons of the Trinity in Early Christian theological writings. The name was subsequently used to refer to God and Christ in Creed and liturgical texts.¹⁰⁴

There were notable monasteries dedicated to Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople and Mount Athos, founded in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, respectively.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Binning, ‘Christ’s all-seeing eye in the dome’, p. 102, for the English and A. Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), pp. 376–77, for the Greek. Ὁ παντεπόπτης ἐξ ἂν ὅπ του τοῦ τόπ ου / τοὺς εἰσιόντας π ἄντ(ας) ἐνθαδε βλέπ ει, / ψυχὰς ἐρευνᾷ καὶ κίνησιν καρδίας. / Βροτοὶ, π τοεῖσθε [τὸν] κρ<ι>τ[ὴν τ(ὸν) τῆς δίκ[ης]

¹⁰¹ ὁ δὲ πανεπόπτης Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἀνιάτῳ καὶ ἀοράτῳ πληγῇ· ἄρτι δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλήξαντος τὸν λόγον, ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ἀνήκεστος τῶν σπλάγχχνων ἀλγηδὼν καὶ πικραὶ τῶν ἔνδον βάσανοι, So the all-seeing Lord, the God of Israel, struck him down with an incurable and invisible blow; for scarcely had he uttered those words when he was seized with excruciating pains in his bowels and sharp internal torment).

¹⁰² Sometimes Pantokrator translated to Almighty, which is rejected by Timken Matthews ‘The Byzantine Use of the Title Pantocrator’, pp. 444.

¹⁰³ A very wide chronology of 900 – 1600 is given by Matthews, ‘Byzantine Use of the Title Pantokrator’, pp. 442–462. Pelekanidis, and Chatzidakis, pp. 22–49, does not offer a date for the painting. For more on Hagioi Anagyroi, also see, T. Malmquist, *Byzantine 12th Century Frescos in Kastoria: Agioi Anagyroi and Agios Nikolaos tou Kasnitzi* (Uppsala: Borgströms Tryckeri, 1979), no date is offered here, either. I would be inclined to push the earliest date to 1000 or 1100, which coincides with the other more certain start dates for Pantokrator.

¹⁰⁴ *The Divine Liturgy of John Chrysostom*, pp. 34–35, the recital begins ‘Πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα...’, (‘I believe in one God, the Father Almighty...’), Timken Matthews, *The Byzantine Use of the Title Pantocrator*, p. 445.

¹⁰⁵ *ODB*, ‘Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople’, pp. 1575 and ‘Pantokrator Monastery on Athos’, pp. 1575–76.

Like Pantepoptes, there are instances of Christ being referred to as Pantokrator in longer inscriptions, such as the inscription that runs around the apse of the Church of the Koimesis at Daphne.¹⁰⁶ Another example is from the Gospel Book, Codex Sinait. gr. 364 f., 3r, which depicts Constantine XI Monomachos, Empress Zoe and her sister Theodora, who stand below Christ sitting in a mandorla.¹⁰⁷ Around the scene is an epigraphic border where Christ is referred to as ‘Pantokrator of the Trinity’.¹⁰⁸

The name ‘Pantokrator’ is used in modern scholarship to refer generally to any image of the adult Christ, whether physically inscribed with the epithet or not.¹⁰⁹

Iconography: Despite ‘Pantokrator’ being used to describe images of the adult Christ, usually in the bust, there is significant iconographic variation between images inscribed with the epithet. Almost all images of the Pantokrator show Him adult and bearded, holding a gospel book with His left hand and blessing with His right. In these cases, the gospel book can be open or closed, and the blessing hand can be held in front of His body or stretched away. Pantokrator images also show Christ in a bust, standing, or enthroned. In the Pantokrator wall painting from Saint Nicholas at Platsa in the Mani, Christ is flanked by the Mother of God and John the Baptist [Figure 43]. One major variation is the Christ Pantokrator from the Church of the Resurrection in Dečani, Serbia [Figure 44]. This image shows Christ standing and dressed in gold, holding an unsheathed sword.

Although in the Sinai manuscript Pantokrator is not inscribed as an epithet, but on the border inscription, it is worth mentioning that Christ is depicted seated on rainbow-like form within a mandorla. This iconography is often referred to as Christ in Glory or Majesty.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Matthews, ‘The Byzantine Use of the Title Pantocrator’, p. 452.

¹⁰⁷ I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), pp. 99-102.

¹⁰⁸ ΘΩC THC ΤΡΙΑΔΟC CΘΤΕΡ ΕΙC ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΚΤΩΝ ΦΑΕΙΝΗΝ ΤΡΙ(ΑΔΑ) CΚΕΠΟΙC ΚΡΑΤΙCΤΟΝ ΔΕCΠΟΤΗΝ ΜΟΝΟΜΑΧΟΝ ΟΜΑΙΜΟΝΩΝ ΖΕΥΓΟC ΤΕ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΑC ΚΛΑΔ(ΟΝ) (‘As the one Pantokrator of the Trinity, oh Saviour, may You protect the shining trinity of earthly sovereigns, the mightiest ruler Monomachos and the couple of common blood, the offshoot of the purple.’).

¹⁰⁹ This view is criticised in Matthews, ‘The Byzantine Use of the Title Pantocrator’.

¹¹⁰ *ODB*, ‘Majestas Domini’, pp. 1269-70

Ὁ Πληροφορίτης, O Plerophorites, The One Who Fulfils

1 example: 1 icon (painted with revetment frame); c. 1350

Name: There appears to be no single source for this name. Drpić noted that Theodore Palaiologos ‘cultivated a special devotion to a Christ surnamed Plerophorites.’¹¹¹

Iconography: The Plerophorites is the central image on the top register of a revetment frame for an icon that depicts an image of the Mother of God and Christ Child inscribed ἡ Ἐλπίς τῶν Ἀπελπισμένων (Elpis ton Apelpismenon, Hope of the Hopeless) [Figure 45]. Christ Plerophorites is an adult and in a bust form. He is placed between two epigraphic friezes, which function as dedicatory inscriptions. On the bottom frame of the icon is an extremely faint portrait of Anna Philanthropene, who is identified in the accompanying epigram.¹¹²

Ἡ Σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ, E Sofia tou Theou, The Wisdom of God

1 example: 1 icon (painted); c. 1350-1400

Name: Sophia (Wisdom) was a complex term in Patristic thought, derived from Hellenistic theology. When applied to Christ it referred to an attribute of the Godhead.¹¹³ In the fourteenth century, Nikephoros Gregoras described the mosaic of Christ in the dome of Hagia Sophia ‘the holy image of the enhypostatic Wisdom of God, I mean Christ our Saviour’.¹¹⁴

This is a very large icon, measuring 157 x 105 cm [Figure 46].¹¹⁵ It is thought that this icon was originally from Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki, so the inscription might be making a toponymic reference.

Iconography: An adult Christ is shown in a bust. In His right hand He holds an open gospel book displaying a passage from Matthew. He makes a gesture of blessing with His left hand.

¹¹¹ Drpić, *Epigram, Art and Devotion in Later Byzantium*, p. 370.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 372.

¹¹³ J. Meyendorff, ‘Wisdom – Sophia: Contrasting approaches to a complex theme’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 41 (1987), pp. 391-401.

¹¹⁴ Nikephoros Gregoras, *History*, XXIX, 47, f. trans. in C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453: Sources and Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986, repr. 2009), p. 249.

¹¹⁵ Wessel, col. 1024 and ‘Christ Pantokrator’, *Μουσείο Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού Θεσσαλονίκης*, <<http://mbp.gr/en/object/christ-pantokrator>> [accessed 27 February 2020].

Ὁ Σωτήρ, O Soter, The Saviour

11 examples: 5 coins, 4 wall paintings, 2 seals (lead); c. 1150 – 1443

Name: Saviour is used as a title in the Old and New Testaments for both God and Jesus.

Christ's role as saviour and the application of the name as a title refers to the deliverance of humankind's sin by the death and resurrection of Christ. 'Saviour' is frequently used in Byzantine liturgical texts when referring to Christ, such as the Liturgy of John Chrysostom and the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts.¹¹⁶

Soteriology was a predominant concept in Byzantine Orthodoxy and is a very common theme in Byzantine art.

Iconography: A number of coins and seals show an adult Christ in a bust. There are also a number of wall paintings of where Christ Soter is flanked by representations of the Mother of God and John the Baptist. Unfortunately, most of this group are very poorly photographed and recorded, so I cannot comment on their exact iconographies. In the late fourteenth-century wall painting from the Church of St Nicholas of Tzotza, Kastoria, a standing Christ is flanked by the Mother of God and Saint Nicholas to His right and John the Baptist to His left. Here, the Mother of God is inscribed Ἡ Παράκλησις (E Paraklesis, The Prayer).¹¹⁷

Ὁ Σωτήρ και Ζωοδότης, O Soter kai Zoodotes, The Saviour and Life-Giver

1 example: 1 icon; 1393/4

Name: I do not know of another instance where these epithets are used together. The concepts of Christian soteriology and Christ as Life-Giver were very much interlinked. For Byzantine Christians, Christ's main role as Saviour would be to give eternal life for the pious and faithful.

¹¹⁶ For instance in the *Divine Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts*, during the Eucharistic Rite, it was written, 'Ἰδοὺ προσέρχομαι Χριστῷ τῷ ἀθανάτῳ βασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῷ ἡμῶν. Μετάδος μοι, Δέσποτα ____ τῷ ἀναξίῳ Διακόνῳ, τὸ τίμιον καὶ πανάγιον Σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ, καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς ἄφεσίν μου ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.' (Behold, I approach Christ, our immortal King and God. The precious and most holy Body of our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ is given to me (Name) the unworthy Priest, for the forgiveness of sins and life everlasting).

¹¹⁷ I made these observations first-hand when visiting the church in July 2018, but was unable to take photographs.

Iconography: Christ is shown as an adult in a bust [Figure 47]. He blesses with His right hand in front of His body, whilst His left hold a closed gospel book.

Ὁ Ὑπεράγαθος, O Hyperagathos, The Supremely Good

1 example: 1 mosaic; c. 1310

Name: Hyperagathos is used to describe Christ in various texts with eschatological connotations, such as the Liturgy for the Presanctified, which was used for Lenten services, and funerary prayers.¹¹⁸ Manuel Philes wrote a poem for an icon of the Supremely Good and Saviour, although it is not clear whether these epithets were inscribed.¹¹⁹

Iconography: Doula Mouriki argued that this image was derived from Byzantine representations of the Ascension, such as the dome mosaic from Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki.¹²⁰ In the Pammakaristos mosaic, Christ is shown in the apse of the parekklesion, seated with His right arm extended far from His body and His left resting on a closed gospel book on His lap. In the bema on either side of this apse mosaic are representations of the Mother of God and John the Baptist, who gesture towards Christ. In the vault directly above Christ Hyperagathos, there are depictions of four archangels.

¹¹⁸ Mouriki, 'The Iconography of the Mosaics', p. 56.

¹¹⁹ Manuel Philes, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, ed. E. Miller, (Paris, 1857), p. 35, cited in Ibid. The title of the epigram is Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς εἰκόνα ὑπεραγάθου σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ, ὡς ἀπὸ βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἰωάννου.

¹²⁰ Mouriki, 'The Iconography of the Mosaics', p. 56.

Υιός Θεού, Uios Theou, Son of God

1 example: 1 icon; c. 800-1000

Name: There are many references to the Son of God in both the Old and New Testaments.¹²¹

In the Old Testament it referred to those who possessed a special and close relationship to God, such as Moses, whereas in the New Testament it is mostly applied to Christ.

Iconography: An icon of the Ascension of Christ [Figure 48]. Christ sits in a mandorla on the top register, which is held by four angels. IC XC YC ΘC are positioned either side of Christ and each group of letters are over scored, marking them as nomina sacra.

On the bottom register, the apostles are grouped around the Mother of God in the centre. All of the men focus their gaze on her, whilst she stands with her arms apart in an orant pose.

Ὁ Φιλανθρώπος, O Philanthropos, The Human-Loving

10 examples: 6 seals (lead); 2 icons (both painted); 2 wall paintings; c. 1050 – c. 1300

Name: There does not appear to be a single source for Philanthropos. Christ's philanthropic activities are mentioned throughout the New Testament. 'Philanthropos' was used with Eleemon to describe Christ in the Liturgy of John Chrysostom.¹²² The name was also used in funerary prayers.¹²³

Empress Irene founded a monastery dedicated to Christ Philanthropos in 1107, situated in Constantinople, near to the Blachernae Monastery.¹²⁴

¹²¹ New Testament references to Christ as 'Son of God' are numerous. For people referring to Christ as such, see Matthew 14:33, Matthew 16:16, Matthew 27:54, Mark 1:1, Mark 15:39, John 1:49, John 11:27, John 20:31, Acts 8:37, Acts 9:20, Romans 1:4, 2 Corinthians 1:19, Galatians 2:20, Ephesians 4:13, Hebrews 4:14, Hebrews 5:8, Hebrews 6:6, Hebrews 7:3, Hebrews 10:29, 1 John 3:8, 1 John 4:15, 1 John 5:1, 1 John 5:5, 1 John 5:10, 1 John 5:12, 1 John 5:13, 1 John 5:20, 2 John 1:3; for Christ calling himself 'Son of God', Matthew 26:63–64, Mark 14:61–62, Luke 22:70, John 3:18, John 5:25, John 10:36, John 11:4, Revelation 2:18; for Angels calling Christ 'Son of God', see Luke 1:32, Luke 1:35; for demons or Satan, see Matthew 4:3, Matthew 4:6, Matthew 8:29, Mark 3:11, Mark 5:7, Luke 4:3, Luke 4:9, Luke 4:41, Luke 8:28.

¹²² *The Divine Liturgy of John Chrysostom*, p. 20.

¹²³ Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, p. 182, cites a prayer that reads, 'Philanthrope, give rest to your pious servant.'

¹²⁴ *ODB*, 'Choumnos, Nikephoros', p. 432–33.

Philanthropy was understood as a key imperial virtue in Byzantium.¹²⁵

Iconography: There is no consistent iconography inscribed against images of the Christ Philanthropos. Seals connected to the homonymous Constantinopolitan monastery show an adult Christ both standing and in a bust [Figure 49]. A standing Christ can be observed in the Hagia Sophia in Trebizond [Figure 50], whilst Christ in a bust can be observed in icons from the hermitage of Saint Neophytos in Cyprus [Figure 51] and Saint Catherine's Monastery. The Christ Philanthropos from the Church of Saints Nicholas and George of Lathreno in Naxos is flanked by representations of John the Baptist and the Mother of God.

Ὁ Φοβερός Κριτής, O Phoberos Krites, The Terrible Judge
1 example: 1 wall painting; c. 1346 – 1349

Name: An eschatological reference to Christ's role as judge.

Christ is described as the Terrible Judge in the Vita of Basil the Younger from the middle to late tenth century, τῷ φοβερῷ καὶ θαυμαστῷ Κριτῇ.¹²⁶ This text is known for its extensive description of the afterlife.

Iconography: There is very little literature on this wall painting. It is located in the south narthex of the Church of Archangel Michael in Lesnovo, the Mother of God is inscribed Paraklesis on the north side.¹²⁷

Christ sits enthroned, with His right hand extending far away from His body and His left holds an open gospel book [Figure 52].

¹²⁵ D. J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1968).

¹²⁶ *The Life of Saint Basil the Younger: Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of the Moscow Version*, trans. and ed. D. F. Sullivan, A-M Talbot and S. McGrath (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2014), IV, 46, 30-31. I thank Niamh Bhalla for this reference.

¹²⁷ S. Gabelić, *Manastir Lesnovo: istorija i slikarstvo* (Belgrade: Stubovi kulture, 1998), p. 101, S. Kalopissi-Verti, 'The Proskynetaria of the Templon and Narthex: Form, Imagery, Spatial Connections, and Reception', in *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*, ed. S. E. J. Gerstel (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2007), p. 125.

‘Ο Φωτοδότης, O Photodotes, The Light-Giver

2 examples: 2 wall paintings; c. 1200 – c. 1300

Name: There does not appear to be a direct source for Photodotes. However, Christ as light was a popular topos in Early Christianity and remained in Byzantium.¹²⁸ The most frequently inscribed verse in representations of open gospel books held by Christ was John 8:12, ‘I am the light of the world...’. Christ is also described as ‘light from light (φῶς ἐκ φωτός)’ in Nicene Creed and ΦΧ ΦΠ (‘Φῶς Χρίστου Φαίνει Πᾶσιν’, Light of Christ Shines for All) was a popular Byzantine cryptogram inscription.¹²⁹

Iconography: The images of the Christ Photodotes display different iconographies. The image from Kallithea, Samos, is situated on the proskynetaria of the church [Figure 53]. Christ is shown as a bearded adult and enthroned. He holds an open gospel book, however the text is no longer legible.¹³⁰

In the wall painting from Hagios Nikolas at Malagari [Figure 54], near Perachora, Greece, Christ is shown standing and flanked by the Mother of God and the monk Sophronios Kalozoes on His right and John the Baptist on His left. Sophronios is identified by a naming inscription and hands a scroll or deed to Christ. There is virtually no scholarship on this wall painting and it is not clear where the painting is located in the church. The photograph shows the painting in a semi-circular niche, framed by an imperial male, possibly Constantine, and Saint Catherine, who is identified by an inscription.

¹²⁸ L. James, *Light and Colour in Byzantine Art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 100-1 and N. Schibille, *Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 137-38, 201-2, 234.

¹²⁹ *The Divine Liturgy of John Chrysostom*, p. 35, and Walter, ‘IC XC NI KA’, no. 14 on p. 211.

¹³⁰ John 8:12, perhaps.

Ὁ Χαλκίτης, O Chalkites, The One of the Bronze (Χαλκῆ, Chalke) (Gate)

11 examples: 5 seals (lead); 3 coins (2 bronze, 1 silver); 1 medallion; 1 mosaic; 1 wall painting; c. 1000 – c. 1321

Name: The name derives from Chalke (Χαλκῆ, Bronze), referring to the Chalke Gate, which led to the imperial palace of Constantinople.¹³¹ Christ's epithet, Chalkites, refers to an icon of Christ that hung on the gate and gained fame due its destruction and reinstallation during the periods of Iconoclasm in the eighth and ninth centuries. The truthfulness of these narratives is hard to determine and might have been the product of a post-iconoclastic rewriting of history. The Chalke icon was also seen to possess a close relationship to imperial powers, because of its location on the imperial gate.

Iconography: Cyril Mango argued for all uses of Chalkites as an epithet derived from a single source, the icon of Christ from the Chalke Gate.¹³² All the coins and seals that used the Chalkites epithet do share a similar iconography [Figure 55]. They depict a standing Christ with His right arm outstretched in a gesture of blessing and holding a closed gospel book with His right . The notable exception to this is the Christ Chalkites in the inner narthex of the Chora Church in Constantinople [Figure 56]. Here, Christ is shown standing, but His arm is not outstretched and He does not hold a gospel book. In this mosaic, there are also the notable additions of the Mother of God and Isaac Komnenos to Christ's right and Melane the Nun to His left.

It is also worth pointing out that in the accounts of Russian travellers to Constantinople in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries there appear to have been many icons around the city which were referred to as 'Chalke'.¹³³ In representations of Saint Theodosia, who according to legend attempted to save the Chalke icon from destruction and was martyred as a result, the Chalke Christ is not shown standing, but either as a youth or adult in a bust.

¹³¹ The most thorough study on the Chalke image remains Mango, *The Brazen House*, pp. 108-142. For the iconoclastic history of the Chalke icon see M. F. Auzépy, 'La destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chalce par Léon III: propaganda ou réalité?', *Byzantion*, Vol. 60 (1990), pp. 445-492.

¹³² Mango, *The Brazen House*, pp. 135-142.

¹³³ G. P. Majeska, 'The Image of the Chalke Savior in Saint Sophia', *Byzantinoslavica*, Vol. 31 (1972), pp. 284-95 and *Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, trans. and ed. G. P. Majeska (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984), pp. 97, 136-37, 147, 211 and 280.

Ἡ Χώρα τῶν Ζώντων, E Chora ton Zonton, The Land of the Living

3 examples: 3 mosaics; c. 1316 – 1321

Name: Chora (Χώρα) is the name of the monastery in which the all three images are displayed.¹³⁴ The monastery received this name because of its rural location outside of the Constantinian city walls of Constantinople, with ‘chora’ denoting countryside – amongst other things – in Byzantine Greek.¹³⁵

The word ‘chora’ was also seen to possess a more metaphysical and mystical qualities and could denote ‘space’ or ‘container’. Plato defined the term as ‘the creation of the universe and the creation of man [...] the nurse, the matrix, the womb and the receptacle in which creation takes place’.¹³⁶

‘Land (Chora) of the living’ was likely a reference to Psalm 116: 8-9:

For you, Lord, have delivered me from death,
my eyes from tears,
my feet from stumbling,
that I may walk before the Lord
in the land of the living (ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντων)¹³⁷

‘Land of the Living’ was also used in funerary liturgy.¹³⁸

Iconography: All three images of Christ the Land of the Living images depict Him as an adult but possess different iconographies. The first image [Figure 57], shown above the door leading from the outer to inner narthex shows Christ in a bust, His right arm extends slightly away from his body in a gesture of blessing and His left holds a closed gospel book. The second image [Figure 58], shown in the doorway from the inner narthex to the naos depicts

¹³⁴ N. Teteriatnikov, ‘The Dedication of the Chora Monastery in the Time of Androknikos II Palaiologos’, *Byzantion*, Vol. 66 (1996), pp. 188–207

¹³⁵ R. S. Nelson, ‘Taxation with Representation. Visual narrative and the political field of the Kariye Camii’, *Art History*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1999), pp. 66, identifies that ‘chora’ could denote place, space, land, country and partially-occupied space; E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1992), p. 1176, defines χώρα as ‘place’ etc., whereas H. G. Lindell and R. Scott, *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon*, 7th edn. (Connecticut: Mansfield Centre, 2013), p. 898, defines it as ‘the space in which a thing is’.

¹³⁶ N. Isar, ‘Chôra: Tracing the Presence’, *Review of European Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2009), p. 40.

¹³⁷ ὅτι ἐξείλατο τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἐκ θανάτου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μου ἀπὸ δακρύων καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου ἀπὸ ὀλισθήματος εὐαρεστήσω ἐναντίον κυρίου ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντων

¹³⁸ R. G., Ousterhout, *The Art of the Kariye Camii* (London: Scala, 2002), p.104.

Christ shown full-length, sat on a low-backed throne. His right hand is in front of Him and his left holds a closed gospel book on His lap. To the left, Theodore Metochites bows in proskynesis before Christ. He offers Christ a model of a church, which is presumably the Chora Church. The final image [Figure 59] is displayed on the north proskynetarion of the naos. Here, Christ is shown full length and standing. His right hand is in a gesture of blessing in front of Him and His left holds an open gospel book.

Ὁ Ψυχοσώστης, O Psychosostes, The Saviour of Souls

1 example: 1 icon (painted and inlaid revetment); c. 1300 – 1350

Name: There was a monastery dedicated to the Theotokos Psychosostes in the twelfth century in Constantinople, when it was briefly mentioned in the typikon for the Pantokrator Monastery.¹³⁹

There does not appear to be a single origin for this name, but instead it seems to be a general term referencing the soteriological role of Christ (see entry for Soter).

Iconography: An adult and bearded Christ shown in a bust, His right hand is in front of His body in a gesture of blessing, His left holds a closed gospel book [Figure 60].

There is a pendant icon, depicting the Mother of God. She is inscribed with the feminine equivalent of Psychosostes, Psychosostria [Figure 61].¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ ‘Pantokrator: Typikon of Emperor John II Komnenos for the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople’, trans. R. Jordan in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders’ Typika and Testaments*, Vol. 2, ed. J. Thomas and A. C. Hero, (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000), p. 770.

¹⁴⁰ Evans, *Byzantium*, cat. 99, pp. 179-80.

N/A (Illegible epithet)**1 example; icon (painted); c. 1300 – 1350**

Name: Faint traces of epigraphy can be seen to the left and right of Christ's head [Figure 62]. There is a clear definite article ('O) on the far left followed by M or Π, which are possibly followed by an A. To the right of Christ's head there are traces of letters that look like Θ and possible a form of C. I am not sure what epithet this would be.

IC XC has also worn away, but faint traces can be seen at the top of the panel.

Iconography: Christ is depicted as an adult in a bust, His right hand is in front of Him in a gesture of blessing and His left hand holds an open gospel book displaying John 3: 16-17.¹⁴¹ There are depictions of various saints on the left and right border of the icon, all of whom gesture towards Christ.

DATA ANALYSIS

Before proposing categories to organise these epithets, it needs to be asked what this primary material says on its own and what effect this has on the ways in which it should be studied. In presenting the possible sources and perceived meanings of each epithet, along with the iconographies they inscribe, various relationships between image and text can be identified.

This data suggests that there was no clear-cut relationship between epithet and iconography. There were instances where certain epithets were more consistently used for iconographies. For instance, all but two King of Glory images were Paschal scenes and all Christs inscribed Chalkites are shown standing. However, even the slightest variations in these more consistent examples mean that epithets should not simply be regarded as examples of an iconographic 'type'. With the image of the Ancient of Days, which also has a quite consistent iconography, slight iconographic variations meant that the image and inscription might have been perceived quite differently by their Byzantine audiences. For instance, in Cambridge Ms. Dd. 9.69, fol. 139r, the Ancient of Days is flanked by apocalyptic beasts, giving an eschatological reading to the image, further highlighted by the fact that this illumination was used to

¹⁴¹ Οὕτως γὰρ ἡγάπησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον, ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν, ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτὸν μὴ ἀπόληται ἀλλ' ἔχῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον. οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἵνα κρίνῃ τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' ἵνα σωθῇ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ.

illustrate the Book of Revelation. In contrast, in Paris Ms. Gr. 74, fol. 167r, an iconographically-similar Ancient of Days is flanked by both adult and youthful Christs, and this might have invited a temporal-Christological reading of the image, rather than an eschatological one.¹⁴² Both examples show how different factors aside from the immediate appearance of Christ might lead to different interpretations of the images inscribed with the same epithet. Just because two images look similar and are inscribed with the same names does not mean they possess the same meaning. Other factors must be considered. This is something that I shall investigate further in Chapter Four.

The inconsistent relationship between epithet and iconography shows that some modern labels are unhelpful. ‘Pantokrator’ and ‘Emmanuel’ are frequently used in scholarship to generally refer to images of the adult and youthful Christ, respectively, even when there is no epithet, or even another different epithet inscribed on the object.¹⁴³ The survey showed that although all surviving images inscribed Pantokrator are adult, they also possess a variety of different formal qualities: standing, enthroned, or in a bust; alone, or flanked by the Mother of God and John the Baptist; holding a gospel book, or even a sword. In the Pantepoptes icon, Emmanuel is used to refer to the images of the youthful Christ. But the name was used to inscribe images of an adult bearded Christ on tenth and eleventh-century coins and seals, as well as an adult Christ in Majesty from the Church of Archangel Michael, Lesnovo, problematising the modern application of the name. Furthermore, in a seventh-century icon from Mount Sinai, Emmanuel was also used as a title, rather than an epithet, for an iconography that looks like – to us – a reference to the Ancient of Days.¹⁴⁴

There do seem to be some identifiable trends concerning the use of epithets and narrative imagery. Karen Boston argued that narrative images of Christ were far less likely to use IC XC in post-iconoclastic art, for whatever reason.¹⁴⁵ Because of this, it is to be expected that epithets follow a similar pattern of being inscribed on non-narrative imagery. However, the binary labels of narrative and non-narrative are not always helpful for classifying Byzantine

¹⁴² S. Tsuji, ‘The Headpiece Miniatures and Genealogy Pictures in Paris. Gr. 74’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 29 (1975), pp. 165–203.

¹⁴³ Evans, *Byzantium*, uses ‘Emmanuel’ to describe all young Christs on the Pantepoptes icon. Pantokrator is used to describe images like the enkolpion from Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, cat. 112, p. 165, even though he is inscribed ‘The King of Glory’, just to give one example.

¹⁴⁴ Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: the Icons*, pp. 41–42, for a catalogue entry on the icon. For a more nuanced and up-to-date theological and spiritual reading, see Corrigan, ‘Visualising the Divine’, pp. 268–303.

¹⁴⁵ Boston, ‘The Power of Inscriptions and the Trouble with Texts’, p. 40.

depictions of Christ, and need to be more rigorously defined before analysing epithet inscriptions' relationship with narrative imagery. If one simply defines narrative imagery as a scene where a single moment from a story is depicted, then images like the Crucifixion, where Christ is inscribed King of Glory, would certainly fall under that category.¹⁴⁶ However, the Ancient of Days' formal characteristics were clearly derived from Daniel 7:9, but I have not found any surviving instances where the narrative of this Old Testament epiphany was depicted. There were also eschatological images, where representations of Christ were clearly post-crucifixion, or related in some way to the Last Judgement, such as the Christ the Resurrection and the Life on the front of the Vatican Sakkos, where Christ is flanked by heavenly choirs of saints and angels and instruments of the passion are shown above him. In both of these instances there are no exact narrative moments depicted, but their iconographies are very much informed by specific biblical narratives. I propose that these images should be classed as 'narratively informed', as their function would be very different to scenes like the Crucifixion. On the other end of the spectrum are images of Christ where no specific narrative was depicted and the only aspect of time is indicated by the age of Christ, adult or youthful. Here, Christ is depicted without reference to any specific biblical narrative moment, as with the depiction of the enthroned Christ Pantepoptes on the steatite icon. Even the outer images of the Pantepoptes icon, where some sort of action is taking place, in the form of the young Christ blessing the choirs, are non-narrative, as this was not a specific narrative, but a more general representation of faithful groups being blessed by him. So, even when considering narrative on a spectrum, with narratively-informed images sitting in the middle, most epithet images were still non-narrative: 14 images, or 7.4%, depicted an exact narrative moment; 9 images, or 4.7%, were narratively informed; leaving 167 images, or 87.9%, as non-narrative.¹⁴⁷

It is worth asking if this larger pool of data invites new ways for organising and categorising Christ's epithets, in addition to the groups that I outlined in the Introduction. This is important, because if epithets describe or comment upon the inscribed image of Christ, then they might be used to access wider perceptions of Him beyond art. This would be a very

¹⁴⁶ H. Maguire, 'Two modes of narration in Byzantine art', in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-historical studies in honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. in C. Moss and K. Kiefer, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 385-91.

¹⁴⁷ The three narrative scenes are the Annunciation, Ascension and Crucifixion and will be addressed in Chapter Three. The narratively informed images are those that depict the Ancient of Days, but not the images with eschatological connotations.

important aspect of the inscriptions making a difference to the inscribed objects, as making reference to specific ways of perceiving Christ might not be present with only IC XC.

CLASSIFICATION: TOPONYMIC AND QUALITATIVE EPITHETS

André Grabar's article, in which he proposed two main categories for Marian epithets in Byzantine art, has heavily informed the classification and discussion of their Christological counterparts.¹⁴⁸ For Grabar, epithets such as Ελεούσα (Eleousa, Merciful) were qualitative in character because they described an attribute of the Mother of God, whereas others such as Βλαχερνίτισσα (Blachernitissa) were toponymic because they referred to places, such as the Blachernae palace in Constantinople.¹⁴⁹ Similar ideas can and have been applied to Christological epithets in art.¹⁵⁰ Epithets such as Eleemon (Merciful), Philanthropos (Lover of Humanity) and Zoodotes (Life-Giver) are qualitative because, like Eleousa for the Mother of God, they describe a perceived attribute of Christ. Other epithets, such as Chalkites, are labelled as toponymic because they refer to specific sites, such as the Chalke Gate of Constantinople, and even more specifically the icon of Christ that hung on said gate.

I shall critically evaluate the term 'qualitative' to describe Christological epithets shortly, but first it is important to question the appropriateness of the toponymic label. Toponymic references made by epithets were probably regarded as necessary because they linked objects to important sites, something that might not have been evident without the inclusion of the inscriptions. In terms of Marian epithets, this can be seen on a twelfth-century icon from Saint Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, which displays scenes of the miracles and Passions of Christ [Figure 63]. On the top register of this icon there are five representations of the Mother of God, four of which are inscribed with epithets that link famous miracle-working Constantinopolitan icons and/or their associated sites: Blachernitissa; Hodegetria; Hagiosoritissa; Chemevti.¹⁵¹ Annemarie Weyl Carr has convincingly argued that the repetition of Marian epithets reinforced the importance of pilgrimage to these sites. Similar

¹⁴⁸ Grabar, 'Les images de la Vierge de tendresse', pp. 25-30.

¹⁴⁹ *ODB*, 'Blachernai, Church and Palace of', p. 293.

¹⁵⁰ The qualitative and toponymic categories are identified in Drpić, *Epigram, Art and Devotion*, p. 352.

¹⁵¹ Z. Skhirtladze, 'The Image of the Virgin on the Sinai Hexptych and the Apse Mosaic of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 68 (2014), pp. 369-86, gives a good literature review of the icon. Skhirtladze also examines the Georgian inscriptions of the icon, which previous scholarship failed to do. A. Weyl Carr, 'Icons and the Object of Pilgrimage in Middle Byzantine Constantinople', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 56 (2002), pp. 75-92, makes some insightful comments about the relationship between Marian icons and epithets.

thoughts can be applied to Christological toponymic epithets. This is not to say that all epithets making a toponymic reference had some sort of function associated with pilgrimage. However, by a toponymic epithet making reference to site or icon through means of a shared name highlights the importance of the latter, particularly the characteristics that made it important such as miracles. For instance, Christ is inscribed Chalkites in the early fourteenth-century so-called Deesis mosaic panel in the inner narthex of the Chora Church Constantinople. The Chalkites epithet invites the viewer to contemplate the mosaic, its wider cycle of imagery and viewing space in relation to the Chalke Gate of Constantinople. By the inclusion of this toponymic epithet an association is made between the two and some of history and power of the site is transferred to the mosaic.

In some instances it necessary to describe Christological epithets as toponymic because they do indeed make a definite reference to a specific site, as with Christ Chalkites. This can also be seen in other instances, as with very large icon of Christ inscribed Η COΦΙΑ - ΤΟΥ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ (E Sophia tou Theou, The Wisdom of God), c. 1350-1400, which was plausibly making a reference to the church in Thessaloniki, Hagia Sophia, where it is thought that the object was originally displayed.¹⁵² This way of describing epithets is useful as it highlights the important link between the inscribed objects and homonymous sites and/or icons. However, the majority of epithets that apparently make a toponymic reference also describe an attribute of Christ, meaning that they are simultaneously toponymic and qualitative in character. This can be observed in many instances, such as the eleventh-century coinage of Zoe and mosaic from the Koimesis Church in Nicaea, where images of Christ are inscribed Antiphonetes. In terms of their toponymic function, the epithets might be making reference to Zoe's homonymous icon described by Michael Psellos, or the monastery dedicated to Christ Antiphonetes in Constantinople. However, the epithets also identify the images of Christ as responsive and interactive (The One Who Responds).

Grabar's study is useful to an extent: first, because all Christological epithets do indeed seem to fall into the toponymic or qualitative categories; second, because, to my knowledge, it is the only attempt to systematically categorise epithet inscriptions. However, there are a number of issues with the rigidity of the toponymic and qualitative labels which hinder the understanding of what difference they made to the inscribed objects. Take the Christ

¹⁵² Wessel, col. 1024 and 'Christ Pantokrator', *Μουσείο Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού Θεσσαλονίκης*.

Antiphonetes mosaic from the Koimesis Church. Describing the epithet as toponymic presupposes a level of knowledge from the viewer, namely that they were aware of the Constantinopolitan monastery and/or Zoe's icon. Furthermore, even if the viewer was aware of the monastery and icon, they would have to be made aware that the epithet was making a toponymic reference to either the monastery or the icon, additionally to its qualitative function. Here, as with the majority of other toponymic epithets, the primary function would be qualitative and any toponymic reference would have to be informed by extra knowledge. Furthermore, because many churches and monasteries dedicated to Christ used qualitative epithets for their dedications, it is speculated that some inscribed objects, of which very contextual information is known, made toponymic references. An example of this is the speculated link between the Pantepoptes icon and the homonymous Constantinopolitan monastery, which is solely made because of the same name.¹⁵³ These links are purely conjecture.

A useful way of incorporating and building upon the work of Grabar is to acknowledge that epithets were toponymic but not to always assume that a viewer would make this link. It is also important to acknowledge that epithets could be simultaneously qualitative and toponymic. This means that most epithets were in fact primarily qualitative in character. In fact, the Chalkites epithet appears to be the only surviving inscription that made a purely toponymic reference. This is because Chalkites derives from Χαλκή, meaning 'Of the Chalke Gate'. This emphasis on epithets as mainly qualitative in character leads on to the second main issue with Grabar's distinction. Identifying epithets as qualitative is sufficient, as it does not acknowledge the breadth and variety of the inscriptions meanings and origins, and therefore does not address the different ways in which they affected the objects on which they were inscribed. Take Pantepoptes, Emmanuel and Nika from the Pantepoptes icon, these three epithets would happily fall under the category of qualitative and/or toponymic in the case of Pantepoptes. However, this grouping does not acknowledge the superlative character of Pantepoptes (All-Seeing), the Biblical origin of Emmanuel ('God with us', Isaiah 7-8, Matthew 1:22-23), nor the transcendental power stressed in Nika (Conquers). Because of these inscriptions, these images must be doing quite different things. More nuanced and considered groupings of epithets have been implied in scholarship, but a proper framework

¹⁵³ Evans, *Byzantium*, p. 235.

has not been developed beyond that of Grabar's.¹⁵⁴ A different grouping of Christ's epithets is important as it will broadly show the different ways in which the inscribed names invested specific meanings for their images and possibly changed the function of the object on which they were displayed. This will also open up discussions concerning why certain groups of inscriptions were perceived as desirable for particular images or in certain contexts: why was it necessary to have supremacy or soteriology-stressing names along with biblical ones on the Pantepoptes icon? How did this change the function of the object? Does it belong to a broader way of thinking about Christ?

PROPOSAL FOR A DIFFERENT CLASSIFICATION

In Table 3 I have grouped together the 28 epithets from my data set in five categories. Table 3 also shows that the epithets could belong to multiple categories. I decided upon these categories by identifying common themes or sources for the epithets, into which a significant number of names can be grouped. Three of these categories expand on Grabar's qualitative label by specifying what kinds of qualities are being stressed by the epithets: benevolence; soteriology; and supremacy/transcendence. The other two relate to the source for the name: toponyms; and Biblical names.

There are a few points that I need to make before presenting and analysing these categorisations. In the context of Christ, benevolence and soteriology are very much interlinked concepts. The ultimate goal of a Byzantine Christian would be to achieve a place in the afterlife, as shown in the frequent invocative pleas for salvation found in Byzantine lead seals, and understanding any act of benevolence would probably be understood as part of this soteriological process. It is important to make a distinction between benevolent and soteriological epithets, however as, even though the two were very closely related, they have different primary meanings. For this reason, in Table 3, I have only included epithets with direct reference Christ giving some sort of salvation or redemption.

Another point worth making is to do with the overlap between qualitative and toponymic epithets. For some works of art it is known whether or not their inscriptions are making a

¹⁵⁴ For instance, Mouriki, 'Iconography of the Mosaics', p. 56, speaks of 'benevolence-stressing epithets', grouping Hyperagathos with Soter and Philanthropos.

toponymic reference, as with Christ Pantepoptes. Because of this, in Table 3 I have placed all epithets that are used to name a Byzantine church or monastery in here.¹⁵⁵ Because Pantepoptes is used for both the icon and the monastery and might be making a toponymic reference, I have included it in this category as well as qualitative.

Table 3: Categories of Christ's epithets

Epithet type	Epithets
Benevolent	Antiphonetes (One Who Responds); Eleemon (Merciful); Evergetes (Benefactor); Hyperagathos (Supremely Good); One Curing Every Infirmary; Lytrotes (Redeemer); Philanthropos (Lover of Humanity); Photodotes (Light-Giver); Plerophorites (One Who Fulfils); Saviour and Life-Giver; Zoodotes (Life-Giver)
Biblical	Ancient of Days; Emmanuel; God of Us; King of Glory; King of the Jews; Land of the Living; Only Begotten; Resurrection and the Life; Son of God; Soter (Saviour)
Soteriological	Lytrotes; Photodotes; Psychosotes (Soul-Saviour); Saviour and Life-Giver; Soter; Zoodotes
Supremacy/Transcendence	Hyperagathos; King of Glory; King of the Jews; God of Us; Nika (Conquers); Pantepoptes (All-Seeing); Pantokrator (All-Ruler); Son of God; Terrible Judge; Wisdom of God

¹⁵⁵ Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins : Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galèsios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique* (Paris: Institut Français d'études byzantines, 1974) and Janin, *Les Églises et les monastères*.

Toponymic	Antiphonetes; Chalkites (relating to the Chalke (Bronze) Gate); Evergetes; Land of the Living; Pantepoptes; Pantokrator; Philanthropos; Photodotes; Plerophorites (One Who Fulfils); Psychosostes; Wisdom of God; Zoodotes
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These categories are of course artificial and the Byzantines would not have thought about inscriptions or images in this way. However, these crude groupings are useful for making connections and building up analyses in upcoming chapters of this thesis. In terms of how this relates to the question of what difference do epithets make to the inscribed images of Christ and the objects on which they are displayed, it shows that epithet inscriptions functioned differently on a semantic level.

Table 3 shows, broadly speaking, ways to organise and categorise how qualitative epithets fit within wider perceptions of Christ. Overall they stress His two main roles: first, as the benevolent saviour; second, as a supreme and transcendental being, whilst emphasising His relationship with God. There is considerable overlap between these categories, as names had multiple meanings and functions. Epithets like Hyperagathos (Supremely Good), simultaneously stressed both benevolence and supremacy. Some epithets with different meanings and connotations could be used for toponymic references: Pantokrator (All-Ruler); Evergetes (Benefactor). Biblical titles such as King of Glory and Emmanuel were popular, but these only represent a fraction of the 55 names and titles given to Christ in the Bible and many others might have existed in Byzantium. Some of them were not originally used in reference to Christ, such as the ‘Land of the Living’ and ‘King of Glory’, which were Old Testament references to heaven and God.

By re-categorising epithets like this, it is possible to open up the different functions and behaviours of Christ’s epithets, showing what kinds of qualities are stressed and their overlap with toponyms. As I said above, Chalkites is the only epithet in the toponymic category that I have not placed in a qualitative one. This is it refers only to the Chalke Gate of Constantinople and therefore apparently does not appear to possess an intrinsically qualitative meaning. Nonetheless, the site of the Chalke Gate did possess more than one connotation for the Byzantines: it was both imperial and iconoclastic. This demonstrates how a single

epithet's meanings could morph and extend, even within a singular category. Chalkites might always refer to a specific site (the Chalke Gate), but the meanings attached to that site and hence to an image labelled with the associated epithet were not necessarily fixed.

All the names in Table 3 are epithets, but each epithet has different meanings that relate to each other in different ways. These meanings and their interrelations would have affected how the Byzantine used and viewed the inscribed objects. In turn, this has opened up new questions that will be addressed in the subsequent chapters of my thesis: why was it desirable to stress the supremacy or benevolence of Christ, or refer to His biblical nomenclature? Do epithets within the same categories function in the same ways, or is a more nuanced approach needed? How do iconographies affect these meanings and associations?

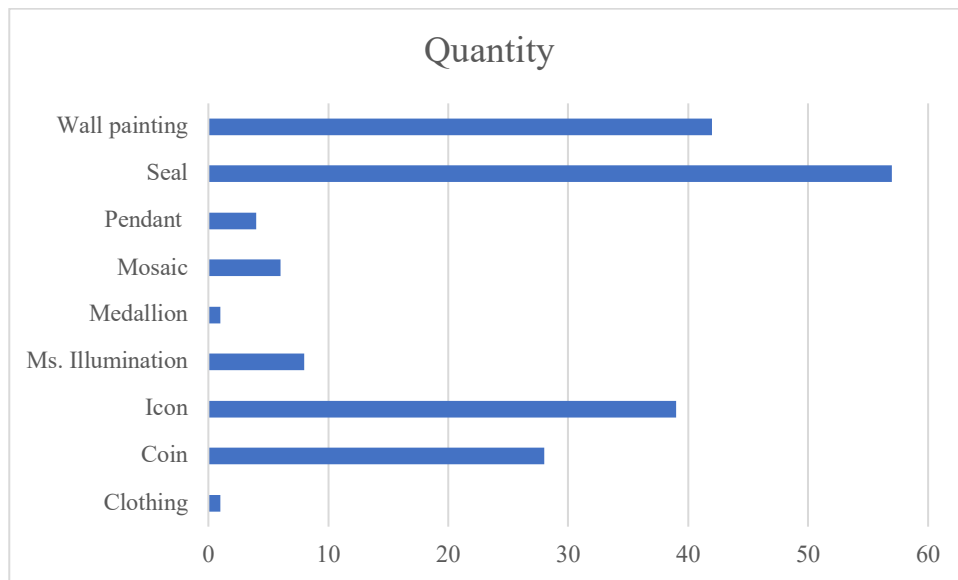
EPITHETS, MEDIA AND CHRONOLOGY

I shall now present data in relation to three main variables: epithets, media and dates. The purpose of this is to see whether any notable trends can be identified. I have not included geography as a main variable, as in many instances the original locations of these images are unknown or vague, and would make data analysis very problematic. Instead, I shall refer to geography when relevant in the thesis's main discussions.

In Table and Chart 4, I present the quantities of the media of objects where images of Christ are inscribed with epithets (see next page):

Table and Chart 4: Table and Chart showing quantities of media

Medium	Quantity
Clothing	1
Coin	28
Icon	39
Ms. Illumination	8
Medallion	1
Mosaic	6
Pendant	4
Seal	57
Wall painting	42
Total:	186



This data shows that Christ's epithets are most commonly found on seals, wall paintings, icons and coins, with 57, 42, 40 and 28 entries respectively. Other media are considerably lower in number. From this it seems that epithets were used on both devotional media (painting, mosaics, icons, seals) and non-devotional media (coins). Small scale works seem to be as relatively popular as those on a large scale. It is worth saying that certain groups of media, such as clothing were more susceptible to wear and damage, meaning that a lower proportion of Byzantine works would have survived.

The issue with looking at this data alone is that it does not reveal what proportion of each medium is represented by the objects with inscribed images. There is a considerably wide range of media inscribed with epithets and considering the quantities of each media and the respective proportion of examples inscribed with epithets would become a task equivalent with surveying all surviving Byzantine art. Instead, I have used case studies where scholarly surveys of Byzantine art have been taken according to media (often specified by local geography). Using these surveys, I have drawn out the material from this study's chronological focus – Middle and Late Byzantium (843-1453) – and from this I have identified the number and proportion of represented by Christological epithet images.

