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From the Selected Works of Brad Hostetler

April 21, 2017

Image, Epigram, and Nature in Middle Byzantine Personal Devotion

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Natural Materials of the Holy Land and the Visual Translation of Place, 500–1500

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10 Image, epigram, and nature in Middle Byzantine personal devotion *

Brad Hostetler

In *Nectar and Illusion*, Henry Maguire examines Byzantium's ambiguous relationship with nature in both art and literature. He demonstrates that after Iconoclasm, visual representations of the terrestrial world displayed in public settings were in "a constant tension between acceptance and denial," but "tended to flourish most abundantly in relatively inconspicuous locations," such as on small private objects.¹ I build upon Maguire's work by examining the ways in which nature was invoked, represented, and utilized through epigrams, images, and materials in personal devotional contexts in the Middle Byzantine period.

I focus on two reliquaries: one now in the treasury of the Protaton at Mount Athos, which contains a relic of the True Cross and four stones from the Holy Land, and another reliquary of the True Cross, now lost, formerly in the Grandmont Abbey in the Limousin region.² These two reliquaries have a great deal in common. They were approximately the same size.³ The Protaton is, and the Grandmont was, a silver-gilt rectangular box with a sliding lid. Each is, or was, inscribed with a 12-syllable dedicatory epigram.⁴ Their iconography was also similar: a repoussé image of the crucifixion with a portrait of the patron at the base of the cross – Zosimas for the Protaton and Alexios for the Grandmont. To my knowledge, only these two Middle Byzantine reliquaries are known to have included a so-called donor portrait.⁵ The fact that Zosimas and Alexios are part of a biblical narrative scene – a rare iconographic feature in any medium of this period – makes these depictions all the more unusual.⁶

The Protaton and Grandmont reliquaries share many formal and iconographic similarities, yet they convey distinct and nuanced messages about the patrons and their relics. The epigrams are essential for understanding these messages, but they have not yet been subject to close art historical analysis.⁷ I argue that for the Protaton, the structure, alliteration, and placement of the epigram emphasize Zosimas's ownership of the four stones. For the Grandmont, the epigram's innovative terminology articulates Alexios's rightful possession of the True Cross and conveys the ways in which he hoped the relic would protect him. I demonstrate that, for the patrons, both reliquaries functioned as holy sites, where they came into contact with the sacred matter, witnessed the biblical event that sanctified these materials, and harnessed their salvific properties.⁸

The Protaton reliquary

The Protaton reliquary is a composite work, constructed in the eleventh–twelfth centuries and altered in the eighteenth.⁹ The crucifixion panel on the lid is part of the original reliquary (Figure 10.1). With the exception of Zosimas's portrait, it conforms

Figure 10.1 Protaton reliquary, lid, eleventh–twelfth centuries and 1758, silver and gilded silver on wood, 17.8 × 14.2 × 1.2 cm. Treasury of the Protaton, The Holy Community of Mount Athos. After Stelios Papadopoulos and Chrysoula Kapioldasi-Sotiropoulou, eds., *The Treasury of the Protaton*, vol. 1 (Mount Athos: The Holy Community of Mount Athos, 2001), Figure 10, page 58.

to traditional Middle Byzantine iconography. Christ is at the center, the Mother of God is on the left, John the Apostle is on the right, and two angels are positioned above them. The cross is mounted on Golgotha, represented as a small rock, and is supported by three stakes. Zosimas is shown in *proskynesis* between the Theotokos and Christ, and is identified by the inscription placed above him: “Lord help Zosimas the monk.”¹⁰ He has short curly hair, is bearded, and is wearing a tunic covered by a mantle. He is facing the Theotokos in left profile and is cupping his hands together in supplication. His feet are touching the rock of Golgotha.

An inscription frames the crucifixion panel on three sides. It identifies Zosimas and Nikolaos as the two patrons of the reliquary. This 12-syllable epigram is composed of three verses; each verse is placed along a different edge of the panel. It begins on the