Table 5: Case studies for the proportion of epithet images from 9th - 15th centuries

Medium	Total number of objects	Epithets of Christ	Percentage
Lead seals with the image of Christ ¹⁵⁶	823 ¹⁵⁷	55	6.7%
Mosaic in Constantinopolitan churches ¹⁵⁸	21 (churches)	2 (churches)	9.5%
Painted churches in Cyprus ¹⁵⁹	61 (churches)	3 (churches)	4.9%
Sinai icons ¹⁶⁰	238	5	2.1%
Steatite icons ¹⁶¹	238 ¹⁶²	6	2.5%

This suggest that epithets were not a particularly frequent occurrence in any medium. The highest percentage of epithets within a medium corpus comes from Constantinopolitan

¹⁵⁶ Cotsonis, 'To Invoke or Not to Invoke', pp. 549–82.

¹⁵⁷ Cotsonis includes work from 6th to 15th century and I have only included his entries from 9th century onwards.

¹⁵⁸ *Composition of Byzantine Glass Mosaic Tesserae*, 'University of Sussex' <<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/byzantine/mosaic/>> [accessed 27 February 2020].

¹⁵⁹ Stylianou and Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*.

¹⁶⁰ Sôtēriou, G., and M. G. Sôtēriou, *Eikones Tēs Monēs Sina, Collection de l'Institut Français d'Athènes* (Athens: Institut français d'Athènes, 1956).

¹⁶¹ Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*.

¹⁶² I included works in the Appendix of Ibid.

mosaicked churches, although this comes from the smallest pool of data, so is probably the least reliable.

The tables and charts suggest that there was a considerable spread of epithets across media in Byzantium. There is not enough data or compelling evidence to suggest that the inscriptions were favoured in any particular medium.

I shall now outline the spread of media in relation to chronology. The purpose of this is to see whether any chronological trends can be identified and whether certain media, or associate groups of media appear popular in certain periods of time, as this might reveal a changed function of epithet inscriptions.

Table 6: Quantities of media across centuries

	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th	15th
Clothing							1	
Coin				1	4	16	4	
Icon	2	1	1	2	5	4	24	14
Ms. Illumination				5		2	2	
Medallion					1			
Mosaic				1			5	
Pendant			1	3		2	1	
Seal			9	36	14	4	1	
Wall painting			1	4	7	23	23	3
Total:	2	3	13	53	32	52	61	17

I have not found evidence of an epithet inscription prior to the Icon of the Ascension from Saint Catherine's Monastery, which is dated to c. 700-900. This data suggests that epithets emerged in the ninth century and continued to mostly grow in popularity until the fourteenth and a significant fall in the fifteenth century. The relatively small pool of data for this survey and issue of survival means that one cannot certainly say that the dip in the twelfth century actually means that fewer epithet inscriptions were made in that century. Furthermore, I have only included works up until 1453 from the fifteenth century. This means that data in this field only comes from 53 years rather than 100. If one doubles the number of entries, then the

fifteenth century (19 to 38) still falls behind the fourteenth (57), but the disparity between the two is less glaring. It is also worth mentioning that epithets do in fact start before Drpić's eleventh-century start date, although this is the period where epithets do seem to become significantly more frequent.

With the spread of medium across centuries, again I hesitate to draw any definite conclusions because of the small pools of data and the issue of survival. The drop of the seal medium in the later centuries accords with general patterns for the medium, as pointed out by Cotsonis.¹⁶³ Looking more generally at the objects, there seems to be an increase of religious media, such as icons and wall paintings as the centuries progress, against a decrease of secular media such as coins and seals.

I shall now add specific epithets into the analysis. In Table 7 I present the spread of epithets across the different media (see next page).

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 576.

As was the case with the previous tables and charts, with medium and date there is insufficient material to draw any absolute conclusions. However, there are a few patterns to draw out. First, Emmanuel is used relatively frequently on imperial coins and seals. This will be addressed in Chapter Three and Four, which focus on individuals' uses of certain epithets and their relationships with iconographies, respectively. Second, Pantokrator is inscribed on a significant number of cupola wall paintings. This latter set of images has been discussed by Timken Matthews and will also be addressed in Chapter Four.

Finally, I have organised epithets according to century (see next page).

Table 8: Quantities of each epithet for 8th - 15th centuries

	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th	15th
Ancient of Days				5	2	1	1	
Antiphonetes				2	1		1	
Chalkites				1	3	8	1	
Eleemon			1	1	1	5		
Emmanuel			9	30	11	15	9	6
Evergetes					1	1		
God of Us						1		
Hyperagathos							1	
King of Glory				3	5	3	4	4
King of the Jews	2	2	1	1	1	1		
Land of the Living							3	
Lytrotes							2	
Merciful and Compassionate						1		
Nika							3	3
One Curing Every Infirmity							1	
Only Begotten						1		
Pantepoptes							1	1
Pantokrator			1	2	5	6	14	3
Philanthropos				1	7	3		
Photodotes						1	1	
Plerophorites							1	
Psychosostes							1	
Resurrection and the Life							1	
Saviour and Life Giver							1	
Son of God		1	1					
Soter					2	3	7	1
Terrible Judge							1	
Wisdom of God							1	
Zoodotes							2	1
?							1	
Total:	2	3	2	46	39	50	58	19

There are no identifiable trends with the spread of epithets across dates, aside from Emmanuel in the tenth to thirteenth centuries and Pantokrator in the fourteenth century. The fact that trends can be identified with these two epithets is unsurprising, as they represent the largest pools of data.

Finally, I have not included geography as a main variable as many objects are given vague or unverified geographical information. However, even for those whose exact geography are known, there are no identifiable trends. Objects where an exact location can be identified represent many areas of the Byzantine Empire, in both cosmopolitan and rural areas: modern-day Bulgaria, Cyprus, Egypt, Greece, the Greek islands, Macedonia, Serbia and Turkey.

So, what then has this data revealed? Although 186 images might sound like a large pool, but when split across 29 epithets, seven centuries and nine media types, the numbers begin to get a lot smaller and conclusions become harder to draw out. New avenues of enquiry have not opened up by cross-comparing the three main variables. However, there is a larger trend that is important to identify from this group of images. Christ's epithets were used consistently across a very wide geography, chronology and media. This wide spread was identified for all Byzantine naming inscriptions by Bente Kiilerich.¹⁶⁴ Although this wide range of data has made drawing absolute conclusions difficult, it does demonstrate the merit of considering Christological epithet images as a large group of images. This grouping is important, as it shows that inscriptions were part of a larger ways of conceiving Christ in Byzantium and the importance of discussing the inscribed objects in relation to one another.

RETURN TO THE PANTEOPTES ICON

In the introduction I outlined a series of questions that the chapter aimed to answer. It is now time see how these answers have affected my understanding of the Pantepoptes icon, its images of Christ and His epithet inscriptions.

I found no other instances where Pantepoptes or Nika were used to inscribe figurative images of Christ in Byzantine art. However, I did find a significant number of other representations

¹⁶⁴ Kiilerich, 'What's in a name?', pp. 87-95. I thank my Autumn 2018 'From Statues to Saints' students for reminding me of this.

of Christ inscribed Emmanuel, and my data suggests that this latter name was the most commonly inscribed epithet for Christ in Byzantium. In terms of meaning and function, Pantepoptes and Nika stress the supremacy/transcendence of Christ, Emmanuel makes reference to specific biblical passages and Pantepoptes also possibly made a toponymic reference. These epithets were not alone in these evocations, and other it was relatively common for other epithets to make similar statements about Christ. Other popular supremacy/transcendence-stressing names include Pantokrator, and another relatively popular Biblical title was King of Glory. Despite the icon's emphasis on the soteriological role of Christ, as emphasised by the outer panels' iconographies, particularly the Three Hebrews scene, no soteriological epithet (in my view) was used to inscribe Christ, even though a significant number of names were in use at the time, such as Saviour. There was also no effort to emphasise the benevolence of Christ, something that was a dominant theme in epithet inscriptions.

The icon contains a completely unique combination of epithets and iconographies in surviving examples of Byzantine art. It also displays what are apparently both common and uncommon, or possibly unique, epithets together. Furthermore, the Pantepoptes icon is the only surviving example where multiple epithets are used to inscribe images of Christ on the same object. The only comparable instances to this comes in Byzantine church decoration. For example, the early fourteenth-century mosaics of the Chora Church in Constantinople display four images of Christ inscribed with two epithets, Chalkites and the Land of the Living. These observations back up my thoughts from the Introduction that the inscriptions of the Pantepoptes icon mark it as distinct and were a very important part of its original viewing experience, and therefore an important way for modern viewers to understand how it was used and viewed by its original Byzantine audiences.

In terms of how the inscribed images relate to wider patterns of Byzantine iconography, the Pantepoptes icon offers some interesting image-text relations. As Pantepoptes and Nika are not inscribed for any other figurative images of Christ, direct comparisons cannot be made. However, although a significant number of other images where Christ is inscribed Emmanuel depict a young Christ, this was not the only iconography used. There are a significant number of imperial coins and seals inscribed Emmanuel that depict an adult and bearded Christ, and an Early Byzantine icon where a figure whose iconography seems to point to the Ancient of Days has Emmanuel inscribed as a title without IC XC. Furthermore, the young Christs

inscribed Nika are the only surviving examples where the young Christ receives an epithet apart from Emmanuel. Finally, there are a significant number of other instances where an enthroned Christ has an epithet inscribed, including Eleemon and Pantokrator, but there is no other Pantepoptes. This shows that images and inscriptions are part of wider complexities concerning Christ's epithets and their iconographies in Byzantine art.

In addition to these patterns of image-text relations displayed on the Pantepoptes icon there are other representative issues. Although the Pantepoptes icon's exact function and original context are not known for certain, as a small-scale icon made from steatite it would be reasonable to postulate that it served some sort of devotional purpose. A high proportion of the images of Christ inscribed with epithets came from objects with similar devotional functions, in the form of wall paintings, icons and mosaics, so the Pantepoptes icon should be situated within this grouping. Furthermore, there is a relatively even spread between large and small scale work, so the size of the Pantepoptes icon should not be viewed as unusual in relation to its use of epithets. No exact date is known for the icon, with the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries given. As these dates are speculative nothing specific can be discussed in relation to them, however it is worth pointing out that if correct they are part of the of increased popularity of epithet inscriptions, with 61 entries recorded in the fourteenth century.

So, then, what do these observations about the Pantepoptes icon and the discussions of the chapter as a whole say about Christ's epithets in general? What difference has this chapter made to the question of what difference does it make to an object when it displays an image of Christ is inscribed with an epithet? It shows that the inscribed objects were part of a complex and diverse group. Because these objects come from a very wide range of media, dates and geography, it certainly seems that these inscriptions were part of a wider trend. Furthermore, these inscriptions were not common. The average proportion of images of Christ inscribed with epithets from the five surveys of Byzantine art that I outlined earlier in this chapter was just 5%. This means that simply having an image of Christ with an epithet inscribed marks an object out as different and distinct. Even within this relatively small body of objects there were diverse meanings and evocations expressed in the epithets, from Biblical titles to supremacy or benevolent stressing names. This being said, there does seem to be a shared emphasis on epithets stressing the activity or character of Christ, in which He

is capable of being and doing lots of things: Christ as the One Who Responds, All-Ruler, Redeemer or King of Glory.

CHAPTER TWO: NAMES

All of the epithet inscriptions outlined in the survey in the previous chapter were displayed in addition to IC XC. This was the standardised inscribed name of Christ in Byzantine art from the post-iconoclastic period onwards. In this chapter, I shall look at how IC XC was perceived to function by Byzantine audiences and the ways in which this informs the ways in which modern viewers understand epithets. Furthermore, I shall outline how both IC XC and epithet inscriptions were informed by Byzantine onomastic theologies and philosophies in order to provide a more nuanced interpretation of how epithet inscriptions functioned on an intellectual level. The purpose of this is to explain the reasons why stressing the activity and character of Christ was a predominant concern of epithet inscriptions. This will open up discussions concerning the relationship between names and their subject, which is a particularly important with the topic in the context of Christ's image in Byzantine art. These are essential issues to cover as they begin to address the issue of how the original viewers and users understood the inscribed epithets, which would be a crucial element of what different their inclusion made.

It seems that there was a very important relationship between IC XC and the epithets of Christ, and a main question of this chapter is what the perceived function was of the former. It certainly does not seem to be needed for identification purposes. Christ's image would have surely been extremely recognisable for Byzantine audiences and in Early Byzantine art there are examples where Christ is the only figure who is not inscribed, such as the sixth-century apse mosaic from the Church of the Transfiguration, Saint Catherine's Monastery [Figure 64]. So, what else is going on and how does it inform epithet inscriptions? In this chapter, I shall outline the very specific proposed function for IC XC in Byzantine ideology and then analyse the ways in which this would have affected the understanding of epithet inscriptions. The purpose of this is to show that in Byzantium naming inscriptions were not understood as objective entities, but instead as something that were invested with very important intellectual meanings, informed by an longstanding theology and philosophy concerning names and the relationship with their subject. This idea of a name's relationship with its subject can be identified from the epithets on the Pantepoptes icon. In a sense each of the inscriptions point to different aspects of Christ's activity or character: All-Seeing; Emmanuel as 'God with us'; and one who conquers. This chapter will address the question of why it would have been seen as important to do this for Christ's image particularly in the

context of Byzantine Orthodox Christianity and its art. In doing so, I shall situate names like Emmanuel within a larger ideology of Biblical nomenclature and address the question of why the epithets of Christ have a sizeable overlap with titles given to God.

To do this, I shall outline significant trends of Byzantine naming inscriptions, before critically analysing how their proposed functions apply to Christ's epithet inscriptions. I shall then review and apply relevant Byzantine theological and philosophical approaches to names, particularly their relationship to the named individuals' essences, in order to demonstrate why certain sets of vocabularies were used to inscribe Christ's image with epithets in Byzantine art.

IC XC AND BYZANTINE NAMING INSCRIPTIONS

In post-iconoclastic Byzantine art, Christ's image came to be more or less consistently inscribed with the same name: IC XC. The Iconoclastic period is roughly categorised by two phases in the years c. 750-787 and 814-843, where figurative images were outlawed in Byzantium, although the extent to which this actually happened has been hotly debated by scholars.¹⁶⁵ During this period, Christ's image and naming inscriptions were a subject of debate by the Iconophiles. Karen Boston has compellingly argued that these debates directly informed the genesis of IC XC in Byzantine art. She suggested that this naming inscription was not needed for identification purposes and instead would have been seen to possess another function.¹⁶⁶ Boston drew on the iconoclast-era writings of Patriarch Nikephoros and Theodore the Stoudite to argue for an interpretation of IC XC in post-iconoclastic art which was directly informed by an Aristotelian philosophy of names, known as homonymy.¹⁶⁷ This philosophy was concerned with things of different essences being connected by means of a shared name. Boston proposed that the dual references of 'Jesus' and 'Christ' took on particular resonance during the Iconoclastic debates, with the former name indicative of the visible aspect of the ὑπόστασις (hypostasis, the united, unconfused and distinct, human and divine natures of Christ), whereas the latter represented - without circumscribing - the

¹⁶⁵ For a good and brief overview of distinguishing fact from fiction in Byzantine Iconoclasm, see L. Brubaker, *Inventing Byzantine Iconoclasm* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 2012) and L. Brubaker, 'Icons and Iconomachy' in *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. L. James (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 323-37.

¹⁶⁶ Boston, 'The Power of Inscriptions and the Trouble with Texts', pp. 36-37.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 44, outlines how Aristotle's concept of homonymy was translated in the context of Byzantine image theory. See also, Parry, *Depicting the Word*, p. 52-63.

presence of divinity in the Incarnation. One of the key Iconophile arguments was establishing a distinction between Christ's prototype (the real Christ) and His formal likeness in an icon.¹⁶⁸ Boston pointed out that, according to Iconoclast-era writings, connecting the formal likeness of an icon of Christ to the prototype could happen through the means of a shared name, and particularly a naming inscription.¹⁶⁹ This idea was articulated in the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787, which reinstated images after the first period of Iconoclasm. Here, it was stated that '[when] Christ is portrayed according to His human nature, it is obvious that the Christians ... acknowledge the visible image to communicate with the archetype in name only, and not in nature.'¹⁷⁰ The Acts also stated, 'When we signify an icon with a name, we transfer the honour to the prototype.'¹⁷¹ Boston used this and other evidence to propose a function for IC XC based on Aristotle's concept of homonymy, which was defined as: 'When things have a name in common, and the definition of being (λόγος τῆς οὐσίας) which corresponds to the name is different, they are called homonymous (ὁμωνύμους)'.¹⁷² Christ is the shared concept, and there are different manifestations of this; the real Christ (the prototype); the formal likeness of Christ (the image); the name of Christ (Jesus Christ and the IC XC inscription). Thus, the shared name between the image and the prototype elevates the function of the former. IC XC acted as a binding agent, connecting the images (formal likeness) with the real Christ (prototype with true likeness), through the means of a common name.

It is worth probing Boston's argument further, as it does present a few methodological problems. It is somewhat problematic that IC XC did not come to be consistently inscribed in Byzantine art until the eleventh century, leaving a noticeable gap between this date and the end of Iconoclasm in 843. Part of this might be an issue of survival. Boston only examined monumental art in her research which, because of its high production costs would have produced in lower quantities than smaller and cheaper media. There does seem to be evidence

¹⁶⁸ In the Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea, 787, it was stated ἡ εἰκὼν οὐ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τῷ πρωτοτύπῳ ὅμοιος, ἢ μόνον κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα καὶ κατὰ τὴν θέσιν τῶν χαρακτηριζομένων μελῶν ('The icon resembles the prototype, not with regard to the essence, but only with regard to the name and to the position of the members which can be characterized'), trans. given in *Icon and Logos*, p. 77. The original Greek comes from *Horos*, 'Seventh Ecumenical Council', in *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio*, ed. J. D. Mansi (Florence-Venice: [n. pub.], 1759-98; repr. Paris: Welter, 1903-27), 13, col. 244B.

¹⁶⁹ Boston, 'The Power of Inscriptions and the Trouble with Texts', pp. 43-46.

¹⁷⁰ Mansi, 13, col. 252.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., col. 269, trans. given in Sahas, *Icon and Logos*, p. 99.

¹⁷² Aristotle, 'Categories', in *A New Aristotle Reader*, trans. J. L. Ackrill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 5, cited in Boston, 'The Power of Inscriptions and the Trouble with Texts', p. 44 and Parry, *Depicting the Word*, p. 55.

for Christ inscribed with a name in seals, for instance. In a lead seal for Eudokimos, archbishop of Amastris, dated to the late ninth or early tenth century, the first half of the legend IC XC can be observed flanking Christ, who is shown in bust on the obverse [Figure 65].¹⁷³ The unabbreviated full name, Jesus Christ, was inscribed on several lead seals for emperors and church officials during the ninth and tenth centuries.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, Christ is labelled IC XC in many works from the tenth century, such on an enamel on the Chalice of Romanos, and a folio from the Leo Bible.¹⁷⁵ Christ's lack of inscription is evidence that it was not regarded as necessary to inscribe Christ in certain contexts in the ninth century or tenth century, but this was a view that seems to change in the following century. Boston speculated that addition of IC XC to the narthex mosaic in Hagia Sophia [Figure 66], which probably happened at some point in the eleventh century, might have been a result of a re-examination the iconoclast-era texts that discussed Christ's name, something that I am not aware of being researched any further.¹⁷⁶ Moreover, recently Natalia Teteriatnikov explained the notable absence of nomina sacra in the ninth-century apse mosaic of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople as an effort to consciously recreate a pre-iconoclastic style of art in the empire's most important church.¹⁷⁷ This is not a very convincing hypothesis, as it presupposes a level of knowledge of pre-iconoclastic epigraphic trends and does not explain the lack of nomina sacra in other ninth-century art, such as the Khludov Psalter illuminations.¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, Boston argued for an artistic periphery-to-centre paradigm for the emergence of nomina sacra in Byzantine art, with the early known uses of such inscriptions coming from a tenth-century wall painting from Cappadocia.¹⁷⁹ Boston did not provide an explanation for why this perimeter-centre pattern might have occurred and she might even be implying that there was a greater knowledge of iconoclast-era texts in Cappadocia over Constantinople, which seems like an unlikely case.

¹⁷³ E. McGeer, J. Nesbitt, N. Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, Vol. 4: The East (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks), no. 12.3.

¹⁷⁴ 'Basil and Constantine (869-79)', *Dumbarton Oaks: Online Catalogue of Byzantine Lead Seals* <<https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1955.1.4288/view>> [accessed 3 March 2020], depicts an adult Christ on the obverse, inscribed [I]hsus X[ristos].

¹⁷⁵ Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, cat. 31, pp. 70-71 and cat. 42, pp. 88-90.

¹⁷⁶ Boston, 'The Problem with Inscriptions and the Trouble with Texts', p. 47. Boston cites, E. J. Hawkins, 'Further Observations on the Narthex Mosaic in St Sophia at Istanbul', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 22 (1968), pp. 151+153-166.

¹⁷⁷ N. Teteriatnikov, 'Absence of Nomina Sacra in Post-Iconoclastic Images of Christ and the Virgin: Mosaics of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople', in *The Eloquence of Art: Essays in Honour of Henry Maguire*, eds. A. Olsen Lam and R. Schroeder (New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 366-386.

¹⁷⁸ Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, cat. 51, pp. 97-98.

¹⁷⁹ Boston, 'The Problem with Inscriptions and the Trouble with Texts', p. 39.

It is also problematic to apply lofty and complex theological interpretations to a large group of images, as it presupposes a level of knowledge on behalf of the viewer which is very difficult to prove. This problem is exacerbated by the eventual standardised use of *nomina sacra* in Middle and Late Byzantine art. Even if the makers and patrons of the images employed IC XC in direct response to iconoclast-era writings, this does not mean that the inscriptions were necessarily understood in this way. It would be unhelpful to argue that an Aristotelian homonymic function was always part of the primary interpretation of IC XC and that it was automatically a reference to Iconoclasm in the period immediately following controversy, let alone the later years of Byzantium when objects like the Pantepoptes icon were created. Rather, this theological interpretation was only part of the story, and it is important to consider what else IC XC stood for. The extent to which images were theologically informed has been a difficult question in the study of Byzantine art. This is because it involves making assertions as to who was in control of the image's content and form, and what control and influence clergy, patrons and artists had over art during this period.¹⁸⁰ This is not to say that Boston's interpretation is incorrect for her argument is based on compelling written evidence that does directly support her thesis. However, I would argue that because IC XC did not possess an intrinsic reference to the Iconoclastic debates, even if its genesis was by instigated by them, it did not have a 'fixed' reading based on the Aristotelian-based theologies of the eighth and ninth centuries. Instead, IC XC worked on a sliding scale of interpretation, where viewers brought different sets of information and knowledge to their experience of the inscriptions.¹⁸¹ The understanding of IC XC in Byzantine culture should be viewed as a spectrum of comprehension, into which multiple factors fed. At one end, there was an educated viewer who fully comprehended and applied the writings of people like Justin Martyr, Patriarch Nikephoros, Theodore the Stoudite and so on. Because of this, the viewer interpreted IC XC as serving a homonymic function, binding the formal likeness of the icon to the prototype.

At the other end of the interpretive scale, after the eleventh century when the inscription became more standardised, it is reasonable to argue that even an illiterate viewer would have

¹⁸⁰ K. Weitzmann wrote, 'the artist was advised by a learned cleric who tried to make a composition in an apse, the focal point of the church, as meaningful as possible', in 'The Mosaic in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai', in Weitzmann, *Studies in the Arts at Sinai* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 5–18, a view that is challenged in James, *Mosaics in the Medieval World*, p. 131–32.

¹⁸¹ A. Eastmond, 'Introduction – Viewing Inscriptions', in *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, ed. A. Eastmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p.5.

quickly associated IC XC with Christ, because of the frequency to which the image and inscription were displayed together. These letters would have also been recognised as distinct from other inscriptions that this viewer would have experienced in Byzantine visual culture. For instance, there is the IC XC in the narthex mosaic in Hagia Sophia, where the inscription was probably added in the eleventh century, after the mosaic's installation in c. 900.¹⁸² IC XC is a dominant feature in the composition; the letters are placed centrally and flank Christ's head, which is the most important part of this mosaic – or in fact any image in which He is depicted. IC XC is large in size, with each pair of letters about the same size as Christ's head. The letters are clearly a more dominant feature than the much smaller inscriptions written on Christ's open gospel book, which are barely legible, since the mosaic is situated high above the imperial door of Hagia Sophia. These letters were there to be seen and through their repetition in other art, readily associated with the image of Christ.

The purpose of this brief outline is to demonstrate an awareness of just a few of the factors that could have fed into viewers' experiences and understanding of inscriptions in Byzantine culture. It has shown the importance of using an interpretative rather than prescriptive view of inscriptions: one experience might be completely different from another and that is fine, because different, but not more correct, views would have fed into them.

A logical point of departure would be to ask whether the epithets of Christ fit into Boston's proposed function for IC XC. There is a problem here. If IC XC acted as a homonymic binding agent between the image of Christ and the prototype, it achieved this status through its consistency and repetition. The image of Christ always looks the same, because it shared its formal appearance with the prototype, and the inscription remains the same because it is always Jesus Christ (IC XC) who is depicted. Epithets by their very nature do not possess the same consistency. Within the Pantepoptes icon, there are three different epithets employed: Pantepoptes, Emmanuel and Nika. The previous chapter showed the full extent of surviving epithets' variety. Each of these epithets is prefaced with IC XC, so the binding function is already served, and because epithets are different, if they were seen to possess the same homonymic function, then surely they would point to different prototypes. This would not be

¹⁸² Hawkins, 'Further Observations on the Narthex Mosaic in St Sophia at Istanbul', pp. 151-168, speculates on the eleventh century for this addition, although not much evidence is given for this.

permissible with Byzantine religious images and was an anxiety that was articulated by Theodore the Stoudite during the Iconoclastic debates:

Every image [is] a kind of seal and impression bearing itself the proper appearance of that after which it is named ... We call the image Christ 'Christ' because it is also Christ, but there are not two Christs ... The use of an identical name brings together many representations into one form.¹⁸³

There is one prototype, to which all images inscribed IC XC point and even though Pantepoptes, Emmanuel, Nika and so on, all carry different meanings, they too point to the same Christ. The same can be said of the remaining 25 epithets presented in Chapter One. So, if epithets were doing something different to IC XC, what was it? This is an important question to ask, because if IC XC and epithet inscriptions do different things, then the addition of the latter would have surely changed the function of the objects on which they were inscribed. Epithets are characterised by their diversity and it needs to be asked why was it perceived as necessary to label certain images of Christ with these different names.

THE NAMES OF GOD

There seems to be no Byzantine exegesis on Christ's names and titles. However, there are instances of the Byzantines writing about God's name, often listing them.¹⁸⁴ Many of these listed names overlap with Christ's epithet inscriptions. These are important to look at in the context of this study, as there seemed to be a clear and specific motivation to write these lists which I shall argue informed the understanding of other instances of Orthodox Christian divine nomenclature, including Christ's epithet inscriptions in Byzantine art.

An important Byzantine work concerning God's name is the theological treatise *On the Divine Names* by Pseudo-Dionysios, written around the late fifth or sixth century, which explored the tension between God's nomenclature and His ontology.¹⁸⁵ Throughout his writing, Pseudo-Dionysios asserted that God's true essence is beyond human comprehension.

¹⁸³ Theodore the Stoudite, *Antirrhetici*, PG, 99, col. 338, as cited in Boston, 'The Power of Inscriptions and the Trouble with Texts', pp. 45-46.

¹⁸⁴ Two notable examples are Pseudo-Dionysios, *On the Divine Names and the Mystical Theology*, trans. J. D. Jones (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1999) and Theodore II Laskaris, *On the Divine Names*, PG, 100, cols. 763-770, with the latter based on the former.

¹⁸⁵ Pseudo-Dionysios, *On Divine Names and Mystical Theology*.

Part of this incomprehensibility was due to the finite limits of human language and because of this positive terminology could not do the greatness of God justice, meaning that He should be described with negative terminology. Therefore, God is unknowable, incomprehensible, indescribable and so on.¹⁸⁶ This sort of approach was a rejection of the ‘conventionalist’ approach to names, where names could only act as symbolic entities and did not necessarily possess a likeness with the named subject. This stance was articulated in Plato’s *Cratylus*, where Hermogenes argued for names as meaningless markers, in opposition to Cratylus who took a ‘naturalist’ stance, arguing that names revealed aspects of their subject’s essence.¹⁸⁷ In *On the Divine Names*, Pseudo-Dionysios takes a ‘naturalist’ stance on names, arguing that because God’s true essence was unknowable, so too was His name. However, Pseudo-Dionysios went on to provide a list of God’s ‘many names’, which included biblical references and self-designations: He Who Is; King of Kings; and the Word, just to give three of about 40 examples.¹⁸⁸ Pseudo-Dionysios’s list does not present itself as an exhaustive list by any means. Instead, these selected words were intended to be regarded as examples where names acted as partial revelations, maintaining the balance between Judaic mysticism and Hellenistic rationality and logic.¹⁸⁹ This synthesis of intellectual traditions maintained the ultimate unknowability of God, but opened Him up to new forms of linguistic comprehension and description.

The Early Christian theologian Clement of Alexandria also spoke of similar vocabularies to describe God, none of which could reveal His ‘true’ name and essence, “‘One’ or the ‘Good’, either ‘Mind’ or the ‘Selfsame’, either ‘Father’ or ‘God’, or either ‘Creator’ or ‘Lord’ ... For each individual name is not informative of God, but all names together are indicative of the power of the Almighty.”¹⁹⁰ Whilst Early Christian and Early Byzantine writers like Pseudo-Dionysios and Clement of Alexandria maintained that the specific names of God like He Who Is and King of Kings, were not His ‘proper’ or ‘true’ names, this does not necessarily mean they were regarded as ‘false’ names. Both writers argued that, whilst God’s many names were insufficient in revealing His total being, they still retained aspects of

¹⁸⁶ V. Izmirlieva, ‘The Synthesis of Dionysius’, in *All the Names of the Lord: Lists, Mysticism, and Magic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), pp. 37-50.

¹⁸⁷ Plato, *Cratylus*, VI, trans. H. N Fowler, Loeb (London: Heinemann, 1926) and Izmirlieva, *All the Names of the Lord*, p. 33.

¹⁸⁸ Pseudo-Dionysios, *On the Divine Names and the Mystical Theology*, I, VI.

¹⁸⁹ Izmirlieva, *All the Names of the Lord*, p. 43.

¹⁹⁰ Clement of Alexandria, *The Stromata*, 5.81.4-82.3, trans. W. Wilson (Buffalo: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885) cited in N. Teteriatnikov, ‘Absence of *Nomina Sacra* in post-iconoclastic images of Christ and the Virgin’.

His ultimate divine power and essence and multiple aspects or definitions of the single great being. This approach to names is closely linked to Aristotle's theory of homonyms. Building Plato's ontological philosophy of names, which he regarded as insufficient, in *Categories*, Aristotle argued that things could take on different forms, but be homonymously linked by means of a shared concept.¹⁹¹ As helpfully put by T. H. Erwin, this meant that x and y are homonymously "F" because "F" applies to both x and y.¹⁹² An example given by Aristotle is his definitions of 'beings'. He gave four different definitions in relation to the degree to which beings are of, or not of, a subject. Despite being different in definition, these four beings are all homonymous, through their shared names as beings and their definitions in relation to the concept of a subject. This onomastic philosophy can be identified in Pseudo-Dionysios' writings, where the shared concept is God and His unknowable true name (which is inextricably linked to his true being), which homonymously links His many names, all of which are comprehensible aspects of His essence and activity.¹⁹³

One of these 'many names' that expresses the relationship between Christian nomenclature and ontology is 'I am who I am/He Who Is/The Being', which was included in Pseudo-Dionysios' list.¹⁹⁴ This is a direct reference to God's Biblical self-designations in Exodus 3:14 and Revelation 1:8, with the original Old Testament written in Hebrew as the ineffable tetragrammaton יהוה (YHWH, Yaweh) and in translated in the Greek Septuagint as ὁ ὢν (*ho on*).¹⁹⁵ God identified Himself as *ho on* to Moses after being asked to reveal His true name. Here, God's name is inextricably bound with the nature of His being and continual existence, but without revealing any specific aspects of His identity. Similar things happen in elsewhere in Revelation. Twice God declared Himself as 'the Alpha and the Omega', using the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet to emphasise His all-encompassing being, without revealing specific characteristics or any form of essential totality.¹⁹⁶ Another expression of God's true name equated with His being is made explicit in Judges 13:18, where it is stated 'You should not ask me my name, because you cannot comprehend it.' In short, knowing God's 'true'

¹⁹¹ Aristotle, 'Categories', trans. J. L. Ackrill, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, Vol. 2, ed. J. Barnes (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014).

¹⁹² T. H. Erwin, 'Homonymy in Aristotle', *The Review of Metaphysics*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Mar., 1981) p. 524.

¹⁹³ Pseudo-Dionysios, *On the Divine Names*, I, VI.

¹⁹⁴ Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ Ἄλφα καὶ τὸ Ὠ, λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ παντοκράτωρ. (I am the Alpha and the Omega," says the Lord God, "who is, and who was, and who is to come, the Almighty)

¹⁹⁵ καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς Μωϋσῆν λέγων· ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν. καὶ εἶπεν· οὕτως ἐρεῖς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ· ὁ ὢν ἀπέσταλκέ με πρὸς ὑμᾶς. (God said to Moses, "I am who I am.[a] This is what you are to say to the Israelites: 'I am has sent me to you).

¹⁹⁶ Revelation 1:8 and 1:11.

name equates to knowing His being in its totality, whereas His ‘many names’ reveal parts of His identity.

Can the links be made between God’s knowable and unknowable names, and Christ’s name and epithets? Jesus Christ was the knowable name and reflected His dual human and divine being. This was indicated by the Early Christian writer, Justin Martyr, who stated ‘his name as a man (i.e. Jesus) ... [it has significance] for he was made man ... [however] he is called Christ, in reference to His being anointed and unknown significance.’¹⁹⁷ Jesus (Ἰησοῦς, Iesous) was a given name equivalent to the Jewish ‘Joshua’ (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, Yehoshu‘a), not particularly unique or significant in its meaning. Christ (Χριστός Christos), on the other hand, translates into English as ‘anointed’ from the Hebrew ‘Messiah’ (מָשִׁיחַ).¹⁹⁸ Jesus Christ is a ‘knowable name’ because, as He was God in human form, and because of this, was in part fundamentally more knowable and comprehensible. This knowability was an important tenet of the Byzantine Iconophiles’ argument for the justification of images.¹⁹⁹ So, Christ’s name establishes who He is and an important ways of perceiving Him: human and divine. His epithets seem to function in a similar way to God’s ‘many names’, in that they identify specific aspects of His activity or character – parts of His being. The difference is that with God that is all one is able to know, because His true name and essence are beyond comprehension. With Christ, however, there is knowable humanity (Jesus), unknowable divinity (Christ) and many names (epithets). As with discussions of God’s nomenclature, those that refer to Jesus Christ contain the same ideology that a name reveals the subject’s true essence. As ‘Christ’ is usually transliterated rather than translated, the meaning of the name is somewhat lost in modern English understanding. It would have certainly been prominent for early Christians and the Byzantines.²⁰⁰

The question remains as to whether Jesus Christ is the total true name, as this surely affected the perceived function and meaning of His epithets. In fact, it appears that Jesus and Christ possess a proper name and epithet relationship. This is because Jesus is the true name of His human aspect, whereas Christ (Messiah/anointed one) points to His divinity, but like God’s

¹⁹⁷ Justin Martyr, II, *Apologia*, VI, PG 6, trans. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus* (New York, 1926), p. 190.

¹⁹⁸ Liddell and Scott, *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon*, and Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, p. 1172, both define χριστός as ‘anointed’.

¹⁹⁹ Mansi, XIII, p. 241 and L. Brubaker, *Vision and meaning in ninth-century Byzantium. Image as exegesis in the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 29-31.

²⁰⁰ V. Taylor, *The Names of Jesus Christ* (London: Macmillan, 1962), p. 169.

many names it does not reveal this aspect of His essence in its totality. Therefore, repetition of IC XC in Middle and Late Byzantine art may stress the knowable and specific humanity of Christ, along with His wholly unknowable and unspecific divinity.

These similar ideologies concerning Christ and God's names might go to explain the ongoing emphasis on their shared nomenclature. The writings from Clement of Alexandria and Pseudo-Dionysios are from the second/third and fifth/sixth centuries, but there does seem to be similar interest in divine naming in later periods. In terms of continued readership and transmission, the Patriarch Photios had a collection of Pseudo-Dionysios' work in his library during the ninth century and Euthymios Zigabenos included *On the Divine Names* in his *Dogmatic Panoply* in the twelfth century.²⁰¹ The text was also directly referenced in a fourteenth-century text by Neophytos Prodromenos, who used the text as a basis to argue that Armenian Orthodox Christians were heretical and their deviations from Byzantine Orthodox naming inscriptions were evidence of this.²⁰² A very direct link between Christ's epithets and God's 'many names' comes from Emperor Theodore II Laskaris' *On the Divine Names*, written in the thirteenth century.²⁰³ Here, Theodore paraphrased Pseudo-Dionysios' text of the same name, before listing 700 names of God, which he had apparently taken from various religious and cultural contexts.²⁰⁴ Although Theodore does not make reference to Christ, or acknowledge His shared nomenclature with God, the list does indeed feature a considerable overlap of onomastic vocabulary. Theodore included the following names that are either used for Christ's epithets in art or very closely related: Compassionate, Light-Giver, He Who Is, Life, Supremely Good, Fallen Resurrection, Saviour of Souls, Redeemer of the World, Only Redeemer, Merciful, All-Seeing, Ancient of Days and Life-Giver.²⁰⁵ As well as specific crossovers, Theodore's names for God possess similar vocabularies and fall into similar

²⁰¹ E. Zigabenos, 'Panoplia Dogmatica', PG 130.

²⁰² C. Barber, 'Neophytos Prodromenus on Epigraphy' in *Theologisches Wissen und die Kunst: Festschrift für Martin Büchsel*, ed. R. Müller, A. Rau, J. Scheel (Berlin: Gerb. Mann Verlag, 2015), pp. 211-26. Excerpts of the original Greek are in Ibid., 130, col. 136-37.

²⁰³ Theodore II Laskaris, *On the Divine Names*, PG 100, cols. 763-770.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., col. 763, 42-42, ἔχει δὲ ἡ τῶν ὀνομάτων σημασία, ἑτέραν τινὰ θεϊότητα· οὐ γὰρ ἀπλῶς καὶ τυχόντως τὰ ὀνόματα ἐγκαινται, ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας ὑποδηλοῦσιν ὑποδεικτικὰς τῆς θείας μεγαλειότητος. Drić, *Epigram, Art and Devotion*, p. 364, translates a passage of this as 'from every written source, both sacred and secular.'

²⁰⁵ On col. 765, ὁ εὐσπλαγχνος (the compassionate), ὁ φωτοδοτῆς (the light-giver), ἡ ζωὴ (the life), ὁ ὑπεράγαθος (the supremely good), ἡ τῶν πεπτωκότων ἀνάστασις (the fallen resurrection); on 767, ὁ παλῖος ἡμερῶν (the ancient of days), ὁ παντεπόπτης (the all-seeing); on 768, ὁ ψυχοσώστης (the saviour of souls?!), ὁ λυτρωτὴς τοῦ κόσμου (the redeemer of the world/universe), ὁ μόνος λυτρωτὴς (the only redeemer); on col. 770, ὁ ἐλεῆμων (the merciful). There are also a significant number of epithets with superlative prefixes or suffixes such as 'παντε-', 'πάντων' and 'ὑπέρ-'.

categories as those that I proposed in the previous chapter for Christ's epithets: Benevolence; Biblical titles; Soteriology; Supremacy/Transcendence; Toponyms.²⁰⁶

Some of the issues and anxieties concerning the name of God were translated into biblical discussions of Christ's name. Firstly, there are definite parallels between the name 'Jesus Christ' and the name of God in the Bible. In the New Testament, there were various references to Christ's name used as an invocation, in that His name would stand in for His being. There is also an acknowledgment of the autonomous power of Christ's name. For instance, in Philippians 2:10 it is written 'at the name of Jesus every knee should bow'.²⁰⁷ This invocative power continues throughout Byzantium. It is a recurring trope in Byzantine hagiography. The vita of the third-century martyr St Eugenia, which was influential in Byzantium, states 'for so great is the power of Christ's name, that even women who stand in fear of it achieve the dignity of men', showing that the name is not only powerful, but spiritually transformative.²⁰⁸ However, unlike God's name, Christ's is not subjected to the same levels of mysticism, because of His innate knowability as God in human form. Furthermore, there are specific titles such as 'Son of Man' in the Old and New Testaments, respectively, which are used for God and Christ alike.

As Son of Man implies, 'Christ' is not the only name for Jesus in the Bible. About 55 different names, titles and epithets are given throughout both the Old and New Testaments.²⁰⁹ The directness and specificity of these names vary and a significant number overlap with terms used to describe God, like those outlined by Pseudo-Dionysios and Theodore Laskaris. This overlap was not only acceptable but necessary, in order to point out the shared divine essence of the two. This overlap can also be seen in Matthew 1:23, 'The virgin will conceive and give birth to a son, and they will call Him Immanuel (which means 'God with us'). This is an instance where the process of naming – in the form of an instruction – is made explicit, as is the name's relationship with God. Here, the name points to the divinity of God staying the same, but His form becomes Incarnate and knowable to humanity ('God with

²⁰⁶ For instance, there are many names that feature forms of δόξα, ζωή and βασιλεύς. On col. 765, ὁ φωτεινός, ὁ φωτοποιός, ὁ φωτάρχης, ὁ φωταυγαστής, ὁ τῶν φῶτων παραγεύς, ὁ τῆς δόξης δεσπότης, ὁ βασιλεύς τῶν βασιλευόντων.

²⁰⁷ ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων,

²⁰⁸ *Vita sanctae Eugeniae*, 15, *PL*, 73, col. 614 C-D, original Latin and English translation given in D. Casey, 'The Spiritual Valency of Gender in Byzantine Society' in *Questions of Gender in Byzantine Society*, eds. B. Neil and L. Garland., (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 175.

²⁰⁹ Taylor, *The Names of Jesus Christ*.

us'). There are also more descriptive names used: the Saviour (Ο Σωτήρ, O Soter) is a frequently used name, which emphasises Christ's ultimate role in the salvation of humankind; the Son (Ο Υιός, O Oios) which described His relationship with God.²¹⁰ There are also self-designations in the form of 'I am' passages, akin to God's 'He Who Is', there is 'The Light of the World' (John 8:12), and 'The Good Shepherd' (John 10:11 and 14), just to give two examples, with the former inscribed in the central panel of the Pantepoptes icon.²¹¹ Here, like God, we have a case where Christ has a singular given name – Jesus – but also many names: Alpha and Omega; Light; Life; Saviour. The Byzantines frequently used these names, titles and epithets to refer to Christ in various contexts. Using the Liturgy of John Chrysostom, which was the most widely celebrated liturgy in Byzantium, as an example, Christ is referred to as Son of God, Only Begotten and Saviour, interchangeably. In the funerary prayers of the Euchologion, a canonical Byzantine prayer compilation, Christ is referred to as 'the only Merciful' and 'Compassionate'.²¹² Put quite succinctly by Vincent Taylor, 'Christian thought has found it natural to embody its sense of the person of Christ in names which describe His work.'²¹³ The epithets of Christ are the many parts of the whole, as with God's many names.

There is definitely an overlap between God and Christ's nomenclature in Byzantine theology, both in terms of quantities, vocabularies used but also in terms of ideology and how they were perceived to function. The name stood in for the being but without revealing its essence in totality. As I explained earlier, this philosophical topic of a name bearing a relationship with its subject's essence had a long intellectual history. Plato's *Cratylus* is often the first port-of-call in studies concerning the philosophy and anthropology of names, where the conventionalist and naturalist approaches to names were stated. After the initial debate, the *Cratylus* dialogue then goes on to consider the etymology of names and the degree to which they should be regarded as relics passed down from obscure ancient civilisations, an element that holds less relevance for this study. Furthermore, Plato's naturalist stance on names was critiqued and developed by Aristotle to develop his theory of homonyms, where a single concept (Jesus Christ; God) is linked by differently named manifestations (image of Christ

²¹⁰ For New Testament references to Christ as the 'Son of God', see note 118.

²¹¹ Ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου: ὁ ἀκολουθῶν ἐμοὶ οὐ μὴ περιπατήσῃ ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἔξει τὸ φῶς τῆς ζωῆς. (am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will never walk in darkness, but will have the light of life.) Only the direct quote of Christ is used, not the opening clauses of Πάλιν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων, (When Jesus spoke again to the people, he said,).

²¹² Goar, 725-85. Greek reads ὁ μόνος ἐλεήμων καὶ εὐπλάγῃς, O [Christ] the only merciful and compassionate.

²¹³ Taylor, *The Names of Jesus Christ*, p. 169.

and His written name; many names of God). It was Aristotle's argument which Kenneth Parry identified as directly referenced by the Byzantine Iconophiles to make a distinction between the formal image of Christ and His written name. The main theme that should be taken from this is the relationship between ontology and nomenclature, which manifested themselves in the discussions of God and Christ's names.

The Iconophiles argued that the image of Christ was only his form and not His divine essence, because this could not be circumscribed. During the image debates both Iconophiles and Iconoclasts saw the written word as doing something different to images when representing divinity. In fact the latter group promoted writing and spoken worship during the Iconoclast synod of 754.²¹⁴ Iconophile theologians such as Patriarch Nikephoros, Theodore the Stoudite and John of Damascus saw the written word and inscriptions as ways of communicating divine essence but without circumscription, which is what heretical images were seen to do by the Iconoclasts. It was out of this logic that naming inscriptions took on specific theological functions. Boston used the writings of the Iconophile theologians to argue that IC XC possessed a 'essential' relationship with prototype, Christ Himself, as opposed to the image which only had a formal relationship with it. This was because Theodore the Stoudite called the written name as a 'sort of natural image (φύσικη εικὼν)', which Boston interpreted as acting as an invocation of the prototype and therefore possessing some of its essence, something absent from the formal image alone.²¹⁵ Epithets seem to go a step further that this 'natural image'; they identify aspects of Christ's 'unknown' divine essence, in that it is shared with God, something that images and IC XC cannot necessarily do. Epithet inscriptions brought to the forefront specific ways of comprehending Christ, ones that might not have been available with only IC XC inscribed.

NAMES AND THE PANTEPOPTES ICON

The ideas of this chapter have been quite theoretical and often abstract. I shall now re-evaluate the Pantepoptes icon in light of the observations and analyses of this chapter. Here, I

²¹⁴ J.-M, Sanseterre, 'La parole, et texte et l'image selon les auteurs byzantines de époque iconoclastes et posticonoclastes', in *Testo e imagine nel'alto medioevo*, 2 Vols. (Spoleto: Presso la sede del Centro 1994), pp. 197-243 and Mansi, XIII, 252.

²¹⁵ Boston, 'The Power of Inscriptions and The Trouble with Texts', p. 45, citing Theodore the Stoudite, *Antirrehetici*, I.14, PG, 99, col. 345, trans. given in *St Theodore the Studite: On the Holy Icons*, trans. C. P. Roth (New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1981), pp. 34-35.

shall show how the Byzantines' various onomastic ideologies informed the understanding of the Pantepoptes icon and how they contributed the function of Christ's epithet inscriptions. This will help to answer the question of what difference the epithet inscriptions made to how the icon was interpreted and functioned.

Following Boston, IC XC was largely understood as a necessity in post-Iconoclastic Byzantine art for non-narrative images of Christ. On the most erudite end of the spectrum it was perceived to function as a binding agent linking the formal image of Christ with its prototype. This explains why IC XC is used to inscribe all eleven instances where Christ receives an epithet inscription on the Pantepoptes icon and also in the single non-narrative image where He does not. This specific function of IC XC was born out of the iconoclastic debates, where Iconophile writers acknowledged that images and texts did different things in circumscribing divinity. The image of Christ depicted His human form but did not circumscribe His divine essence, whereas inscriptions were able to refer to the divine essence of Christ, or His relationship with God, without circumscribing.

The question is, how do the specific three epithets inscribed on the eleven depictions of Christ play into this framework? Although some of these depictions of Christ have different epithets they do not point to different Christs. IC XC ensures this. The 'binding' function served by IC XC explains how identical images of the youthful Christ can be inscribed both Emmanuel and Nika: the epithets cannot and do not point to different prototypes and are doing something else. Instead of pointing to different Christs, the epithets bring to the forefront different ways in which to comprehend him. Like God's many names, the epithets highlighted aspects of His unknowable divine essence, which could be partially revealed with words. These ways of comprehending Christ and aspects of His divine essence might not have been immediately apparent without the inclusion of epithet inscriptions.

So, in terms of the Pantepoptes icon's specific epithets the names all point to Christ's relationship with God. First there is Emmanuel, which literally means 'God with us'. Second, Nika, 'conquer(s)', which is a uniquely verbal epithet. Here, Christ's role as conqueror over death is established, which was the ultimate mission of God taking on human flesh and highlights the important soteriological role of the Incarnation. Finally, there is Pantepoptes, which identifies Christ as an omnipotent and omnipresent being. Pantepoptes was a term also used to describe God in the Old Testament and listed as one of His 700 names in Theodore's

list. This message of identifying Christ as God, and the instrumental role this has in humanity's salvation would have been very important in the icon's meaning and function and is made possible by the inclusion of the eleven epithets. This function of names revealing their subject's essence is part of a much wider set of ideas that derived from ancient philosophies, biblical onomastics and Byzantine theologies. For Byzantine Christians certain names were a way of comprehending aspects of the ultimate transcendental being. This could also be done in art through Christ's image, His proper name and epithets.

This chapter has discussed and analysed images of Christ inscribed with epithets in terms of how they were understood by their Byzantine audiences. The next chapter will continue to think about the reception of epithet inscriptions, but will shift the emphases from how they were understood to how they were perceived to function. Rather than focusing on inscriptions as intellectual entities, I shall focus my analyses around epithets as practical ones. Here, I shall ask how inscribing images of Christ with epithets changed the way Byzantine audiences used the objects on which they were depicted.

CHAPTER THREE: DEVOTION AND PEOPLE

Inscribing images of Christ with epithets marked the objects on which these were displayed as different to those with just IC XC. Chapter One showed that these inscriptions were infrequent and would have stood out amongst the other objects across their respective media. Through the inclusion of the epithets, new and specific qualities were invested into the objects and the images of Christ they displayed. These qualities were determined by the meanings, sources and connotations of the inscribed epithets. In Chapter Two I showed that Christ's epithet inscriptions were informed by a wider and longer legacy of onomastic theologies and philosophies. These intellectual histories are essential to understand why epithets affected understanding of the images they were inscribing, in that they sought to reveal aspects of Christ's activity and being, something that would not have apparent with IC XC alone. The purpose of this chapter is to ask what happened when these ideas were put into practice: how did the addition of epithets affect the use of an inscribed object? If epithets were understood to add novel elements that revealed aspects of His identity and activity to an object, then how were these qualities utilised and why? In what ways was this different to their counterparts where only IC XC was inscribed? By now looking at images of Christ inscribed with epithets in Byzantine devotional practices and patronage, I shall outline how these inscriptions also came to be used in socio-political contexts.

Not only was Byzantium's society Orthodox Christian, its political structure was also theocratic, in that rule was governed in the name of God.²¹⁶ Because of this, showing devotion to an image of Christ was an act imbued with various encoded power structures. In this context, Christ's epithets could take on a particular role in creating and maintaining the social and political structures that were at work when His image was used and viewed. I shall also argue that by specifying Christ's identity with an epithet, certain users were able to add to their own identities and were part of larger ways in which the Byzantines construct their selfhoods, through which they established themselves as pious and devout Orthodox Christians with special relationships with Christ. Overall, this chapter will give a better idea of how images of Christ inscribed with epithets operated in the Byzantine world. It will answer questions concerning who used the objects on which the images were displayed, why they used them and how epithets affected that usage. Before embarking on this chapter's core

²¹⁶ Runciman, *The Byzantine Theocracy*, pp. 162-63 and G. Page, *Being Byzantine: Greek Identity Before the Ottomans, 1200-1420* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

discussions, it is time to look at the Pantepoptes icon in terms of these questions and see what difference epithets made to how it functioned as a devotional object. I shall now outline what is known about the Pantepoptes icon's devotional context and whether this informs the understanding of its epithet inscriptions. This section will address important questions concerning the icon's context and function: who might have used it? Where, how and why? In doing so, I shall argue that because of this chapter's necessary emphasis on the specific uses and contexts of the inscribed objects, the Pantepoptes icon is an insufficient case study. Instead, I shall propose other examples to open up more specific discussions concerning how epithet inscriptions were used by the Byzantines.

THE PANTEOPTES ICON AND ITS DEVOTIONAL CONTEXT

Like much of Byzantine art that survives today, very little is known about the original contexts in which the Pantepoptes icon was created, used and viewed. We do not know where the icon was produced, its date of creation, its patron, nor exactly how it worked at as a functional object. This means answering questions concerning the ways in which Christ's epithets affected its usage by Byzantine audiences might be difficult. A good place to understand this rather obscure icon is through its steatite medium. By considering the Pantepoptes icon as part of a wider group of surviving works in steatite, a few important points can be deduced regarding quality and function, which will help to elucidate aspects of its patronage, and devotional and viewing context.

The practice of carving icons out of steatite seems to have emerged in the tenth century, where comparative techniques can be identified in both this medium and ivory carving.²¹⁷ As the size of the Byzantine Empire decreased, sources of ivory were depleted and the production of ivory icons shrunk.²¹⁸ The same level of high craftsmanship can be identified in ivory and steatites, and as pointed out by Kalavrezou, Antony Cutler and Arne Effenberger, steatite should not be regarded as a lesser substitute for ivory.²¹⁹ However, because of its apparent wider availability, steatite was inherently cheaper than ivory, and in later Byzantium would have very likely been cheaper than semiprecious stones and enamel. This does not mean steatite icons were necessarily low-value objects. A good way of estimating their value

²¹⁷ Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, p. 34 and A. Effenberger, 'Images of Personal Devotion: Miniature Mosaic and Steatite Icons' in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, ed. H. C. Evans, p. 214.

²¹⁸ Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, p. 21.

²¹⁹ Effenberger, 'Images of Personal Devotion', p. 214.

is connoisseurial, through analysing the level of craftsmanship. The Pantepoptes icon has extremely detailed and fine carving, making it stand out amongst the other examples of the medium. This can be identified by visually comparing the detailing, variety of carving techniques and epigraphy of the Pantepoptes icon and a steatite of the Crucifixion, c. 1400-1500. This high level of craftsmanship evinced in the Pantepoptes icon's decoration might indicate its cost, which in turn might reveal aspect of its original owner's identity. This is an important observation as it starts to reveal the type of person who would have used and viewed the icon and its inscriptions.

There are other aspects of steatite icons' original forms that might be further indicators of quality and cost. Frustratingly, these elements are not always retained in their modern surviving states. A frame of some sort would be needed to hold together the thirteen plaques of the Pantepoptes icon. Some other steatite icons had silver-gilt frames, often with intricate figurative decorations and inscriptions, as is the case with a late thirteenth or early fourteenth-century steatite icon of Saint Demetrios, which is framed with a gilt-silver revetment depicting 15 inscribed holy persons [Figure 67].²²⁰ A similar frame may have held together the thirteen plaques of the Pantepoptes icon, although it would be a futile exercise to try to posit its original appearance.²²¹ Like Byzantine ivory icons, some steatites seem to have originally been coloured with paint or gilding.²²² Sizeable traces of red pigment are visible on the outer edges of a tenth- or eleventh-century steatite icon of the Hetoimasia with military saints.²²³ There are traces of gold gilding around the edges of the frame and around Christ's face on the mid fourteenth-century steatite icon of Christ where He is labelled Antiphonetes.²²⁴ Similarly, there are faint, but still visible, traces of red pigment on the background of the epigraphic friezes of the Pantepoptes icon's central and outer plaques.²²⁵

²²⁰ Evans, *Byzantium*, cat. 141, pp. 235. J.D. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, cat. 126.

²²¹ Even from looking at three examples of steatite icons with metal revetment frames, there is considerable variety. Cat. 139, pp. 131-32, has a frame with various cryptograms, as well as geometric and figurative designs; cat. 141, pp. 234-35, is entirely figurative; cat. 144, pp. 236-37 is entirely made from organic and geometric motifs. For this reason, I hesitate to speculate about the appearance of the Pantepoptes icon's frame.

²²² C. Connor, *The Color Of Ivory: Polychromy on Byzantine Ivories* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998).

²²³ *Byzance : l'Art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises*, ed. J. Durand (Paris: Musée du Louvre, Réunion des musées nationaux, 1993), cat. 175, pp. 269-70, offers a colour reproduction.

²²⁴ Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, cat. 147, p. 216, does not mention the gilding,

²²⁵ Again, Kalavrezou does not make a reference to this in the catalogue entry. When viewing the icon in person I observed traces of red paint on six of the outer plaques and on the highest epigraphic frieze on the central plaque.

The painting of certain steatite icons implies a greater level of labour and might indicate a higher value.

There are many indicators that this icon was of the highest quality within the steatite world. Although the icon now has a murky brown-green appearance, its original colour would have been significantly brighter and can still be observed on back of the object's plaques, where the desirable 'steatite green' of 'better' works can clearly be identified, in Kalavrezou's terms.²²⁶ If one accepts things like the complexity of composition, colour and detailing as indicators of value, when surveying the 174 works that Kalavrezou includes in her main catalogue, the Pantepoptes icon seems to be the best amongst the medium's surviving corpus and therefore probably of the highest cost. Indeed, steatite itself was an elite medium, but this object seems to be on the upper end of the spectrum. Finally, the wealth of inscriptions on the object anticipates a level of literacy from the viewer of the icon, therefore leading to an educated and wealthy patron.²²⁷

The icon itself is in remarkable condition. Despite being a dense material that lends itself to fine detailing, steatite is extremely fragile, meaning that pieces are easily marked, worn down or fragmented: steatite is so soft that it can be scratched with a fingernail.²²⁸ This quality allows for minute detailing in steatite carving. However, as a result of many centuries of use, most surviving Byzantine steatites are in relatively poor condition. In sharp contrast, the Pantepoptes icon retains much of its detailing and this might reveal some important aspects of how it functioned and was used. The icon is very small in size, with the central and twelve outer framing plaques measuring just 8.8 x 6.3 cm and 3.5 x 2.7 cm, respectively. Despite this small size, it does not seem that the icon was intended as a portable object, or else there would very likely have been more wear or fractures evident on its surface. Also, as I noted above, the front of the icon is quite discoloured, which is most pronounced with the reliefs on the bottom two registers. The darkening of the icon's surface suggests that it was originally displayed in front of candles or oil lamps, being accidentally burned in the process, further supported by increased discoloration on lower levels. Kalavrezou identifies this as happening on a fourteenth-century icon with twelve Christological scenes from the fourteenth-century

²²⁶ Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, pp. 31-32.

²²⁷ Drpić, *Epigram, Art and Devotion*, p. 241, identifies that epigrams were popular with the wealthy.

²²⁸ Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, p. 17.

Vatopedi monastery at Mount Athos, which is about the same size as the Pantepoptes icon.²²⁹ Similar thoughts can certainly be applied to the latter icon.

It is notable that both the Vatopedi and Pantepoptes icons show evidence of being lit by candles and both feature twelve Christological scenes. Because of their small size and evidence of being lit by candlelight, Kalavrezou posits that such steatite icons were a popular choice for private devotional objects, for use in the home or small private chapels, although there is not much concrete evidence to support this. Kalavrezou also argues that this was particularly true of those depicting Christological cycles.²³⁰ She states the reason for having these twelve scenes on a private devotional icon, would be to serve a similar devotional, doctrinal and theological function as the equivalent series of scenes in monumental Middle and Late Byzantine church decoration.²³¹ This is a rather derivative way of understanding steatite icon's use of Christological scenes, as it does not acknowledge the plethora of different factors that would have fed into the experience of the respective cycles. It is important to understanding icons such as the Pantepoptes icon in their own terms and the specifics of their iconographies, inscriptions, specific viewing contexts and so on, which is what this chapter is attempting to do, in order to understand what roles Christ's epithets had in changing this.

The Pantepoptes icon's medium, colour, size and iconography leads to an owner from the upper echelons of Byzantine society, possibly intended for a personal devotional experience and function, although these are all speculations. However, it is not possible to get more specific than this. A somewhat tenuous link could be made with the homonymous Constantinopolitan monastery, founded by Anna Dalassene in 1087, although this does not really further any discussions.²³² The monastery's foundation predates the earliest given date of the Pantepoptes icon, and not much is known about the monastery during the Palaiologan period. Furthermore, the location of the icon's production is not known, although Kalavrezou

²²⁹ Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, cat. 149 p. 217-18.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-62 and 65-57.

²³¹ Literature on this is lengthy: O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London: Paul Trench Trubner & Co., 1948) is influential but problematic; better and more nuanced and critical takes on the same subject come from T. F. Mathews, 'The Sequel to Nicaea II in Byzantine Church Decoration', *Perkins Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (1988), pp. 11-23, L. James, 'Monks, monastic art, the sanctoral cycle and middle Byzantine church' in *The Theotokos Evergetis and Eleventh-Century Monasticism*, ed. M. Mullett and E. Kirby (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations, 1994), pp. 162-75 and L. James, *Mosaics in the Medieval World*, pp. 137-44 and 336-44.

²³² *ODB*, 'Dalassene, Anna', p. 579.

identifies that it was probably the product of an artistic ‘centre’ like Constantinople or Thessaloniki.²³³ There is no real evidence to support this hypothesis concerning the icon’s place of production and there is no good reason to believe that the icon could have been made in a non-cosmopolitan area.

For this chapter, the Pantepoptes icon has led to a methodological dead end. Various aspects of the icon’s formal appearance lead to postulations about its original function and devotional context, but nothing is known for certain. To aid the discussions of this chapter, I shall now look at case studies where more specific aspects of patronage and devotional practice survive. These case studies will help me to answer questions about how epithets affected the ways in which people engaged with images of Christ and how they belonged to large constructs of identity and power.

Initially, I shall use two written accounts that describe devotion to images of Christ Antiphonetes. The purpose of this is to show how specifying Christ’s identity with an epithet in the devotional arena could cultivate an associative power between the devotee and the image of Christ. I shall then turn my focus on visual material and analyse the ways in which Christ’s epithets affected Byzantine donor portraiture. In this section, I shall focus on the case study of the Chora Church, Constantinople, where two mosaic donor portraits survive in which images of Christ are inscribed with two different epithets. This section will show how epithets specified and commented upon the special relationship between donor and Christ and can be understood as visual counterparts to the descriptions of devotion to Christ Antiphonetes. Next, this chapter will outline the ways in which both instances of devotion and/or patronage are part of larger and more complex ideologies concerning Byzantine identities. Here, I shall argue that epithets acted as important tools in the construction of the self, through the common theme of specified identities between Christ and the devotee.

Overall, this chapter will give a better idea of how images of Christ inscribed with epithets operated in the Byzantine world. It will answer questions concerning who used the objects on which the images were displayed, why they used them and how epithets affected that usage.

²³³ Kalavrezou, pp. 230-33. For a good discussion of artistic ‘centres’ and ‘peripheries’ in Byzantium, see, A. Eastmond, ‘Art and the Periphery’ in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. R. Cormack, J. F. Haldon and E. Jeffreys (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 770-76.

DEVOTION AND CHRIST ANTIPHONETES

Although Empress Zoe's icon of Christ Antiphonetes no longer survives, there is an account of her devotion to it, recorded in Michael Psellos' *Chronographia*.²³⁴ A number of relating images labelled Antiphonetes do survive, namely Zoe's coins and a mosaic from the now-destroyed Church of the Koimesis, Nicaea.²³⁵ Previously, scholars have only focused on the meaning of 'Antiphonetes' and analysed the ways in which certain images of Christ were understood as possessing this 'responsive' quality.²³⁶ In this section, I shall consider the meaning of the epithet, but will also analyse how it functioned within the wider context of epithet inscriptions, moving away from the specific definitions of the name. To do this I shall present and analyse the role that Antiphonetes functioned in the devotional context of the passage in *Chronographia*, before analysing and comparing another written account of an icon of Christ with the same epithet.

Psellos' *Chronographia* records the years 976-1078 through the personal and often emotional lens of the writer, who had a central role in the court of the Macedonian dynasty.²³⁷ In a short passage from Book Six of the chronicle, Psellos describes the piety of Empress Zoe at the time of her marriage to Constantine IX. The section is titled 'Concerning the Antiphonetes'.²³⁸ Psellos describes how Zoe 'made for herself' an icon depicting Christ, towards which she showed pious devotion. The icon itself had the miraculous ability to change colour, which was indicative of different premonitions. Zoe showed great emotional, physical and symbolic reverence to this icon: she would 'clasp the sacred object in her hands, contemplate it, talk to it as though it were indeed alive'. As well as this, Zoe cultivated her own unique devotional ritual, which Psellos observed as 'not conducted after the Greek or any other style', by using herbs, precious stones and vaporous perfumes that possessed magical properties to ward off evil spirits during her rituals and consecrate her image, and therefore Christ, with 'things which we regard as most precious and sacred'.²³⁹

²³⁴ Psellos, 'Chronographia', VI, 66-68.

²³⁵ For the coin, see Bellinger and Grierson, *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, p. 162; for the church, see Janin, *Les Églises et les monastères*, p. 520; for the mosaic, Mango, 'The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea', pp. 245-52.

²³⁶ Mavroudi, 'Licit and Illicit Divination', pp. 431-60, for instance.

²³⁷ For a good overview of his work, see *Reading Michael Psellos*, ed. C. Barber and D. Jenkins (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

²³⁸ Psellos, 'Chronographia', VI, 66-68.

²³⁹ Ibid.

There are a few themes that are important to identify from this passage that will help with the question of how epithets functioned in Byzantine devotion. In the *Chronographia*, Psellos presents the reader with an intense and deeply personal devotional experience between the empress and her icon. It is not the only instance where an icon was mentioned, but it is the only time when the engagement is discussed in any sustained detail and is the only time when an epithet or an icon of Christ is mentioned.²⁴⁰ The section on the Antiphonetes is prefaced by a short section describing the piety of Zoe, where Psellos concludes by stating ‘there was no moment when the Name of God was not on her lips.’²⁴¹ The devotion that Zoe showed towards her special icon is used as illustrative evidence of that piety. Psellos also highlights the idiosyncratic nature of Zoe’s devotion, notably through her physical interaction with the icon, which in itself is not unusual and the icon’s ability to perform divination and Zoe’s use of apotropaic substances which were certainly not standard.²⁴² It was these practices that led Psellos to conclude that ‘[Empress Zoe] worshipped God in her own way.’²⁴³ Idiosyncrasy and uniqueness are themes that run through the passage: the icon performs a distinct miraculous function; Zoe engages with the object in a unique and personal manner. As I suggested in Chapter One, epithets were not a particularly popular motif in the eleventh century, and so the specification of Christ’s identity by Psellos might very well have been part of this effort to highlight the different and special nature of Zoe’s devotion.

The context in which Zoe’s devotional practices occur is important for understanding how the Antiphonetes epithet functioned and affected this instance of devotion. The icon is clearly a personal devotional object and therefore the space being described by Psellos was presumably a private one. This very well might have been an ‘icon corner’, which Judith Herrin has associated with female patronage and devotion in Middle Byzantium.²⁴⁴ It seems that Zoe associating herself with the Antiphonetes through her interaction with it and therefore, the icon should be understood as an extension of her female-specific mode of patronage and devotion, centred around a close and personal interaction. However, there is a

²⁴⁰ Ibid., I, 16, makes reference to an image of the ‘Saviour’s Mother’; III, 10, makes reference to an image of the ‘Theometer’ that was carried into battle by ‘Roman emperors’; IV, 31 describes various images ‘that seemed to almost live’ in the church of the Anargyroi. The description of the Zoe and Christ Antiphonetes in V, 66-68, is by far the most detailed in the *Chronographia*.

²⁴¹ Psellos, ‘Chronographia’, VI, 66-68.

²⁴² Mavroudi, ‘Licit and Illicit Divination’, pp. 431-60.

²⁴³ Psellos, ‘Chronographia’, VI, 66-68.

²⁴⁴ J. Herrin, ‘The Icon Corner in Medieval Byzantium’, in *Household, Women, and Christianities: in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. A. B. Mulder-Bakker and J. Wogan-Browne (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2006), pp. 71-90.

legacy of individuals and specifically, imperial individuals associating themselves with icons referred to as Antiphonetes. For instance, there are sixth-century accounts describing Emperor Maurice's devotion to an icon of Christ Antiphonetes.²⁴⁵ In fact, Zoe's icon may have been a conscious reference to this earlier icon. The empress commissioned an extravagant new floor for the chapel of Chalkoprateia, where the older accounts attest that Maurice's icon was housed.²⁴⁶ The absence of a naming inscription seems like a likely case in earlier descriptions of the Christ Antiphonetes, such as the interaction between Emperor Maurice and the Icon. This predates my proposed tenth-century start date of epithet inscriptions in Chapter One by 400 years. If so, in these instances Antiphonetes was understood as the name of the icon, but not necessarily inscribed, yet.

Despite this imperial-centric devotion to Christ Antiphonetes there are also instances of individuals showing devotion to a similar icon from non-imperial contexts. In *The Life of Saint Nikon*, which records the biography of the eponymous tenth-century saint, but was written around a century later, there is a reference made to a 'divine ikon bearing the name of Antiphonetes'.²⁴⁷ So, it is true that Zoe was not the only individual to cultivate a relationship with an icon of Christ Antiphonetes, but the earliest surviving objects that bear the epithet are all associated with the empress.²⁴⁸ These examples show that Zoe's devotion to Christ was not restricted to her private quarters as cited by Psellos. In fact, her coins were struck with images of a standing Christ Antiphonetes, shown in half-length and holding a closed gospel book and she built a church in Constantinople dedicated to Christ Antiphonetes, where she was later buried. There is also a full-length standing Christ Antiphonetes depicted in mosaic on the eastern piers of the now-destroyed Koimesis Church, Nicaea. This decoration seems to be from the reign of Zoe's husband Constantine X (1059-67), and therefore very well might have related to the empress.²⁴⁹ It does not seem very likely the Emperor Maurice's icon would have been inscribed with an epithet, as there is no evidence for a consistent practice of

²⁴⁵ Mango, *The Brazen House*, pp. 142-48.

²⁴⁶ G. Parpulov, 'The Rise of Devotional Imagery in Eleventh-Century Byzantium', in *Byzantium in the Eleventh Century: Being in Between* (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 231-47, cites, M. D. Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres*, vol. 1, pp. 327-28.

²⁴⁷ *The Life of Saint Nikon*, trans. and ed. D. Sullivan (Brookline: Hellenic College Press, 1987), LXIII, 55, p. 216-17, ἐνθα δὴ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἀντιφωνητοῦ φέρουσα προσηγορίαν δεσποτικὴ καὶ θεία εἰκὼν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου ἐκτετυπωτο ἀπεικόνισμα (There the commanding and divine ikon bearing the name of Antiphonetes is situated and there also the figure of the great one is represented).

²⁴⁸ The earliest date for a surviving mage inscribed Antiphonetes is 1028 and there I do not know of an earlier reference to the epithet being inscribed, as opposed to simply name an icon.

²⁴⁹ James, *Mosaic in the Medieval World*, p. 358 and Mango and Hawkins, 'The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea', pp. 245-52.

inscribing Christ with an epithet in Early Byzantium, nor is there any evidence to show that he tried to develop a cult beyond the surviving literary accounts. As Zoe's icon no longer survives it is not known where her icon had any inscriptions. Furthermore, it is not known for certain from where the epithet Antiphonetes emerged, although it might be from a well-known miracle about the Chalkoprateia icon, where a merchant gave a Jewish creditor as surety, which closely links to Antiphonetes translation as 'the guarantor' or 'giver of surety' and the formally inscribed epithet was a development of this.²⁵⁰ It does however seem possible, if not likely, that the writer of *The Life of Saint Nikon* was describing an epithet inscription. This was done by alerting the reader to the formal properties of Antiphonetes, where the icon was described as 'bearing' this name.²⁵¹

A connection between the role of the Antiphonetes epithet described in *Chronographia* and *The Life of Saint Nikon* is not immediately obvious from the texts alone. Zoe's interaction with Christ Antiphonetes was part of a wider idiosyncratic practice, whereas the account described in Saint Nikon's hagiography is pretty standard fare.²⁵² Yet this contrast of devotion might upset my argument that the Antiphonetes epithet was an important part of Zoe's usual practices. *The Life of Saint Nikon* describes the story of a young monk named Luke who suffered from mouth paralysis. Luke received a miraculous healing of his ailment after showing reverence to icons of both Saint Nikon and Christ Antiphonetes. Luke was instructed by the voice of Nikon to rub himself with oil from a nearby lamp, ultimately curing him.²⁵³ Here, the Antiphonetes epithet is used to cultivate some sort of associative power for the identity of certain individuals. Not much is said of Christ Antiphonetes in the passage, but it seems that referencing the inscribed epithet was to mark out the icon as special and distinct, much like Zoe's icon did for her practices. Here, this power is not associated with Luke but instead it is for Nikon, whose icon works in conjunction with Christ Antiphonetes to perform the miraculous cure. This fits with the ultimate aim of the hagiography, to promote sanctity and intercessory effectiveness of Nikon. In the *Chronographia* the meaning of Antiphonetes is the source of its power, where the responsive icon changes colour, allowing Zoe to perform divination. Zoe's emotional response to the icon was not necessarily unusual in Byzantine

²⁵⁰ *ODB*, 'Christ Antiphonetes', pp. 439-40 and B. Neslon and J. Starr, 'The Legend of Divine Surety and the Jewish Money lender,' *AIPHOS*, 7, 1944, pp. 289-338.

²⁵¹ *The Life of Saint Nikon*, LXIII, 55, pp. 216-17.

²⁵² A. Rigo, M. Trizio and E. Despotakis (eds.) *Byzantine Hagiography: Texts, Themes & Projects*, (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2018).

²⁵³ *The Life of Saint Nikon*, LXIII, 56-70, pp. 216-17.

devotional practice, in fact Orthodox doctrine encouraged physical interaction as a sign of reverence.²⁵⁴ However, it is the use of apotropaic substances that led Psellos to comment her devotion was ‘not conducted after the Greek or any other style’ and ‘she worshipped God in her own way’, which mark these practices as particularly distinct. Beyond the specific meaning of Antiphonetes, Zoe harnessed the associative power of the original icon by reproducing it through the inscribed epithet in different publicly viewed media, in various scales and in viewing contexts that would have been associated with her. Zoe was not the first Middle Byzantine empress to have her coinage struck with an image of Christ, but she seemed to be the first Empress, or even imperial power, to be specifically and consistently associated with images of Christ inscribed with a particular epithet, thus cultivating and promoting a special relationship between the two.²⁵⁵

The case of Zoe and Christ Antiphonetes seems to belong to a wider shift regarding the role of epithet inscriptions and devotion starting in the eleventh century.²⁵⁶ Georgi Parpulov linked Zoe’s Antiphonetes to other images of Christ inscribed with epithets from this period: Eleemon (Merciful) and Evergetes (Benefactor).²⁵⁷ Parpulov argued that such epithets were a part of a shift of Byzantine art becoming more personal and emotional in both appearance and function, a turn which has traditionally been associated with the twelfth century, rather than the eleventh.²⁵⁸ Parpulov suggests that epithets ‘shorten the emotional distance between the image and beholder’ by referencing the desired response or function of the icon in the meaning of the epithet.²⁵⁹ In effect, this creates direct, personal and devotional experience, like the one described by Psellos about Zoe and the Antiphonetes, although the idiosyncrasy of these practice cannot be determined due to a lack of contextual information about the icons. However, Parpulov only considered three epithets in his writing, all of which stress the benevolence of Christ and this does not acknowledge the names that stress other qualities or

²⁵⁴ For instance, *St John Damascene on Holy Images* (London: Thomas Baker, 1898), p. 104, encourages proskynesis before icons. Damascus’ writings were used by Iconophile theologians and proskynesis was adopted as official Orthodox dogma in the Second Council of Nicaea in 787.

²⁵⁵ L. James, ‘Displaying identity and power: the coins of Byzantine empresses between 804 and 1204’, in *Medieval Coins and Seals: Constructing Identity, Signifying Power*, ed. S. Solway (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 189-209.

²⁵⁶ Parpulov, ‘The Rise of Devotional Imagery in Eleventh-Century Byzantium’, esp. p. 234.

²⁵⁷ In doing so, Parpulov makes the assumption that Zoe’s Antiphonetes actually had an epithet. This need not be the case, there is no reference to an inscription in Psellos’ text and the epithet may have been an unscribed nickname for the icon.

²⁵⁸ For instance, see H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: a History of the Image Before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

²⁵⁹ Parpulov, ‘The Rise of Devotional Imagery in Eleventh-Century Byzantium’, esp. p. 234.

have different sources, such as supremacy-stressing ones, or those from specific biblical passages. If one takes the eleventh century as the case study, there are surviving images of Christ inscribed Ancient of Days, Chalkites, Emmanuel, King of Glory, Pantokrator and Philanthropos, on coins, icons, manuscript illuminations, mosaics, pendants and wall paintings. These names have various meanings and sources, which along with the different media also indicate different functions if used in devotional contexts.

However, despite the range of definitions, connotations and origins of Christ's epithets in Byzantine art, it seems that the inscriptions could function beyond their specific meaning and present any epithet marked the devotional relationship between an individual and Christ as distinct. This change in function allowed for epithets to be used as a loci of power that could be transferred by association to another individual. The meaning of the Antiphonetes epithet would have been taken into account by literate Byzantine viewers of Zoe's coins, mosaic and other potential lost images. However, the link between the Empress and her specific Christ would also have worked effectively, albeit in a different way, with any other epithet. For instance, had Psellos described Zoe's devotion to an icon of Christ Pantokrator, and she cultivated a relationship with Christ, a different relationship and power dynamic between the Empress and Christ would have been established. Here, the epithet stresses the transcendence and power of Christ, and Zoe might have been seen more subservient in her devotion, rather than the more intimate relationship described with her responsive Antiphonetes. Similarly, had it been an icon of Christ Eleemon, Zoe's devotion might have been more humble. However, even though the initial devotional practices would have been different, if Zoe had repeatedly used these other epithets in the way she did for Antiphonetes, then a similar cultic relationship would have also been established. It is true that the way in which this relationship would have been understood and affected devotion would have been different depending on the meaning of the epithet. However, an epithet alone is all that is needed to set this up and cultivate the power of being associated with a specific Christ. It specifies the relationship between the devotee and Christ and can take on a socio-political role if that relationship is promoted by public display and/or repetition. By socio-political, I mean the ways in which images of Christ could take on functions related to Byzantine identity and power structures.

Because Byzantium was mostly a theocratic Orthodox society, this meant that being associated with Christ was something politically and socially powerful. In the case of Zoe

and Christ Antiphonetes this special and important relationship was marked as distinct by means of the epithet and its repetition on other objects and sites associated with the empress. Through promoting the closeness between the two, Zoe would have surely bolstered her imperial and Orthodox identity. This kind of relationship is also supported by other surviving iconographic and epigraphic evidence. John Cotsonis pointed out that images of Christ were relatively infrequent in Byzantine seals. Use of His image seemed to be mostly reserved for members of the imperial family, as it was perceived as ‘too remote’ for the rest of the population. In that Christ was such an important figure in Christianity His image was understood as reserved only for powerful and important individuals.²⁶⁰

In this section, I showed that Christ’s epithets took on important roles in Byzantine devotional contexts; they marked the relationship between the devotee and Christ as something different and noteworthy. This emphasis on the connection between the devotee and Christ, specified in the epithet inscription, meant that individuals could cultivate an associative power between themselves and him. This is an important point, because it shows that Christ’s image’s initial devotional function could be extended to a more socio-political one, by means on an epithet. This was able to happen because of the common aspect of identity between Christ and the devotee/patron.

I shall now continue this investigation into role that Christ’s epithets had in shaping devotional practices and the ways they took on socio-political functions relationships by looking at examples where all three exist in the same visual field: donor portraits. Here, I shall ask why donors sought to have Christ inscribed with epithets in these images and the ways in which this affected them. In doing so, I shall build on my discussions of the devotional and socio-political use of epithets to show that epithet inscriptions could be active forces in wider constructs of Byzantine identity.

²⁶⁰ Cotsonis, ‘To Invoke or Not to Invoke’, p. 551.

DONOR PORTRAITURE AND EPITHETS

Table 9: Donor portraits where images of Christ are inscribed with an epithet

Donor and Donation	Epithet	Image	Date
Dionysios Kalozoes Presents a scroll whilst standing. The scroll is probably the typikon for the church in which the wall painting is displayed.	Ὁ Φωτοδότης Photodotes Light-Giver	Wall painting, Church of Hagios Nicholas at Malagari, near Perachora, Greece	1200-1300
Andronikos II Bows in proskynesis before Christ. No physical gift is given. ²⁶¹	Μονογενῇ Monogenes Only Begotten	Coin, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington D.C.	1282-1294
Isaac Komnenos and Melane the Nun ²⁶² Both raise their hands in supplication towards Christ, along with the Mother of God. No physical gift is given.	Ὁ Χαλκίτης O Chalkites Relating to the Bronze (Χαλκῆ, Chalkē) Gate	Mosaic, south bay of the inner narthex of the Chora Church, Constantinople	1316-1321

²⁶¹ Although no gift is given in this and other examples they should be understood as donor (ktetor) portraits, or as R. Franes calls them ‘contact portraits’. Franes has convincingly argued that although a distinction should be made between images with or without gifts, in the latter the devotees supplication should be understood as an immaterial gift. See R. Franes, *Donor Portraits in Byzantine Art: The Vicissitudes of Contact between Human and the Divine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 17-62, for a thorough definition of the iconographic group.

²⁶² It is widely believed that this is Maria Palaiologina, see, N. Teteriatnikov, ‘The Place of the Nun Melania (the Lady of the Mongols) in the Deesis Programme of the Inner Narthex of Chora, Constantinople’, *Cahiers archéologiques*, Vol. 43 (1995), pp. 163-80. It is important to note that neither of these individuals were the patron of this mosaic, but instead it was Theodore Metochites, who is also depicted in a donor portrait elsewhere in the church.

Theodore Metochites Bows in proskynesis before Christ and offers Him model of the Chora Church, in which the mosaic is displayed.	Ἡ Χώρα τῶν Ζώντων Ē Chora ton Zonton The Land of the Living	Mosaic, doorway leading from the inner narthex to naos of the Chora Church, Constantinople	1316-1321
Anna Philanthropene Extremely faint image, but it appears to show Anna bowing in proskynesis and raising hands in supplication. There is no visible evidence of a gift.	Ὁ Πληροφορίτης O Plerophorites The One Who Fulfils	Revetment frame of the Icon of the Mother of God the Hope of the Hopeless (Ἡ Ἐλπὶς τῶν Ἀπελπισμένων, Elpis ton Apelpismenon), Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos.	1350
Alexios and John Both are standing and raise their hands in supplication towards Christ.	Ὁ Παντοκράτωρ O Pantokrator The All-Ruler	Icon, State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.	1386
Monk Kaloeidas Kaloeidas is being pulled out of a sarcophagus by the Mother of God. No gift is depicted.	Ὁ Ἐλεήμων O Eleemon The Merciful	Manuscript illumination, Psalter, Ms. Gr. 61, fol. 103r, Christ Church, Oxford.	1391

It is important to note the limited chronology of these examples. Depending on whether one cites the Photodotes wall painting or Andronikos II's Only Begotten coin as the earliest example, the dates range from either 1200-1391 or 1282 to 1391, respectively. Even though the pool of material is very small, it does seem that the fourteenth century was a popular

period for donor portraits with Christ inscribed with an epithet. This chronological emphasis is not surprising, as it has been noted the donor portraiture as a wider genre enjoyed particular popularity during this century.²⁶³ There are not enough examples to draw any specific conclusions from the material alone, but it does not seem that there was any increase of epithet inscriptions for donor portraits. Like the rest of Christ's epithet images, there is a spread across media, examples survive in coinage, icons, manuscript illumination, monumental wall paintings and mosaic.

This material also suggests that there is no such thing as a donor portrait 'type' where images of Christ are inscribed with an epithet. The iconographic variations are considerable: Christ could be standing or seated; with or without gospel book; alone, or with the Mother of God and/or saints; donors could be an imperial power, or a provincial monk; with or without a gift; standing, bowing in proskynesis, or raising hands in supplication; to the left or right of Christ; and depicted in a variety of scales. The epithets inscribed against Christ are also vast in range. There are benevolent epithets: Eleemon (Merciful); Plerophorites (the One Who Fulfills); biblical/theological epithets: The Land (Chora) of the Living; Only Begotten; Supremacy/transcendence-stressing names: Pantokrator (All-Ruler); and toponyms: Chalkites (of the Bronze (Chalke) Gate); Land (Chora) of the Living (named after the Chora monastery, Constantinople, which was referred to as such from the sixth century); Pantokrator (All-Ruler/relating to the Pantokrator Monastery, Mount Athos, was made) [Figure 68].²⁶⁴ It is interesting that the Chora epithet is the only surviving instance where an epithet inscription stresses the soteriology of Christ. This is surprising, as achieving salvation would surely be the most obvious motive to have oneself depicted in a donor portrait scene.²⁶⁵ Of course donor portraits with Christ inscribed as Lytotes, Soter or Philanthropos may well have existed, but what this surviving material shows is that additional meanings could be brought into donor portraits by means of an epithet, beyond the immediate soteriological reading of the iconography. This is a theme that I shall discuss in Chapter Four.

²⁶³ See, S. Kalopissi-Verti, 'Patronage and Artistic Production in Byzantium during the Palaiologan Period' in *Byzantium: Faith and Power: Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. S. T. Brooks (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006), pp. 76-97, S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992), D. Mouriki, 'Portraits de donateurs et invocations sur les icônes du XIII^e siècle au Sināi', *Études balkaniques*, Vol. 2 (1995), pp. 103-35.

²⁶⁴ Drpić, *Epigram, Art and Devotion*, p. 391.

²⁶⁵ See L. Brubaker, 'Gifts and prayers: The visualization of gift-giving in Byzantium and the mosaics of Hagia Sophia', in *The Languages of the Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. W. Davies and P. Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 33-61.

There seems to be sizeable epigraphic, iconographic and material variation with Byzantine donor portraits, so a key question is what do these images show about the ways that epithets worked in relation to devotion? Why would a donor have him or herself represented next to an image of Christ inscribed with an epithet? What difference did it make to the function of the image? The two mosaic donor portraits from the early fourteenth-century church of the Chora in Constantinople are good case studies to consider these questions. Despite being from the same church at the same time, these donor portraits are very different. In the first donor portrait, which is placed above the doorway leading from the inner narthex of the church into the naos, the church's fourteenth-century patron, Theodore Metochites is shown kneeling before an enthroned Christ offering Him a model of the church. Christ is inscribed $\text{H XGOPA TGON ZGONTGON}$, the Land (Chora) of the Living. Just south in the inner narthex is much larger mosaic panel. Here, Christ is flanked by Isaac Komnenos and the Mother of God to His right and Melane the Nun to His left, all of whom are identified with inscriptions. Neither of the donors present Christ with a gift, but instead gesture in supplication to Christ and His mother. Here, Christ is inscribed O XAAKITHC (Chalkites), relating to the Chalke (Bronze) Gate of Constantinople, which led to the imperial palace.²⁶⁶ In order to answer the above questions of how Christ's epithets affected devotion in donor portraiture I shall outline the ways in which each epithet's meaning relates to its devotional iconography and viewing context within the Chora Church. I shall then analyse the ways in which these and other epithets informed the wider ideologies of donation, gift-giving and identity in Byzantine devotion. In doing so, I shall analyse the extent to which these donor portraits could take on a particular socio-political function, like Zoe and her Christ Antiphonetes, because of their inscribed epithets.

²⁶⁶ Literature has tended to focus solely on the imperial connotations of the epithet. See, Ousterhout, *The Art of the Kariye Camii*, p. 23, P. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami: Historical Introduction and Description of the Mosaics and Frescoes*, vol. 1 (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1966), p. 45, P. A. Underwood, 'The Deisis Mosaic in the Kahrie Cami at Istanbul' in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1955), p. 255, Teteriatnikov, 'The Dedication of the Chora Monastery in the Time of Androknikos II Palaiologos', *Byzantion*, Vol. 66, 1996, R. S. Nelson, 'The Chora and the Great Church: Intervisuality in Fourteenth-Century Constantinople', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, Vol. 23 (1999), p. 79.

DONORS IN THE CHORA CHURCH

Theodore Metochites was the fourteenth-century patron of the Chora Church and his donor portrait is one amongst a series of images in the building's mosaics where Christ receives epithets. The viewer encounters these inscriptions when walking along the west-east axis of the church and back again. First, there is a large depiction of an adult Christ shown in bust inscribed $\text{H XGOPA TGON ZGONTGON}$, The Land (Chora) of the Living, above the door leading from the outer narthex to the inner narthex. Above the next door, leading from the inner narthex to the naos is Metochites' donor portrait. Here, Christ is shown enthroned blessing Metochites and is inscribed with the same 'Chora' epithet as in the outer narthex. In the bay further just south of this mosaic is a larger mosaic panel where Christ is inscribed O XAAKITHC (Chalkites). Here, He is flanked by the Mother of God and Isaac Komnenos – the twelfth-century patron of the Chora Church – to His right and a nun identified as 'Melane' by an inscription to His left. A third and final Christ inscribed $\text{H XGOPA TGON ZGONTGON}$, The Land (Chora) of the Living is displayed on the north proskynetarion in the naos of the church. Here, Christ is shown standing in full length and holding an open gospel book. To the right of this mosaic on the south proskynetarion is a standing Mother of God holding the Christ child. She is inscribed $\text{H XGOPA TOY AXGOPHTOY}$, The Container of the Uncontainable.²⁶⁷ This Marian epithet is repeated west wall of the outer narthex, above the door leading out of the church. Here, the Mother of God is shown in a bust with a medallion on her chest, an iconography that is usually referred to as the Blachernitissa.²⁶⁸

These Land (Chora) of the Living epithets all play on the Byzantine Greek word $\chi\acute{o}\rho\alpha$ (chora), which itself had been associated with the church since its original sixth-century foundation.²⁶⁹ The church was situated in what would have been a semi-rural area of Constantinople, outside the Constantinian city walls and just within the Theodosian ones. One of the Byzantine meanings of 'chora' was countryside and hence the church gained that appellation. However, as is apparent from the translations of the Christological and Marian epithets, chora could have more mystical, as well as topographic meanings, such as dwelling place, or land.²⁷⁰ These meanings had both biblical and philosophical precedents, with

²⁶⁷ This is the negative genitive form of 'chora/ $\chi\acute{o}\rho\alpha$ '.

²⁶⁸ Outsterhout, 'The Virgin of the Chora, pp. 91-109.

²⁶⁹ Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, pp. 5-6.

²⁷⁰ Isar, 'Chôra: Tracing the Presence', 39-55, focuses on the translation of Plato's discussion of chôra from the Classical period into the Byzantine.

Christ's 'chora' epithets being a direct reference to Psalm 114: 9 (Septuagint), 'I shall see the goodness of the Lord in the land (chora) of the living'.²⁷¹ The word 'chora' had also been discussed by Plato, who defined it as the space in which the creation of life took place.²⁷²

Why, then, did Metochites choose to have Christ inscribed with an epithet containing the word 'chora' for his donor portrait? It is not known the extent to which Metochites was involved in the specifics of the decorative scheme of the fourteenth-century restoration of the church, from which the mosaics date.²⁷³ However, he did make reference to the importance of term 'chora' for the dedication of the homonymous church in his extensive corpus of poetry:

But thou, Oh Lady, hast become the instrument of this great miracle [the Incarnation] which gave life to mortals; and it is to bring a shine [as a gift] to thee that I erected this monastery, calling it Chora after thee, the one who contained the uncontainable, to thee the shrine of the immortal God (cite the passage). To thee [the Theotokos] I have dedicated this noble monastery is called by thy precious name of Chora.²⁷⁴

This shows that even if he was not directly involved in the specifics of the Chora's mosaic decoration, Metochites did acknowledge the spiritual significance the name had for ecclesiastical dedication. This acknowledgment also happened with Byzantine visitors to the church. For instance, the epithet inscriptions were noted for their significance and quoted by the mid fourteenth century Patriarch of Constantinople, Philotheos Kokkinos.²⁷⁵

The other epithet used to inscribe an image of Christ in a donor portrait in the Chora Church is Chalkites. Similar to 'chora', Chalkites was a weighty and loaded term, but with greater ideological and political emphases. Chalkites is a reference to the icon of the Chalke Gate, which led to the imperial palace of Constantinople. Despite the account of the destruction and re-installment of the Chalke icon during Iconoclasm very likely being fictitious, the icon and its history held great significance in Byzantine cultural and ideological memory.²⁷⁶ During

²⁷¹ εὐαρεστήσω ἐναντίον κυρίου ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντων.

²⁷² In more modern philosophy Derrida also contemplated *kora*. N. Isar, 'Chora: Tracing the Presence' 39-55 and N. Isar, 'The iconic Chôra: A kenotic space of presence and void', *Transfiguration: Nordisk Tidsskrift for kunst of kristendom*, 2, 2000, pp. 65-80 gives farfetched ideas, but provides some important notes on the philosophical origins of the term.

²⁷³ Surprisingly and frustratingly Metochites made no reference to this in his writing, Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, Vol. p. 17.

²⁷⁴ Theodore Metochites, Poem A, 1130, in *Dichtungen des Grosslogotheten Thodoros Metochites*, trans. M. Treu (Potsdam: Krämersche Buchdruckerei, 1895), p. 37.

²⁷⁵ Gregory Palamas, 'Encomium Auct Philotheo', *PG*, 151, col. 652, C and D.

²⁷⁶ Auzépy, 'La destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chalce par Léon III', pp. 445-492, Brubaker, 'Icons and Iconomachy', pp. 323-37 and R. Cormack, 'Women and Icons, and Women in Icons', in *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, ed. L. James (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 24-53.

the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Russian pilgrims mentioned multiple ‘Chalke’ icons in Constantinople citing both its imperial and iconoclastic connotations, emperors and high-standing officials has images Christ inscribed Chalkites on their coins and seals.²⁷⁷ The icon was also depicted in a number of Saint Theodosia icons and in the Icon of the Triumph of Orthodoxy [figs. 69 and 70].²⁷⁸

Scholarship on the Chalkites epithet has tended to interpret the epithet inscription with reference only to the Chalke icon’s imperial connections. The mosaic’s iconography and context support this view. Both donors depicted in this mosaic had imperial connections. Isaac Komnenos was brother of Emperor John I Komnenos and the nun identified by inscription as Melane, was very likely Maria Palaiologina, the sister of Emperor Andronikos II, who seems to have made a donation to the Chora.²⁷⁹ Robert Nelson has also argued that the iconography of many of the Chora Church mosaics would have invited imperial readings and were conscious references to imperially-associated mosaics and portraits from Hagia Sophia and the Blachernae palace.²⁸⁰ Whilst it does seem that this could have been a primary reading of the Chalkites panel and inscription, it is important not to completely ignore the iconoclastic associations of the epithet, as this had a longstanding legacy.

An immediate reading of donor portrait, like those in the Chora, would be that it depicts the process of the devotee achieving salvation. Because of this, it is worth thinking further about the iconography of Chora donor portraits and the ways in which the epithets affect this function. So, if achieving salvation was the apparently immediate function of donor portraits, how did epithets play into this framework? The discussion of Christ Antiphonetes showed that epithets could be an active force in creating specific and powerful devotional relationships: can the same be said of the Chora donor portraits?²⁸¹ The basic and obvious function of a donor portrait would have been to record the process of the faithful obtaining

²⁷⁷ Mango, *The Brazen House*, p. 142-48 and Majeska, ‘The Image of the Chalke Savior in Saint Sophia’, pp. 284-95 and *Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, pp. 97, 136-37, 147, 211 and 280.

²⁷⁸ Cormack, ‘Woman and Icons, and Woman in Icons’, pp. 24-53 and D. Mouriki, ‘Portraits of St Theodosia in Five Sinai Icons’, in *Thymiamata stē mnēmē tēs Laskarinas Boura*, Vols. 1 and 2, ed. L. Boura (Athens: Mouseio Benakē, 1994), pp. 213-219.

²⁷⁹ Teteriatnikov, ‘The Dedication of the Chora Monastery in the Time of Andronikos II Palaiologos’, pp. 188–207.

²⁸⁰ Nelson, ‘The Chora and the Great Church’, pp. 68-87.

²⁸¹ On the Chora donor portrait see, N. Ševčenko, ‘The Portrait of Theodore Metochites at Chora’, in *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin*, ed. J.-M. Spieser and É Yota (Paris: Lethielleux, 2008), pp. 189-205.

salvation because of their generous donation. This view takes the stance that one is able to obtain a place in the afterlife because of their gift-giving. However, if one probes the logic of this exchange, the actual dynamic between the faithful and Christ in donor portraits is far from clear cut and epithets seem to acknowledge and comment upon this complexity.²⁸² To show the flawed logic of this interpretation I shall critically outline the ways in which Byzantine ideologies concerning salvation work within the anthropological view of gift-giving. In doing so, I shall show that epithets could reconcile the gap between the two, and were part of larger identity and power structures.

Marcel Mauss's seminal anthropological approach to gift giving does not translate well into the Byzantine Orthodox context.²⁸³ For Mauss, gift-giving is a cross-epoch cultural phenomenon, where a gift is given in anticipation of it being reciprocated with a counter-gift, thus eternally bonding the relationship and power dynamic between giver and receiver.²⁸⁴ This is because the economic process of giving, receiving and reciprocating were all part of practices that maintained the relations of groups, not individuals, in their larger social and political structures. For instance, Rico Franses argued that this would imply that the divine – be it Christ, the Mother of God, or a saint – would be in some way swayed by being presented with a gift from the donor.²⁸⁵ This would mean that salvation could be obtained through the process of exchange, either through a physical gift, or a spiritual one, in the form of piety and devotion. In arguing this, he stated that Mauss's approach does not fit with Byzantine Orthodox views of the afterlife. Unlike the Latin Christians, the Byzantines did not have a particularly clear-cut view on how one were to loose sins and achieve a place in the afterlife after death. Despite this, it was clear that no human could disrupt God's unilateral forgiveness.²⁸⁶ Franses has convincingly argued that despite donor portraits depicting what might appear as exchange, the act of giving was not perceived as efficacious. Instead, the images were about divine contact, made possible by the pious generosity of the depicted donor. Franses' view is somewhat different to the one posited by Vassiliki Dimitropoulou, for whom Byzantine patronage was driven by more politically-minded factors. In this view, patronage was perceived to promote the status of the donor; giving money to a good cause

²⁸² Drpić, *Epigram, Art and Devotion*, p. 247-51.

²⁸³ M. Mauss, *The Gift*, trans. I. Cunnison (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1988).

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-41, discusses the obligation of reciprocation, Drpić, *Epigram, Art and Devotion*, p. 247-51, gives a good overview of the theory being applied to a Medieval context and the issues that arise from it.

²⁸⁵ Franses, *Byzantine Donor Portraits*, pp. 167-68 and 173.

²⁸⁶ For the unilaterality of God's forgiveness, see Franses pp. 134-35 and pp. 189-91.

like a church or its art, meant it acted as a public statement of their power and piety.²⁸⁷ Furthermore, Dimitropoulou argued that continuous prayers were perceived as effective in swifter path to salvation.²⁸⁸ There is good evidence to support both of these views and it is beyond the scope of this thesis to outline which is correct. However, in terms of this study, it does seem that epithets in Byzantine donor portraits demonstrate the lack of efficacy in the donors' gift-giving. As well as this, donor portraits appear to be statements of the associative economic-come-ideological power that comes from patronising art: an individual paid for a work of art and therefore could be depicted in the same space as a holy individual and a certain power comes from their association. This view reconciles and synthesises both Franesand Dimitropoulou's arguments.

How, then, do the Chora donor portraits fit within this framework and how do the epithet inscriptions affect this? Why were these epithets chosen? First, the Chalkites panel. If we are to take donor portraits not as agents for achieving salvation for the faithful, but instead as images about who could make contact with the divine, then the Chalkites epithet works as a cultivation of associative power like the Zoe and Antiphonetes icon. The Chalkites epithet invites the viewer/reader to contemplate imperial association with and devotion to the Chalke icon.²⁸⁹ Whether Metochites or an artist was in charge of this schema is not really important. What matters is that the iconography of the mosaic places the former in the tradition of imperial patronage and devotion to a specific icon of Christ and the long legacy of this devotion, referenced through the epithet and the accompanying donors. Isaac, depicted on the left of the panel, was the twelfth-century imperial ktetor of the Chora, and Maria, sister of the emperor at the time of Metochites' reconstruction of the church, who had made a donation to the church, which likely explains her inclusion in the panel.²⁹⁰

When one views the mosaic in the inner narthex of the Chora, its large scale is particularly striking. The mosaic appears too big for the space and when viewing it from head on, it is

²⁸⁷ V. Dimitropoulou, 'Giving Gifts to God: Aspects of Patronage in Byzantine Art' in *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. L. James (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2010), p. 167.

²⁸⁸ Dimitropoulou, 'Giving Gifts to God', p. 164-65.

²⁸⁹ See note 267.

²⁹⁰ Teteriatnikov, 'The Place of the Nun Melania (the Lady of the Mongols) in the Deesis Programme of the Inner Narthex of Chora, Constantinople', pp. 163-80, but A-M. Talbot in 'Building Activity Under Andronikos II', in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. 336, argues that her presence in the mosaic probably meant there was further and more substantial donation.

almost impossible to view the whole panel at once. A better vantage point for the mosaic is from the northwest, either from under the door leading between the narthexes, or just in front of the Metochites donor portrait.²⁹¹ This means that the Metochites portrait was probably intended to be viewed in conjunction with the Chalkites panel and therefore inviting a comparison between himself and the imperial panel by means of the epithet and the broader theme of donation and devotion. This is further supported by the possibility that the Metochites donor portrait was a conscious iconographic amalgamation of the narthex and south west vestibule mosaics from Hagia Sophia, which show three different emperors in acts of proskynesis and acts of gift giving, respectively.²⁹² If this was the case, the Chalkites and Metochites panels' iconographies and inscriptions invited an imperial reading for the Chora Church and cultivated an associative power and identity for Metochites, one reinforced by the epithet Chalkites.

In terms of the complex structuring of Byzantine Orthodox gift-giving, the 'chora' epithet in Metochites' panel introduces a cyclical paradox to the mosaic's logic. This paradox, which I shall outline in a moment, supports the arguments concerning donor portraits by Dimitropoulou and Frances: the images lacked agency in the process of obtaining salvation and they were informed by ideologies of power by creating association between mortals and the divine. Not only does the 'chora' epithet possess a paradoxical character that contributes to donor portraits' logic, but I shall demonstrate that similar functions happen in the other instances where Christ receives an epithet in similar types of image.

The mystical definitions of 'chora' are central to the understanding the devotional function of the epithet in Metochites' donor portrait. The mosaic itself is situated in the Chora Church. The Christological and Marian epithets use the positive and negative forms of 'chora': χώρα and αχώρητου (chora and achoretou, container/dwelling place/land and uncontainable). These words are used to distinguish between Christ and God. In the Marian inscriptions, Christ is the negative and apophatic achoretou, whereas in the Christological inscriptions He is the positive chora. The theological reading of the two is quite straightforward, Christ as the

²⁹¹ R. G. Ousterhout, 'Reading difficult buildings: the lessons of the Kariye Camii', in eds. Klein et al., *Kariye Camii*, in *Kariye Camii yeniden/The Kariye Camii Reconsidered*, ed. A. Klein, R. G. Ousterhout and B. Pitarakis (Istanbul: Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2011), pp. 95–128, cited by James, *Mosaics in the Medieval World*, p. 455.

²⁹² Nelson, 'The Chora and the Great Church', pp. 67-101.

Incarnation made the unknowable God knowable through his virgin birth.²⁹³ However, in the donor portrait, Metochites is shown giving Christ a model of the church, so in essence is presenting Christ with chora, in the physical form of a building. This does not seem to make sense, because if Christ is chora, then Metochites cannot be giving this quality to him. The epithet inscription draws attention to this, by identifying Christ as the ‘land (chora) of the living’. The fact that this inscription is a reference to Psalm 114:9 draws attention to this being a pre-existent quality of Christ, before the Incarnation even came into being.²⁹⁴ The question now is why was this epithet chosen if it invited a paradoxical reading to Metochites’ act of donation? Why was this understood as a desirable thing to do?

Because of this paradoxical interaction between Metochites and Christ, the relationship cannot be an exchange: it is instead what Frances refers to as an image about contact with the divine.²⁹⁵ Here, the two figures are united by the concept of ‘chora’, in spatial, visual and written forms. This dynamic mirrors the paradoxical nature of Byzantine donor portraiture and gift giving, in that even though it appears that an exchange is depicted, that cannot be happening. The donor portrait alone might not have been enough to ensure Metochites a place in the afterlife, as that decision is out of any mortal’s control, but instead this mosaic and its inscriptions are about commemoration and the power that comes from this. It is important to note that despite this, Metochites is not entirely without agency. Due to his depiction offering the model of the Chora Church to Christ, Metochites is presented a facilitator of Orthodoxy by his patronage. He paid for the restoration of the church, meaning that one is able to worship Christ and access Him as chora. This is reiterated throughout the mosaics on the east-west axis of the church, where the ‘Land (Chora) of the Living’ epithets are repeated with images of Christ three times, culminating at proskynetaria of the church, where one would receive the Eucharist and achieve union with Christ and God.²⁹⁶ The worshipper cannot do this without acknowledging the Metochites donor portrait. He too is helping the faithful achieve salvation.

²⁹³ For a thorough theological reading the mosaics, see A. Karahan, *Byzantine Holy Image – Transcendence and Immanence: The Theological Background of the Iconography and Aesthetics of the Chora Church* (Leuven: Peeters, 2010).

²⁹⁴ Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, p. 42. Psalm 114:9 reads, εὐαρεστήσω ἐνώπιον Κυρίου, ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντων.

²⁹⁵ Frances, *Byzantine Donor Portraits*, esp. ‘Postscript: The Problem of Terminology Again: Donor Portraits and Contact Portraits’, pp. 223-227.

²⁹⁶ Kalopissi-Verti, ‘The Proskynetaria of the Templon and Narthex’, pp. 107-132, emphasises the relationship between the narthex and proskynetaria.

As with Zoe and the Antiphonetes icon, the use of an epithet in the Metochites donor portrait cultivates an associate power of the devotee. It seems quite likely that the epithets of Christ Chora were used to create a unique Christ, one distinct to Metochites and his church.²⁹⁷ The interplay between epithets and iconographies of the Metochites and Chalkites donor portraits were essential for this to happen. Both the Chora and Chalkites epithets communicate the devotional relationships that powerful individuals were able to have with Christ. The Chalkites epithet does this by referencing the long history of imperial individuals associating themselves with the icon named as such. Furthermore, there is an anachronistic aspect of the Chalkites mosaic, which demonstrates Metochites' desire to memorialisation and commemoration. The mosaic depicts Isaac Komnenos, who was the twelfth-century patron of the Chora Church. By having his donor portrait situated so that it was viewed in relation to the Chalkites panel, Metochites invites a comparison between the two panels. The effect of this is twofold: first, his act of devotion to his own Christ, specified by means of the chora epithet, is compared to that between imperial individuals and Christ Chalkites; second, he anticipates that he will be remembered and prayed for, like Isaac, which in turn might speed up his path to salvation, according to Dimitropoulou.

This kind of connection between a patron and Christ, specified with an epithet, occurred in other instances beyond the visual arts. The place where one most frequently finds Christological epithets are in church dedications. In Raymond Janin's catalogue of Constantinopolitan churches, all 27 churches dedicated to Christ have some form of epithet, used to distinguish between them.²⁹⁸ These ecclesiastical dedications possess similar vocabularies, connotations and sources as those used to inscribe images of Christ. The reason for this emphasis on epithets for church dedications was surely a need to distinguish between all the churches dedicated to Christ, not to mention the 123 dedicated to the Mother of God, the majority of which contain an epithet, too.²⁹⁹ As with the toponymic epithets outlined in Chapter One, many of these names were not arbitrarily chosen, but stressed various qualities of Christ. The relationship between a patron and Christ would have been elaborated upon in the monasteries' *typika*. For instance, in the *typikon* for the monastery dedicated to Christ

²⁹⁷ Amongst surviving works of Byzantine art the Christological epithets appear to be unique. Lozanova 'The Church of Christ Zoodotes in Embore (Albania)', pp. 151-162, identifies an equivalent Marian epithet, but this is almost definitely a later imitation of the Constantinopolitan church.

²⁹⁸ Janin, *Les Églises et les monastères*.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

Pantokrator monastery, founded by John II Komnenos, a clause specified regular commemoration of the imperial patron, ensuring a continuous commemorative link between the emperor and Christ Pantokrator.³⁰⁰ The typikon for the Chora monastery no longer survives, but it seems very likely that it would have contained similar commemorative passages for Metochites, especially as the parekklesion was built and subsequently used for his burial place.³⁰¹

DONOR PORTRAITS AND BYZANTINE IDENTITY

So, how do the Chora Church case studies help to answer the question of why epithets were deemed as necessary in certain instances of Byzantine donor portraiture? What difference did epithets make to other images that depicted acts of devotion? A similar paradoxical logic to the Metochites donor portrait is shown in the twelfth-century wall painting in the Church of Hagios Nikolaos at Malagari near Perachora, Greece. In this painting, Christ is inscribed 'Ο Φωτοδότης (Photodotes, Light-Giver) and stands between the Mother of God and John the Baptist. To Christ's right, between Him and His mother, is a small monk who offers Christ a scroll. The monk is identified by an accompanying inscription as Dionysios Kalazoes.³⁰² As this image cannot be one of fair exchange between the monk and Christ, the epithet inscription further highlights the fact that there is an unequal power dynamic of gift-giving between the two individuals, like in the Metochites portrait. There is a common theme of donation between Kalozoes' iconography and Christ's epithet inscription. Kalaozes gives the scroll, presumably a legal document, like a monastic typikon, whereas Christ gives light, whilst offering a gesture of blessing: Christ gives mystical and metaphysical gifts at the same time as being presented with an earthly one. Despite not being an image of equal exchange, this image is about Kalozoes' desires for salvation, like Metochites' donor portrait in the Chora. His gift-giving marks him as a pious and powerful Christian, whilst Christ's epithet shows that this piety has been recognised and he will eventually receive the Light of Christ, although this should not be regarded efficacious because no mortal can interfere with God's decision making process.

³⁰⁰ A. Papalexandrou, 'The memory culture of Byzantium' in *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. L. James (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 108-22.

³⁰¹ R. Ousterhout, 'Temporal Structuring in the Chora Parekklesion', *Gesta*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (1995), pp. 63-76.

³⁰² S. Gerstel, *Rural Lives and Landscapes in Late Byzantium: Art, Archaeology, and Ethnography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 30-31.

A similar dynamic can also be identified in images without the devotee being formally visualised as a donor. In the fourteenth-century proskynetaria wall painting from the Church of the Panagia Makrini in Samos, Christ is depicted enthroned and inscribed Photodotes. The proskynetaria were spaces where Byzantine worshippers could directly interact with images of the divine, as these were spaces at floor level flanking the north and south of the apse.³⁰³ This physical interaction can be identified by the considerable wearing on the lower registers of proskynetaria wall paintings, where worshippers and kissed and touched the images. In the Panagia Makrini wall painting of Christ Photodotes, the faithful venerators themselves take the place of Kalozaes in the Saint Nicholas wall painting. Their piety is acknowledged by the epithet inscription: Christ gives light. Elsewhere, Christ is inscribed Zoodotes (Life-Giver) in the late fourteenth-, or early fifteenth-century north proskynetaria wall painting at Panagia Phaneromeni, Kastoria. Here, Christ is also depicted alone and the choice of similar epithets this shows that comparable ideas of Christ giving immaterial gifts (light and life) to the faithful happened elsewhere in ecclesiastical viewing contexts.

The idea that gift-giving between a human and Christ could not be a process of exchange must have still been evident with the other donor portraits where Christ is inscribed with epithets, but this does necessarily appear to be the primary function of the epithet, nor how it made a difference to the image. Unlike the Chora and Photodotes images, the Pantokrator, Only Begotten and the One Who Fulfills inscriptions do not comment on the process of gift-giving in the same explicit ways. Instead, these images are more about the contact and between donors and Christ and the epithets were part of the ways in which donors constructed their identities through the acts of devotion and donation.

Before outlining the ways in which these epithets affected the construction of identity in Byzantine donor portraiture, it is worth offering a definition of identity from a Byzantine devotional perspective. The concept of what it meant to be an individual in Byzantium was very different to our modern one, which is based on post-enlightenment philosophy and ideology.³⁰⁴ As this is a vast and extremely complex issue, there is no shared scholarly consensus on how the Byzantine self was constructed. However, there is a good case put forward for concept of relational identity. Ivan Drpić has succinctly defined this concept of

³⁰³ ODB, 'Proskynetaria', p. 1739.

³⁰⁴ R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and its Icons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 215-17; Drpić, 'The patron's "I"', in *Epigram, Art and Devotion*, pp. 67-117, esp. 69-71 and 98-99.

self-hood in relation to Byzantine epigrammatic poetry.³⁰⁵ He argued that Byzantine individuals' identities were constructed out of being defined as part of a lower hierarchy in relation to a greater being, out of which one would create a connection, which in turn would become an essential part of one's sense of self.³⁰⁶ This is not to say that Byzantine culture was absent of character or individuality, and one can definitively get a sense of the ego and personality of people like Metochites from his writing and patronage. However, this was not an autonomous process but a relational one. Drpić uses the Foucauldian phrase 'technologies of the self', to describe the elements of Byzantine devotional practices where identity was formulated, critically applied and performed.³⁰⁷ This term was defined by Michel Foucault as the agency an individual possessed to construct their identity and way of life, in order to achieved their desired state of being.³⁰⁸ The 'technologies' were actions and entities that the agent used in order to work towards this desired state. This Foucauldian term helps to understand how Byzantine donor portraits functioned in relation to their construction of selfhood and the effect that epithets had in this.

Donor portraits and the epithet inscriptions are examples of these 'technologies of the self', as they are instruments that informed the relational identity of their respective patrons. By having themselves depicted in the physical acts of donation or supplication, these individuals performed and constructed their identities within the Byzantine Orthodox arena of devotional practice, directed towards Christ. However, the epithets inscribed for Christ added further information and developed the devotional relationship between the donor and the divine. By specifying the identity of Christ with an epithet, the relational identity of the donor is subsequently informed and altered. This happened with Theodore Metochites and the Chora Church donor portraits. The Chalkites epithet invited the viewer to contemplate Metochites in relation to a long legacy of imperial devotion, and the Chora epithet placed him within concept of devotional patronage, as a facilitator for others to access and comprehend the divine. Other epithets need not be as specific in their reading. Take the Christ Pantokrator icon from Mount Athos, for instance. The tiny Alexios and John depicted in the frame and named by inscription are marked as subservient to the omnipotent 'All-Ruler', by the inclusion of the epithet. This is supported pictorially; they are minute, raising their hands in

³⁰⁵ Drpić, *Epigram, Art and Devotion*, pp. 67-117.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 105-107 and 116-17.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 117.

³⁰⁸ M. Foucault, *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault* (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988).

supplication and cannot even be in the same space as Christ and are relegated to the icon's frame. This use of an epithet as a 'technology' was by no means an obscure or unique construction of the self to Alexios and John, but the epithet brings this aspect of their relational identities to the forefront. These are two men who are small and insignificant in relation to the supreme and transcendent Christ, before whom they will receive judgement at the Second Coming. Furthermore, as this name was almost certainly a toponymic reference to the Pantokrator Monastery at Mount Athos, Alexios and John are placed within the communal identities of monks and worshippers there.

This way of interpreting Christ's epithets as 'technologies' shows that they could be an active and important tool in the construction of the self in later Byzantium. This of course was not restricted to donor portraits. A Byzantine viewer would presumably experience and show devotion to multiple images of Christ inscribed with epithets. Upon entering a church a viewer might see the Christ Pantokrator in the dome, Christ Antiphonetes in the proskynetaria, in exchange with the Mother of God Eleousa, a Christ Emmanuel in the drum of the dome before the apse, a crucified Christ King of Glory in an icon or on the west wall. Assuming they were read, these epithets, and the others that were outlined in Chapter One, added new sets of relationally-informed selfhoods for individuals to cultivate in Byzantine culture.

DEVOTION, IDENTITY, MEMORY, AND THE PANTEPOPTES ICON

This provides a good point to return to the Pantepoptes icon. This chapter's discussions have not necessarily revealed any specific information regarding the icon's original devotion context, but that was not the objective. The question is, how have the above sections' discussions of the different functions and uses of Christ's epithets in Byzantine devotion provided an interpretation of the Pantepoptes icon?

In terms of construction of identity, the multiple epithets for Christ inscribed on the icon are all evidence of multiple technologies of identity that were functioning in the same space, all of which would have informed the viewer's construction of their selfhood. Christ Pantepoptes would function similarly to the Mount Athos Pantokrator icon, and would establish the devotee's subservience to Christ as a powerful and transcendental being. The outer epithets of Emmanuel and Nika would call them to consider the role that Christ as the Incarnation

(Emmanuel as ‘God with us’) had in achieving their place in the afterlife. These thoughts are further invited by the Nika epithets, which instruct that Christ will conquer death for the faithful. In fact, devotional identity is an important iconographic theme in the outer plaques of the Pantepoptes icon, where Christ inscribed as either Emmanuel or Nika is shown in blessing eleven groups of prophets, Church Fathers and saints. In Chapter Four I shall use this chapter’s discussions of devotional identity in order to answer why the same iconography for Christ could be inscribed differently in relation to these different groups.

The lack of contextual information is still frustrating for understanding the specifics of the devotional function of the Pantepoptes icon. Without knowing who viewed and used the icon, where and when, it is not possible to posit that the Pantepoptes, Emmanuel and Nika inscriptions were used as part of a cultivation of associative on the part of the patron and/or devotee. It is important, however, to remember that this might have been the case for the icon, and it was an important line of argument to understand the specific use for examples with case studies where more concrete contextual information is known, such as Zoe’s Christ Antiphonetes and Theodore Metochites’ Christ in the Land (Chora) of the Living.

So, Christ’s epithets in art were used as important tools for the construction of the self in Byzantine devotion. This happened through the marking the relationship between the individual and Christ as special, which could take on a function of bolstering the identity and status of the devotee. More broadly speaking, by identifying Christ’s relationship with a devotee, epithet inscriptions acted as technologies through which individuals created their selfhoods. If so, the Pantepoptes icon’s reception of different epithets and iconographies would make establishing the identity of the viewer one of its primary functions. The viewer is invited to compare themselves to groups like the prophets, Church Fathers and saints who have achieved salvation, so that they might be saved like the three Hebrew children in the final plaque. This provides that good link to the intentions of donor portraits: there was a shared soteriological function between these types of image and the Pantepoptes icon.

This chapter has argued that when an image of Christ was inscribed with an epithet, certain power structures such as patronage and devotion were manipulated. With the Zoe and the Antiphonetes icon, the meaning of the epithet might not always have been as significant as initially thought. What did matter however, was that a faithful patron could cultivate a public and special relationship with Christ by inscribing Him with an epithet, thus creating a specific

associative power. Another construct of devotional power can be identified in Byzantine portraiture. Here, epithets commented on the relationships that donors were able to have with Christ because of their gift giving, whilst occasionally also drawing attention to the paradoxes embodied in their iconographies. Ultimately, by specifying the identity of Christ with an epithet, the identity of a donor or devotee was informed, and was part of a much wider network of concepts and structures, by which one would construct their sense of self and ultimately achieve salvation.

So far, my thesis has answered three main aspects of my key research question: what difference does it make to an object when an image of Christ is inscribed with an epithet, rather than just IC XC? Chapter One showed that inclusion of epithet inscriptions meant that the objects were part of a conceptually-linked group, within which there was considerable diversity, in terms of the epithets' meanings, sources and connotations, but also iconography, medium, geography and date. Chapter Two outlined and analysed the ways in which inscriptions affected how the objects would have been understood. By placing Christ's epithet inscriptions within the wider context of Byzantine naming inscriptions, I showed that the former would not have been conceived as objective entities but as something ideologically, philosophically and theologically informed. This was because of the perceived relationship between a subject and its name, which took on particular significance in post-iconoclastic Byzantium because of the specific relationship between Christ's image, written name and their shared prototype. Chapter Three shifted the emphasis from understanding to usage. Here, I outlined the ways in which epithets contributed to various aspects of Byzantine devotional, social and political identities. Now, this thesis will turn its focus to the meaning of images. In Chapter Four, I am going to ask what different epithets made to the iconographies of Christ they inscribe and what this tells us as modern viewers about how the Byzantines perceived text and image to interrelate.

CHAPTER FOUR: ICONOGRAPHY

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the relationship between epithets and iconography. I shall argue that epithets affected the meanings of the images of Christ that they inscribe and vice-versa. Byzantine iconography is known for the multivalence of its iconography, but in this chapter I shall show that epithets sought to restrict this. The inscriptions acted as an ‘anchor’ for meaning and therefore pre-determined the understanding of the object on which the image was displayed. Furthermore, I shall argue that modern approaches to understanding iconographies in relation to epithets are unhelpful and have hindered scholars from properly understanding the role that epithets played in the construction of meaning.

In the Introduction and Chapter One, I identified that there was a complex relationship between epithets and iconography: the same iconography of Christ could be inscribed with different epithets and the same epithets could inscribe different iconographies. This poses some complex questions concerning the role that epithets had in the construction of meaning of images. It also reveals flaws in the assumed relationship between certain epithets and iconographies of Christ. For instance, the young Christ is ubiquitously referred to in scholarship as ‘Emmanuel’ whether inscribed or not. Chapter One showed that there were instances where Emmanuel was inscribed on images other than ones of the young Christ. This relationship between text and image opens up a series of questions concerning the effect that epithets had on the iconographies they inscribe and vice-versa: in what ways did Emmanuel contribute to the meaning of the iconography of the young and adult Christ? Was it different or similar? And what does this reveal about the way that epithets could manipulate and control images’ meanings? Furthermore, the dynamic can be reversed. Chapter One identified that the same iconography could have different names. What are the relationships between epithets and images, here? Did these images have perceived fixed meanings for the Byzantines? If so, how did different epithets affect this?

In this Chapter, I shall answer these questions by initially looking at case studies where the same iconography is used for different epithets, then I shall reverse the emphasis and examine instances where the same epithets are inscribed for different iconographies. Here, I shall criticise the concept of the iconographic ‘type’ in Byzantine art scholarship, as this hampers a full understanding of the ways that images and epithets came together to create distinct sets of meaning. To this end, I shall start with the Pantepoptes icon.

SAME ICONOGRAPHY, DIFFERENT EPITHET: THE PANTEOPTES ICON

A modern view of the relationship between art and title – albeit a simple one – is one of image and caption.³⁰⁹ Here, the visual and the verbal work together for the same effect: the caption explains the image and vice versa. This modern approach to naming images was apparently not used by the Byzantines. Inscribed titles are common for Byzantine works of art, as can be seen on the twelve differently inscribed Christological scenes on the Pantepoptes icon. However, actual titles for objects or images appear less common. Shorthand titles such as ‘the Pantepoptes icon’ are modern inventions. Here, an inscription that describes the image of Christ is conflated with ‘proper name’ for the icon. It is unlikely that the icon actually had a single ‘correct’ name. In doing so it implies that the epithet inscription explained the icon’s fixed meaning and function to a Byzantine viewer: the epithet tells us what this image of Christ is ‘about’, with some sort of intrinsic meaning encoded in the iconography.³¹⁰ For instance, the enthroned Christ in the Pantepoptes icon is inscribed as Pantepoptes because it is an image of power and authority. But this approach is not sufficient to explain what happens when the same image has different titles, such as the enthroned Christ Eleemon on the Oxford MS [Figure 71]: how is meaning constructed then?

The enthroned Christ on the Pantepoptes icon is one a number of ways in which it is possible to identify ways that His inscriptions serve a function beyond that of a modern title. On the outer plaques, there are eleven identical images that show a youthful Christ in a bust with both arms outstretched above different groups consisting of prophets, apostles, Church Fathers and saints. Despite this iconographic homogeneity these Christs are inscribed in three different ways: IC XC O EMMANOYHA (O Emmanuel, God with us) on six occasions; IC XC NIKA (Nika, Conquer(s)) on three occasions; IC XC twice.³¹¹ Just identifying that the same image could be inscribed in three different ways on the same object shows either that Christ’s epithets upset a simple image-caption relationship, or that the Byzantines had no issue with alike images named three different ways. A similar relationship can be observed

³⁰⁹ L. James, ‘Introduction: Art and Text in Byzantium’, in *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, ed. Liz James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 6-7. For a more general discussion of the relationship between art and titles see J. C. Welchman, *Invisible Colors: A Visual History of Titles* (London and New York: Yale University Press, 1997).

³¹⁰ For a good overview of Byzantine iconography see K. Corrigan, ‘Iconography’, *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. E. Jefferys, J. Haldon and R. Cormack (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 67-76.

³¹¹ Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, pp. 230-233.

with Marian images and epithets, with the so-called iconographic ‘type’ of the Hodegetria also inscribed with titles such as Psychosostria.³¹² This trend of images of Christ being inscribed with different epithets was a relatively frequent occurrence, as I showed in Chapter One, meaning that the Byzantines apparently took no issue with inscribing the same images with different names.

In the central plaque, there is an image of the enthroned adult Christ inscribed IC XC O ΠΑΝΤΕΠΟΠΤΗΣ (O Pantepoptes, the All-Seeing). Although this is the only depiction of the enthroned Christ on the object, it is not the only image of its kind in Byzantine art and not the only one inscribed with an epithet. Surviving images of the enthroned Christ have been inscribed with the following: Ancient of Days; Eleemon (Merciful); Emmanuel; Hyperagathos (Supremely Good); Land of the Living; Pantokrator (All-Ruler); Photodotes (Light-Giver); Terrible Judge; and Zoodotes (Life-Giver).³¹³ The fact that identical or very similar images of Christ were inscribed with different epithets with various meanings in both the same and different objects surely reveals that Byzantines engaged with and perceived these iconographies and objects in a multitude of ways. The image-caption relationship here is not straightforward and needs further investigating. How can the ‘same’ image have so many different identifying labels? Because of this, it must be asked in what ways were art and text perceived to interact in Byzantium that allowed this to happen and what does this tell us about how epithets affected the meanings of different Christological iconographies?

In order to answer the question of how Christ’s epithets affected the meanings of the iconographies on the Pantepoptes icon, it needs to be asked whether certain images were understood to possess fixed or single meanings in Byzantine culture. In Chapter One, I outlined the straight-forward definitions of Emmanuel and Nika. However, I have not quantified their iconographies in the same way. It is rather difficult to give a precise definition to an image. This question of the meanings of images is an important one to flag, because it will be essential when asking what effect epithets had on them. For instance, it is difficult to give an exact definition for the image of the enthroned Christ. This is because iconographies are prone to subtle variation: Christ’s pose varies, as does the type of throne on which He sits, is sometimes alone, other times He is flanked by figures like the Mother of

³¹² Evans, *Byzantium*, cat. 153, pp. 255-56.

³¹³ See Appendix.

God and John the Baptist. These slight variations all inform the ‘meaning’ of the iconography of the enthroned Christ in different ways. Furthermore, when we place a definition on an image, the mode of communication changes. It becomes something verbal rather than visual, and this is not a clear-cut process and there is not an exact translation between the two.³¹⁴

This chapter will initially ask what the image of the youthful Christ might have meant in Byzantium in order to apply this to the Pantepoptes icon. I shall then consider how the Emmanuel and Nika epithets affected this, as well as the depictions of various choirs of holy individuals that are also depicted on the outer frames of the Pantepoptes icon. This chapter will then go on to consider the role these combinations of image and text had in the overall function of the Pantepoptes icon. The purpose of this is to show that epithets can nuance and better the modern understanding of Byzantine images, onto which specific and fixed meanings have been erroneously attached.

MEANING AND THE YOUTHFUL CHRIST

Cecily Hennessy roughly categorised three groupings of images of the youthful Christ in Byzantine art: narrative images which depicted the infancy of Christ; iconic images, namely those with the Mother of God; symbolic images, where He is often shown alone as a conceptual entity, which Hennessy referred to as ‘Christ Emmanuel.’³¹⁵ The Pantepoptes icon’s young Christs adhere to Hennessy’s final group. In the framing plaques Christ is depicted in bust form, an example of conceptualised space, which could be likened to a mandorla or medallion, which Hennessy argues is a defining characteristic feature of ‘symbolic’ representations.³¹⁶ Aside from Christ blessing the various groups of holy figures, it is not clear exactly what is happening in these images. There is no sense of narrative or a distinct reference point. The spaces depicted are conceptual or symbolic, unlike the specific narrative scenes which flank the enthroned Christ in the central plaque. It needs to be outlined what this broad iconographic category of ‘symbolic’ youthful Christs stood for in the Byzantine context and how the Pantepoptes icon’s iconographies fit within this framework. After doing this, I shall be able ask how the Emmanuel and Nika epithets affected their accompanying iconographies.

³¹⁴ An excellent starter for image-text relations is R. Barthes, ‘Rhetoric of the Image’, in *Image Music Text* ed. and trans. S. Heath (London, 1977).

³¹⁵ C. Hennessy, *Images of Children in Byzantium* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), p. 179.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.

Even within the group of ‘symbolic’ representations, there were iconographic variations and it seems that these possessed different meanings and functions for Byzantine viewers. In terms of physiognomy, the symbolic youthful Christ could possess physical attributes that would be more traditionally associated with an older male, such as exaggerated facial features and a receding hairline. This conflation of physiognomies was perhaps an effort to invest the infantile image of Christ with a degree of wisdom. This reading of the image is further emphasised by the young Christ’s frequent holding of a scroll, a symbol of knowledge and closely associated with wisdom.³¹⁷ The symbolic youthful Christ could also be shown as part of a trio of Christs, as in the Gospel Book, Paris Gr. 74, and the vault wall paintings of Hagios Stephanos, Kastoria, where He was shown as youthful, adult and old, side-by-side in order to make a statement about the Word (Logos) of God become flesh, as well as commenting on Christ’s unique relationship with time. In both instances, epithets were also used to stress the different type of Christ represented: Ancient of Days and Emmanuel in Paris Gr. 74; and Ancient of Days, Emmanuel and Pantokrator in Hagios Stephanos.³¹⁸

In the case of the Pantepoptes icon, there might have been an effort to invest the young Christs with adult physiognomies. However, it is hard to decipher the exact detailing because of the extremely small scale of the relief carving, with each plaque measuring only 3.5 x 2.7 cm. This being said, the young Christs do not seem to be infantile. Christ appears independently from His mother and assertively outstretches His arms above the choirs of prophets and saints. His arms are certainly longer than that of a typical infant and this pose could possibly be a reference to Crucifixion iconography.³¹⁹ None of the representations hold a book or scroll. This is a non-narrative space and each scene is distinguished by the choirs of individuals that are being blessed by Christ.

It is the groups of prophets, Church Fathers and saints that create distinctions between each of the panels and upset the argument that all of the young Christs on the outer plaques are

³¹⁷ Hennessy, *Images of Children in Byzantium*, p. 209, for the physiognomy of the Christ child.

³¹⁸ Corrigan, ‘Visualising the Divine’, pp. 286-303; G. Krahling McKay, ‘The Eastern Christian Exegetical Tradition of Daniel’s Vision of the Ancient of Days’, *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 7 (1999), pp. 139–61; G. Krahling McKay, ‘Illustrating the Gospel of John: The Exegesis of John Chrysostom and Images of the Ancient of Days in Eleventh-Century Byzantine Manuscripts’, *Studies in Iconography*, 31 (2010), pp. 51–68; Pelekanidis, and Chatzidakis, Manolis, *Kastoria*, pp. 6-21, esp. p. 11 and p. 21; Tsuji ‘The Headpiece Miniatures and Genealogy Pictures in Paris. Gr. 74’, pp. 165-203.

³¹⁹ Thank you, Rachel Huckstep, for this observation.

identical. The Emmanuel and Nika epithets appear to be dispersed in relation to these groups and it is now possible to answer how these inscriptions affected these images. The top six images of the outer frame are inscribed Emmanuel and the choirs beneath these young Christs consist of four panels depicting Old Testament prophets on the top row and on the row beneath, there are two panels depicting the twelve apostles.³²⁰ On the row below these are the two Christs inscribed Nika. In these panels, Christ blesses two groups identified by inscription as Church Fathers. On the bottom row of panels the following are represented: Christ inscribed IC XC with Saints Constantine and Helena; Christ inscribed IC XC Nika with three military saints; Christ inscribed IC XC Nika with three medical saints; a representation of the Old Testament story of three Hebrews being rescued from a furnace by an angel.³²¹

In all the Pantepoptes icon's panels where Christ is inscribed Emmanuel, biblical figures are depicted beneath. This accords with the source of Emmanuel as a name, which was prophesised in the Old Testament in Isaiah 7:14 and was referenced again in the New Testament in Matthew 1:22-23. In the introduction to this thesis I argued that the Pantepoptes icon was distinctly Christological in character, as demonstrated by its Christocentric inscriptions and iconographies. The image-text relations in the top six framing panels are just one aspect of this. These panels are clearly what Rossitza B. Schroeder referred to as images of 'God with us (Emmanuel)' in her study of depictions of the young Christ in Byzantine church painting.³²² The Emmanuel inscription and youthful Christ who blesses the choirs connects the Old Testament figures who prophesised and prefigured the Incarnation, to the New Testament apostles who witnessed and recorded it. Here, the young Christ inscribed Emmanuel comments on the process of the Incarnation coming the process of the Incarnation (God becoming man) coming into being and the relationship that individuals from the New and Old Testaments had with it. Here, the iconography of the young Christ is symbolic, as it not making a temporally-specific point, but represents the liminality of the Incarnation, the moment of it coming into being between the Old and New Testaments. The Emmanuel inscription serves this function, too, having two biblical reference points and which stress the moment of God becoming human.

³²⁰ Evans, *Byzantium*, pp. 235-236, Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, pp. 230-233.

³²¹ Daniel 3, for the Old Testament passage. For its depiction in Early Byzantine art, see K. Corrigan, 'The Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace: An Early Byzantine Icon at Mt. Sinai', in *Anathēmata Eoritka: Studies in Honor of Thomas F. Mathews*, ed. J. D. Alcherms (Mainz, 2009), pp. 91-101.

³²² R. B. Schroeder, 'Images of Christ in Karanlık Kilise', *Studies in Iconography*, Vol. 29 (2008), pp. 23-54.

So, image-text relations are relatively straightforward in the top six panels. Emmanuel textually refers to the Incarnation, the young Christ is the visual form of this taking place and the choirs below have different but complementary relation to its coming into being. Nika, however, cannot be as easily explained. There is no immediately obvious and all-encompassing interpretation that would connect the inscription, the Early Church Fathers and Saints. Furthermore, there are no other surviving instances where this inscription is used against a young Christ or even another figurative representation. To address this issue, I shall consider the idiosyncratic nature of Nika as an inscription, its uses in other Byzantine art and ultimately the ways in which it complements and informs the other iconographies and inscriptions it accompanies in the Pantepoptes icon.

ICONOGRAPHIC USES OF IC XC NIKA

Despite the Pantepoptes icon being the only object in which Nika was inscribed for images of Christ, the inscription was far more frequently inscribed against images of the cruciform in Byzantine art.³²³ Christopher Walter argued that the meaning of IC XC NIKA (Jesus Christ Conquers) was very much tied up with the potent symbolism of the cross in Byzantine Orthodox faith.³²⁴ He argued that this combination of image and text might have originally been a symbol of imperial and military power, using the 'discreet' image of the cross to refer to Christ proper.³²⁵ This discretion might have been seen as necessary because of Christ's formal image being a point of contention during the Iconoclastic crises during the eighth and ninth centuries. However, there appeared to have been a shift in the function of the IC XC NIKA with images of the cross during Middle and Late Byzantium. In these years, the symbol gained a perceived apotropaic function, utilising the belief established in the Early Christian period that the cross had the power to repel demons.³²⁶ The inscription IC XC NIKA together with the symbol of the cross, created an active and powerful magic image which was utilised across religious artistic media.

³²³ Walter, 'IC XC NI KA', pp. 193-220, surveys literature on this inscription; the cited most important studies on the topic as G. Babić, 'Les croix à cryptogrammes peintes dans les églises serbes des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles', in *Mélanges Ivan Dujčev, Études de civilisation*, ed. S. Dufrenne (Paris, 1979), pp. 1-13, looks at Serbian uses of cryptograms and Frolow, 'IC XC NI KA', pp. 98-113.

³²⁴ Walter, 'IC XC NIKA', pp. 193-220.

³²⁵ Ibid., p. 214.

³²⁶ Ibid. pp. 212-213.

What is problematic here, if Walter is right, is that the cross itself is notably absent from all the Nika panels on the Pantepoptes icon and, even more perplexingly, that the Nika epithet is not used to inscribe Christ in the Constantine and Helena panel, where a cross is held by the two saints. Walter's thoughts on the later Byzantine apotropaic function of the IC XC NIKA inscription cannot be easily applied to the Pantepoptes icon, as his argument hinged on the perceived function of the image of the cross. It would be tempting to simply apply Walter's reading to the Nika panels, arguing that the viewer would have readily associated the inscription with a magical function, even when removed from the iconography of the cross, as it is in this context. However, this analysis is lazy. It sets up Nika panels as derivative images and presupposes a level of knowledge from the viewer, which cannot be known for certain. Instead, the Nika panels' combination of image and text should be viewed as a conscious decision to create a different signifying system from that of Nika and the cross. So, how does this epithet inform the meaning of the young Christ and the Pantepoptes icon?

The answer to this lies with the temporal structuring of the Pantepoptes icon's images and the Nika inscription. I have already identified how the use of the Emmanuel inscription, coupled with the young Christ and Old and New Testament figures made a Christological statement about the Incarnation coming into being. The choirs beneath the Nika and IC XC panels of the icon also progress chronologically. From top to bottom, the icon progresses from Old to New Testament, to Early Christian saints, three groups of which are below Christ Nika. The twelfth and final panel goes back to the Old Testament (Daniel 3), depicting the three Hebrews being rescued by an angel from a furnace. This final image, depicting an Old Testament story of divine intervention, was understood as a prefiguration of Christ's salvation of humanity. Like the faithful three Hebrews who refused to worship an idolatrous image of King Nebuchadnezzar, pious Christians will be too be saved. This image was used as a typological reference to the New Testament from the Early Christian onwards.³²⁷ This emphasis on time also occurs with the Nika epithets and this connection establishes how the epithets affect the images' meaning.

³²⁷ Corrigan, 'The Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace', pp. 91–101. For a connection between the Three Hebrews iconography and early depiction of the crucifixion see A. Everingham Sheckler, and M. J. Winn Leith, 'The Crucifixion Conundrum and the Santa Sabina Doors', *The Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. 103 (2010), pp. 67–88.

Nika is not strictly an epithet, as it does not possess a definite article. Furthermore, unlike all other proper epithets, which are nouns, Nika is a verb. 'Nika' ('Conquers') is in the indicative mood, which is a distinct verbal form used to express fact in Greek, where both time and aspect were communicated simultaneously.³²⁸

So, with IC XC NIKA (Jesus Christ Conquers), there is a statement of objective truth written in a present and continuous verbal form. Despite being a noun given in the Greek nominative case, the Emmanuel inscription also possessed some adjectival content, being a transliteration of the Hebrew עִמָּנוּאֵל (Immanuel, 'God with us').

There is shared emphasis on temporality between both the iconographies and naming inscriptions on the outer plaques. The epithet inscriptions are present and continuous whereas the iconographies progress chronologically until the Three Hebrews panel, which returns to the Old Testament and the inscriptions all make reference to time with their verbal form or biblical reference points.

In terms of this temporal emphasis, how does the Nika inscription affect the meaning of these images? In a compelling aspect of Walter's argument, the verbal force of Nika translated into its apotropaic function: the image of the cross stands in for Christ; the Nika inscription informs the viewer of His active and continuous conquering presence; and the apotropaic function was the fully realised proof of this.³²⁹ Although the dynamic in the Nika panels in the Pantepoptes icon is different, a similar framework hinging on the verbal force of Nika and closely related to Emmanuel can be proposed. The relationship that Christ has with the choirs beneath changes from the biblical figures on the top six panels to the Early Christian ones below, as indicated by the different epithets and the reason for this their respective relationships with salvation, a theme typified in the Three Hebrews panel.

Throughout this section, I have used the phrase 'Early Christian' to describe the Church Fathers and saints. However, in the context of Christ Himself, they are also post-Crucifixion groups of individuals, and this slight shift in emphasis helps to make sense of the Nika inscriptions. This is an icon centred on the concepts of time and salvation in relation to Christ

³²⁸ The indicative mood is a simple objective expression of fact.

³²⁹ Walter, 'IC XC NI KA', p. 214.

as the Incarnation. This means that the Nika inscriptions above the Church Fathers and Military Saints could be seen as the promise for eternal salvation ensured by Christ's life and death: after His crucifixion, Jesus Christ Conquers death so that the pious can achieve salvation. In turn, this means promised salvation for the faithful viewer of the Pantepoptes icon. This is how the epithet changes the meaning of the young Christ: He is specifically 'Jesus Christ Conquers' for the Church Fathers and saints, and for the viewer of the icon. This denies the image its multivalence, pinning down the way it functioned.

This interpretation of the effect of the Nika epithets accords with Schroeder's soteriological and triumphal interpretation of the young Christ, where his image could be perceived as the sacrificial victim who ensured salvation for humanity.³³⁰ Schroeder based her argument on the relationship between two images of Christ in liturgical space, which can be translated into the iconography and epithets of the Pantepoptes icon. The young Christ in Karanlık Kilise, Cappadocia, is displayed in the drum below the dome of the church. Within the dome, in the cupola, there is a painting of the Christ 'Pantokrator' (not inscribed as such). The dialogue between these two images is one where the Logos became flesh (Christ Child) in order to ensure salvation for humanity and become the King of Heaven ('Pantokrator').³³¹ A very similar dialogue exists in the Pantepoptes icon, where in the central image of the central plaque, there is an image of an authoritative enthroned Christ, highlighted by means of His epithet (Pantepoptes, All-Seeing). This is the ultimate Christ in the centre, He is flanked by Christological scenes, which record the events by which salvation was ultimately ensured.

So, the Emmanuel and Nika epithet inscriptions on the outer framing panels are testament to the ways which the same image could be perceived and function differently in a Byzantine context: the Incarnate Logos who was 'God with us' and an image of perpetual salvation, 'Jesus Christ conquers'. Of course, these two could have crossed over and were by no means mutually exclusive, but the inscriptions highlight the most important way of perceiving both images in their given contexts (i.e. because of the choir depicted beneath and their different temporal relationship with Christ).

³³⁰ Schroeder, 'Images of Christ in Karanlık Kilise', pp. 33-38.

³³¹ Ibid., pp. 28-33, for a critical re-evaluation of the distinction between the title and the image 'Pantokrator' see Matthews, 'The Byzantine Use of the Title Pantocrator', pp. 442-62.

It is worth mentioning here that the different choirs of saints and prophets depicted below the images of Christ would have added a further specific function to the individual panels. We do not know anything specific about how the object was used, however the inclusion of Old Testament Prophets, Christ's apostles, military saints, medical saints (anargyroi) and Constantine and Helena might very well imply that icon could be used in a number of ways. A Byzantine viewer could take their pick of which group of saints they could pray to for intercession: Constantine or Helena on their feast days; medical saints for healing; military saints for protection. This, along with the same images of Christ inscribed with different names, show that that it is difficult to pin down an exact meaning or function from the icon from its iconographies and inscriptions. This lack of a single, specific meaning was not necessarily a quality specific to the Pantepoptes icon. It accords with Annemarie Weyl Carr's comments concerning another object with a similarly complex iconography. An icon of the Enthroned Mother of God flanked by various saints and prophets, c. 1080-1130, makes reference to Old and New Testaments and Marian theologies through its images and inscriptions and Weyl Carr stated that no scholars have 'begun to exhaust the associative meanings that the image evokes. This is what icons are for: they open up the meaning of their subjects; they don't tie it down.'³³² The same can certainly be said of the complexities of the Pantepoptes icon.

It is undeniably intriguing that Constantine and Helena's Christ is inscribed IC XC without NIKA. I cannot offer a solution for this. The only interpretation I would posit is one of logistics. It might have been the case that there would not have been space to inscribe Nika two more times without compromising the naming inscriptions of the choirs below, which were required for identification purposes. IC XC was all that was needed for Christ in non-narrative Byzantine art and the epithets – although important – were by no means fundamental for the viewing experience of the young Christ's image.³³³

This interpretation of the images of the young Christ Emmanuel and Nika has been very much centred on the Pantepoptes icon itself. It was because the icon displayed two very

³³² Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 372.

³³³ For the consistency and function of naming practices in iconic images of Christ in post-iconoclastic Byzantine art see Boston, 'The Power of Inscriptions and the Trouble with Texts', pp. 35–51, for the Mother of God see I. Kalavrezou, 'Images of the Mother: When the Virgin Mary Became Meter Theou', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 44 (1990), pp. 165–68; for saints see H. Maguire, 'Naming and Individuality', in *The Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 100–106.

similar images inscribed differently, which invited direct comparison. This chapter will now use another instance where the same iconography is inscribed with different epithets. The purpose of this will be to see whether the epithets affect the meaning of other iconographies in the same way. This section will examine the image of the enthroned Christ inscribed Pantepoptes using a similar framework to that which was used to analyse the youthful Christs. Starting with the image itself, I shall investigate how the Byzantines perceived the meaning of this image, before comparing this interpretation with the epithets used to inscribe the enthroned Christ. Were these also images where their multivalence is denied and a specific meaning and function is anchored by means of an epithet?

THE ENTHRONED CHRIST

There has been no comprehensive study of the perceived meaning of the enthroned Christ in Byzantine art. Instead, scholarship has attempted to trace the roots of the iconography back to Antiquity, where it seems that Early Christian depictions of Christ sat on a lyre-backed throne derived from representations of Orpheus.³³⁴ Because of this lack of emphasis on meaning it is necessary to propose an interpretive framework for the enthroned Christ iconography, as this will be needed in order to analyse how epithets affected its meaning.³³⁵ Like the image of the Christ Child, the enthroned Christ was not a single fixed entity and should not be considered as a strict iconographic type. Images of the enthroned Christ possessed subtle iconographic variations which would have very likely resulted in different perceptions and functions of the images. For instance, Christ Pantepoptes is depicted alone in the central panel of the steatite icon, He sits on a high-backed throne, with His right hand held directly in front of His body in a gesture of blessing and holds an open gospel book in His left, which contains a passage from John 8:12. On the other hand, the early fourteenth-century mosaic of the enthroned Christ Hyperagathos (Supremely Good) in the Pammakaristos parekklesion, Constantinople, possessed a different iconography.³³⁶ The Christ Hyperagathos sits on a low-backed throne,

³³⁴ M. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th – 15th Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 164, gives a good literature review. A Cutler, *Transfigurations. Studies in the Dynamics of Byzantine Iconography* (Baltimore: University Park, 1975), pp. 5-52 and J.D. Breckenridge, 'Christ on the Lyre-Backed Throne', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 34-35 (1980/81), pp. 247-260.

³³⁵ 'Majestas Domini' pp. 1269-70, however this iconography is evocative of a throne, but does not actually depict one. The interpretation of this iconography is primarily eschatological rather than imperial/regal and will not be examined in this section.

³³⁶ Mouriki, 'The Iconography of the Mosaics', pp. 47-73, for Christ Hyperagathos and the Deesis see pp. 54-58 and pp. 69-73.

His right arm extends away from His body to the side in a gesture of blessing and His left hand holds a closed gospel book. Details such as the type of throne on which Christ sits would have been understood differently by Byzantine audiences, and small details such as Christ's pose might have invited specific interpretations. For instance, Christ Hyperagathos' outstretched arm might have invited an eschatological-soteriological reading for this image, as similar poses are used in Byzantine Last Judgement and Ascension scenes. The question is, how did the addition of epithets such as Pantepoptes and Hyperagathos affect what these images were perceived to mean?

As identified in the previous section, the wider iconographic schema of the Pantepoptes icon interacted to create an object whose imagery was centred around concepts of temporality, salvation and the Incarnation. Here, epithets were used to stress different qualities of the prototype, in order to contribute to this interpretation. Similarly, the Christ Hyperagathos also interacted with its accompanying iconography. The Christ Hyperagathos was immediately flanked by representations of the Mother of God and John the Baptist on the bema, as well as representations of the four archangels on the vault. This, along with the fact that the parekklesion served the function of a funerary chapel for Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes, would have suggested that the Christ Hyperagathos would have possessed some sort of intercessory and eschatological function.³³⁷ This function is essential to understand the way in which Hyperagathos contributed to the image's meaning: Christ is both supreme and benevolent; He has the power and authority to grant places in heaven, and His goodness means that He will.

Just from comparing these two enthroned Christs it is clear that two iconographically similar images could possess different functions, and it is therefore not surprising that two different epithets were employed to establish each distinct function. However, the material research for this study found seventeen enthroned Christs inscribed with ten different epithets with various meanings and sources, containing biblical and topographic references, and stressing benevolent, soteriological, supreme and transcendent characteristics.³³⁸ It is quite obvious that these different epithets would have significantly affected the meaning of this

³³⁷ C. Mango, 'The Monument and Its History', in *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul*, by H. Belting, C. Mango, and D. Mouriki (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1978), pp. 11-25.

³³⁸ Enthroned images of Christ are inscribed Ancient of Days, Eleemon, Emmanuel, Hyperagathos, King of Glory, Land of the Living, Pantepoptes, Pantokrator, Photodotes, Terrible Judge and Zoodotes.

iconography. The question now is how and why did this happen and what does this reveal about the ways the Byzantines perceived image and text to interrelate. To do this, it is necessary to get a better grounding of the usage of the specific meaning of the Christ iconography in order to see whether this informs why it was inscribed with such diverse epithets in Middle and Late Byzantium and what effect these had.

The image of the enthroned Christ was used in art from the Early Christian period onwards, to establish Him as a figure of power and authority, as well as establishing Him as King of Heaven. The motif of an individual seated on a throne to establish authority had roots in the pre-Christian era, namely in Roman imperial and pagan art. Representations of the emperor would frequently show Him enthroned, as would have been the case with the early fourth-century colossal statue of Constantine the Great, now in fragments at the Capitoline Museum, Rome. However, Thomas F. Mathews pointed out there was a consistent gap in the types of throne used to depict emperors and deities, with the former exclusively using a backless seat known as a *sella curulis* and the latter an elaborate high-backed throne.³³⁹ This evocative iconography was translated into a Christian context in Late Antiquity. In the late fourth or early fifth-century apse mosaic of Santa Pudenziana, Christ is shown sat on a jewel-encrusted high-backed throne accompanied by His apostles and two women, who might be personifications of the Churches of the Jews and the Gentiles.³⁴⁰ In this mosaic the motif of the throne is used to establish a hierarchy within the iconographic scheme, building on already established Roman iconographies associated with power, divinity and teaching. This throne and an enthroned individual would have been understood as a universal symbol of power and authority with a religious reading, and within this new Christian context and through visual means it established Christ as more important than those who accompany Him and within the context of this mosaic Christ is King of Heaven, one with God. This was a potent symbol and was subsequently used for depictions of Christ and the Mother of God in art throughout the course of the development of Christian iconography.

There is no good reason for the same meaning of the enthroned Christ to continue from Late Antiquity into Middle and Late Byzantium, especially if we are to believe the scholarly view

³³⁹ T. F. Mathews, *The Clash of the Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*, Revised Edition (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 98-114, argues for a reinterpretation of the origins and meaning of the enthroned Christ in Early Christian art, focusing on the Santa Pudenziana apse mosaic, pp 100-1 offers a brief but good overview of previous scholarship on the iconography.

³⁴⁰ James, *Mosaics in the Medieval World*, p. 171-72.

that the Byzantine iconography lyre-backed throne for Christ was derived from representations of Orpheus. So, if the image of the enthroned Christ is accepted as a symbol of power and authority, then surely it would make sense for epithets that stress supremacy and transcendence to be the most frequently inscribed against this type of Christ. This, however, is not necessarily the case. Indeed, epithets that stressed Christ's supremacy and transcendence were used to inscribe enthroned images (Hyperagathos (Supremely Good); Pantepoptes (All-Seeing); Pantokrator (All-Ruler); Phoberos Kritis (Terrible Judge)). However, other epithets with very different meanings, and therefore likely different functions, were inscribed too (Ancient of Days; Eleemon (Merciful); Emmanuel; Evergetes (Benefactor); Land of the Living; Photodotes (Light-Giver); Zoodotes (Life-Giver): how do these very different epithets affect the meaning of the enthroned Christ iconography?

The first set of images, such as the Christ Pantepoptes and Hyperagathos, are the most straightforward to explain. However, there is still a nuanced relationship between epithet and iconography. If an iconography and epithet had a simple image-caption relationship, where verbal illustrates the visual, then the most obvious epithets to inscribe this would be names with direct imperial and royal connotations, like King of Glory, for instance. However, aside from an image referred to as Christ 'in Majesty' – where Christ sits on a rainbow not a throne – King of Glory is not used to inscribe any surviving enthroned images. Both Pantokrator (All-Ruler) and Terrible Judge do contain reference to positions of power and authority; however, these only make up three examples out of 17. Furthermore, only two out of 21 images inscribed Pantokrator are enthroned, whereas the other examples possess different iconographies, with less explicit visual references to power to modern eyes.³⁴¹ The Christs inscribed Hyperagathos, Pantepoptes and Terrible Judge are the only surviving examples of their respective epithet. These epithets, in relation to enthroned Christs, seem to possess a complementary relationship. Here, image and text work together for a similar means, to create an image about Christ's authority where different elements are stressed, be it His judicial role or His transcendental power to see and rule over everything.

The situation with the remaining epithets is more complex. There are epithets that stress different aspects of Christ's activity and character and do not possess a meaning concerning

³⁴¹ Timken Matthews, 'The Byzantine Use of the Title Pantocrator', pp. 442–62, contains a survey of images of Christ inscribed with Pantokrator as an epithet, which I have expanded upon in my database.

authority or power: how do epithets inform iconography in these cases? The Hyperagathos epithet provides a good transition into thinking about this second group of inscriptions. In Chapter One I identified Hyperagathos (Supremely Good) as a supremacy-stressing epithet. Whilst that is true, I also placed it within the benevolent epithets category. This is because Hyperagathos possessed a double character - supreme and good/benevolent - where a superlative presents Christ as an individual who can possess extreme and transcendental characteristics, and the suffix – ‘-agathos’, ‘good/benevolent’ – contrasts, presenting Christ as someone who is caring. Here, we have an epithet that is almost oxymoronic in character and along with its enthroned iconography, presents Christ as simultaneously authoritative and kind.³⁴²

With the Hyperagathos mosaic, iconography and epithet work together to create a multi-faceted and more complex depiction of Christ, which is particularly important because of the funerary context of this image. In an eschatological setting it would be necessary to show Christ as authoritative and supreme, stressing His role as the ultimate judge. However, in the Pammakaristos, a personal element is also considered, as this space was created to commemorate the worldly life of Tarchaneiotes and his hopes for achieving a place in the afterlife.³⁴³ The benevolence of Christ, as stressed by His epithet, shows how the pleas for Tarchaneiotes’s salvation had been effective. This is also recorded in Manuel Philes’s inscribed dedicatory epigram, which runs around the space of the parekklesion and promoted the successful intercession of the saints, John the Baptist and the Mother of God.³⁴⁴

Whereas Hyperagathos possessed a dual meaning, other epithets used to inscribe the enthroned Christ had an emphasis on benevolent attributes : Eleemon (Merciful); Evergetes (Benefactor); Photodotes (Light-Giver); and Zoodotes (Life-Giver). These examples should be understood as cases where image and text work together not to create a complementary or

³⁴² Drpić, p. 209, translated Ὑπεράγαθος (Hyperagathos) as ‘Supremely Good’, whereas Mouriki translated it as ‘the most benevolent’. Recently, T. A. Carlson, ‘Postmetaphysical theology’, in *Cambridge Companion to Postmodern Theology*, ed. K. J. Vanhoozer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 67-68, presented Pseudo-Dionysios’s use of “hyper- terms” as an indication of transcendence and immanence, offering ‘beyond’ and ‘super’ as translations for ‘hyper’. Drpić’s and Carlon’s translations add a metaphysical meaning to the superlative, which is not necessarily apparent from Mouriki’s.

³⁴³ Mango, ‘The Monument and its History’, p. 21, gives the verses above the Christ Hyperagathos in the apse in both Greek and English, “Ὑπὲρ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Γλαβᾶ τοῦ συζύγου, ὃς ἦν ἀριστεὺς [κᾶ]ντιμος πρωτοστράτωρ, Μάρθας μοναχῆς τῷ θεοῦ σῶστρον τόδε” (On behalf of her husband Michael Glabas, who was a champion and a worthy *Protostrator*, Martha the nun [has offered] this pledge of salvation).

³⁴⁴ Mouriki, ‘The Iconography of the Mosaics’, p. 56, see note 116 for the Greek.

illustrative mode of communication, but one of antithesis. Whereas the iconography of the enthroned Christ established Him as a figure of authority, the epithets informed the viewer that in spite of this powerful role, He could act kindly and could bestow mercy on the faithful. The immediate viewing contexts of each of these images help to make sense of why an antithetical, rather than illustrative relationship between image and epithet was opted for, as with the Christ Hyperagathos in the Pammakaristos.

Both wall paintings of the Christ Photodotes from Theotokos Makrini, Samos, Greece, and of Christ Evergetes from Boiana, Bulgaria, are located in the proskynetaria of their respective churches.³⁴⁵ Christ Photodotes sits on an ornamental high-backed throne, holding a now-illegible open gospel book, whilst gazing out into the church. Christ Evergetes sits on a low-backed throne, holding a closed gospel book. The proskynetaria are the name given to the pillars on the templon of Byzantine churches, a feature that emerged and developed from the tenth century onwards. This space was frequently reserved for monumental depictions of the patron saints, the Mother of God and Christ.³⁴⁶ These images were situated at the most important area of the church – the east end, towards the apse – but because of their placement at floor level, the faithful could interact with these images in a close and personal liturgical space.³⁴⁷ Both the Photodotes and Evergetes Christs were depicted on south proskynetaria, with representations of the Mother of God flanking on the north side. The relationship between these images was one of intercession: the faithful would pray to the Mother of God, who in turn would plea with her son for their salvation. This interaction between the faithful, the Mother of God and Christ can be seen explicitly in the proskynetaria wall paintings of Panagia tou Arakou, Lagoudera, Cyprus, where dialogue between the standing Christ Antiphonetes (the One Who Responds) and His mother, who herself was identified as Eleousa (the Merciful), was recorded in a scroll held by the latter.³⁴⁸ In the Photodotes and Evergetes images, iconography and inscription record the interaction between the faithful and the divine, whilst also establishing a hierarchy. The throne motif sets Christ up as the most important figure, one who is powerful and authoritative. Christ's epithet adds to the meaning of the iconography, by identifying that the intercession of the Mother of God has been

³⁴⁵ Kalopissi-Verti, 'The Proskynetaria of the Templon and Narthex', p. 117 for Photodotes and p. 125 for Evergetes.

³⁴⁶ 'Proskynetarion' in *ODB*, p. 1739.

³⁴⁷ Kalopissi-Verti, 'The Proskynetaria of the Templon and Narthex', pp. 107-132.

³⁴⁸ Nelson, 'Image and Inscription', pp. 100–119.

successful, because Christ is identified as Photodotes (Light Giver) and Evergetes (Benefactor).

The hierarchy of intercession was central to understanding the above examples. This kind of exchange did not occur exclusively in the proskynetaria of Byzantine churches. The wall painting of Christ Zoodotes depicted on the north wall of Hagios Nikolaos Bolnichki, Ohrid, is also best understood as an image of intercession. As in the Photodotes and Evergetes examples, the throne established Christ as important, whereas in this wall painting, Peter and Paul interceded with Christ for the salvation of humanity, and their successful intercession was marked by Christ's epithet, Zoodotes (Life-Giver).³⁴⁹

The dynamic of intercession in these wall paintings was centred around a generalised idea of a faithful Orthodox viewer, not physically present in the images. In a further two depictions of the enthroned Christ, the concept of the faithful viewer was visualised in the form of donor portraits, the complex logic of which was explained in Chapter Three. In Oxford Ms. gr. 61, fol. 103r, c. 1391, Christ is inscribed Eleemon (Merciful), and like a cycle of wall paintings in a Byzantine church, this manuscript illumination interacts with its wider visual schema. On the facing folio is a representation of the Mother of God, inscribed Ὁξεῖα Ἀντίληψις (Swift Succour).³⁵⁰ Here, the Mother of God pulls out a monk named Kaloeidas out of a sarcophagus in an iconography seemingly based on the Anastasis. Ivan Drpić called these two illuminations 'a bold pictorial plea for the salvation of Kaloeidas' soul', before arguing that both sets of epithets acted as invocations where 'the inscribed name specifies the role in which that person is called upon to appear and act through the medium of His or her image.'³⁵¹ Whilst that analysis corroborates the analyses of the enthroned Christ given here, being concerned with intercession and hierarchy, Drpić does not discuss the specifics of the relationship between image and text in the illuminations. Like the Pammakaristos parekklesion, this manuscript was an object concerned with personal eschatology and in this context, Christ is the King of Heaven (enthroned), but despite this supreme role He bestows mercy (Eleemon) to the soul of Kaloeidas. Again, it seems to be important to clearly present Christ as someone who possessed dual characteristics: powerful and kind.

³⁴⁹ Lozanova 'The Church of Christ Zoodotes in Embore (Albania)', pp. 151-162.

³⁵⁰ Drpić, *Epigram, Art and Devotion*, pp. 360-1.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

There is also Theodore Metochites' donor portrait in the Chora Church, Constantinople, where the throne again is used to set up a visual hierarchy between Christ and the faithful.³⁵² However, a benevolent epithet was not used to inscribe Christ. Instead, in this mosaic Christ is inscribed 'the Land (Χώρα) of the Living'. As I argued in the previous chapter, between this inscription, Theodore's portrait and the viewing space of the Chora Church, a self-referential and cyclical power dynamic is established. Metochites presents Christ with a model of the church, which is named Chora (Χώρα), the space in which the mosaic is situated and a quality, which Christ already possessed, as indicated by His epithet. Through this self-reference, Metochites facilitated access to Christ through prayer and intercession, ensured his own salvation and established a hierarchy in which he is united with Christ through the concept of chora.³⁵³ Despite this textual link between the two figures, the visual hierarchy is maintained, as Metochites bows before Christ in proskynesis, whilst Christ acknowledges him with a gesture of blessing with His right hand and gazes outwards towards the viewer.

The final set of enthroned Christs continue with this concept of hierarchy and power. In Paris Gr. 74 fol. 167r, a folio which acts as a headpiece for John's gospel, there are three figures depicted in roundels. Each of these figures is depicted with a cruciform halo, marking them as three representations of Christ, from left to right they are inscribed, IC XC, the Ancient of Days and the Emmanuel.³⁵⁴ All three Christs are enthroned, which marks them as equal in terms of power and authority, despite their different ages; IC XC is a bearded adult Christ; the Ancient of Days is grey-haired; the Emmanuel is youthful and beardless. Gretchen Krehling McKay has argued convincingly that the grey-haired iconography of the Ancient of Days was not an indication of old age, but stressed this type of showing Christ's supremacy over and independence from time.³⁵⁵ In the context of the Paris manuscript the trio of Christs works in conjunction with the gospel it precedes and speaks of the process of the Incarnation coming into being, whilst addressing the nature of the vision of Daniel's vision of the Ancient of Days as recorded in Daniel 7: 9-10. The opening verses of John's gospel describe the process of the Incarnate Word of God coming into being and the relationship it has with the Godhead. When this biblical passage is coupled with the trio of

³⁵² Ševčenko, 'The Portrait of Theodore Metochites at Chora', pp. 189–205.

³⁵³ Drpić, *Epigram, Art and Devotion*, p. 247.

³⁵⁴ Tsuji, 'The Headpiece Miniatures and Genealogy Pictures in Paris. Gr. 74', pp. 165–203, Krehling McKay, 'Illustrating the Gospel of John', pp. 51–68 and Krehling McKay, 'The Eastern Christian Exegetical Tradition of Daniel's Vision of the Ancient of Days', pp. 139–61.

³⁵⁵ Krehling McKay, 'The Eastern Christian Exegetical Tradition of Daniel's Vision of the Ancient of Days', p. 160.

Christs in Paris Gr. 74, a visual exegesis concerning the different temporal and physical forms of the Incarnation is communicated, with iconography and naming inscriptions used to express notions of continuity and difference. The adult Christ inscribed IC XC is the Incarnation proper: Jesus Christ, the hypostatic union, God in human form. On the far right, the Emmanuel, like in the Pantepoptes icon, an expression of the liminal state of the Incarnation: 'God with us'. In the centre, is the Ancient of Days, Daniel's theophanic vision, whose identity theologians had grappled with for centuries since the Early Christian period.³⁵⁶ Here, He is unequivocally Christ, as indicated by the two figures who flank Him and their shared cruciform halos. The main theological question concerning the Ancient of Days' identity was whether He could have been the Father and if so, how this might have been without negating passages like John 1:18 and Exodus 33:20, where God's visibility is denied.³⁵⁷ As the Ancient of Days is shown preceding John's Gospel, it directly confronts this passage and cannot contradict it. Instead, this depiction of the Ancient of Days aligns with contemporary eleventh-century thoughts on the Old Testament vision.³⁵⁸ The Ancient of Days was indeed not the Father, but a pre-existent form of the Incarnation - the Word of God made human. This is what Daniel could fully comprehend in his vision, unlike Moses with God in Exodus 33:20. The enthroned iconography of this trio speaks to their shared status and nature, whereas their naming inscriptions and physical attributes communicate their different relationships with time and the different forms of the Incarnation.

So, how did different epithets affect the meaning of similar Christological iconographies? It is true that images might lead to certain readings, the Christ Child might have stood for an image of the Incarnation, salvation or the Eucharistic victim, and the enthroned Christ, an image of power and authority, but these image meanings were not fixed and epithets not only prove this but show that there were times when the Byzantines sought to pin down and anchor their meanings. This would have had an important effect on the function of the images. By inscribing images of Christ with epithets rather than IC XC the primary meaning of certain iconographies could be underscored and reinforced through the means of a complementary or illustrative epithet: the young Christ as Emmanuel, the visual and textual

³⁵⁶ Krehling McKay, 'Illustrating the Gospel of John', pp. 51–68 and Krehling McKay, 'The Eastern Christian Exegetical Tradition of Daniel's Vision of the Ancient of Days', pp. 139–61.

³⁵⁷ Corrigan, 'Visualizing the Divine', p. 291.

³⁵⁸ Krehling McKay, 'The Eastern Christian Exegetical Tradition of Daniel's Vision of the Ancient of Days', pp. 139–61.

proof of the incarnate Logos coming into being; the enthroned Christ as Pantokrator, the ultimate ruler, King of Heaven, a source of divine authority and power.

However, epithets could deviate from these primary readings to create more complex and nuanced meanings for the iconographies of Christ they inscribed. For instance, the Nika images on the Pantepoptes icon spoke of the active and continuously present soteriological role of the Incarnation. Furthermore, there were many instances in which the enthroned Christ was inscribed with non-supremacy/transcendence-stressing epithets. This variety of epithets spoke of the many ways in which the faithful could comprehend him. For the Byzantines Christ was a supreme and ultimate being, but He was also capable of superlative and superhuman benevolence, qualities that could be bestowed on pious Byzantine Orthodox Christians.

DIFFERENT ICONOGRAPHIES, THE SAME EPITHET

In the next part of this chapter, I shall switch around the emphasis of the previous section. Here I am going to analyse the ways in which the same epithet was used to inscribe different iconographies of Christ. In the previous section I argued that, to varying degrees, epithets could work with or against the perceived meaning of iconographies in order to create meanings and functions for the objects they inscribed. There, I placed great emphasis on epithets in the construction of meaning, in that they had the ability to reinforce or add nuance to the images they inscribe. The question now is, does the way in which the epithet brings meaning to an image change when the iconography is different? In this section, I shall argue that images could change what aspects of the epithets' definition and meaning were brought to the forefront, affecting the function of the objects on which they were displayed. The purpose of this is to bring about a fuller understanding of the image-text relations evinced in images of Christ where He is inscribed with an epithet. This is because in Byzantium, images and texts did not relate in a singular or a straightforward ways; rather, both iconographies and inscriptions could inform one another as part of a symbiotic relationship. Furthermore, by outlining the different iconographic uses of certain epithets, I shall argue against the conflation of epithets with iconographic types. This is because associating both inscribed and uninscribed images with specific epithets implies a fixed meaning for images, which appears very different from how the Byzantines perceived the relationship between epithets and iconographies to be. In relation to the main thesis question, this section will show that whilst

epithets had the power to transform the meaning of images, their meaning could be manipulated and changed, too. Furthermore, I shall argue that relationship between meaning, iconography and epithets is very complex and because of this, more careful approaches should be taken when using epithets as a shorthand for iconographies.

To do this, I shall return to the Pantepoptes icon. First, I shall outline and evaluate the different iconographic uses of Emmanuel. Here, I shall show that the epithet was used by the Byzantines to make different points in relation to theology and politics. I shall then focus on the Pantokrator epithet. I shall argue that the iconographic variation of the epithet demonstrates that the Byzantines did not perceive it to be attached to a set iconography, something that modern scholarly terminology seems to contradict. Focusing on the use of Chalkites and King of Glory as instances where there is a relatively consistent relationship between epithet and iconography, I shall ask whether they should be identified as cases where there was a fixed between relationship image, text and meaning. Here, I shall show that narrative was an important factor in determining meaning and which explains why epithets and IC XC were largely a non-narrative phenomenon.

DIFFERENT ICONOGRAPHIES, SAME EPITHET: THE PANTEPOPTES ICON

Returning to the Pantepoptes icon, how can its inscriptions and depictions of Christ help to answer whether different iconographies informed and manipulated epithets' meanings. Starting from the centre, first there is Christ Pantepoptes. This is the only surviving image where Christ is inscribed with this epithet, so it cannot be subjected to a comparative analysis.

What, then, about the other inscriptions? Moving to the outer frame, there is Christ Nika. I pointed out that this object was the only surviving example to inscribe a figurative Christ with this inscription. Rather than understanding the young Christ Nika as a derivative of the more popular cruciform Nika image, I argued that the verbal force of the term was utilised to communicate both the apotropaic function of the cross, as well as the active and continuous soteriological role of the Incarnation in their respective contexts. Like Pantepoptes, the Nika inscription will not be of particular interest for this chapter, as there are no other figurative depictions of Christ with which to compare this image.

Then, there is the Emmanuel epithet. This inscription poses the most interest for this chapter for many reasons. As I identified in the previous section, the name Emmanuel is so readily associated with the youthful Christ that it has become synonymous with it as an iconographic type; the Byzantium: Faith and Power catalogue referred to all depictions of the young Christ on the Pantepoptes as ‘Emmanuel’, including those inscribed Nika.³⁵⁹ The reason for this conflation of the Emmanuel inscription and the young Christ is easy to identify. All surviving representations of Christ inscribed Emmanuel from the twelfth century onwards depict a young Christ. The only other instance where another young Christ is inscribed with an epithet are the Christ Nika depictions on the Pantepoptes icon. So, with Emmanuel and the young Christ there is an undeniably strong relationship between iconography and inscription. However, prior to the twelfth century there are examples of other iconographies being inscribed with this epithet. These examples are important, as they destabilise the conflation of the Emmanuel epithet with the young Christ iconography, and moving away from this framework will help to gain a better understanding of Emmanuel and the different ways it was perceived and used in Byzantium.

THE ICONOGRAPHIC USES OF EMMANUEL

There is an icon dated to the seventh century from Saint Catherine’s Monastery, Mount Sinai where ‘Emmanuel’ is inscribed to name the individual whose identity has been debated by scholars. Despite being earlier than the specified dates for this thesis, this icon is crucial for understanding later perceptions and uses of the Emmanuel epithet. The subject of this icon is not immediately clear. The composition is dominated by a grey haired and bearded individual with a cruciform nimbus who sits on a rainbow. His right hand extends away from His body and His left holds an open gospel book, which might contain faint traces of John 8:12 inscribed.³⁶⁰ The grey-haired man is situated in a large mandorla filled with stars. To the left and right of the individual’s head is an inscription which reads ‘E[MMA]NOYA’ (Emmanuel, or ‘God with us’). Four beasts emerge from each corner of the mandorla and the outer frame contains a dedicatory inscription in Greek.³⁶¹ In his catalogue of Byzantine icons at Saint Catherine’s Monastery, Kurt Weitzmann identified this icon as being a three-fold

³⁵⁹ Evans, *Byzantium*, pp. 235-36, Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, pp. 230-33.

³⁶⁰ Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai*, pp. 41-42.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 42, for the inscription in Greek, and Corrigan, ‘Visualizing the Divine’, p. 286, for an English translation.

representation of Christ.³⁶² He argued that Christ's pose and nimbus indicated that this was unequivocally a depiction of Christ, with the pose a reference to the Pantokrator 'type'; the grey hair referred to the Ancient of Days from Daniel 7; and the Emmanuel inscription 'calls pictorially for a very youthful Christ'.³⁶³ In his analysis, Weitzmann compared the Sinai icon to the three Christs depicted in the medallions on John's gospel headpiece in Ms. Paris Gr. 74 (fol. 167r), dated to the eleventh century. Here, both inscription and physical appearance identify the individuals as Jesus Christ, the Ancient of Days and Emmanuel.³⁶⁴

There are several problems with Weitzmann's analysis. It was framed in relation to iconographic 'types'. For Weitzmann, the pose of Christ must refer to the 'Pantokrator' because it is more frequently used in these depictions; the Emmanuel inscription must refer to the young Christ for the same reason. This argument is flawed. If the seventh-century date for the icon is to be accepted, then there is no evidence to suggest a link between Emmanuel as an inscription and the iconography of the young Christ.³⁶⁵ Emmanuel was used as an inscription for a depiction of the Ascension in Early Byzantine ampullae from the Holy Land and it does not seem to be consistently inscribed against the young Christ until the twelfth century. During the seventh century, Christian iconography was not standardised as it becomes in later centuries, so the pose of the grey-haired man in the icon need not be the 'Pantokrator'. Finally, by highlighting Weitzmann's conflation of motifs and inscriptions with iconographic 'types', the comparison between this icon and the Paris manuscript is undermined, especially because of the considerable chronological gap between the two. If the Emmanuel inscription and pose do not necessarily directly refer to other representations of Christ, what other things might the icon be doing? How does this iconography affect the meaning of the epithet?

The inscriptions and iconographies of the Sinai icon make several biblical references. Indeed, there is a good chance that the grey-haired man is the Ancient of Days, as the account in Daniel described His physical appearance and it is very similar to the later images where 'Ancient of Days' is inscribed for images of Christ. The Emmanuel inscription is a reference to Isaiah 7-8 and Matthew 1:22-23, and concerns Christ's virgin birth, but the term

³⁶² Weitzmann, B.16, pp. 41-2.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Tsuji, 'The Headpiece Miniatures and Genealogy Pictures in Paris. Gr. 74', pp. 165-203.

³⁶⁵ Corrigan, 'Visualizing the Divine', p. 299 corroborates this point, as does the chronological distribution of Emmanuel as shown in the Appendix.

Emmanuel defined as ‘God with us’ rather than a specific reference to a child. The emphasis seems to be on Incarnation rather than infancy. The beasts around the edge of the mandorla are a reference to both Daniel and Ezekiel’s visions (Daniel 7 and Ezekiel 1), as well as the four beasts of the apocalypse in Revelation 4:6-8. The rainbow on which the figure sits and the arch of light might be a reference to Isaiah 66:1 and Revelation 4:3. The themes that unite these biblical accounts are epiphany and the Incarnation, all of which help to understand how the Sinai icon manipulated the primary meaning of the Emmanuel inscription.

These themes were addressed by Kathleen Corrigan in a more recent analysis of the icon, where she proposed a more convincing alternative reading to Weitzmann’s.³⁶⁶ She moved away from an emphasis on the rigidity of iconographic types, which set the icon up as a derivative work of art, to a more considered interpretation, concerned with the perception of divinity and the function of religious imagery in Early Byzantium. For Corrigan, this icon was centred around Old Testament theophanies and how these related to the New Testament Incarnation. Corrigan asked the complex and important questions about whether Christian theophanies were about limits of perception or the nature of the subject - ‘what does it mean to *see* God?’ and ‘what does it mean to *see God*?’ - and how these operate between visualising both God and the Incarnation. Early Byzantine theologians had to grapple with the identity of Old Testament visions, from which it was concluded that the Ancient of Days had to be a pre-existent form of the Incarnation, as this did not negate passages like Exodus 33:20 and John 1:18.³⁶⁷ The subjective and compromised spiritual gazes that the Old Testament prophets possessed during their epiphanies were no longer required when the Word of God became flesh in the Incarnation, because Christ’s human form was objective and fully comprehensible in terms of physical appearance.

Through both iconography and inscription, the Sinai icon confronts the viewer with the different stages of the Incarnation’s existence, simultaneously. There is the pre-existence and the end of days, which are presented visually through the motifs derived from prophetic visions and references to Revelation (the Ancient of Days physiognomy, four beasts, rainbow); the fully realised Incarnation, through the cruciform nimbus and possibly the facial features and pose, which might have been linked to contemporary depictions of Christ, such

³⁶⁶ Corrigan, ‘Visualising the Divine’, pp. 286–303.

³⁶⁷ Tsuji, ‘The Headpiece Miniatures and Genealogy Pictures in Paris. Gr. 74’, pp. 165–203.

as the sixth-century apse wall painting from Apa Apollo, Bawit, Egypt; finally, there is the Emmanuel inscription. This points to the liminality of the Incarnation; how it came into being; how the perception of it changed from the Old to New Testament; and how it is made objective and comprehensible in its final form: ‘God with us’. Together these three make a very specific statement about the Incarnation’s existence, something very different from the young Christ Emmanuel’s on the Pantepoptes icon, for instance.

How, then did Emmanuel come to take on this specific meaning in Early Byzantine context? Emmanuel as a name was the subject of discussion by Early Byzantine theologians. Cyril of Alexandria in the fifth century discussed the Emmanuel in relation to the hypostatic union evinced in the Incarnation, where despite being human in form ‘he did not lay aside his own nature, since, God, He is unchangeable.’³⁶⁸ For Cyril, the form of the Logos (Word of God) changed, but the essence remained the same. These thoughts on Emmanuel as a meeting point between God and humanity were reiterated by Theodoret of Cyrus, who stated, ‘The name Emmanuel proclaims the union of the two physeis’, i.e. the material and immaterial.³⁶⁹

Corrigan pointed out the interest that the seventh-century theologian Anastasios of Sinai showed in Cyril’s writings on the Emmanuel. In his own work, Anastasios was concerned with the meeting point of art and theology, which is something the Sinai icon should be seen as, too. Anastasios urged theologians to depict a dead Christ on the cross in copies of his *Hodegos* (Guide) for Orthodox Faith, as this would unequivocally prove who died on the cross on Good Friday – Christ in human form, but not God, because He is eternal and cannot die.³⁷⁰ In the same way that Anastasios’s emphases on images of the Crucifixion were fundamental to his theology, in that they proved who died on the cross on Good Friday, the Sinai icon should be seen as a visual exegesis of a complex Orthodox concept, of which the image informing the epithet is essential.³⁷¹ The icon was undoubtedly an object intended for intense contemplation by a monostatic audience, to be viewed with the eyes of faith, guided by Orthodox spirituality. The icon was not just a part of the theology concerning the visual

³⁶⁸ Corrigan, *Visualising the Divine*, p. 301.

³⁶⁹ Theodoret of Cyrus, *PG* 83, col. 1416, trans. in P. B. Clayton, *The Christology of Theodoret of Cyrus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 141.

³⁷⁰ Gregory of Nyssa, *Refutatio confessionis Eunomi*, 126, *PG* 45, col. 524, as cited in Boston, ‘The Power of Inscriptions and the Trouble with Texts’, p. 38.

³⁷¹ A. Kartsonis, ‘The Emancipation of the Crucifixion’, in *Byzance et les images*, ed. A. Guillou (Paris: Louvre, 1994), pp. 151-188.

perception of the divine, but an active constructor of it, too. The Emmanuel inscription was pivotal for this exegetical function; without it, the icon would only be a conflation of the Old Testament visions and the Incarnation. This would have been fine, however, with the inclusion of the inscription, the concepts of process, transition and liminality were introduced. It is important to note here the fact that Emmanuel had to appear in textual, rather than visual form. Early Byzantine theologians pointed out that the Incarnation as Emmanuel was not just one thing: it was the pre-existent Logos coming into being; it was Christ Incarnate. In the Sinai icon, the Emmanuel inscription united the different instances of epiphany and the Incarnation's existence, the viewer is informed that it might have taken different forms but it remains one consistent entity: God (with us). This is an icon about vision and perception of the divine; it interrogates the definitions of vision and Incarnation, and how these changed from the Old to the New Testament.

So the Sinai icon indicates that in the early period, Emmanuel acted as more than a naming inscription for the young Christ. The title could possess a theological and exegetical function that transformed the perception of the iconography that it inscribed. However, this also works both ways. The Emmanuel epithet might not have been understood as pointing to things such as theophany and the pre-existent Logos without the iconography of the Sinai icon. In the same way that epithets pinned down the meaning of multivalent iconographies such as the enthroned Christ, the specific iconography of this icon brings a particular reading and function of Emmanuel.

If that is the case, what about other instances of Emmanuel's use in Middle and Late Byzantine art? Do other iconographies bring out other meanings and functions for the epithet? Moving from the Early to Middle Byzantine period, there are a series of gold and lead seals where an adult and bearded Christ is depicted in a bust on the obverse. In this series Christ is inscribed IC XC either side of His head, as would be expected in post-iconoclastic depictions, and the inscription EMMANOVHA (Emmanuel) encircles Christ in accordance with the circular form of the seal [Figure 72: *Obverse of a seal of Constantine IX, 1042-1055, lead, Dumbarton Oaks, D.C.*

These examples are all imperial seals from the years 976-1067 and were used by Emperors Basil II, Constantine IX, Michael VI, Isaac I Komnenos, Constantine X and Empress Theodora Porphyrogenita, who were all depicted and inscribed on the reverse of their

respective seals, along with their titles including ἀυγούστα (augusta, empress), αὐτοκράτωρ (autokrator, self-ruler) and βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων (King/Emperor of the Romans). The Sinai icon might be regarded as an isolated incident as no similar iconography and inscription combination can be found from any period and Corrigan convincingly argued that it was the product of an idiosyncratic seventh-century Sinai visual theology. In contrast, these seals show a consistent practice of inscribing the adult Christ as Emmanuel for a period of nearly 100 years. Furthermore, the seal examples overlap in date with depictions of the young Christ inscribed Emmanuel, with the earliest cited dates for the Agaçlık Kilise and Karanlık Kilise wall paintings being in the eleventh century and Paris Gr. 74 dated to 1060-80.³⁷² The question is what aspect of Emmanuel's definition was regarded as an appropriate and necessary inscription for these imperial seals? How does the iconography of the adult Christ contribute to this? The answers to these lie in the function of the inscribed objects as seals for imperial individuals.

Because Byzantine emperors were understood to receive their power from God, a good starting point for thinking about their use of the adult Christ Emmanuel on their seals, would be their perceived relation with Christ. Seals operated as functional objects, used to seal documents as proof of their legitimacy and authentication of the contents within. In Byzantium, as well as across the ancient and medieval world, seals were perceived as the signature of the person from whom the document was sent and acted as a sort-of surrogate presence of the sender for the recipient. Byzantine seals were made in lead, gold, silver and wax, with only the former two surviving examples featuring the Emmanuel inscription. They were popular and widely used objects from the Early to Late period and contained varying amounts of inscription and figurative depictions. A significant proportion of seals contain monograms, or inscribe the sender's name, as well as invocations requesting help from Christ or the Mother of God.³⁷³ Iconography grew more popular until the Palaiologian, with seals increasingly featuring depictions of the Mother of God, Christ and saints on the obverse and a smaller proportion, mostly from the eleventh century on, contain figurative representations of the sender. This emphasis on naming and occasionally depicting the sender in relation to either invoking the help of a holy individual in text, or with both image and text,

³⁷² See Appendix.

³⁷³ Cotsonis, pp. 555, for Table 1, which presents his data.

demonstrates the importance of establishing one's own identity, as well as the power to authenticate and legitimise their communication in the form of sealed documents.

The Emmanuel group belong to a rare set of seals: they feature figurative depictions of the imperial individuals and depict and inscribe Christ, but do not include invocations.³⁷⁴ John Cotsonis undertook a large-scale survey on Byzantine lead seals, which provided a comprehensive overview of the medium and revealed some important patterns in terms of figurative imagery, inscriptions and imperial identity. It is estimated that there are around 80,000 surviving Byzantine lead seals, 10,786 of which Cotsonis has grouped together as containing religious figurative imagery. Within this figurative group, 847 (or 7.9%) contain an image of Christ, of which 652 belonged to imperial powers (77% of the 847 and 6% of the 10,786).³⁷⁵ These statistics show that Christ's image was not widely used in Byzantine seals. However, as Chapter one already showed, depicting Christ alone was not a widespread practice in Byzantine art, so these small numbers are not surprising. The frequency of Christ being depicted on the obverse of a large number of imperial seals is significant, as this shows an important connection between imperial identity and Christ, whose image, it seems, was too remote for the rest of the Byzantine population. This special relationship between imperial powers and Christ Emmanuel was not exclusive to seals and was evinced elsewhere in Byzantine culture and ideology. These other instances will ultimately help to make sense of the use of Emmanuel to inscribe the adult Christ and how the former affected the meaning and use of the latter.

This apparent reserving of Christ's image for some imperial seals makes sense when one considers the role of the emperor in Byzantine political and religious ideology. This also informed the meaning of Emmanuel in this context. Despite never having a precise judicial definition, the Byzantine emperor was consistently regarded as God's earthly agent, chosen by God (ἐκ θεοῦ).³⁷⁶ In terms of the relationship between the emperor and Christ during the tenth and eleventh centuries, there are a several examples that sought to communicate this divine promotion with or in relation to art.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ Cotsonis, 'To Invoke or Not to Invoke the Image of Christ on Byzantine Lead Seals', p. 550.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 553, gives an overview on the huge bibliography on this topic.

A series of poems by Joannes Mavropous described the interaction between Constantine IX Monomachos and an icon of Christ. Through this interaction one can identify the emperor's desire for Christomimesis, which is what I shall argue the Emmanuel seals also sought to do.³⁷⁷ This special relationship is stressed in Mavropous's poem concerning the image at Sosthenion. Here, Christ is described as crowning the Emperor, 'Thy mighty hand, O Christ, has crowned the mighty emperors and given them their kingdom', a visual parallel can be identified in an ivory which depicts Christ blessing and/or crowing Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos and a similar exchange is shown in fol. 2 of Paris BnF 79, which shows Michael VII Doukas (remodelled later to be Nikephoros III Botaneiates).³⁷⁸ In this poem Christ's benevolence and generosity is stressed, but He acts through the emperor to bestow these qualities on humanity. The emperor is a conduit for Christ's activity, he facilitates Christian faith and is the earthly representative of the heavenly hierarchy. In another poem Constantine is described in proskynesis before a 'supplicatory image', before which he exclaimed "it is Thou who has appointed me lord of Thy creatures and master of my fellow slaves, but having proved to be the slave of sin, I tremble before thy scourge, O Lord and Judge". Despite the emphasis of this passage being the humility of the emperor it is important to note that the same title was used to refer to both the Emperor and Christ: Lord (Kurios, Κύριος).

³⁷⁷ Joannes Mavropous, 'Poems 57, 75, 80, 87', in Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 221-22; taken from P. de Lagarde and J. Bollig (eds), *Johannis Euchaitarum metropoliae quae supersunt* (Berlin, 1882). For recent English translations and the original Byzantine Greek see, F. Bernard and C. Livanos (ed. and trans.), *The Poems of Mytilene and John Mauropous* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, Harvard University Press, 2018), pp. 444-45; pp. 464-65; pp. 470-71; 481-82. Poem 57: Εἰς τὴν ἐν Εὐχαΐτοις εἰκόνα τοῦ βασιλέως Καὶ τὸν κραταῖον δεσπότην Κωνσταντῖνον, τῆς γῆς τὸ θαῦμα, τὸν μέγαν Μονομάχον, ἐνταῦθα πρᾶξις εὐσεβῆς ἀναγράφει· τὰς δωρεὰς γὰρ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέων σάλον παθούσας ἐξ ἐπηρείας μέγαν χρυσεῖς ὑπεστήριξε κίονος βάσει, τὸν χρυσόβουλλον ἀνταναστήσας λόγον ὡς ἀντέρεισμα καρτερὸν πρὸς τὴν βίαν, δι' οὗ τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλέςτερον νέμει τῇ μάρτυρος πόλει τε καὶ παροικία· ὅθεν δίκαιον ἀντιλαμβάνει γέρας, εἰς τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐγγραφεῖς εὐεργέτας.; Poem 75: Εἰς δέησιν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Χριστοῦ κειμένου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως Σὺ δεσπότην με τῶν σεαυτοῦ κτισμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἄρχοντα συνδούλων ἔθου. Ἐγὼ δὲ δοῦλος εὐρεθεὶς ἀμαρτίας, τὰς μαστιγὰς σου, Δέσποτα Κριτὰ, τρέμω.; Poem 80: Σὴ χεὶρ κραταῖα τοὺς κραταίους δεσπότης ἔστεψε, Χριστέ, καὶ παρέσχε τὸ κράτος· σὴ χρηστότης θάλασσαν οὐ κενουμένην ἔδειξεν αὐτοὺς πλουσίων χαρισμάτων. Ὡν ἀφθόνως ἅπανα γῇ πληρουμένη, σοὶ τῷ Βραβευτῇ τοῦ κράτους δόξαν φέρει, σὲ τὸν συνεργὸν ἱκετεύει τοῦ κράτους αἰεὶ παρῆναι, συμμαχεῖν, ἐνισχύειν, ζῶν χορηγεῖν καὶ χαρὰν τοῖς δεσπότης. Μάρτυς δὲ τούτων ἡ γραφὴ τῆς εἰκόνης· οἱ γὰρ μονασταὶ τῆς μονῆς τῆς τιμίας τοῦ Σωσθενίτου τοῦδε τοῦ πρωταγγέλου, πολλῶν τυχόντες δωρεῶν καὶ πλουσίων, ταύτην ἀμοιβὴν τοῖς καλοῖς εὐεργέταις ἀντισφέρουσιν, ἱστοροῦντες εὐτέχνως σέ, Χριστέ μου, στέφοντα τούτους ἐνθάδε; Poem 87: Οἱ προκριθέντες τῇ σοφῇ Θεοῦ κρίσει ἄρχοντες ἡμῶν καὶ γραφαῖς τιμητέοι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄρχει σωμάτων ἀνθρωπίνων, ψυχῶν δὲ ποιμὴν οὗτος ἐκλελεγμένος· ἄνωθεν ἅμω τὸ κρατεῖν εἰληφότες, ἅμω καλῶς ἄρχουσι τῶν ὑπηκόων· ὅθεν γραφέντες, τοῦ κράτους τοὺς αἰτίους καὶ προστάτας ἔχουσι συγγεγραμμένους.

³⁷⁸ W. T. Woodfin, 'Celestial Hierarchies and Earthly Hierarchies in the Art of the Byzantine Church', in *The Byzantine World*, ed. P. Stephenson (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 306-9.

Warren T. Woodfin identified that in Byzantium ‘explicit imperial Christomimesis was avoided in the visual arts’, where parallels and connections could be drawn between the emperor and Christ, but direct replication was avoided.³⁷⁹ However, as the above naming of both the emperor and Christ as ‘Lord’ demonstrated, more direct comparisons could be made in text and specifically through nomenclature. This nominative parallel was possible with ‘Lord’, as the Greek term ‘Κύριος’ itself did not possess an intrinsic divine reference, but was a more general authoritative noun which could also be translated to ‘master’ or ‘ruler’, but it did come to gain divine associations. Whereas the emperor is ‘κύριος’ of the earth and his ‘fellow [human] slaves’, Christ is the Κύριος of the entire cosmos, highlighting the sphere of authority for each individual.

Another instance of imperial-Christological nominative parallel came with Manuel I Komnenos and the name Emmanuel. In an oration delivered at the ascension of Manuel I it was stated:

You dwell here below as living and moving statue of the King above who made you king, O emperor ... if God is expressed in both names, he is the first and heavenly God, while you are the second and earthly one.³⁸⁰

As in Mavropous’s poem, the same title is used to refer to both emperor and Christ, but here Βασιλεύς (Basileus, King/Emperor) was chosen, rather than Κύριος. Furthermore, the emperor’s name, Manuel, is punned with a Christological title Emmanuel, which the translation of the Hebrew (God with us) implied also, in that ‘God is expressed in both names.’ This emphasis on Manuel’s role as God’s agent, as evinced by his name was also utilised in his coinage, where a youthful Christ inscribed Emmanuel was depicted on the obverse. This iconographic choice has been cited as an attempt to reconcile Manuel’s young age at the time of ascension.³⁸¹

Now even though drawing a connection between Manuel and the name Emmanuel seems to be the primary concern in this context, imperial ideology seems to have been a determining factor in both this and the Emmanuel seals. As the previous section showed, concepts of time were central to the understanding of the name Emmanuel and how it might be applied in

³⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 304-6.

³⁸⁰ Woodfin, ‘Celestial Hierarchies and Earthly Hierarchies in the Art of the Byzantine Church’, p. 304.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

Byzantine culture. Emmanuel meant ‘God with us’ and pointed to the Logos taking on human form in the Incarnation, God existing in human space and time. Whereas Emmanuel was ‘God with us’, the emperor was God’s representative in the Byzantine present, and as Mavropous’s poems showed, God and Christ acted through the emperor, acting as a sort-of divine surrogate. Elsewhere in Mavropous’s poem on the Sosthenion image, he wrote:

The entire earth is bounteously filled with these gifts and gives glory to Thee, the giver of the Kingdom; she implores Thee, assister of the kingdom, to be ever present, to fight along, to strengthen emperors, to give them long life and joy.³⁸²

In these verses the continuous presence of Christ through the emperor is being stressed. With the Incarnate Logos now residing in the heavenly realm, the emperor takes on the role of its representative in the human realm. This way of perceiving and describing the emperor happened elsewhere. For instance, in a letter to Constantine IX Monomachos, Michael Psellos describes the emperor as θεὸς ἐπίγειος (God on earth).³⁸³

This idea of divine presence envisaged in the role of emperor would have been particularly important in the case of seals. The seal acted as an authenticating device; it was a surrogate presence of the person from whom the document was sent. In the case of the emperor, it was important to stress his presence in the seal, through his depiction and inscribed name on the obverse, but also his relationship with Christ and God, as this is where he gets his power. He was the earthly representative akin to the Emmanuel: God with us. So, it is the function of the object and its association with imperial powers that had the power to change the meaning of Emmanuel, here. This is something very different to the much more theologically-loaded meaning of Emmanuel with the Sinai icon.

This stressing of the imperial power’s unique position and relationship with Christ can also be seen in the use of invocations inscriptions on Byzantine seals. All but one of the 652 imperial seals that depicted Christ did not contain an invocative inscription. On the other hand, almost all the seals that depicted Christ on non-imperial seals did contain an invocation, ‘Κύριε / Θεοτόκε βοήθει [name, title] (Lord / Theotokos, help [name, title])’ and other variations.³⁸⁴ These patterns of using different invocations in accordance to political

³⁸² Mavropous, ‘On the image at the Sosthenion’, p. 221.

³⁸³ Drpić, *Epigram, Art and Devotion*, pp. 336-37.

³⁸⁴ Cotsonis, ‘To Invoke or Not to Invoke the Image of Christ on Byzantine Lead Seals’, pp. 549-552.

rank is important for understanding the use of Emmanuel on the tenth and eleventh century seals. Non-imperial individuals had to seek help from Christ through the means of an invocation, whereas for imperial powers this might imply subordination, for they should not need to invoke the Mother of God (Theotokos) to intercede with Christ, they should be able to communicate with Him directly. Instead, an inscription like Emmanuel could be used to draw an imperial Christomimesis; the Emperor is God with us, Christ is God with us.

But why was it deemed appropriate for seals to depict an adult Christ to be inscribed Emmanuel? Perhaps a better question is why not. There is no evidence for a close association between the young Christ and Emmanuel prior to the eleventh century. Within the small group of imperial seals that depicted Christ and predated the adult Emmanuel group, the same adult bearded Christ was opted for, so this would have been the most obvious, appropriate and logical image to inscribe Emmanuel. As I said earlier, the biblical emphasis on Emmanuel was Incarnation, not infancy. The late eleventh century seems to be a turning point in the use of Emmanuel as an inscription. It was during this period when the young Christ within ecclesiastical contexts started to be inscribed with the name as an epithet. Here the inscription takes on different meanings too, which I outlined in the previous section, which build on pre-existing conceptions: young Christ Emmanuel as the Eucharistic victim, the Incarnate Logos, Christ as ‘God with us’.

EPITHETS AND THE PROBLEM OF ICONOGRAPHIC ‘TYPES’

As I have shown in the previous sections and chapters, the epithet Emmanuel has been conflated by scholars with the iconographic type of the young Christ. This conflation is surely incorrect if the Byzantines apparently took no issue with the same epithet being used to inscribe images of the adult Christ, or even iconography that apparently point to the Ancient of Days. Emmanuel is not the only instance where a Christological epithet has become incorrectly synonymous with a so-called iconographic ‘type’. The most ubiquitous of this apparent image-text relationship is the Christ Pantokrator (All-Ruler). The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium describes a set visual appearance of the Pantokrator as the adult and bearded Christ, dressed in blue, holding His right hand in blessing and in His left an open or closed gospel book.³⁸⁵ This intrinsic connection between image and epithet occurs elsewhere.

³⁸⁵ *ODB*, ‘Christ Pantokrator’, p. 438.

In the *Byzantium: Faith and Power* catalogue, the glossary records that Pantokrator ‘designates the best-known type of Christ image’, echoing the description of the Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium.³⁸⁶ The Christ Pantokrator apparently need not even be inscribed as such to be identified in this way, as in a thirteenth-century icon from Saint Catherine’s Monastery, where He is simply inscribed IC XC, with a cruciform inscribed IC XC YC ΘY (Jesus Christ, Son of God) on the reverse, but referred to as ‘Pantokrator’ in the accompanying catalogue entry.³⁸⁷ To further complicate matters, modern scholarship implies that the image of the Pantokrator image could not only have its epithet absent, but actually be inscribed with another, as with a late eleventh- or early twelfth-century enkolpion, where Christ is inscribed OB TΔ (O B[ασιλεὺς] T[ῆς] Δ[όξης], the King of Glory), but is labelled as Pantokrator in the *Glory of Byzantium* catalogue.³⁸⁸

Images of Christ need not be understood through a singular epithet. This was proven in the previous section’s analyses on the young Christ inscribed as both Emmanuel and Nika. A dual perception of Christ was also evinced in a post-Byzantine wall painting from the Hermitage of Neophytos in Cyprus, dated to 1503.³⁸⁹ In this large wall painting, situated on the ceiling of the hermitage, Christ is depicted as an adult alone in a bust, so-called Pantokrator ‘type’ and is inscribed as such. However, just above the roundel in which He is situated in the inscription O BACIAEYC THC ΔΟΞHC (the King of Glory). Here, there is an image that is unequivocally both Pantokrator and King of Glory. However, if one surveys the use of the Pantokrator epithet in Byzantine depictions of Christ, one quickly sees that its iconographic use is far from consistent and therefore seriously problematises its use as a blanket term for the so-called iconographic type with which it is now associated.

Timken Matthews undertook a survey of the Byzantine use of Pantokrator, which I have expanded for this thesis.³⁹⁰ The earliest surviving instances of Pantokrator being inscribed on objects with depictions of Christ date from either the eleventh or twelfth century and grow increasingly popular until the fall of the Byzantine Empire.³⁹¹ There are a combined 22 examples from both Timken Matthews’ and my surveys. Amongst the earliest surviving

³⁸⁶ Evans, *Byzantium*, p. 644.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 359.

³⁸⁸ Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 165.

³⁸⁹ Mango and Hawkins, ‘The Hermitage of St. Neophytos’, p. 169.

³⁹⁰ Timken Matthews, ‘The Byzantine Use of the Title Pantocrator’, pp. 442–462.

³⁹¹ See Appendix.

images of Christ inscribed Pantokrator are lead seals from the homonymous Constantinopolitan monastery, c. 1150, which show Christ standing, rather than in bust form, the latter of which is readily associated with the Pantokrator 'type'. The standing Pantokrator can be seen again in a wall painting from Hagoi Anargyroi, Kastoria, which is unhelpfully dated to 900-1600, a fourteenth-century steatite icon now in Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, and a wall painting on the southwest piece of the Church of the Resurrection, Dečani, Serbia, 1327-1335, where Christ is dressed in gold and holds a sword across His chest. Christ Pantokrator could also be enthroned, as in the St Nicholas at Platsa apse wall painting, 1330-50, and the manuscript illumination in the Gospel Book, Stauronikita 56, fol. 4v. So, six out of 22 surviving Byzantine examples inscribed Pantokrator are in fact not Pantokrator 'types', as we interpret them. Our error in describing all images that look the same as Pantokrator surely proves that there was not a clear-cut relationship between epithet and iconography in Byzantium; the image of the adult Christ in a bust did not call for a Pantokrator epithet and vice versa.

A more consistent set of iconography can be seen with the remaining examples, with four icons all inscribed Pantokrator displaying very similar appearances and all relating in some way to the homonymous monastery at Mount Athos, founded in 1368. There are also four depictions of Christ inscribed Pantokrator in cupolas of Byzantine churches, from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. These all depicted the 'typical' Pantokrator, as described in the Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium and other scholarship. It is this latter group that Timken Matthews argued for the 'true' Pantokrator, as opposed to the more general and widespread use for the adult Christ, for which she called 'for a more conservative and carefully defined use of the term'.³⁹² From the evidence alone, it is quite odd that a relatively infrequent use of an epithet in the Byzantine context has led to a consistent application of the name for images that very well may or may not have been regarded as Pantokrator by their original users and viewers. The term does not seem to have been widely used in Byzantine vernacular, and Timken Matthews bases some of her argument on Sicilian material, namely cupola inscriptions, written in Byzantine Greek from the Capella Palatina and the apse mosaic at Monreale, which somewhat compromises the strength of her argument. Furthermore, in reference to representations of Christ in the domes of a church built by Stylianus Zaoutzas, Saint George of Mangana, the Church of the Holy Apostles and Hagia

³⁹² Timken Matthews, 'Byzantine Use of the Title Pantocrator', p. 461.

Sophia, Cyril Mango describes the images as Pantokrator, even though none of the Byzantine writers used this term in their descriptions.³⁹³

Like Emmanuel, the increasingly consistent use of an epithet against set iconographies in later and post-Byzantine art has hindered the understanding of the Byzantine use of Pantokrator. For instance, in the eighteenth-century *Painter's Manual* by Dionysios of Fournà, Pantokrator is the first epithet listed for Christ after IC XC, and subsequently the term is used to refer to an iconographic type.³⁹⁴ Dionysios instructed painters to include specified biblical verses for images of the 'Pantokrator' that hold an open gospel book.³⁹⁵ However, in the Byzantine context, Timken Matthews's view that 'the name [Pantokrator] does not require a particular iconographic response' is true and should be acknowledged.³⁹⁶ This conflation between epithets and iconographies also occurred with Marian epithets. For instance, Annemarie Weyl Carr has convincingly argued that the epithet Blachernitissa did not call for an iconographic type, despite being quite consistently associated with the orant-pose Mother of God holding the Christ Child floating in a medallion on her chest.³⁹⁷ As was with the Emmanuel epithet, the different iconographic use of Pantokrator implies that the epithet had various uses and meanings for the Byzantines. Like images, the meanings of epithets were not fixed and the two together had a symbiotic relationship which was used to create distinct functions for the objects on which they were displayed. However, there is still an important question to be asked: do any epithets guarantee or require a particular iconographic response? And if so, why? And what does this mean for the construction of meaning with epithets and iconography? If the two are fixed, does it mean the meaning is, too? To answer this I shall look at case studies that possess relatively consistent iconographies to see whether they should be identified as 'types'.

CHRIST CHALKITES AS AN ICONOGRAPHIC 'TYPE'

³⁹³ Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire*, Leo VI, 'The Church built by Stylianus Zaoutzas', describes the image in the dome 'as an image that lacks the lower part of the body', 203; Michael Psellos, 'St. George of the Mangana', p. 219; Nikolas Mesarites, 'Description of the Church at the Holy Apostles XIV', p. 232; Nikephoros Gregoras, 'The Mosaic of the Pantocrator in the Dome of St. Sophia', p. 249.

³⁹⁴ Dionysios of Fournà, *Painter's Manual*, trans. P. Hetherington (London: Sagittarius Press, 1974), p. 88.

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

³⁹⁶ Timken Matthews, 'Byzantine Use of the Title Pantocrator', p. 461.

³⁹⁷ Weyl Carr, 'Icons and the Object of Pilgrimage in Middle Byzantine Constantinople', pp. 77-81.

Christ Chalkites is an example that might lend itself to being identified as an iconographic type with a fixed meaning. The epithet 'Chalkites' (Χαλκίτης, Bronze), referred to the Chalke (Χαλκῆ, Bronze) Gate, which led to the imperial palace of Constantinople. The inscribed epithet refers to an icon of Christ that hung on the gate.³⁹⁸ This means that in theory, a single prototype was the source for the Christ Chalkites images: the Chalke icon. This idea for a single prototype is supported when looking at the iconographies of Christ inscribed Chalkites. I found eleven images inscribed Chalkites (see Appendix). Of these eleven examples, nine are coins, seals or medallions, with the remaining two being a wall painting and a mosaic. Seven out of these nine objects date to the thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries. All of these examples depict Christ full length and standing, although no further iconographic detailing can be found in the Boiana wall painting, as the depiction is lost from the head down. In all but the Chora mosaic, Christ holds a closed gospel book and there is a slight variation in the poses of His right hand, which is sometimes shown in front of His body and other times extended outwards, but always in a gesture of blessing. It is also worth mentioning that in the Chora mosaic, Christ is accompanied with an interceding Mother of God to the left, as well as depictions of Isaac Komnenos and Melane the Nun. With Christ Chalkites, there is a strong relationship between epithet and iconography. But what exactly did the Chalkites epithet stand for in Byzantium and should it be regarded a name that calls for a particular iconographic response, with a fixed meaning, in the way that Emmanuel and Pantokrator do not?

Eleven examples is a very small sample and it is important not to make generalisations based on what should be seen as selective group of surviving examples, rather than a coherent and representative set of images. However, the consistent iconography linked to an epithet as distinct as Chalkites is important to address. The iconography of these Late Byzantine examples, mainly from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, matches the described iconography of the image of the Chalke, restored by Empress Theodora after the Triumph of Orthodoxy in 843, where the image was described as full length by the Patria of Constantinople, c. 995.³⁹⁹ However, in the later Icon of the Triumph of Orthodoxy, c. 1400, Saint Theodosia holds an icon of the young Christ in a bust. This icon would almost certainly

³⁹⁸ Mango, *The Brazen House*, pp. 142-48.

³⁹⁹ *Patria*, II, 219, cited in Mango, *The Brazen House*, p. 125, ἡ δὲ νῦν προσκυνουμένη εἰκὼν ... ἡ διὰ ψηφίδος ὄρθιος is translated to 'i.e. a mosaic icon of a standing Christ'.

be the Chalke icon, as she was martyred attempting to save it and this apparent iconographic deviation is something that I shall explore shortly.

The epithet 'Chalkites' behaves differently to all others collated in this study. Chalkites retains a pure toponymic reference, in that it only refers to a place not a quality, as opposed to other toponyms which also possessed levels of qualitative character. This is inferred by the derivation of Chalkites, which literally translates to 'the One of the Bronze (Gate)'. For instance, I identified earlier how the Pantepoptes inscription was tentatively discussed in relation to the homonymous Constantinopolitan monastery in scholarship, because it cannot be established for certain whether the inscription was making a toponymic reference as well as a qualitative one. Bissera Pentcheva has also argued for the mutability of Marian epithets in terms of their indistinguishable qualitative and toponymic characteristics.⁴⁰⁰ With the Chalkites epithet there is no evidence for an effort to utilise the actual meaning of the term (Bronze). Indeed, elsewhere Pentcheva argued that the Chalke icon was made of bronze in the period immediately following Iconoclasm, but it is difficult to ascertain whether the exact same icon was being venerated in the later centuries of Byzantium, an issue I shall outline very shortly.⁴⁰¹ There might be a case for linking the bronze reference of Chalkites to the materials used for the coins, seals and medallion where the epithet was inscribed, but no such argument could be made for the Chora mosaic, nor the Boiana wall painting. Instead, Chalkites' main reference must be to the Chalke icon and whatever connotations and meanings it invited.

This purer toponymic reference does not seem to happen with other Christological epithets, but it does seem to happen with their Marian counterparts. Take the Marian epithet Blachernitissa. This name referred to the Blachernae church in Constantinople, which was an important Marian cult centre during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. Like Emmanuel and Pantokrator, the Blachernitissa epithet has been conflated with an iconographic type. In this instance it was associated with the orant-posed Mother of God with the Christ Child floating in a medallion on her chest, as can be seen in a late twelfth-century bloodstone pendant from the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. This object is described as 'Blachernitissa' in the *Glory of Byzantium* Catalogue even though only MP ΘY and no

⁴⁰⁰ Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, pp. 75-80 and 174-84.

⁴⁰¹ B.V., Pentcheva, 'The Performative Icon', *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 88 (2006), pp. 636-37.

epithet is inscribed.⁴⁰² However, as Annemarie Weyl Carr showed, there were multiple icons held at the Blachernae monastery, and this meant that other iconographies could be inscribed with the same epithet, as in the case with an eleventh-century icon where an iconography usually designated as the ‘Eleousa’ type (the Mother of God being kissed by the Christ Child) is inscribed Blachernitissa.⁴⁰³ The difference between the Blachernitissa and Chalkites is the specificity of their toponymic reference. Whereas the Blachernitissa referred to the cult site of the Blachernae monastery and any number of different icons displayed there, Chalkites, like Zoe’s Antiphonetes images, seemed to refer to a very specific icon from a very specific place.

The importance of the Chalke icon, as a single object to which significant attention is devoted, is akin to the celebration of the Icon of the Mother of God Hodegetria. This attention was because of the important apocryphal legend associated with the Hodegetria, where it was claimed that the icon had been painted by Saint Luke from life.⁴⁰⁴ This legend gave this icon an unrivalled authority amongst Marian icons. The Chalke icon gained its cultic value because of the stories attached to it, namely through its imperial associations, long history of miracles, as well as its destruction and replacement during the Iconoclastic crises. Weyl Carr categorised the way in which icons were a constituent of the object of pilgrim cults in later Byzantium and both the Hodegetria and Chalke icons fall into her category identified as ‘the icon as the object of its own pilgrimage cult’.⁴⁰⁵ Whereas other icons that acted as part of a pilgrimage cult had to act through the means of holy relics or site, in this sixth and final category the icons possessed a level of autonomy. Although Weyl Carr only discussed Marian icons and cults, it is clear that the Chalke icon of Christ also possessed this kind of cultic function. In an anonymous account from a Russian traveller to Constantinople, it was written about the Chalke icon, ‘all of Constantinople [...] comes to this Saviour [icon] on [its] holiday, for on this holy Saviour’s holiday forgiveness comes to the infirm.’⁴⁰⁶ This special attention from a large group of people (all of Constantinople) to a

⁴⁰² Evans and Wixom (eds.), *The Glory of Byzantium*, cat. 134, pp. 179-80.

⁴⁰³ Weyl Carr, ‘Icons and the Object of Pilgrimage in Middle Byzantine Constantinople’, pp. 77-78.

⁴⁰⁴ R. Raynor, ‘The shaping of an icon: St Luke, the artist’, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, Vol. 39 (2015), pp. 161-72.

⁴⁰⁵ Weyl Carr, ‘Icons and the Object of Pilgrimage in Middle Byzantine Constantinople’, p. 85.

⁴⁰⁶ Russian Anonymous, ‘The Chalke Gate of the Imperial Palace’ in *Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, p. 241.

centralised object (the Chalke icon) for a desired result (forgiveness to the infirm), is unequivocally a cultic form of devotion.⁴⁰⁷

Further Russian travellers' accounts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries highlight the two major associations made with the Chalke icon: imperial identity and Iconoclasm.⁴⁰⁸ This dual emphasis shows that even if there is a strong link between the Chalkites epithet and the iconography of the now-lost Chalke icon, the meaning was not necessarily fixed. Some accounts made reference to the miraculous encounter between Emperor Maurice and the icon, others referenced the icon's destruction during the periods of iconoclastic crises, citing the martyrdom of Iconophile Saints Stephen the Young and Theodosia.⁴⁰⁹ These narratives and associations were not mutually exclusive, as demonstrated by the account of Ignatius of Smolensk: 'On the eighth day we went to the Peribleptos and kissed the skull of St Stephen the Younger and the icon of the Lord [Chalke icon] from which the voice went out to Emperor Maurice.'⁴¹⁰ These repeated inferences to legends seem to imply that the Chalke icon gained its status through the stories attached to it, rather than its status as a physical object. This argument is strengthened when one considers the issue of replication and the Chalke icon.

There was not a single icon recognised as 'Chalkites' in later Byzantium. Russian travellers' accounts identify at least four icons referred to as 'Chalke' in Constantinople. These were held at the Peribleptos Church, Chalke Gate of the Great Palace, Hagia Sophia and the Church of the Forty Holy Martyrs.⁴¹¹ In all accounts there are no references made to the formal appearance of the icons: we do not know what iconographies were depicted and we do not know whether they were formally inscribed 'Chalkites'. The only way in which these icons were defined as Chalkites is through the stories that surrounded them. Apparently their iconography or epigraphy were not main concerns for these writers. As Weyl Carr put succinctly in her analysis of Marian cults, icons and toponyms 'rather than the images, it is the stories that are replicable and recognisable, and they lend specialness in the panels in

⁴⁰⁷ No entry for 'Cult' in *ODB*, English dictionary defines it as 'a system of religious veneration and devotion directed towards a particular figure or object.'

⁴⁰⁸ For references to the Chalke icon see Majeska, *Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, pp. 210-11, 241-42, 146, 280, 282, 308, 350, 358.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Majeska, *Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, p. 97 and Majeska, 'The Image of the Chalke Savior in Saint Sophia', pp. 284-95.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., p. 280.

which they come to roost [...] without the stories, the panels would revert to mere images again.⁴¹²

The iconoclastic legends closely associated with the Chalke icon gave it a very special position where it could still retain its identity as a specific object even when left uninscribed. This situation only occurred with meta-representations of the Chalke icon, namely with depictions of Saint Theodosia. In two Late Byzantine icons, Saint Theodosia is depicted holding an icon of Christ, which must be the Chalke icon, the icon she was martyred attempting to save during the eighth century.⁴¹³ The first is a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century icon from Saint Catherine's Monastery and depicts Theodosia alone holding the Chalke icon, which shows an adult Christ in bust form. The second is the Triumph of Orthodoxy icon, c. 1400, now in the British Museum, London. Here, Theodosia is shown as part of a register of saints on the bottom row, where she holds the Chalke icon depicting a Christ Child.⁴¹⁴ In both cases Theodosia is identified by a naming inscription, whereas neither icon, which respectively depict the adult and young Christs, receives any inscription.

Returning to the group of eleven images inscribed Chalkites, there is no denying that there is a very strong relationship between epithet and iconography, but there is not much that this can prove. It would be incorrect to call the 'Chalkites' an iconographic type, as the descriptions of the Chalke icons were preoccupied with the stories associated with it and not the specifics of how it looked. With the images inscribed Chalkites, power lies with the written name and not the iconography: it is through the epithet Chalkites that the narratives, and therefore the powerful cult function of the objects, were opened up. Furthermore, the iconography without the epithet did not possess an intrinsic reference to the Chalke icon. As Chapter One showed, a standing Christ could be Eleemon, Pantokrator, or Philanthropos, and this is fine, despite Mango's assertion that the Christs on the coinage of various emperors and empresses should be identified as Chalkites because they are standing, even though they are not inscribed as such.⁴¹⁵ Furthermore, the Christ Chalkites mosaic from the Chora Church

⁴¹² Weyl Carr, 'Icons and the Object of Pilgrimage in Middle Byzantine Constantinople', p. 86.

⁴¹³ 'Life of St. Theodosia of Constantinople', trans. N. Condas, in *Byzantine Defenders of Holy Images: Eight Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. A. M. Talbot (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998) pp. 1-7.

⁴¹⁴ D. Mouriki, 'Portraits of St Theodosia in Five Sinai Icons', pp. 213-219.

⁴¹⁵ Mango, pp. 140-1, identifies this in W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the B.M.* (Oxford: Horace Hart, 1908), pls. LXI, LXV, LXVIII, LXIX, LXX, LXXXII, for Theodora the Macedonian, Constantine X, Alexius I, John II, the electrum, Manuel I and Alexius III.

possesses a more complex and slightly different iconography, in that He does not hold a gospel book, does not extend His right arm, and is flanked by His mother, Isaac Komnenos and Melane the Nun. Mango argued that this was a misrepresentation and deviated from the ‘correct’ Chalkites iconography.⁴¹⁶ Instead, the difference in iconography proves that different iconographies could still be Chalkites. It was not a set iconographic ‘type’: all that is needed is the epithet and the narratives attached to it for the image to get its meaning.

These two icons are important for understanding the function of the Chalkites epithet and the ways in which its meaning was constructed for Byzantine audiences. First, both meta-representations of the Chalke icon upset the notion for Chalkites as an iconographic type. Two different iconographies were opted for, deviating from Mango’s expected ‘correct’ standing Christ, but still clearly intended to be understood as the Chalke icon. Second, Theodosia takes the place of the Chalkites inscription to anchor the meaning of the iconography. Theodosia – named by inscription – was so closely associated with the destruction of the Chalke icon that any icon depicting Christ she held had to be a Christ Chalkites: its iconography did not necessarily matter. The figure of Theodosia invited narrative contemplation akin to that invited by the Chalkites inscription. Whereas Theodosia only possessed iconoclastic connotations, the epithet inscription alone possessed both iconoclastic and imperial implications. So image takes the place of epithet to manipulate and construct the meaning for these representations of Christ and again there is a symbiosis between image and text: the two together create a specific meaning.

EPITHETS AND NARRATIVE

This discussion of how narratives, written stories or legends associated with images, rather than iconography, constructed the meaning of the Chalkites epithet and thus the cultic function of the Chalke icon has disproved its modern classification as an iconographic ‘type’. This leads me back to the key questions concerning the predominantly non-narrative use of epithet inscriptions that identified in the Introduction. When analysing the iconographies and inscriptions of the Pantepoptes icon, I determined that Christ was not named in any of the Christological scenes. This accorded with general patterns of Christological naming inscriptions. As Boston pointed out, narrative images were far less rigorous in their use of IC

⁴¹⁶ Mango, *Brazen House*, pp. 132-37, and Underwood, ‘The Deisis Mosaic in the Kahrie Cami at Istanbul’, pp. 254-60.

XC than non-narrative images. Therefore, it is unsurprising that the majority of images collated for this study are in fact non-narrative, like the nine Christ Chalkites images that I have just looked at. I shall now continue to consider the role that epithets and narrative had in the construction of meaning, to see in which they affected the meaning of the inscriptions and vice-versa.

As identified in Chapter One, only 14 images (7.4%) of the images of Christ inscribed with an epithet depict an exact narrative moment, being stories taken from the New Testament. There are significant patterns in these examples that ought to be outlined. There is the depiction of the Ascension, where Christ is inscribed IC XC YC ΘY (Jesus Christ, Son of God), dated to c. 800-1000, from Saint Catherine's Monastery. There is a fourteenth-century wall painting from Panagia Phorbiotissa, where the Ancient of Days is depicted in a medallion between the Archangel Gabriel and the Mother of God in an Annunciation scene in the triumphal arch of the church. All other examples are inscribed O BACIAEYC THC ΔΟΞΗC (O Basileus tes Doxes, The King of Glory) and are shown in Crucifixion scenes. This epithet and its relationship with narrative is relevant to this chapter, because, as it will be shown shortly, there is significant iconographic variation with King of Glory, all of which implies different meanings and uses for the epithet. First, this section will present and analyse the use of King of Glory and how it mediates the narrative and theological meaning of the Crucifixion. I shall then go on to consider other non-paschal uses of the inscription to see the way in which the epithet's meaning changes when moving from narrative, to narratively-informed to non-narrative iconographies. This analysis will pave the way for a better understanding of the ways in which epithets, iconography and narrative contributed to the meaning of certain images of Christ. This will ultimately will inform the understanding of art such as the Sinai Ascension icon and the Panagia Phorbiotissa Annunciation wall painting, which are the other two examples where epithets are used in narrative scenes.

THE KING OF GLORY

King of Glory is a biblically-derived name from Psalm 24: 7-10:

Lift up your heads, you gates;
 be lifted up, you ancient doors,
 that the King of glory may come in.
 Who is this King of glory?
 The Lord strong and mighty,

the Lord mighty in battle.
 Lift up your heads, you gates;
 lift them up, you ancient doors,
 that the King of glory may come in.
 Who is he, this King of glory?
 The Lord Almighty—
 he is the King of glory.

As an Old Testament passage, Psalm 24 does not directly describe Christ nor the Crucifixion, so the use of King of Glory on later Byzantine Passion scenes is not immediately obvious. The passage establishes the Lord as victorious and supreme and was anticipating the soteriology of the Incarnation, with the King of Glory being Christ and His strength and victory being a reference to the redemption of mankind through His death and resurrection. It is true that a connection between the Psalm and Christ was drawn as early back as the second century by Saint Justin, in a description of the Ascension.⁴¹⁷ However, this is by no means absolute enough to explain the use of the inscription and its narrative usage.

One might look to the apocrypha to provide a clearer explanation for the relationship between the Old Testament text and the New Testament imagery. The second part of the Gospel of Nicodemus describes Christ's Descent into Hell between Good Friday and Easter Sunday.⁴¹⁸ In this account, Psalm 24: 7-10 is directly and knowingly quoted in dialogue between Satan, Hades, unnamed demons, David, Isaiah, Christ and unnamed angels: 'Lift up your gates, O rulers, and be lifted up, O everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in.'; 'Who is this King of Glory?', The angels of the Lord said, 'The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle.'⁴¹⁹ The connection between the prophetic Old Testament psalm and the fulfilment in Christ's descent into Hell and defeat of Satan is made clear by David, who states 'Do you not know, blind one, that when I lived in the world, I prophesied that word: "Lift up your gates, O rulers"?'⁴²⁰

It would be tempting to explain the presence of King of Glory as a direct reference to the Gospel of Nicodemus. The inscription connects the image of the Crucifixion to Christ's Descent into Hell, leading the viewer to consider the two paschal events in conjunction with one another. However, the relationship between the Gospel of Nicodemus and Byzantine iconography is quite problematic. It was previously believed that the Gospel of Nicodemus

⁴¹⁷ Taft, *The Great Entrance*, p. 107-11.

⁴¹⁸ 'The Gospel of Nicodemus', p. 188.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

informed the iconography of the Anastasis in Byzantium.⁴²¹ Anna Kartsonis has argued that this belief is incorrect because of the number of significant iconographic disparities between image and text. This does not necessarily prove that the text did not inform the iconography, as the former could indeed still be based on the latter but expand upon it with different imagery. However, it is also worth noting that the Gospel of Nicodemus was never widely accepted as canonical in Byzantium and therefore its popularity and influence is quite difficult to determine.⁴²² For these reasons, it is very hard to establish whether the text contributed to the use of King of Glory on the titulus of the cross in Byzantine art.

Psalm 24, however, was far more consistently used in Byzantine liturgical texts.⁴²³ The history of using Psalm 24 as part of antiphonal hymns sung or chanted during the Great Entrance can be traced back to the early Christian church, and was also used in Jewish worship in the pre-Christian period. Most notably, the Psalm was used for the Great Entrance in Jerusalem for Easter masses.⁴²⁴ Robert Taft noted that despite the fairly steady use of Psalm 24 in the earlier centuries, it fell out of favour around the tenth century.⁴²⁵ This was because of gradual developments in the text over time, meaning that the reference was not consciously removed, but the text morphed so much that the Psalmist reference was no longer identifiable.⁴²⁶ King of Glory does not appear on the titulus of the cross until the middle of the eleventh century, and although it does seem the general liturgical and subsequent paschal use of Psalm 24 predates use of the name in Byzantine art, a cause and effect relationship between liturgy and art is difficult to prove. Better questions are why Psalm 24 was favoured in a paschal context by the Byzantines, what effect this had on the epithets, and what role narrative played in the construction of this meaning.

The King of Glory epithet is inscribed on, or in relation to the titulus of the cross in all instances where was featured in paschal imagery. This inscription is similar to the actual inscription written on the titulus, as recorded in the New Testament: 'Above his head they placed the written charge against him: This is Jesus, the King of the Jews.' (Matthew 27: 37). In art from the Latin West, the latter inscription was favoured by artists and often abbreviated

⁴²¹ Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, pp. 14-16.

⁴²² K. C. Hack, *The Gospel of Nicodemus* (Toronto, 1973), p. 5.

⁴²³ Taft, *The Great Entrance*, pp. 98-112 and Taft, 'Psalm 24 at the Transfer of Gifts in the Byzantine Liturgy', pp. 159-177.

⁴²⁴ Taft, *The Great Entrance*, p. 100, and Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, p. 77.

⁴²⁵ Taft, 'The Word in the World', pp. 159-177.

⁴²⁶ Taft, *The Great Entrance*, pp. 98-112.

to INRI, standing for Iesus Nazarenus, Rex Iudaeorum (Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews), which can be seen in a late twelfth-century panel of the Crucifixion from Pisa, now in the National Museum of San Matteo. This more biblically accurate inscription was used occasionally in earlier Byzantine art, such as an eighth-century Crucifixion icon from St Catherine's, where King of the Jews is written on the titulus in Greek and IC and XC are written above the left and right arms of the cross, respectively.⁴²⁷ Despite the issue of survival, it does not seem that King of the Jews became as consistent or as established as King of Glory became in later Byzantine art. Alfred Büchler speculated that this might be due to anti-Semitic ideology, as well as a desire to invest the narrative image of the Crucifixion with greater theological and Christological meaning.⁴²⁸ It is this last point that serves the greater interest for this study.

An exemplary articulation of Byzantine attitudes and anxieties towards the theology of the image of the Crucifixion is Anastasios of Sinai's *Hodegos*, his 'guide' for Orthodox faith, which helps us to understand the meaning of King of Glory.⁴²⁹ Chapter 12 of the *Hodegos* refuted the Theopaschites, a group of Christians who believed that God suffered and died on the cross on Good Friday, claim that both Christ and God had suffered on the cross on Good Friday.⁴³⁰ Here, Anastasios used the image of the Crucifixion to prove his point that only the human body of Christ died on the cross. The image acts as an instance of 'πραγματικάι παρασστάσεις' (material productions) which he equated to 'πραγματικὰς ἀπόδειξεις' (material proof), a necessity to irrefutably defend and prove Orthodox dogma.

In relation to the Theopaschites and the image of the Crucifixion, Anastasios wrote:

Wishing to expose the guile and poison in their souls we confronted them neither verbally nor in writing but [through material representations] ... As already mentioned we sketched on a tablet the [Lord's] holy cross [or, the Lord's crucifixion] together with an inscription, and placing a finger upon it we cross-questioned them. The inscription ran "The Word of God and the body and the reasonable soul" [or, the Word of God on the cross and the reasonable soul and the body"].⁴³¹

⁴²⁷ R. S. Nelson and K. M. Collins, *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2006) cat. 4, p. 129.

⁴²⁸ Büchler, 'King of Glory and King of the Jews: The Titulus of the Cross in the Christian East', pp. 67-8.

⁴²⁹ Boston, 'The Power of Inscriptions and the Trouble with Texts', p. 41 and Kartsonis, 'The Emancipation of the Crucifixion', pp. 151-188.

⁴³⁰ Ibid, pp. 151-188.

⁴³¹ J. Haldon, 'The Works of Anastasios of Sinai: A Key Source for the History of Seventh-Century East Mediterranean Society and Belief', in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, ed. Averil Cameron and L. I. Conrad (New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1992), pp. 107-47; Anastasios of Sinai, *Hodegos*, PG 89.197B-D, trans given in *Anastasis*, p. 51, '[through material representations] was translated from 'πραγματικῶς διὰ παραδείματος καὶ σχήματος ἐνυποστάτον'.

Kartsonis argued that the instruction to inscribe ‘The Word of God and the body and the reasonable soul’ with the image of the Crucifixion was intended to define who exactly died on the cross; it was the created and human body of Christ that died, not the uncreated divine soul and nature.⁴³² Boston related these Christological discussions to the issue of Christ’s naming inscriptions in post-iconoclastic Byzantine art.⁴³³ She used Iconoclast-era theological texts to speculate that IC XC first emerged on images of the crucifixion in order to make a distinction between the human and divine natures of Christ.⁴³⁴ Boston’s argument hinges on a frustratingly meagre body of evidence, something that she acknowledges. However, this and the Hodegos offer two points for identifying why the Byzantines used King of Glory inscriptions on images of the Crucifixion. The standalone image of the Crucifixion was linked to the Orthodox definition of who had died on the cross, as exemplified by Anastasios’s Hodegos: the image of the Crucifixion was necessary to prove that it was only His human nature that had died. IC XC might have been utilised in the eighth and ninth centuries in an effort to signify the human and divine hypostatically united in the Incarnation. The Crucifixion was an image par excellence for Christological debates, as it was through the death on the cross and the inevitable resurrection that the divinity of Christ was unequivocally proven. The image acted more than just a depiction of a narrative, but made a statement about the nature and being of Christ.

This is not to say that Anastasios’ writings informed the paschal use of King of Glory, but instead the use of the title belongs to a similar way of thinking about the meaning of Crucifixion imagery. The issue of identification and definition comes up again in the Gospel of Nicodemus and Psalm 24, where it is repeatedly asked ‘Who is this King of Glory?’, which is answered with ‘The Lord Almighty – he is the King of Glory’. There was a Byzantine desire and need to define Christ’s identity in the image of the Crucifixion. Instead of writing King of the Jews on the titulus of the cross, a more theologically erudite name was opted for. This epigrammatic decision marks a move from Biblical illustration (King of the Jews) to theology and antithesis (the crucified Christ as King of Glory). Here, text and image work together to identify Christ as God, an important anchored meaning for the Crucifixion.

⁴³² Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, p. 51.

⁴³³ Boston, ‘The Power of Inscriptions and the Trouble with Texts’, pp. 35-57.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-43.

The emphasis of King of Glory is not only paschal narrative, but also divinity and Christ's consubstantiality with the Lord, God. This reading of the epithet can be seen in its non-paschal iconographies, one of which is narratively informed, the other non-narrative. This is important as it shows how different iconographic uses of the same epithet show a manipulation of its meaning, as was the case with Emmanuel. The first example is an icon depicting the Mother and God and Christ Child from Saint Catherine's Monastery, dated to 1080-1130. In this icon, the central panel is flanked by various saints and prophets, most of whom relate to Mary and Marian theology. Directly above the top panel is a depiction of Christ, seated and dressed in gold, flanked by angels and apocalyptic beasts, IC XC flanks either side of His head and along the top of the panel is inscribed O BACIAEYC THC ΔΟΞHC (The King of Glory).⁴³⁵ The apocalyptic beasts and angels indicate this is clearly a post-crucifixion depiction of Christ, possibly making a reference to the Second Coming. Here, King of Glory is referring to Christ in fully-realised form; He has died and resurrected and is now with God in heaven. The Old Testament reference made by King of Glory adds to the complex temporal structuring of the icon. Individuals who anticipated, foreshadowed and prophesied the Incarnation are depicted on the icon's border, whereas the central image is the record of this. Below the Mother and Child is an inscription from a sixth-century hymn by Romanos Melode, which reads "Joachim and Anna [Mary's parents] conceived and Adam and Eve were liberated".⁴³⁶ This inscription conflates the moment of the Mother of God's conception with the liberation of Adam and Eve on Easter Saturday, showing how Christ's death was always part of the soteriological plan. The King of Glory inscription on the top panel points back and forward in a similar manner, the image proves Christ's divinity, post-Crucifixion, anticipates the Second Coming, whilst pointing back to David's Psalm 24.

Whereas the Sinai icon and Crucifixion images are bound up in varying degrees of narrative specificity, which in both instances ultimately informed the use of King of Glory, the other non-paschal and non-narrative example does not function in the same way. In an enkolpion pendant dated to 1050-1150, an adult Christ is depicted in bust-form, on the lobes to His left and right are IC and XC, and above is OB and TΔ standing for O B(ασιλεύς) T(ῆς) Δ(όξης) (The King of Glory, the Mother of God is depicted on the obverse, gesturing to her son, she is inscribed MP ΘΥ (Μήτηρ Θεού, Meter Theou, Mother of God). The answer to the function

⁴³⁵ Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 244.

⁴³⁶ Ibid, ICΘAKEIM K[AI] ANNA ETEKNOΓONHCAN K[AI] AΔAM [KAI] EYA HΛEYΘEPΓΩΘHCAN.

of King of Glory lies not with narrative in this instance, as aside from intercession, there is very little happening with the iconography, but instead with the presentation of the inscriptions and the function of the object. In Byzantium enkolpia were worn as protective devices that functioned through the power of their imagery, inscriptions and in the case of enkolpion reliquaries, their contents.⁴³⁷ So this object would have been seen to possess a protective function. The reduction of King of Glory to its bare minimum letters might have been an effort to present the epithet as a *nomen sacrum* equivalent to YC ΘC (Son of God) on the Sinai Ascension icon, another title which stresses the divinity of Christ. Furthermore, similar four-letter inscriptions were used on cruciform depictions – the same shape used for the enkolpion – such as IC XC NIKA, as discussed earlier in this thesis, or as cryptograms, as can be seen in Panagia Phorbiotissa. In the context of the enkolpion, it would have been important to have a name that stressed Christ's relationship with God and therefore His divinity, this would have signalled to its user the source of the objects magical power. As with the case of imperial use of Emmanuel on seals, with the King of Glory enkolpion it is the function of the object on which the inscription is displayed that manipulates its meaning and brings certain readings to the forefront.

NARRATIVE USES OF THE KING OF GLORY

Having gained a better understanding of the perception and function of Psalm 24, King of Glory and the Crucifixion in Byzantine art, what does this tell us about the relationship between epithets, narrative and meaning? The Crucifixion was an extremely important narrative moment in Byzantine Christology and in Middle and Late Byzantine art naming inscriptions were used to invest Crucifixion imagery with greater spiritual and theological erudition. Whilst it is true that Christ did not receive naming inscriptions in the Christological scenes of the Pantepoptes icon, these scenes were identified by means of inscriptions. Each scene had its name inscribed above its depiction, XAIPETICMOC (Annunciation), H ΓENNHICIC (The Nativity), YΠAΠANT(I) (Presentation), and so on.⁴³⁸ These inscriptions did not act as titles in our modern sense of the term, but instead they acted as references back to the actual biblical events, thus authenticating their depictions.⁴³⁹ Each of these scenes acted as accumulations of Christology, but it was the Crucifixion that the precise definition of

⁴³⁷ ODB, p. 700; I. Drpić, 'The Enkolpion: Object, Agency, Self', *Gesta*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (Fall 2018), pp. 197-224.

⁴³⁸ Kalavrezou-Maxenier, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, p. 321.

⁴³⁹ Kiilerich, 'What's in a name?', pp. 88-90.

Christ's being becomes of the utmost importance; the image needed to address and answer the question of who Jesus Christ was in body and soul. This is the reason why Crucifixion scenes are the only narrative scenes that frequently have an epithet inscribed. When inscribed, King of Glory anchors the meaning of the imagery and identifies that in spite of death, Christ is God.

There was no hard-and-fast rule about the use of inscriptions in images of the Crucifixion. Depictions from the Middle and Late periods could contain any of the following: H CTAYPGOCIC (The Crucifixion); IC XC (Jesus Christ); O BACIAEYC THC AOΞHC (The King of Glory); IΔE O YIOC COY IΔOY H MHTHP COY (This is your Son, this is your Mother); the latter of which was introduced to stress the humanity of Christ in the post-iconoclastic period.⁴⁴⁰ Each of these inscriptions added a new facet to the Christology of the image of the Crucifixion, which was necessary because of its importance and contentious history. This emphasis on the person of Christ in the Crucifixion can be identified in another Late Byzantine steatite icon.⁴⁴¹ Here, twelve Christological scenes are depicted and all but one is inscribed with their expected name: the Crucifixion. This depiction does not have H CTAYPGOCIC inscribed, but simply IC XC, flanking either side of the Cross. This epigraphic choice would have certainly been an effort to emphasise the duality of Christ – IC (human), XC (divine) - which the artist might have seen as absent from only featuring the scene's name.

Again, there is no rule to say that other narrative scenes could not have been Christ inscribed with epithets, as the Ascension and Annunciation examples show. However, the lack of examples where this does occur probably shows that it was not seen as a necessity. In the Ascension icon the inscription puts forward Christ's relationship with God, and in the Annunciation wall painting the placement of the Ancient of Days makes a statement about the pre-existence of the Logos, akin to the Sinai Ancient of Days/Emmanuel icon, analysed earlier in this chapter. Both instances demonstrate an attempt to invest a greater level of theology into their iconographies, but neither was consistently regarded to have this attention paid to it, by means of inscriptions, as with the Crucifixion.

⁴⁴⁰ Kartsonis, 'The Emancipation of the Crucifixion', pp. 151-188 and Kalavrezou, 'Images of the Mother' pp. 165-72.

⁴⁴¹ Kalavrezou-Maxenier, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, no. 149.

ICONOGRAPHIES: CONCLUSION

How, then, did epithets contribute to the meaning of the Christological iconographies they inscribed? This chapter showed that the way in which meaning was constructed in these images was complex. Epithets had the power and authority to deny images their multivalence, which was an underlying characteristic of much Byzantine art. This denial could strengthen a primary meaning of the iconography, with the epithet possessing a complementary relationship with the iconography, as with an enthroned Christ Pantepoptes: an authoritative epithet for an image associated with power. On the other hand, epithets could consciously play against the apparent perceived meaning of the iconography to create more complex and nuanced depictions of Christ. This can be seen with the young Christ Nika on the outer plaques of the Pantepoptes icon. Here, there is an image of the young Christ who conquers death and achieves salvation for the faithful. The accompanying iconography of the panel was essential to reach such a conclusion, as it shows that the meaning of images were informed by factors external to their own iconography. The different iconographic uses of particular epithets showed that different images, objects and contexts had the ability to bring various readings of the epithet to the forefront. This was shown by the Emmanuel taking on theological functions in the seventh-century Sinai icon and a political-Christomimetic meaning with the tenth- and eleventh-century imperial seals. Furthermore, narrative associated with images and objects had the potential to transform the meaning of both epithets and iconographies. I showed this with the analysis of the Chalkites epithet and its apparently consistent iconography. Even though most images inscribed Chalkites look the same, it is not through this consistency that the images get their meaning. Instead, narrative controls the way in which the epithet and iconography function, and there was no issue with iconographic deviations from what is understood by some as the ‘correct’ image. This stance against the conflation of certain epithets with certain iconographies in order to identify strict iconographic ‘types’ was argued against in this chapter. This was because there was no consistent use of epithets for any iconography in Byzantium and the concept of the ‘type’ distances the modern viewer from understanding the complex ways that epithet and iconography could interrelate.

CONCLUSION

It is now time to return to the core purpose of my thesis: to explore the ways in which epithets made a difference to the objects on which the inscribed images of Christ were displayed. How was this different had only IC XC been inscribed? In the Introduction I outlined a series of questions that would inform the main dissertation's discussions. I shall now revisit how I went about answering these questions, how they have contributed to my thesis and to what extent this has changed the way we understand the Pantepoptes icon.

An important question was whether the many epithets for Christ on the Pantepoptes icon were a unique characteristic of the object. In Chapter One I showed, to an extent, that this was not the case. Here I situated the icon within a large body of material where Christ received epithets. In doing so, I showed that these types of inscriptions were not restricted to any media, geography, viewing context and ranged in date from the eighth or ninth century until the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1453. I proposed that epithets were a wider concern that probably grew out of pre-existing ideas relating to Christ's image and name.

Furthermore, my data suggested that epithet inscriptions were never common for Byzantine images of Christ. This was an important aspect of what difference the inscriptions made to the objects like the Pantepoptes icon: epithets were relatively unusual and marked the objects as special and distinct. Despite the use of epithets alone not marking the Pantepoptes icon as unique, the quantity and repetition of epithets on the Pantepoptes was not observed anywhere else in surviving Byzantine art.

Although there was merit in grouping together images of Christ inscribed with epithets, there was considerable variety demonstrated in the material that I grouped together in my survey.

The Pantepoptes icon's inscriptions identified Christ as supreme, transcendental and soteriological, whilst also making biblical references to His relationship with God.

These analyses also suggested that there was no fixed relationship between epithets and iconography and that the epithets themselves had very different meanings and connotations.

Because of this, I proposed categories for epithets in order to see the ways in which they functioned and what sorts of qualities were being stressed. In doing so, I solidified and expanded upon categories that had been loosely used in scholarship previously. Furthermore, I questioned the logic of André Grabar's rigid toponymic and qualitative labels for epithets in

Byzantine art. This opened up discussions about the different and nuanced ways in which that Christ was perceived by the Byzantines.

Having got a clearer picture of what Christ's epithets in Byzantine art were, I was able to address the question why there was a shared vocabulary of names between Christ and God, and how this relates to wider ideologies concerning names in Byzantine culture. In Chapter Two, I showed that Christ's naming inscriptions would not have been understood as objective entities, but instead were things that had very specific and theologically-informed functions. This was because there were longstanding concerns about the relationship between a subject's name and their essence. These concerns were particularly resonant in Christian onomastics because, if a name revealed the subject's essence, then naming Christ and God would surely reveal their unknowable divine essence. Instead, Christ's epithets were understood as partial manifestations of His essence, character and activity, many of which were shared with God. These many definitions were important because they did not reveal His divine essence in its totality and these aspects of comprehension were essential to Byzantine Orthodox faith. So, when a Byzantine viewer looked at the Pantepoptes icon's many epithet inscriptions, he/she could understand different aspects of Christ's character and being. This was in contrast with the simple IC XC inscription, which served a more specific and functional purpose, binding the formal image of Christ to the prototype. In terms of my main research question of what difference the inscriptions made to the objects on which they were displayed, these discussions outlined the ways in which the epithets were broadly understood by their original audiences and in what various ways they functioned as names that were informed by multiple complex ideologies.

Moving on to focus further on function, I addressed the question of how epithets affected the devotional experience and uses of objects where Christ's image was shown and whether this changed from name to name. In Chapter Three, I showed that the act of showing devotion to an image of Christ, and thereby being associated with it, could take on important socio-political functions, too. In this context, I defined socio-political as social actions taken by an individual (i.e. paying for, or showing devotion to, an image of Christ) that affected his/her relationship to larger power structures (becoming associated with a transcendental being whose identity was specific to certain individuals). I started addressing this question by outlining the way that Empress Zoe promoted her cultic relationship with the Christ Antiphonetes in the eleventh century. Here, I argued that although the epithet was an

important aspect of how the icon functioned in its primary devotional context, the associative power that came from Zoe's reuse of the Antiphonetes epithet in other contexts, could have worked with any other name: it was a particular Christ associated with her, with which she had a special relationship and therefore gained some sort of associative power. I then went on to show how similar power-related associations and relationships were cultivated in Byzantine donor portraiture where images of Christ received epithets. By having images of Christ inscribed Land (Chora) of the Living and Chalkites in the fourteenth-century mosaics of the Chora Church, Theodore Metochites made comments about the relationships that certain individuals could have with Christ. Furthermore, I argued that the Land of the Living epithet in Metochites' donor portrait drew attention to the unequal power balance between the donor and Christ, which was something that could be observed in other Byzantine donor portraits. The act of associating oneself with an image of Christ whose identity was specified by means of an epithet had implications for the identity of the devotee. This was because the Byzantines constructed their identities through relational means. So, by showing devotion to an image of Christ Pantokrator or Eleemon, individuals could more specifically define themselves in relation to a higher being. These discussions of the social role of epithets aided a better understanding of the devotional function of the Pantepoptes icon. Although virtually nothing is known about the original viewing context of the Pantepoptes icon, through comparative analyses with other images of Christ inscribed with epithets I proposed that the different multiple names inscribed on the object would inform the viewer's sense of self in numerous ways. This was something that was visualised on the icon itself, by the various groups of prophets and saints who were depicted beneath images of Christ named Emmanuel and Nika.

Finally, I posed a series of questions relating to relationship between epithets and iconography. In the Introduction and Chapter One, I established that the same iconography could be inscribed with different epithets and different iconographies could have the same epithet. This led to the question of what effect this had on the multivalence of Christ's image. In Chapter Four, I showed that epithets could pin down and anchor the meaning of images, without which they could have been understood and used in any number of ways. I also showed that different iconographies had the ability to bring certain readings of epithets to the forefront, demonstrating the symbiotic relationship between inscription and iconography. These analyses showed that there was no such thing as an iconographic 'type' in Byzantine art, and therefore there was no issue that the young Christ was inscribed as both Emmanuel

and Nika on the Pantepoptes icon. In addition to the epithets and iconographies, I showed that the specific objects' functions and narratives associated with them were important aspects in the construction of meaning, both of which had the ability to change the perceived function of the images, inscriptions and object on which they were displayed.

My thesis has demonstrated the importance of studying as a collective group, allowing me to show that the Pantepoptes icon was situated within a wider body of material aside from its steatite medium. This enabled me to explore questions concerning how the icon was understood, used and what its iconography and inscriptions were perceived to mean. This was no mean feat, as this is an icon about which we know very little. Of course, I still do not know anything specific about the icon's Byzantine context, but I have shown that studying its use of epithet inscriptions provided a very useful way for understanding the icon. Epithets had a significant effect on the meaning and function of the Pantepoptes icon, and transformed my understanding of it. This epithet-driven approach not only provides a useful way of understanding of obscure images of Christ where He is similarly inscribed, but can also invite new ways of understanding and interpreting well-studied works of Byzantine art. This approach has helped interpret specific objects and it has also provided different ways of accessing larger and more complex ideas such as onomastics, devotional practices and image-text relations, all of which surrounded and were important to understand Christ and His image in Byzantine culture.

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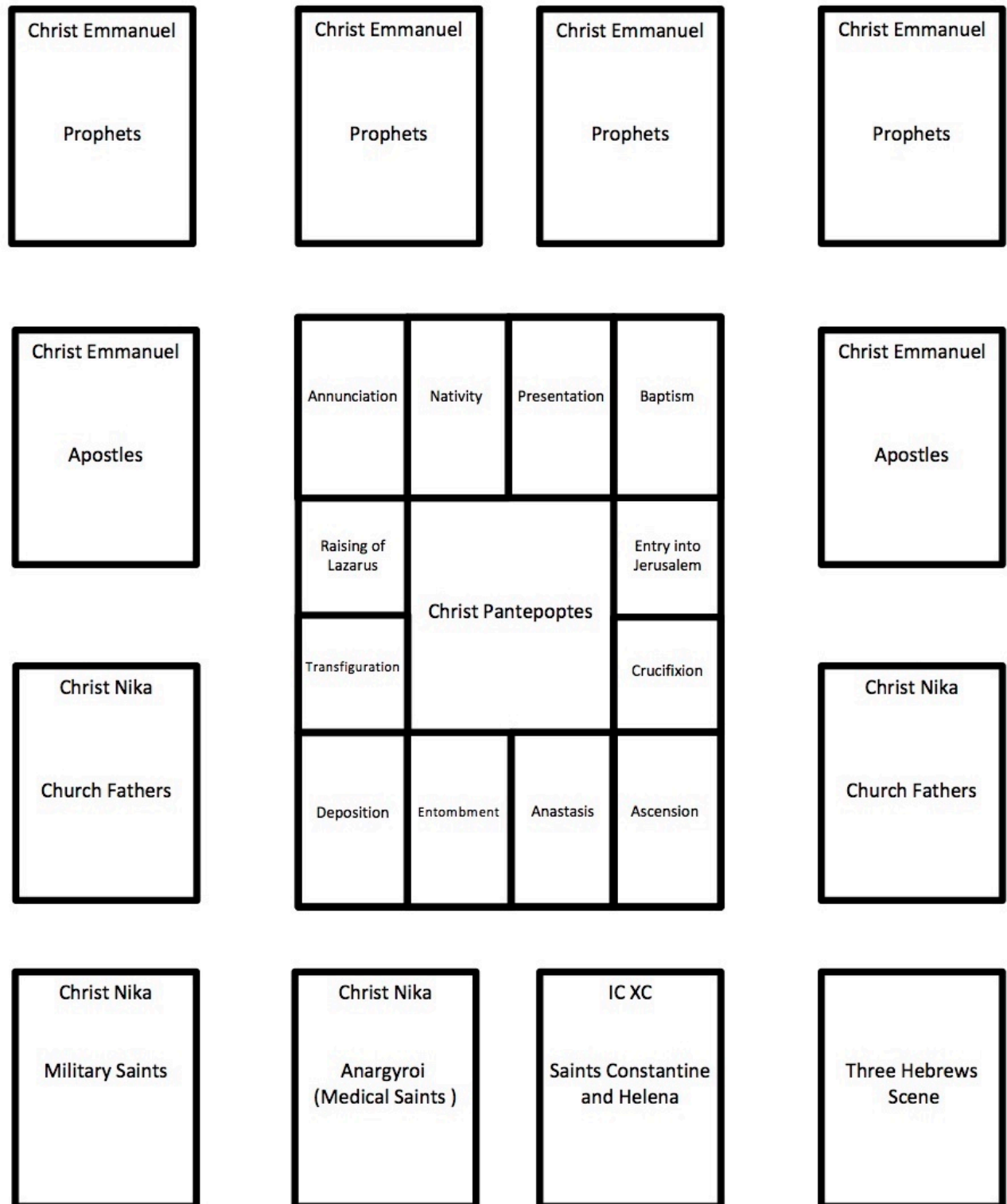


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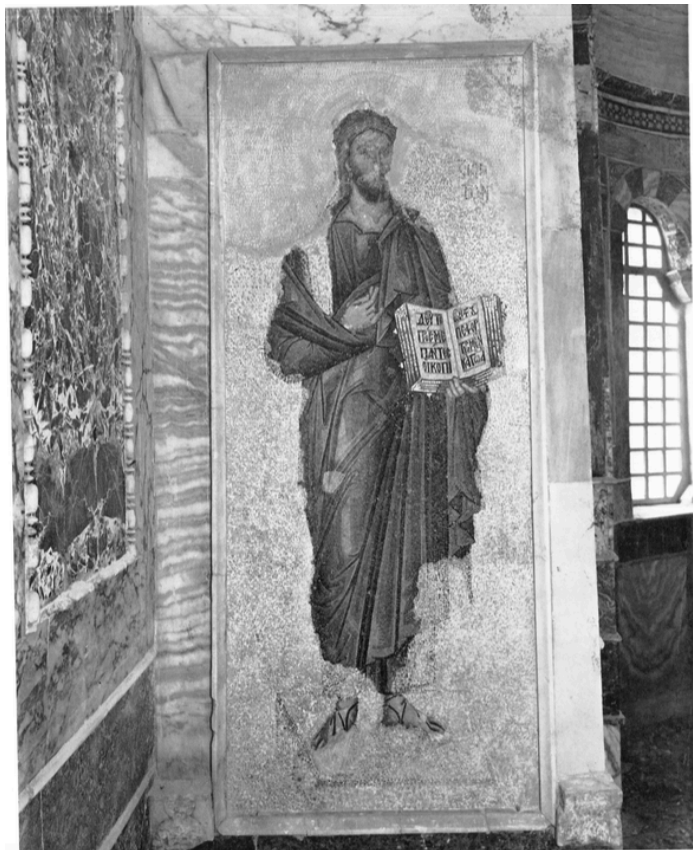


Figure 59: Christ the Land of the Living, 1316-1321, mosaic, north proskynetarion of the Chora Church,



Figure 60: Icon of Christ p, 1300-1350, tempera and gilded silver on wood, 94.5 x 70.5 cm, Peribleptos Monastery, Ohrid, Macedonia.



Figure 61: Icon of the Mother of God Psychosostria with the Christ Child, 1300-1350, tempera and gilded silver on wood, 93 x 63 cm, Peribleptos monastery, Ohrid, Macedonia.



Figure 62: Icon of Christ with an illegible epithet, 1300-1350, tempera on wood, 110 x 79 cm, Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies, Venice.



Figure 63: Hexptych panel with images of the Mother of God and Christological cycle, tempera and gold leaf on panel, 1100-1150, the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt.



Figure 64: Transfiguration with prophets and apostles, c. 550, mosaic, apse of the Church of the Transfiguration, the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt.



Figure 65: Obverse of the seal of Eudokimos, Archbishop of Amastria, with Christ inscribed IC (XC), 850-950, lead, Dumbarton Oaks, D.C..



Figure 66: Emperor in proskynesis before Christ, c. 900, mosaic, narthex of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople.



Figure 67: Icon of Saint Demetrios, 1250-1350, steatite and silver revetment, 10.4 x 6.7 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.



Figure 68: Icon of Christ Pantokrator, c. 1363, tempera on wood, 106 x 79 x 2.8 cm, State Hermitage Museum, Russia.



Figure 69: Icon of Saint Theodosia holding icon of Christ from the Chalke Gate , 25.45 x 17.4 cm, thirteenth or fourteenth century, the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai, Egypt.



Figure 70: Icon of the Triumph of Orthodoxy, c. 1400, tempera on wood, 37.8 x 31.4cm, British Museum, London.



Figure 71: Christ Eleemon enthroned, c. 1391, tempera on vellum, Christ Church Oxford (Ms. gr. 61, fol. 103r).



Figure 72: Obverse of a seal of Constantine IX, 1042-1055, lead, Dumbarton Oaks, D.C.

APPENDIX

CATALOGUE OF BYZANTINE IMAGES OF CHRIST INSCRIBED WITH EPITHETS⁴⁴²

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
1	Ancient of Days	Ο ΠΑΛΑΙΟC ΤΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ	1000-1100	Wall painting	Canavar Church, Cappadocia	I have not found a reproduction of this image. The citation says that it is in the barrel vault of the church in a depiction of the Last Judgement.	Unknown
2	Ancient of Days	Ο/ ΠΑ/ΛΙΟ/ C - ΤΩΝ /ΗΜΕ/ΡΩΝ	1050-1100	Manuscript illumination, (Vat.Gr.394, fol. 7)	Byzantine, Vatican Museums, Vat.Gr.394	Manuscript illumination for John Klimakos' 'Divine Ladder'. Christ the Ancient of Days is depicted full length, grey haired and sat in a blue mandorla. With both of his hands he holds a young Christ on his lap. To the left is a representation of Klimakos and to the right are twelve apostles.	Kreahling McKay, 2010, pp. 51–68.
3	Ancient of Days	Ο /Π/Α/Λ/ΑΙ/Ο/ C (ΤΩΝ) - Η/Μ/Ε/Ρ/Ω/Ν	1060-1080	Manuscript Illumination, (Paris Ms. gr. 74 fol. 1r)	Byzantine, Constantinople (?)	Shown in a small roundel about on a headpiece for the Gospel of Matthew. Two cherubim and Abraham and Isaac are shown on the bottom. On the next two headpieces Emmanuel and Pantokrator are depicted in the top roundels but with no epithets inscribed. In the fourth and final headpiece all three are .. ? Enthroned	Tsuji, 1975, pp. 165-203.
4	Ancient of Days	Ο /Π/Α/ΛΑΙ/Ο/ C (ΤΩΝ) - Η(Μ)ΕΡ(ΩΝ)	1060-1080	Manuscript Illumination, (Paris Ms. gr. 74 fol. 167r)	Byzantine, Constantinople (?)	Manuscript illumination is displayed on the headpiece for John's gospel. Depicted in a roundel, flanked by two further roundels that contain Christ inscribed IC XC and another as Emmanuel. The Ancient of Days is shown on a low-backed throne; his right hand is before him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed scroll. The epithet is split in two and flanks the top half of his body.	Tsuji, 1975, pp. 165-203.
5	Ancient of Days	Ο ΠΑΛΑΙΟC (ΤΩΝ) ΗΜ/Ε(ΡΩΝ)	1066	Manuscript illumination (BL Ms. 19352, fol. 1r)	Byzantine, Constantinople (?)	Image shows Christ the Ancient of Days, full length with grey hair, sat in a blue mandorla. The mandorla is flanked by two cherubim. Christ's epithet is inscribed immediately above the mandorla, whilst IC XC is within it.	Tsuji, 1975, pp. 165-203.
6	Ancient of Days	Ο ΠΑΛΕΟC (ΤΩΝ) - ΗΜΕΡΩΝ	1150-1200	Wall painting	Church, Hagios Stephanos, Kastoria	Image is part of a trio of images of Christ shown in roundels on the entire ceiling of the naos of the church. The image of Christ the Ancient of Days is in the middle, with Emmanuel at the top and	Chatzidakis and Pelekanidis, 1985, pp. 18-19.

⁴⁴² For inscriptions, / represents a new line and – represents a break. I have given the original Byzantine location where known, with (?) given when a location is speculated.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
						Pantokrator at the bottom. The Ancient of Days is depicted in a bust, adult and grey-haired. He holds his right hand before him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed scroll. The epithet is split in two and flanks either side of his neck.	
7	Ancient of Days	O/ ΠΑ/ΛΑΙ/OC - TGON H/ME-PGON	1297	Manuscript Illumination, Ms. Dd. 9.69, fol. 139r.		Manuscript illumination, used to preface the Book of Revelation. The Christ the Ancient of Days is shown grey-haired and adult in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed scroll. He is situated in a blue diamond shape, which is placed upon a blue roundel. Out of the roundel emerge the anthropomorphic representations of the Evangelists, each of whom are named by inscription. The epithet is inscribed with a non-lineally. The epithet is split in half and displayed either side of Christ's head and shoulders, however, to read the inscription, one must start at the top, then immediately, below, then to the left and then the right. This occurs on both sides.	Evans, 2004, p. 263.
8	Ancient of Days	O/ ΠΑ/AE/IOC - TGON /HME/PGON	1300-1400	Wall painting	Asinou, Cyprus, Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus	Image is shown in the triumphal arch before the apse of the church. Christ the Ancient of Days sits in a semi-circular roundel and is in the centre of an image of the Annunciation. The Ancient of Days is depicted adult and grey-haired. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed scroll. The epithet is divided in two and flanks either side of Christ's head and shoulders.	Stylianou and Stylianou, 1985, p. 130
9	Antiphonetes, The One Who Responds	O AN/T/I/- Φ/G/NH/T(HC)	1028-1050	Coin	Constantinople	Coin of Empress Zoe, depicted on the obverse. Christ is shown standing in half length; right hand is in blessing and left holds closed gospel book. Epithet is split in two, flanking Christ.	Grierson, 1982, pl. LVIII.1, p. 162
10	Antiphonetes, The One Who Responds	O ANTI/ΦGONHITHC	1060-1070	Mosaic	Nicaea	Now-lost mosaic in the bema of the Church of the Koimesis, Nicaea. Christ is shown half-length and standing; right hand is in a gesture of blessing; left hand holds a closed Gospel book. Epithet is split in two and flanks Christ.	Mango, 1959, p. 252.
11	Antiphonetes, The One Who Responds	O/ ANTI - ΦG/NI/THC	1192-1192	Wall painting	Panagia tou Arakos Church, Lagoudera	Image shown in the south proskynetaria, flanking the apse. There is an image of the Mother of God	Nelson, 2007, pp. 100-119.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
						Eleousa on the north side. Right hand is in a gesture of blessing, left hand holds an open Gospel book.	
12	Antiphonetes, The One Who Responds	O ANTIΦGΩNHΘC	1300- 1400	Icon, steatite	Byzantine, Constantinople (?)	Icon of Christ, who depicted in a bust. His right arm is held in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. Kalavrezou does not give information about the appearance of the inscription in her catalogue.	Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, 1985, cat. 135, p. 210.
13	Antiphonetes, The One Who Responds	O A(N)/TH/ΦGΩ/- NH/ΘC	1350	Icon, steatite	Byzantine, Constantinople (?)	Image is shown on a small steatite icon. Christ is depicted in a bust and his right hand is held in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. There are faint traces of gold paint on the icon. The epithet is split in two and flanks either side of Christ's head and shoulders. The inscription is placed within two rectangular frames.	Wixom, 1999, p. 95.
14	Chalkites	O /X/A/Λ-KI/TH/C	1000- 1100	Seal, Lead	Constantinople	Christ stands on the obverse; he is shown standing in full length, blessing with right hand and holding a gospel with his left. Inscription on the reverse reads 'The Lord Himself is the most secure seal for the letters of Pantechnes of the gracious name.'	Mango, 1959, 137
15	Chalkites	O /X/A/Λ-K/H/ΘC	1100- 1200	Medallion	Athens (?)	Standing Mother of God with Christ Child is shown on the reverse. Christ is shown standing on the obverse, holding a gospel book with his left. Epithet is divided in two and flanks Christ.	Mango, 1959, 136
16	Chalkites	(O X) AA - KI / ΘC	1195- 1203	Seal, Lead	Byzantine, Constantinople (?)	Zacos and Veglery, identifies the iconography is 'almost identical exemplar' to the published Euphrosyne Doukaina seal. Empress is depicted on the reverse and Christ is shown standing holding gospel with right hand and gospel with his left. No image available.	Zacos and Veglery, 1971, nos. 101, 111
17	Chalkites	[IC][O X][A Λ] - KI/T/H/C	1195- 1203	Seal, Lead	Byzantine, Constantinople (?)	I have not been able to find a reproduction of this seal, so have relied on Bank's description. Empress is depicted on the reverse and Christ is shown full length and standing on the obverse; his right hand extends away from him and his left holds a gospel book. Epithet is split in two and flanks either side of his body.	A. Bank, 1960, fig. 93.
18	Chalkites	(O XAA) - K/H/T(HC)	1204- 1261	Coin	Nicaea	Coin from unidentified period of the Nicaean Empire (1204-1261). Cross with IC XC NI KA is depicted on the reverse. Obverse is in poor condition and shows Christ standing. Epithet appears to be split in two and flanking Christ.	Hendy, 1999, no. 36.9. p. 265.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
19	Chalkites	O /X/A/Λ-K/I/TH/C	1222-1254	Seal, Lead	Nicaea	Emperor John VIII Doukas Vatatzes is shown on the reverse. Christ is shown standing, left hand holds a gospel book and right is in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks Christ.	Mango, 1959, p. 136.
20	Chalkites	(O) X/(A)/Λ-KI/TH/(C)	1222-1254	Coin, Bronze	Nicaea	Emperor John VIII Doukas Vatatzes is shown on the reverse. Christ is shown standing; left hand holds a gospel book and right is in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks Christ.	Mango, 1959, p. 136.
21	Chalkites	(O XAA)-KI/THC	1222-1254	Seal, Lead	Nicaea	Emperor John VIII Doukas Vatatzes is shown on the reverse. Christ is shown standing; left hand holds a gospel book and right is in a gesture of blessing. First half of epithet is missing, but second half is shown to right's right.	Mango, 1959, p. 136-7
22	Chalkites	O XAAKITIC [sic.]	1222-1254	Coin, Silver	Nicaea	I have not been able to find a reproduction of this coin, so have relied on Mango's description. He notes that 'the same characteristics recur' as Emperor John III Doukas Vatatzes' other coins. This means that Christ Chalkites is depicted full length and standing with his right arm extended away from him in blessing and his left holding a closed gospel book. John is depicted on the reverse. Christ's epithet is split in two and flanks either side of his body.	Mango, 1959, p. 136.
23	Chalkites	O XAAb-K(ITHC)	1259	Wall painting	Bulgaria	Image is in poor condition and only the head survives. Mango writes, 'It originally represented a full-length standing Christ, but only half of the head remains, with the inscription (OXA) AbKHTC. Epithet is split in two and flanks Christ's head and shoulders.	Mango, 1959, pp. 132-7
24	Chalkites	O XAA-KIT(HC)	1316-1321	Mosaic	Chora Church, Constantinople	Shown in the south bay of the inner narthex. Christ shown full length and standing; left hand in blessing and right is empty in front of him. To his right, he is flanked by the Mother of God and Isaac Komnenos and to his left is a nun identified as Melane. Epithet is in poor condition but is split in two and flanks Christ's head and shoulders.	Underwood, 1966, pl. 6.
25	Eleemon, The Merciful	O E/ΛE-H/MGΩ/N	950-1050	Pendant, Bloodstone	Constantinople (?)	Cameo with Christ shown in bust on the obverse. Left hand holds a gospel book and right is in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks his head. The reverse reads, XPICTE O ΘEOC O EIC CE EΛΠIZGΩ OYK AΠOTYΓXANEI, O	Evans and Wixom, 1997, cat. 128, p. 175.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
						Christ our Lord, he who put his hope in thee will not fail).	
26	Eleemon, The Merciful	Ο Ε/Α/Ε-Η/Μ/ΓΩ/Ν	1100-1150	Icon, micromosaic	Constantinople (?)	Christ is depicted in bust, holding a closed gospel book with his left hand and his right is in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks Christ's head.	Weitzmann, 1982, no. 54.
27	Eleemon, The Merciful	Ο ΕΛΕΗ-ΜΓΩΝ	1317-1318	Wall painting	Church of St. George, Staro Nagoričane	Image is shown on the north proskynetaria of the Church, with the Mother of God displayed on the south. Christ is depicted full length and standing, his right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds an open gospel book. The epithet is split in two and flanks either side of Christ's shoulders.	Todić, 1999, p. 391.
28	Eleemon, The Merciful	Ο ΕΛΕ-ΗΜΓΩΝ	1332-1333	Wall painting	Asinou, Cyprus, Panagia Phorbiotissa.	Image is shown in the south proskyneteria and is duplicated in the narthex. Image is flanked by representations of the Mother of God and John the Baptist. Christ is shown full length and standing, left hand holds a gospel book and right is in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and displayed wither side of his neck.	Stylianou and Stylianou, 1985, p. 136
29	Eleemon, The Merciful	Ο ΕΛΕΗ-ΜΓΩΝ	1332-1333	Wall painting	Asinou, Cyprus, Panagia Phorbiotissa.	Image is displayed south of the doorway leading from the narthex to the naos. Christ is shown full length and standing; left hand holds a gospel book and right is in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks Christ's neck.	Stylianou and Stylianou, 1985, p. 136
30	Eleemon, The Merciful	Ο ΕΛΕΗ-ΜΓΩΝ	1375-1400	Wall painting	St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria, Cyprus	Shown on the pilaster of the entrance into the naos. Mother of God is shown on flanking pilaster on the other side. Christ is shown full length and standing, left hand holds a gospel book and right is in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks Christ's neck.	Stylianou and Stylianou, 1985, p. 74
31	Eleemon, The Merciful	Ο ΕΛΕ-ΗΜΓΩΝ	1391	Manuscript Illumination	Constantinople	Image displayed in a folio of a psalter. Christ is shown full length and enthroned. Image on the verso shows the Mother of God pulling a Monk named Kaloedias being pulled out of a sarcophagus. Christ's left hand holds a gospel book and right is in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	Drpić, 2016, p. 360.
32	Emmanuel	(EMMA)NOYHA	976-1025	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal for Basil II who depicted on the reverse. On the obverse, there is an adult Christ depicted in a bust. He blesses with his right hand and his left holds a	BZS.1955.1.4305

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
						closed gospel book. The inscription is split in two and around the circular border of the seal.	
33	Emmanuel	(EMMA)-NOVHA	976-1025	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal for Basil II who is depicted on the reverse. On the obverse, there is an adult Christ depicted in a bust. He blesses with his right hand and his left holds a closed gospel book. The inscription is split in two and around the circular border of the seal.	Nesbitt, 2009, no. 68.9.
34	Emmanuel	(EMMANOY)HA	976-1025	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal for Basil II who is depicted on the reverse. On the obverse, there is an adult Christ depicted in a bust. He blesses with his right hand and his left holds a closed gospel book. The inscription is split in two and around the circular border of the seal.	Nesbitt, 2009, no. 68.5.
35	Emmanuel	EMMA-NOVHA	976-1025	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal for Basil II who is depicted on the reverse. On the obverse, there is an adult Christ depicted in a bust. He blesses with his right hand and his left holds a closed gospel book. The inscription is split in two and around the circular border of the seal.	Nesbitt, 2009, no. 68.3.
36	Emmanuel	EMMA-N(OY)HA	976-1025	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal for Basil II who is depicted on the reverse. On the obverse, there is an adult Christ depicted in a bust. He blesses with his right hand and his left holds a closed gospel book. The inscription is split in two and around the circular border of the seal.	Nesbitt, 2009, no. 68.2.
37	Emmanuel	EMMA-NOVHA	976-1025	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal for Basil II who is depicted on the reverse. On the obverse, there is an adult Christ depicted in a bust. He blesses with his right hand and his left holds a closed gospel book. The inscription is split in two and around the circular border of the seal.	Nesbitt, 2009, no. 68.1.
38	Emmanuel	(EMMA)NO(Y)HA	976-1025	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal for Basil II who is depicted on the reverse. On the obverse, there is an adult Christ depicted in a bust. He blesses with his right hand and his left holds a closed gospel book. The inscription is split in two and around the circular border of the seal.	Nesbitt, 2009, no. 68.4.
39	Emmanuel	EMM(ANOY)HA	976-1025	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal for Basil II who depicted on the reverse. On the obverse, there is an adult Christ depicted in a bust. He blesses with his right hand and his left holds a closed gospel book. The inscription is split in two and around the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1958.106.599
40	Emmanuel	EMMA-NOYHA	976-1025	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal for Basil II who is depicted on the reverse. On the obverse, there is an adult Christ depicted in a bust. He blesses with his right hand and his left holds a closed gospel book. The inscription is split in two and around the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1958.106.585

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
41	Emmanuel	O EMMA-NOYHA	1000-1400	Wall painting (?)	Ağaçlık kilise, Güzelöz/Mavrucan, Cappadocia	Image is displayed in a niche north of the apse 'niche nord de l'abside'. Christ is depicted as young; he extends his right arm away from him in blessing and his left holds a closed scroll. The epithet is split in two and flanks either side of Christ's neck.	Jolivet-Lévy, 2001, p. 146
42	Emmanuel	(EM)MA-NOVHA	1042-1055	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Constantine IX, who is depicted in a bust on the reverse. On the obverse, the adult Christ is depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1955.1.4317
43	Emmanuel	E(MMA)-NOVH(Λ)	1042-1055	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Constantine IX, who is depicted in a bust on the reverse. On the obverse, the adult Christ is depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1958.106.631
44	Emmanuel	(EM)MA-NOVHA	1042-1055	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Constantine IX, who is depicted in a bust on the reverse. On the obverse, the adult Christ is depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1958.106.628
45	Emmanuel	EMMA-NOVHA	1042-1055	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Constantine IX, who is depicted in a bust on the reverse. On the obverse, the adult Christ is depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1951.31.5.1667
46	Emmanuel	EMMA-(NOVHA)	1042-1055	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Constantine IX, who is depicted in a bust on the reverse. On the obverse, the adult Christ is depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1951.31.5.1666
47	Emmanuel	(EMMA)-NOVHA	1042-1055	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Constantine IX, who is depicted in a bust on the reverse. On the obverse, the adult Christ is depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1947.2.350

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
48	Emmanuel	O EMM-ANOYHA	1050-1150	Wall painting	Karanlık Kilise, Cappadocia	Image is situated on the eastern side of the drum of the western dome of the church. Christ Emmanuel is depicted young, in a bust and situated in a roundel; his right hand is before him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed scroll. The image is immediately flanked by two roundels that contain representations of the Mother of God and Archangel Michael. Christ's epithet is inscribed outside and above the roundel, split in two and flanking to the left and right.	Schroeder, 2008, pp. 23-54
49	Emmanuel	(EM)MA - NOYHA,	1055-1056	Seal, gold	Constantinople	Seal for Empress Theodora the Macedonian who depicted on the reverse. On the obverse, there is an adult Christ depicted in a bust. He blesses with his right hand and his left holds a closed gospel book. The inscription is split in two and around the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1961.20
50	Emmanuel	EMMA-NOYHA	1056-1057	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal for Michael VI Bringas who depicted on the reverse. On the obverse, there is an adult Christ depicted in a bust. He blesses with his right hand and his left holds a closed gospel book. The inscription is split in two and around the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1955.1.4317
51	Emmanuel	EMMA-NOVHA	1056-1057	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Michael VI Bringas, who is depicted in a bust on the reverse. On the obverse, the adult Christ is depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1955.1.4318
52	Emmanuel	(EMMA)-NOVHA	1057-1059	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Isaac I Komnenos, who is depicted in a bust on the reverse. On the obverse, the adult Christ is depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1955.1.4320
53	Emmanuel	(EMMA)-NOVHA	1057-1059	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Isaac I Komnenos, who is depicted in a bust on the reverse. On the obverse, the adult Christ is depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1955.1.4319
54	Emmanuel	EMMA-NOVHA	1057-1059	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Isaac I Komnenos, who is depicted in a bust on the reverse. On the obverse, the adult Christ is	BZS.1955.1.4321

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
						depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	
55	Emmanuel	EMMA-NOVHA	1059-1067	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Constantine X, who is depicted standing alone on the reverse. On the obverse, the adult Christ is depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1958.106.537
56	Emmanuel	EMMA-NOVHA	1059-1067	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Constantine X, who is depicted standing alone on the reverse. On the obverse, the adult Christ is depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1947.2.353
57	Emmanuel	EMMA-NOVHA	1059-1067	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Constantine X, who is depicted standing alone on the reverse. On the obverse, the adult Christ is depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1951.31.5.1668
58	Emmanuel	EMMA-NOVHA	1059-1067	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Constantine X, who is depicted standing alone on the reverse. On the obverse, the adult Christ is depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1958.106.625
59	Emmanuel	EMMA-(NO)VHA	1059-1067	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Constantine X, who is depicted standing alone on the reverse. On the obverse, the adult Christ is depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1958.106.622
60	Emmanuel	(EMMA)NO(VHA)	1059-1067	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Constantine X, who is depicted standing alone on the reverse. On the obverse, the adult Christ is depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1955.1.4325
61	Emmanuel	EMMA-NOVHA	1059-1067	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Constantine X, who is depicted standing alone on the reverse. On the obverse, the adult	BZS.1955.1.4324

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
						Christ is depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	
62	Emmanuel	EMMA-NOVHA	1059-1067	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Constantine X, who is depicted standing alone on the reverse. On the obverse, the adult Christ is depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1955.1.4323
63	Emmanuel	EMMA-(NO)VHA	1059-1067	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Constantine X, who is depicted standing alone on the reverse. On the obverse, the adult Christ is depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1955.1.4322
64	Emmanuel	(O) E/M/M/A(N) - OY/HA	1060-1080	Manuscript Illumination, (Paris ms. gr. 74 fol. 167r)	Constantinople	Manuscript illumination on the headpiece for John's Gospel. Christ Emmanuel is the final of three representations of Christ shown in one line in three separate roundels. He is depicted young and sitting on a low-backed throne. The image is in poor condition, but it looks like his right hand is in front of him a gesture of blessing and his right holds a gospel book or scroll. The epithet is split in two and flanks either side of Christ's body.	Tsuji, 1975, 165-203.
65	Emmanuel	EMM(ANOVHA)	1065-1067	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Constantine X, who is depicted standing with the Mother of God on the reverse. On the obverse, Christ is depicted full length and seated on a lyre-backed throne. His right hand is in front in blessing and the other half of the seal is lost. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1947.2.416
66	Emmanuel	EMMA-NOVHA	1065-1067	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Constantine X, who is depicted standing with the Mother of God on the reverse. On the obverse, Christ is depicted full length and seated on a lyre-backed throne. His right hand is in front in blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book that rests on his lap. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1955.1.4326
67	Emmanuel	(EMMA)NOVHA	1065-1067	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Constantine X, who is depicted standing with the Mother of God on the reverse. On the obverse, Christ is depicted full length and seated on	BZS.1958.106.621

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
						a lyre-backed throne. His right hand is in front in blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book that rests on his lap. The epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	
68	Emmanuel	EMMA-NOYHA	1067	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal of Eudokia, Michael and Constantine who are depicted standing on the reverse. On the obverse, Christ is depicted seated on a low-backed throne, his right arm extends away from him in blessing and his left holds a closed gospel, which rests on his lap. Epithet is split in two and runs along the circular border of the seal.	BZS.1958.106.598
69	Emmanuel	O EMMA-NOYHA	1100-1300	Wall painting	Cambazli Kilise, Cappadocia	Schroeder does not state where in the church this image is displayed. Christ Emmanuel is young, depicted in a bust and within a roundel. His right hand is before him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed scroll. The image looks as though it is in an arched niche. In the arches to the left and right are representations of Kings David and Solomon. The epithet is split in two and displayed either side of Christ's head.	Schroeder, 2008, p. 37.
70	Emmanuel	O /EM/MA-NOY/HA	1143-1180	Coin	Constantinople (?)	Coin of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, who is depicted on reverse. On the obverse, a young Christ is depicted in a bust. He holds a scroll with his left hand and his left is in a gesture of blessing. The epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	Hendy, 1969, no. 13.1, p. 112.
71	Emmanuel	O /EM/MA-NOY/HA	1143-1180	Coin	Constantinople (?)	Coin of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, who is depicted on reverse. On the obverse, a young Christ is depicted in a bust. He holds a scroll with his left hand and his left is in a gesture of blessing. The epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	Hendy, 1969, no. 13.2, p. 112.
72	Emmanuel	O /EM/MA-NOY/HA	1143-1180	Coin	Constantinople (?)	Coin of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, who is depicted on reverse. On the obverse, a young Christ is depicted in a bust. He holds a scroll with his left hand and his left is in a gesture of blessing. The epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	Hendy, 1969, no. 13.10, p. 114.
73	Emmanuel	O /EM/MA-NOY/HA	1143-1180	Coin	Constantinople (?)	Coin of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, who is depicted on reverse. On the obverse, a young Christ is depicted in a bust. He holds a scroll with his left hand and his left is in a gesture of blessing. The epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	Hendy, 1969, no. 13.11, p. 114.
74	Emmanuel	O /EM/MA-NOY/HA	1143-1180	Coin	Constantinople (?)	Coin of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, who is depicted on reverse. On the obverse, a young Christ	Hendy, 1969, no. 13.12, p. 114.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
						is depicted in a bust. He holds a scroll with his left hand and his left is in a gesture of blessing. The epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	
75	Emmanuel	O /EM/MA-NOY/HA	1143-1180	Seal, lead	Constantinople (?)	Coin of Manuel I Komnenos, who is depicted standing on the reverse. On the obverse there is a depiction of the young Christ depicted in a bust. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing, in his left is a closed scroll. The epithet is split in two and flanks either side of his head and shoulders.	Nesbitt, 2009, no. 93.1.
76	Emmanuel	O EMMA-NOYHA	1150-1200	Wall painting	Hagios Stephanos, Kastoria	Image is part of a trio of images of Christ shown in roundels on the entire ceiling of the naos of the church. The image of Christ Emmanuel is at the top, followed by Christ Ancient of Days, then Christ Pantokrator. All figures are shown in busts. Christ Emmanuel is depicted young and holds his right hand in front of him in prayer and his right holds a closed scroll. The epithet is split in two and flanks either side of his neck and shoulders.	Chatzidakis, and Pelekanidis, 1985, p. 18-19.
77	Emmanuel	O /EMMA-NOYHA	1192	Wall painting	Panagia tou Arakos Church, Lagoudera, Cyprus	Image is shown in a medallion beneath the drum of the dome of the church, in front of the apse. It is incorporated into the Annunciation scene which is shown on the pendentives. Christ is contained in a roundel and depicted in a bust. He is holding a scroll with his left hand and is in a gesture of blessing with his right. Epithet is split in two and flanks his neck.	Stylianou and Stylianou, 1985, p. 162.
78	Emmanuel	O /EM/MA-NOY/HA	1205-1222	Coin	Nicaea	Coin of Emperor Theodore I of Nicaean Empire, who is depicted on the reverse. Christ is depicted as a child and shown in a bust. His left hand holds a scroll and right is shown in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	Hendy, 1969, no. 30. 4, p. 228.
79	Emmanuel	O /EM/MA-NOY/HA	1205-1222	Coin	Nicaea	Coin of Emperor Theodore I of Nicaean Empire, who is depicted on the reverse. Christ is depicted as a child and shown in a bust. His left hand holds a scroll and right is shown in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	Hendy, 1969, no. 30.5, p. 228.
80	Emmanuel	O /EM/MA-NOY/HA	1205-1222	Coin	Nicaea	Coin of Emperor Theodore I of Nicaean Empire, who is depicted on the reverse. Christ is depicted as a child and shown in a bust. His left hand holds a scroll and right is shown in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	Hendy, 1969, no. 30.6, p. 228.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
81	Emmanuel	O /EM/MA-NOY/HA	1205-1222	Coin	Nicaea	Coin of Emperor Theodore I of Nicaean Empire, who is depicted on the reverse. Christ is depicted as a child and shown in a bust. His left hand holds a scroll and right is shown in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	Hendy, 1969, no. 31.8, pp. 229-30.
82	Emmanuel	O /EM/MA-NOY/HA	1205-1222	Coin	Nicaea	Coin of Emperor Theodore I of Nicaean Empire, who is depicted on the reverse. Christ is depicted as a child and shown in a bust. His left hand holds a scroll and right is shown in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	Hendy, 1969, no. 31.9, pp. 229-30.
83	Emmanuel	O /EM/MA-NOY/HA	1205-1222	Coin	Nicaea	Coin of Emperor Theodore I of Nicaean Empire, who is depicted on the reverse. Christ is depicted as a child and shown in a bust. His left hand holds a scroll and right is shown in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	Hendy, 1969, no. 31.10, pp. 229-30.
84	Emmanuel	O /EM/MA-NOY/HA	1215-1230	Coin	Thessaloniki	Coin of Emperor Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Thessaloniki, who is depicted on the reverse. Christ is depicted as a child and shown in a bust. His left hand holds a scroll and right is shown in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	Hendy, 1959, no. 37.7, p. 269.
85	Emmanuel	O /EM/MA-NOY/HA	1215-1230	Coin	Thessaloniki	Coin of Emperor Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Thessaloniki, who is depicted on the reverse. Christ is depicted as a child and shown in a bust. His left hand holds a scroll and right is shown in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	Hendy, 1959, no. 37.8, p. 269.
86	Emmanuel	O /EM/MA-NOY/HA	1215-1230	Coin	Thessaloniki	Coin of Emperor Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Thessaloniki, who is depicted on the reverse. Christ is depicted as a child and shown in a bust. His left hand holds a scroll and right is shown in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	Hendy, 1969, no. 37.9, p. 269.
87	Emmanuel	(O) E/MM/A-(NOYHA)	1222-1254	Coin	Nicaea	Coin of Emperor John III Doukas Vatatzes, Emperor of Nicaea, who is depicted on the reverse. Christ is depicted as a child and shown in a bust. His left hand holds a scroll and right is shown in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	Hendy, 1969, no. 32.9, pp. 238-9.
88	Emmanuel	(O EM)M(A)-NOY(H)A	1222-1254	Coin	Nicaea	Coin of Emperor John III Doukas Vatatzes, Emperor of Nicaea, who is depicted on the reverse. Christ is depicted as a child and shown in a bust.	Hendy, 1969, no. 32.12, pp. 239-40.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
						His left hand holds a scroll and right is shown in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	
89	Emmanuel	(O) E(M)/M(A)- N(OY)H(Λ)	1222- 1254	Coin	Nicaea	Coin of Emperor John III Doukas Vatatzes, Emperor of Nicaea, who is depicted on the reverse. Christ is depicted as a child and shown in a bust. His left hand holds a scroll and right is shown in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	Hendy, 1969, pp. 239-40, 32.13
90	Emmanuel	O / EMM/A/ - (NOYHA)	1222- 1254	Coin	Nicaea	Coin of Emperor John III Doukas Vatatzes, Emperor of Nicaea, who is depicted on the reverse. Christ is depicted as a child and shown in a bust. His left hand holds a scroll and right is shown in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	Hendy, 1969, no. 33.5, p. 242.
91	Emmanuel	(O)E/MM/A- NOY/HA	1250- 1350	Icon, steatite	Byzantine	Image is shown on an oval-shaped piece of steatite. Christ is depicted young, his right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed scroll. The inscription is very small and flanks either side of Christ's shoulders.	Wixom, 1999, p. 94.
92	Emmanuel	O EM(M)ANOYHA	1300- 1500	Icon, steatite	Constantinople or Thessaloniki (?)	Part of a larger icon consisting of thirteen carved plaques. In the six panels that form the top two rows of the outer framing plaques, an identical image of the young Christ, shown in a bust is inscribed Emmanuel. He outstretches both arms in a gesture of blessing, above choirs of men. In the top register they are identified as prophets; in the second, they are identified as apostles. Christ's epithets are displayed on the horizontal frieze that runs above the scenes.	Evans, 2004, cat. 143, p. 235.
93	Emmanuel	O EM(M)ANOYHA	1300- 1500	Icon, steatite	Constantinople or Thessaloniki (?)	Part of a larger icon consisting of thirteen carved plaques. In the six panels that form the top two rows of the outer framing plaques, an identical image of the young Christ, shown in a bust is inscribed Emmanuel. He outstretches both arms in a gesture of blessing, above choirs of men. In the top register they are identified as prophets; in the second, they are identified as apostles. Christ's epithets are displayed on the horizontal frieze that runs above the scenes.	Evans, 2004, cat. 143, p. 235.
94	Emmanuel	O EM(M)ANOYHA	1300- 1500	Icon, steatite	Constantinople or Thessaloniki (?)	Part of a larger icon consisting of thirteen carved plaques. In the six panels that form the top two rows	Evans, 2004, cat. 143, p. 235.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
						of the outer framing plaques, an identical image of the young Christ, shown in a bust is inscribed Emmanuel. He outstretches both arms in a gesture of blessing, above choirs of men. In the top register they are identified as prophets; in the second, they are identified as apostles. Christ's epithets are displayed on the horizontal frieze that runs above the scenes.	
95	Emmanuel	O EM(M)ANOYHA	1300-1500	Icon, steatite	Constantinople or Thessaloniki (?)	Part of a larger icon consisting of thirteen carved plaques. In the six panels that form the top two rows of the outer framing plaques, an identical image of the young Christ, shown in a bust is inscribed Emmanuel. He outstretches both arms in a gesture of blessing, above choirs of men. In the top register they are identified as prophets; in the second, they are identified as apostles. Christ's epithets are displayed on the horizontal frieze that runs above the scenes.	Evans, 2004, cat. 143, p. 235.
96	Emmanuel	O EM(M)ANOYH(Λ)	1300-1500	Icon, steatite	Constantinople or Thessaloniki (?)	Part of a larger icon consisting of thirteen carved plaques. In the six panels that form the top two rows of the outer framing plaques, an identical image of the young Christ, shown in a bust is inscribed Emmanuel. He outstretches both arms in a gesture of blessing, above choirs of men. In the top register they are identified as prophets; in the second, they are identified as apostles. Christ's epithets are displayed on the horizontal frieze that runs above the scenes.	Evans, 2004, cat. 143, p. 235.
97	Emmanuel	O EM(M)ANOYH(Λ)	1300-1500	Icon, steatite	Constantinople or Thessaloniki (?)	Part of a larger icon consisting of thirteen carved plaques. In the six panels that form the top two rows of the outer framing plaques, an identical image of the young Christ, shown in a bust is inscribed Emmanuel. He outstretches both arms in a gesture of blessing, above choirs of men. In the top register they are identified as prophets; in the second, they are identified as apostles. Christ's epithets are displayed on the horizontal frieze that runs above the scenes.	Evans, 2004, cat. 143, p. 235.
98	Emmanuel	O EMMA-NOYHA	1346-1349	Wall painting	Monastery of the Church of Archangel Michael in Lesnovo	Image of Christ in Majesty depicted in the west arch of the church. Christ sits on a rainbow, raising his right hand in blessing and his left sits on his lap holding a scroll. Image of Christ is situated in an	Gabelić, 1998, p. 97.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
						orb-like form, out of which emerge two hands on the left and right holding a gospel book and a scroll, respectively. The orb is flanked by groups of angelic beings.	
99	Evergetes, The Benefactor	O /EY/EP - ΓE/TH/C	1143-1143	Seal, Lead	Constantinople (?)	Coin of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, who is referenced with an invocation on the reverse. Christ is shown standing in full length; right hand is in front in a gesture of blessing and left might be holding a gospel book. Epithet is split in two and flanks Christ.	Cotsonis, 2013, p. 567
100	Evergetes, The Benefactor	O EYEP-ΓETHC	1259-1259	Wall painting	Church of Sts Nicholas and Panteleimon, Bojana	Christ seated with gospel book in a gesture of blessing. Image is in poor condition and is situated in the proskynetaria of the church. Epithet is split in two and flanks Christ's halo.	Grabar, 1928, p. 38
101	Our God	O Θ(EO)C HMGON	1260-1280	Wall painting	Church of the Virgin (Panagia) Koubelidiki or Kastriotissa, Kastoria	Image takes up the entire ceiling of the narthex of the church. Christ as God with is shown full length, grey haired and sat on a rainbow, he holds a smaller representation of the more typical adult Christ on his lap, in turn, he holds a white circle with a dove inside. This image has been interpreted as the Holy Trinity. The epithet is written to the right of the grey-haired figure's neck with IC XC to the left.	Chatzidakis and Pelekanidis, 1985, p. 90.
102	Hyperagathos, The Supremely Good	O/ Y/Π(E)PA/TA/ΘO/C	1310	Mosaic	Pammakaristos Church, Constantinople	Mosaic is shown in the apse of the parekklesion of the Pammakaristos church. The image is flanked by representations of the Mother of God and John the Baptist in the bema and four archangels in the vault. Christ sits on a low-backed throne, his right arm extends far away from his body and his left holds a closed gospel book. It has been speculated that this iconography is a reference to images of the Ascension. The epithet is split in half and flanks to the top half of Christ's body.	Mouriki, 1978, p. 56.
103	King of Glory	OB / TΔ - O B(ACIAEYC) T(HC) Δ(OΞHC)	1050-1150	Pendant, enkolpion	Constantinople	Image is shown on the front of a double-faced enkolpion. The Mother of God is shown on the reverse gesturing towards Christ. On the front, Christ is shown in a bust, with his right hand holding a closed gospel book and his left in front of him in blessing. Four orbs are attached to the main panel of the enkolpion on which Christ's naming inscriptions are displayed: IC and XC left and right; OB and TΔ above and below.	Evans and Wixom, 1997, cat. 112, p. 165.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
104	King of Glory	O BACIAEYC / THC /Δ/O/Ξ/H/C	1050- 1150	Icon, ivory	Byzantine, now Cabinet de médailles, Paris	Ivory triptych with the a representation of the Crucifixion in the central panel, with saints depicted on the internal left and right wings and a simple cross on reverse, when closed. In the Crucifixion, Christ is flanked by the Mother of God, John the Evangelist, Archangels Micahel and Gabriel, the moon and sun, and Constantine and Helena. Below the arms of the cross is inscribed ΙΑΕ Ο ΥΙΟC COY ΙΔΟΥ Η ΜΗΤΗΡ COY (This is your son, this is your mother). At the base in inscribed, ΓΩC CAΠΕ ΠΙΕΠΙΟΝΤΑC ΓΩC Θ[ΕΟ]C ΠΑΘΩΝ ΛΥΕΙC (As flesh you have suffered, as God you release from suffering). The epithet is inscribed on above, below and on the titulus of the	Cutler, 2015, pp. 212-234.
105	King of Glory	O BACIAEYC THC ΔΟΞΗC	1080- 1130	Icon	St Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, Egypt	This image is part of a much larger iconographic scheme within a complex icon. The main icon is centred around a large image of the enthroned Mother of God and Christ Child, flanked by smaller representations of prophets and saints. This image is shown on the top of the icon, above the main image. Christ sits on a very faint rainbow in an orb that is flanked by apocalyptic beasts and angels; he is shown full length, dressed in gold, holding his right arm away from his body and his left on his lap holding a scroll. The epithet inscription runs the top of the image.	Evans and Wixom, 1997, cat. 244, p. 372.
106	King of Glory	(O BACI)AEYC/ THC ΔΟ/ΞΗ/C	1150- 1200	Icon, double- sided	Byzantine	Image is shown on the reverse of a bilateral icon, which shows the Mother of God and Christ Child in an iconography known as the Hodegetria on the front. Christ depicted as 'Man of Sorrows' potentially in the interval between Crucifixion and Resurrection; he is shown in bust, with his head slumped to his right. The arms and titulus of the cross can be seen above and to the sides of Christ. The epithet is written on the titulus.	Evans and Wixom, 1997, cat. 72, p. 125.
107	King of Glory	O BACIAEYC THC ΔΟΞΗC	1150- 1250	Icon (mixed media)	Byzantine, now in Jerusalem	Image is part of a mixed-media icon, displaying precious revetment, as well as enamelled and painted figures. The icon is centred around a painted image of Christ. He is shown in a bust and cut off at the shoulders. It speculated that image might have once been a representation of the Man of Sorrows. In the frame, there are enamelled representations of	Hetherington, 1990, p. 26.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
						the Mother of God, angels and saints. On the top of the icon there are images of crosses and the instruments of the Passion. The epithet is displayed immediately above the image of Christ in one line on an epigraphic frieze.	
108	King of Glory	O BACIAE(Y)C / THC ΔOΞH/C	1200- 1250	Pendant, enkolpion	Thessaloniki	Image of the Crucifixion on the front of the enkolpion. Only Christ, the cross and skull of Adam are depicted. The inscription sits above the cross.	Evans and Wixom, 1997, cat. 125, p 174.
109	King of Glory	O BACIAEYC THC ΔOΞHC	1250- 1350	Wall painting	St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria, Cyprus	No image available but text states that 'The plaque of the Cross above Christ's head is inscribed O BACIAEYC THC ΔOΞHC.'	Stylianou and Stylianou, 1985, p. 65.
110	King of Glory	O BAC(IAEYC THC) Δ(OΞHC)	1261- 1453	Icon	Patmos, Greece	Small icon of the Crucifixion that might have been part of a festival cycle on an altar screen. The icon has a crowded composition with various figures flanking the cross in dynamic postures. There is a cityscape depicted in the background. Inscription is depicted on the titulus of the cross.	Babic, 1990, p. 60.
111	King of Glory	O BACIAEYC THC ΔOΞHC	1300- 1350	Icon, double- sided	Constantinople (?)	Bilateral icon of the Crucifixion with the icon of Christ Psychosotes on the reverse; a simple iconography, with the cross flanked by his mother, John the Evangelist and two weeping angels. Epithet is written on the titulus of the cross.	Babic, 1990, p. 56.
112	King of Glory	O BACIA/EYC TH/C ΔOΞHC	1300- 1500	Icon, steatite	St Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai	Semi-circular pendant icon of the Crucifixion. Christ is flanked by the Mother of God and John the Evangelist, and two angels. Epithet is written on the titulus of the cross.	Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, 1985, cat. 167, p. 230.
113	King of Glory	O B(A)C(I)A(EYC) T(HC) Δ(O)Ξ(HC)	1400	Icon	St Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, Egypt	Bilateral icon of the Descent from the Cross, with the Mother of God and Christ Child as Hodegetria on the obverse. In the image, the Mother of God presses her cheek to her son's and apostles and mourn to the right. An abbreviated form of the inscription is written on the titulus.	Nelson and Collins, 2006, cat. 19, p. 167.
114	King of Glory	O BACIA(EYC) - THC ΔOΞHC	1400- 1500	Icon, steatite	Byzantine (?)	Heavily worn icon of the Crucifixion with a curved top frame. There is a simple composition, with only the Mother of God and John the Evangelist flanking the cross. Epithet is displayed above the arms of the cross, split in two.	Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, 1985, app. A.26a, p. 243.
115	King of the Jews	O BACIAEYC TGON IOYΔAIGON	700-900	Icon	Saint Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, Egypt	Icon of the Crucifixion, Christ is flanked by his mother, John the Evangelist, the good and bad thieves, and four angels. The inscription is written above the titulus of the cross.	Nelson and Collins, cat. 4, p. 129.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
116	King of the Jews	Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ	800-1400	Icon	Thebes	Icon of the Crucifixion. Christ is flanked by his mother, John the Evangelist and two weeping angels on a starred background. The inscription is written beneath the two arms of the cross.	'Double-sided icon with the Crucifixion and the Virgin Hodegtria (00995)', Byzantine & Christian Museum
117	Land (Χώρα, Chora) of the Living	Η ΧΩΡΑ - ΤΩΝ ΖΩΝΤΩΝ	1316-1321	Mosaic	Chora Church, Constantinople	Shown above the doorway leading from the outer to inner narthex, facing west. Christ is depicted in bust alone. left hand holds a gospel book and right is in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is divided in two and flanks is head and shoulders.	Underwood, 1966, pl. 1.
118	Land (Χώρα, Chora) of the Living	Η ΧΩΡΑ - ΤΩΝ ΖΩΝΤΩΝ	1316-1321	Mosaic	Chora Church, Constantinople	Shown above the doorway leading from the inner narthex to naos, facing west. Christ is depicted enthroned with Theodore Metochites to his right, presenting him with a model of the Chora Church. Christ left hand holds a gospel book and right is in a gesture of blessing. Epithet is divided in two and flanks Christ's head and shoulders.	Underwood, 1966, p. 3.
119	Land (Χώρα, Chora) of the Living	(Η ΧΩΡΑ ΤΩΝ) ΖΩΝΤΩΝ	1316-1321	Mosaic	Chora Church, Constantinople	Image is shown on north proskyneterion. Christ is depicted alone and standing with an open gospel book in his left hand. His right is in a gesture of blessing in front of his body. Epithet is in very poor condition but looks to be split in half and flanking his head and shoulders.	Underwood, 1966, pl. 186.
120	Lytrotes, The Redeemer	Ο ΑΥΤΟΤΡΩΤΗΣ	1221-1241	Seal, Lead	Nicaea	Seal for Empress Eirene Laskarina, wife of Emperor John III Doukas Vatatzes of Nicaea. She is depicted on the reverse. On the obverse, Christ is depicted full length and standing. He extends his right arm away from his body in blessing and holds a (closed?) gospel book in front of him with his right. The epithet is split in two and flanks the length of Christ.	Zacos and Veglery, 1977, nos. 109, 119a.
121	Lytrotes, The Redeemer	Ο ΑΥΤΟΤΡΩΤΗΣ	1221-1241	Seal, Lead	Nicaea	Almost identical to the other object where Christ Lytrotēs is depicted. Seal for Empress Eirene Laskarina, wife of Emperor John III Doukas Vatatzes of Nicaea. She is depicted on the reverse. On the obverse, Christ is depicted full length and standing. He extends his right arm away from his body in blessing and holds a (closed?) gospel book	Zacos and Veglery, 1977, nos. 109, 119b.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
						in front of him with his right. The epithet is split in two and flanks the length of Christ.	
122	Merciful and Compassionate	Ο ΕΛΕΗ-ΜΓΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧΠΑΑΧΝΟC	1250-1300	Wall painting	Church, Hagios Stephanos, Kastoria	Image is shown on a pillar on the south proskynetaria of the church. Christ is shown full length and standing; his right hand is in front of him in blessing and his left holds an open gospel book. There is a dedicatory inscription next to the image, mentioning Konstantinos and his wife Anna. The epithet is split in two and flanks either side of Christ's head and shoulders.	Kalopissi-Verti, 1992, p. 98.
123	Nika, Conquers	N(I)KA	1300-1500	Icon, steatite	Constantinople or Thessaloniki (?)	Part of a larger icon consisting of thirteen carved plaques. In three of the plaques on the outer frame identical images of the young Christ are inscribed Nika, all omitting the iota. On the third row, Christ Nika is shown above two groups of Church Fathers and on the bottom he is above military saints. Christ's epithets are displayed on the horizontal frieze that runs above the scenes.	Evans, 2004, cat. 143, p. 235.
124	Nika, Conquers	N(I)KA	1300-1500	Icon, steatite	Constantinople or Thessaloniki (?)	Part of a larger icon consisting of thirteen carved plaques. In three of the plaques on the outer frame identical images of the young Christ are inscribed Nika, all omitting the iota. On the third row, Christ Nika is shown above two groups of Church Fathers and on the bottom he is above military saints. Christ's epithets are displayed on the horizontal frieze that runs above the scenes.	Evans, 2004, cat. 143, p. 235.
125	Nika, Conquers	N(I)KA	1300-1500	Icon, steatite	Constantinople or Thessaloniki (?)	Part of a larger icon consisting of thirteen carved plaques. In three of the plaques on the outer frame identical images of the young Christ are inscribed Nika, all omitting the iota. On the third row, Christ Nika is shown above two groups of Church Fathers and on the bottom he is above military saints. Christ's epithets are displayed on the horizontal frieze that runs above the scenes.	Evans, 2004, cat. 143, p. 235.
126	One Curing Every Infirmary	Ο Ι/ΓΩ/ΜΕ/Ν/(ΟC) - [ΠΑ]/CΑΝ/ΝΟ/CON	1350-1350	Icon, inlaid	Thessaloniki	Small inlaid icon (possibly a venerated relic) set within a larger double-sided icon dating from 15th century. In the earlier inlaid icon, Christ is flanked by archangels on the top register. On the lower register, the Mother of God and Christ Child are flanked by another archangel and John the Baptist. Inscription is split in two and flanks the adult Christ on the top register.	Evans, 2004, cat. 143, p. 235.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
127	Only Begotten	Μ/Γ, (Μ)ονο(Γ)ενής, or (Μ)όνο (Γ)εννηθείς,	1282- 1294	Coin	Constantinople	Coin of Emperor Andronikos II who is shown bowing before Christ. Emperor is blessed by Christ's right hand and his left might be holding a gospel book or scroll. Emperor is named on the left half of the coin and Christ is inscribed on the right.	Grierson, 2006, p. 233.
128	Pantepoptes, The Overseer of All	Ο ΠΑΝΤΕΠΟΠΤΗΣ	1300- 1500	Icon, steatite	Constantinople or Thessaloniki (?)	The central image of an larger icon, consisting of thirteen carved plaques, with one large panels, framed by twelve smaller ones. Christ Pantepoptes is depicted full length sat on a high-backed throne. His right hand is before him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds an open gospel book with a heavily abbreviated version of John 8: 12. This images is immediately flanked by twelve Christological scenes. Eleven of the outer plaques depict the young Christ as Emmanuel and Nika, blessing groups of prophets, apostles and saints. The twelfth plaque shows three Hebrew's being rescued by angel from a furnace. The Pantepoptes inscription is depicted in the epigraphic frieze above enthroned C	Evans, 2004, cat. 143, p. 235.
129	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	Ο ΠΑΝΤΟ ΚΡΑΤΩΡ	Unknown	Seal, Lead	Constantinople (?)	Image is shown on a seal, which displays an invocation inscription on its reverse. On the obverse Christ is shown full length and standing. His right arm is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The inscription is split in two and flanks the length of his body on either side.	Zacos, 1984, no. 613a.
130	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	Ο ΠΑΝΤΟ ΚΡΑΤΩΡ	Unknown	Seal, Lead	Constantinople (?)	Image is shown on a seal, which displays an invocation inscription on its reverse. On the obverse Christ is shown full length and standing. His right arm is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The inscription is split in two and flanks the length of his body on either side.	Zacos, 1984, no. 613b.
131	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	(Ο ΠΑ)ΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΟΡ [sic.]	900-1600	Wall painting	Church of Sts Anargyroi, Kastoria	Image is in very poor condition. It is displayed on the west wall of the north aisle of the church and takes up the entire size of the space. Christ is depicted full length and standing. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds an open gospel book, slightly away from his body. The epithet is split in two and flanks either side of his head and shoulders.	Timken Matthews, 1978, p. 450.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
132	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	O ΠANTO-KPATGΩP	1000- 1000	Pendant	Byzantine	The image of Christ is carved into rock crystal and framed by a roundel. The rock crystal is framed by an octagonal gold frame, with alternate red and green inset gems. The outer frame is dotted with a pearl border. In the centre, Christ is shown as an adult in a bust. He holds his left hand in front of him in as gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two either side of Christ's head. Matthews thinks that epithet might be a late addition.	Cormack and Vassilaki, 2008, no. 203.
133	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	(O Π)AN(TO)KPATGΩP	1150	Seal, Lead	Constantinople	Seal with an invocation inscription on the reverse. Christ is depicted full length and standing, he holds his right arm away from his body and his left holds a gospel book. The epithet is split in two and is arranged in a semi-circular manner to run long with the top half of the seal.	Zacos, 1984, 537
134	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	O ΠANT(O)- KPATGΩP,	1150	Seal, Lead	Constantinople	Seal with an invocation inscription on the reverse. Christ is depicted full length and standing, he holds his right arm away from his body and his left holds a gospel book. The epithet is split in two and is arranged in a semi-circular manner to run long with the top half of the seal.	McGeer, Nesbitt, Oikonomides, 2005, no. 54.1a.
135	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	O ΠANT(O)- KPATGΩP	1150	Seal, Lead	Constantinople	Seal with an invocation inscription on the reverse. Christ is depicted full length and standing, he holds his right arm away from his body and his left holds a gospel book. The epithet is split in two and is arranged in a semi-circular manner to run long with the top half of the seal.	McGeer, Nesbitt, Oikonomides, 2005, no. 54.1b
136	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	(O ΠANTO) - KPATGΩP	1150	Seal, Lead	Constantinople	Only half of the seal survives. Part of what looks like an invocation is shown on the reverse. On the obverse It looks as though Christ is depicted full length and standing. The second half of the epithet – KPATΩP – survives on the bottom right-hand curve.	McGeer, Nesbitt, Oikonomides, 2005, 54.2
137	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	O ΠAN(TO)-KPA/TOP [sic.]	1200- 1400	Icon	Byzantine	An icon of Christ, he is shown in a bust and depicted alone. His right hand is before him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds an open gospel book, which inscribes John 8:12. Two angels inside small roundels flank Christ and there are several saint shown in full length in the icon's border. The epithet is split in two and flanks either side of Christ's head.	Timken Matthews, 1978, p. 450.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
138	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	Ο ΠΑΝΤΟ-ΚΡΑΤΟΡ [sic.]	1200- 1700	Icon	Byzantine	An icon of Christ, he is shown in a bust and depicted alone. His right hand is before him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and flanks either side of Christ's head.	Timken Matthews, 1978, p. 450.
139	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	Ο ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ	1250- 1300	Wall painting	Hagios Stephanos, Kastoria	Image is part of a trio of images of Christ shown in roundels on the entire ceiling of the naos of the church. The image of Christ Pantokrator is at the bottom and is in poor condition. Christ Emmanuel is shown at the top and Christ Ancient of Days in the middle. All figures are shown in busts. Christ Pantokrator extends his right arm slightly away from his body and his left holds a gospel book. His inscription is split in two and flanks either side of his neck and shoulders.	Chatzidakis, Pelekanidis, 1985, pp. 18-19.
140	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	Ο ΠΑΝΤΩΚΡΑΤΟΡ [sic.]	1261- 1453	Manuscript Illumination (Staurotikita 56, fol. 4v)	Constantinople (?)	I have not been able to find a reproduction of this image, so have relied on Matthews descriptions. Christ is shown enthroned, blessing and holding an open gospel book inscribed τῆς ἀμῆν λέγω ὑμῖν [sic.].	Timken Matthews, 1985, p. 451.
	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	Ο ΠΑΝΤΟ-ΚΡΑΤΩΡ	1275- 1300	Wall painting	Omorphi Ekklesia, Attica	The painting is displayed in the cupola of the dome. The reproduction is very poor, so I have relied on Matthews' writings. Christ is depicted in a bust, with his right arm extended away from him in a gesture of blessing and his left in front of him, holding a closed gospel book. The epithet looks to be split in two and flanking either side of Christ's head.	Timken Matthews, 1985, pp. 447-8.
142	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	Ο ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ	1300- 1400	Wall painting	Prodromos at Protaton at Karyais, Mount Athos	I have not found a reproduction of this, so have relied completely on Matthews' text. She states that the image is a 'typical' cupola image, so I am assuming that he is depicted in a bust, with his arm extended away from him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a gospel book.	Timken Matthews, 1985, p. 449.
143	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	Ο ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ	1300- 1400	Icon, steatite	Constantinople (?)	Small steatite icon which is divided up into thirteen panels. Christ Pantokrator is depicted in the largest and central panel. He is depicted full length and standing. His right hand is before him in a gesture of blessing and his left extends slightly away from him, holding an open gospel book. On the twelve framing panels, Christological scenes are depicted.	Timken Matthews, 1985, p. 450.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
						Christ's epithet is displayed in the epigraphic frieze immediately above him.	
144	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	Θ ΠΑΝΤΘ- ΚΡΑΤΟΡ [sic.]	1327- 1335	Wall painting	Church of the Resurrection, Dečani	Image is displayed on the east wall of the narthex above the entrance door to the naos. Christ is depicted in a bust with his right hand extending away from him in blessing and his left holds an open gospel book, with John 10: 9 inscribed in Old Slavonic. The epithet is misspelt as Θ ΠΑΝΤΘΚΡΑΤΟΡ and is split in half, either side of Christ's head.	Timken Matthews, 1985, p. 447.
145	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	(Ο Π)ΑΝΤ(ΘΚΡΑΤΟΡ) [sic.]	1327- 1335	Wall painting	Church of the Resurrection, Dečani	Image is displayed on the southwest pier of the naos. Christ is depicted full length and standing. He is dressed in gold and his right hand holds an unsheathed sword, which is also supported by his left. The inscription is in very poor condition and I have relied on Matthews for the spelling, which again confuses the omicron and omega and is recorded as Ο ΠΑΝΤΘΚΡΑΤΟΡ, but this time getting the definite article correct.	Timken Matthews, 1985, p. 447.
146	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	Ο ΠΑΝΤΘ- ΚΡΑΤΟΡ	1327- 1335	Wall painting	Church of the Resurrection, Dečani	Image is displayed south of the apse between the bema and the chapel of Saint Nikolas. Christ is depicted full length and standing. He holds his right hand in a gesture of blessing and his left holds and open gospel book which inscribes Matthew 22:34 and Matthew 7:7. The flanking pilasters display images of the Mother of God and John the Baptist. Christ's epithet is split in two and flanks either side of his head.	Timken Matthews, 1985, 447
147	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	Ο ΠΑΝ- ΤΟΚΡΑΤ/Θ/Ρ	1330- 1350	Wall painting	Church of St Nicholas at Platsa in the Mani	Image is displayed in the apse of the church. Christ is shown in full length and sat on a high-backed and curved throne. He holds his right arm in front of him in blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book, which rests on his lap. He is immediately flanked by the Mother of God and John the Baptist, who both raise their hands to him. The epithet is split in two and flank either side of the throne.	Mouriki, 1978, p. 25
148	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	Ο ΠΑΝΤΟ-ΚΡΑΤΟΡ	1340- 1360	Wall painting	Church of the Peribleptos, Mistra	The image is shown in the cupola of the dome in the naos of the church. Christ is situated in a roundel. He holds his right arm slightly away from his body and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in half and sits just above Christ's shoulders.	Timken Matthews, 1985, 449

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
149	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	Ο ΠΑΝΤΟ-ΚΡΑΤΩΡ	1346	Wall painting	Monastery of the Church of Archangel Michael in Lesnovo	The image is shown in the cupola of the dome in the naos of the church. Christ is situated in a roundel which is supported by angels. He holds his right arm slightly away from his body and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in half and sits just above Christ's shoulders.	Gabelić, 1998, p. 1
150	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	Ο ΠΑΝΤΟ-ΚΡΑΤΩΡ	1349	Wall painting	Monastery of the Church of Archangel Michael in Lesnovo	The image is shown in the cupola of the dome in the narthex of the church. Christ is situated in a roundel which shows angels bowing in prayer around its edge. He holds his right arm slightly away from him in blessing and his left hand holds a closed gospel book.	Gabelić, 1998, p. 73
151	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	Ο /ΠΑΝ/ΤΟ- ΚΡΑ/ΤΩΡ	1368	Icon	Mount Athos (?)	Icon shows Christ in a bust; he holds his right arm in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. On the frame of the icon there is depiction of two donors, who are rendered in a far smaller scale than Christ. These figures are named as Alexios and John in the accompanying dedicatory inscription. Christ's epithet is split in two and flanks either side of his head.	Drpić, 2016, p. 360
152	Pantokrator, The All-Ruler	Ο ΠΑΝΤΟ-ΚΡΑΤΩΡ	1375- 1400	Icon	Mount Athos	An icon of Christ, he is shown in a bust and depicted alone. His right hand is before him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and flanks either side of Christ's head.	Timken Matthews, 1985, 449-50
153	Philanthropos, The Man- Loving	Ο /Φ(Ι)Λ/ΑΝ/- ΘΡΟ/ΠΟ/Σ [sic.]	1050- 1150	Seal, Lead	Constantnople (?)	Image is shown on a seal, which displays an invocation inscription on its reverse. On the obverse Christ is shown full length and standing. His right arm is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The inscription is split in two and flanks the length of his body on either side.	Schlumberger, 1895, p. 138
154	Philanthropos, The Man- Loving	(ΦΙΛΑΝ)ΘΡΩ-ΠΟ-Σ,	1100- 1200	Seal, Lead	Constantinople (?)	Image is shown on a seal, which displays an invocation inscription on its reverse. On the obverse Christ is shown full length and standing. His right arm is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The inscription is split in two and flanks the length of his body on either side.	Zacos, 1984, no. 683

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
155	Philanthropos, The Man-Loving	O/ ΦΙ/ΑΑ/Ν- ΘΡΩ/ΠΟ/Σ,	1100- 1200	Seal, Lead	Constantinople (?)	Image is shown on a seal, which displays an invocation inscription on its reverse. On the obverse Christ is shown full length and standing. His right arm is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The inscription is split in two and flanks the length of his body on either side.	Cheynet, Morrison and Seibt, 1991, no. 282
156	Philanthropos, The Man-Loving	O/ ΦΗ/ΑΑΝ- ΘΡΩ/ΠΟ/Σ	1100- 1200	Seal, Lead	Constantinople (?)	Image is shown on a seal, which displays an invocation inscription on its reverse. On the obverse Christ is shown full length and standing. His right arm is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The inscription is split in two and flanks the length of his body on either side.	McGreer, Nesbitt, Oikonomides, 2005, no. 56.1
157	Philanthropos, The Man-Loving	O ΦΙ-ΑΑ-Ν-ΘΡ(Ω)- Π(Ο)-Σ	1100- 1200	Seal, Lead	Constantinople (?)	Image is shown on a seal, which displays an invocation inscription on its reverse. On the obverse Christ is shown full length and standing. His right arm is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The inscription is split in two and flanks the length of his body on either side.	McGreer, Nesbitt, Oikonomides, 2005, no. 56.2
158	Philanthropos, The Man-Loving	(O ΦΙΑΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ)	1100- 1200	Seal, Lead	Constantinople (?)	Seal is in very poor condition, with only the right half surviving on the obverse. I have relied on the catalogue entry for information. Christ is depicted in a bust, holding a gospel book. The epithet is presented running across the circular border.	McGreer, Nesbitt, Oikonomides, 2005, no. 56.4a.
159	Philanthropos, The Man-Loving	O/ΦΙ/Α/Α/Ν - Θ/ΡΩ/Π/Ο/Σ	1197	Icon	Hermitage of St. Neophytos, Cyprus	Icon from the altar screen at the Hermitage of Neophytos. Christ is shown in a bust with his right hand shown before him in a gesture of blessing and his left holding an open gospel book, which reads from Matthew 11:28. 'Russian-style' jeweled cross with YC ΘY inscribed is on the reverse. There is a pendant piece of Mother of God Eleousa from the same monastery. Christ's epithet is split in two and flanks either side of his head.	Mango and Hawkins, 1966, pp. 160-161
160	Philanthropos, The Man-Loving	O ΦΙΑ(ἀνθρώπ)Π(ος),	1200	Icon	St Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, Egypt	Icon itself is dated to the sixth century, but over painting and inscription is dated to Middle Byzantium (probably 13th century), Christ is depicted in bust as Pantokrator, holding a closed gospel book. Read Susan R. Holman, 'God and the Poor' in <i>God in Early Christian Thought</i> for more on this.	Sotiriou, 1956, no. 1, p. 174.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
161	Philanthropos, The Man-Loving	Ο ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ	1200-1300	Wall painting	Saints Nicholas and George of Lathreno near Sagri in Naxos,	I have not been able to find a better reproduction, so have relied on Mouriki's description. Image is shown in one of the two apses of the church and is flanked by the Mother of God and John the Baptist.	Mouriki, 1978, 56.
162	Philanthropos, The Man-Loving	Ο ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ,	1238-1263	Wall painting	Hagia Sophia, Trebizond	Wall painting is shown in the narthex of the church. Christ is shown full length and standing, with his right hand extending far away from his body so far that it overlaps with the image's frame. His left hand holds an open gospel book, however the inscription is no longer legible. The epithet is split in two and flanks either side of Christ's head.	Eastmond, 2004, p. 128
163	Photodotes, The Light-Giver	Ο ΦΩΤΟΔΟΤΗΣ - ΔΟΤΗΣ	1200-1300	Wall painting	Hagios Nikolas at Malagari near Perachora	Christ is depicted in a Deesis. A donor identified by an inscription as the monk Sophronios Kalozoes (Dionysios Kalozoes in fig 20 before Saint) is shown to the right of Christ. Two saints, are depicted on the arch in front of the Deesis. It looks like the flanking saints are Constantine and Catherine. Dionysios Kalozoes is also shown with different iconography, in proskynesis before St Theodore Tiron (Gerstel, 20) - touching his foot.	Gerstel, 2015, p.143.
164	Photodotes, The Light-Giver	Ο ΦΩΤΟΔΟΤΗΣ	1300	Wall painting	Panagia Makrini, Kallithea, Samos,	Image is shown in the proskynetaria of the church. Christ is shown full length and sat on a high-backed throne. His right hand is directly in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds an open gospel book, which sits on his lap. The epithet is split in two and sits on top of the edge of the throne, above Christ's shoulders.	Kalopissi-Verti, 2007, p. 117.
165	Plerophorites, The One Who Fulfils	Ο ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΗΣ	1350	Icon	Mount Athos	Image is part of a silver revetment frame for an icon of the Mother of God inscribed 'Η ΕΛΠΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΕΛΠΙΣΜΕΝΩΝ (Elpis ton Apelpismenon, The Hope of the Hopeless). She holds the Christ Child, who presses his cheek to hers, in an iconography known as the Eleousa. Christ Plerophorites is on the top of the frame in the centre on a much smaller scale. He holds his right arm in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. The epithet is split in two and flanks either side of his head. The inscription is framed in two rectangular boxes.	Drpić, 2016, p. 370.
166	Psychosotes, The Saviour of Souls	Ο ΨΥΧΟΣΩΤΗΣ	1300-1350	Icon	Constantinople, or Thessaloniki (?)	A bilateral, which icon consists of a painted image of Christ and precious metal revetments and an image of the Crucifixion on the reverse. Christ is	Babic, 1990, p. 54.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
						shown in a bust, holding his right hand in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. There is a pendant icon, where the Mother of God inscribed with the feminine form of Psychosostes, Psychosostria. The epithet is split in two and flanks either side of his head.	
167	Resurrection and the Life	H ANACTACIC - K(AI) H ZGΩH	1300-1400	Clothing, Sakkos	Constantinople or Thessaloniki (?)	The image of Christ is depicted on the reverse (?) of the sakkos, with an image of the Transfiguration on the front. On the reverse, Christ, who is adult but beardless, sits in the centre of a golden roundel. He sits on a rainbow with his right arm extended away and palm facing up; his left holds an open gospel book with an illegible inscription, which rests on his lap. The four apocalyptic beats emerge from each corner of the roundel, and the cross with the instruments of the Passion emerge from the top. The Mother of God and John the Baptist flank the roundel to the left and right, respectively. On the top left and right there are choirs of angels and on the bottom there are choirs of sain	Evans, 2004, cat. 117, p. 300.
168	Saviour and Life-Giver	O CGΩ-TH(P)/ KAI ZGΩO-ΔGΩTH	1393-1394	Icon	Zrze, Macedonia	Icon shows Christ in a bust and was originally part of an altar screen at Zrze Monastery. Christ's right hand is in front of him a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. An inscription on the top of the icon reads, 'This icon of Our Lord Jesus Christ was painted in the year 1393-4'. The epithet inscription is split into four, running on two lines either side of Christ's head and neck.	Babic, 1990, p. 92.
169	Son of God	Y(IO)C - Θ(EO)Y	800-1000	Icon	St Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai.	Icon of the Ascension, with Christ depicted in a mandorla, held by four angels on the top half and the Mother of God in an orant pose flanked by the apostles on the bottom half. The epithet is displayed as a nomina sacra either side of Christ's waist.	Nelson and Collins, 2006, p. 131.
170	Soter, The Saviour	O COTIP,	1150-1250	Seal, Lead	Constantinople (?)	Image of the adult Christ and invocation on the reverse (no image available).	Laurent, 1973, no. 1226.
171	Soter, The Saviour	(O CO)- T - H - P	1150-1250	Seal, Lead	Constantinople (?)	Image of the adult Christ with an invocation on the reverse (no image available)	Zacos, 1984, no. 784
172	Soter, The Saviour	O/CGΩ-T/H(P)	1288-1289	Wall painting	Panagia at Gillous, Naxos	I have not been able to find a better reproduction of this image, so have relied on Mouriki's very brief description. The image is described as a Deesis, so implies that Christ is flanked by the Mother of God and John the Baptist.	Mouriki, 1978, p. 56.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
173	Soter, The Saviour	O COTHP	1309-1322	Wall painting	Church of the Hodegetria, Mystras	I have not been able to find a reproduction of this image. Mouriki states that the image is displayed in the funerary chapel of the church and is part of a Deesis, implying that Christ is flanked by the Mother of God and John the Baptist.	Mouriki, 1978, p. 56.
174	Soter, The Saviour	O CGD-TH(P)	1350-1400	Wall painting	Hagios Nikolas of Tzotza, Kastoria	Image is shown on the north wall of the church. Christ is shown full length and standing, his right hand is before him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book. He is immediately flanked by the Mother of God, inscribed Η ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΤΙΣ (E Paraklesis, The Prayer) and Saint Nikolas. Christ's epithet is split in two and flanks either side of his head.	E. N. Τσιγαρίδας, 2003, p. 255.
175	Soter, The Saviour	O COTIP	1367-1376	Coin	Constantinople	Image is shown on a coin but is in very poor condition. The coin belonged to Emperor John V, who is depicted on the reverse. On the obverse, Christ is shown in a bust, with his right hand in front of him and his left holding a gospel book. I am unable to see the presentation of the inscription and have relied on the secondary literature for the spelling and spacing.	Grierson, 2006, nos. 1242-46.
176	Soter, The Saviour	O COTIP	1367-1376	Coin	Constantinople	Image is shown on a coin but is in very poor condition. The coin belonged to Emperor John V, who is depicted on the reverse. On the obverse, Christ is shown in a bust, with his right hand in front of him and his left holding a gospel book. I am unable to see the presentation of the inscription and have relied on the secondary literature for the spelling and spacing.	Grierson, 2006, nos. 1242-46.
177	Soter, The Saviour	O COTIP	1367-1376	Coin	Constantinople	Image is shown on a coin but is in very poor condition. The coin belonged to Emperor John V, who is depicted on the reverse. On the obverse, Christ is shown in a bust, with his right hand in front of him and his left holding a gospel book. I am unable to see the presentation of the inscription and have relied on the secondary literature for the spelling and spacing.	Grierson, 2006, nos. 1242-46.
178	Soter, The Saviour	O COTIP	1367-1376	Coin	Constantinople	Image is shown on a coin but is in very poor condition. The coin belonged to Emperor John V, who is depicted on the reverse. On the obverse, Christ is shown in a bust, with his right hand in front of him and his left holding a gospel book. I am	Grierson, 2006, nos. 1242-46.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
						unable to see the presentation of the inscription and have relied on the secondary literature for the spelling and spacing.	
179	Soter, The Saviour	O COTIP	1367-1376	Coin	Constantinople	Image is shown on a coin but is in very poor condition. The coin belonged to Emperor John V, who is depicted on the reverse. On the obverse, Christ is shown in a bust, with his right hand in front of him and his left holding a gospel book. I am unable to see the presentation of the inscription and have relied on the secondary literature for the spelling and spacing.	Grierson, 2006, nos. 1242-46.
180	Soter, The Saviour	O COTHP	1443	Wall painting	Hagia Sophia, Trebizond	Image is displayed in the apse of the funerary chapel in the bell tower of the church. Image is in very poor condition. Christ is full length and either seated or standing. His right hand is in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds an open gospel book. Christ is flanked by representations of the Mother of God and John the Baptist.	Millet and Rice, 1936, pl. V, p. 78.
181	Terrible Judge	O ΦΟΒΕΡΟΣ - ΚΡΙΤΗΣ	1346-1349	Wall painting	Monastery of the Church of Archangel Michael, Lesnovo	This image is displayed in the narthex of the church. A poor illustration is given in the text and not much information is given about the image's appearance. Christ is shown seated on a high-backed throne, with his right arm extended far from his body and his left holds a gospel book. The epithet is split in two and flanks his head.	Gabelić, 1998, p. 101.
182	Wisdom of God	Η ΣΟΦΙΑ - ΤΟΥ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ	1350-1400	Icon	Thessaloniki, Saint Sophia Church	Very large icon, where Christ is depicted in a bust. His right hand is front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds an open gospel book, which reads from Matthew. This inscription adds an 'eschatological and salvatory content to the icon.' The epithet is split in two and flanks either side of Christ's neck.	Wessel, 1966, col. 1024.
183	Zoodotes, The Life-Giver	O ΖΓΘΔΟΘΗΣ	1350-1425	Wall painting	Church of the Panagia Phaneromeni, Kastoria	Have struggled to find much information on this image. Christ is either shown standing or in bust in the apse, or standing on the north wall.	Τσιγαριδης, 2006, fig. 169, p. 299.
184	Zoodotes, The Life-Giver	O ΖΓΘΔΟΘΗΣ	1300-1400	Wall painting	Church of St Nikolas Bolnichki, Ohrid	Image is shown on the north wall of the church. Christ is shown full length and sat on a high-backed throne. He holds his right hand in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds a closed gospel book which rests on his lap. Christ is immediately flanked by Peter and Paul, who gesture towards to	Subotić, 1980, figs. 73-74.

Number	Epithet	Inscription	Date	Medium	Location	Description	Reference
						him. The epithet is split in two and flanks either side of Christ's head.	
185	Zoodotes, The Life-Giver	Ο ΖΩΟΔΟΤΗΣ (?)	1390	Wall painting	Church of Christ Zoodotes, Emborion	Image is in terrible condition, so I have relied on Lozanova's description. Displayed on the southern wall, Christ depicted on a high-backed throne, flanked by the Mother of God and John the Baptist. He holds an open gospel book, which reads from Matthew 25:34.	Lozanova, 2004, p. 157.
186	Unknown	N/A	1300-1350	Icon	Constantinople (?)	Icon of Christ, who is depicted in a bust. He holds his right arm in front of him in a gesture of blessing and his left holds an open gospel book. The text on the book is barely legible but apparently inscribes John 3: 16-17. The icon is framed by 16 portraits of apostles and prophets. Very faint traces of an epithet inscription are legible: I have identified traces of the letters that look like O, M or Π, Θ and possibly C. From this, I have not been able to work out what the epithet might be.	Evans, 2004, cat. 307, pp. 504-5.

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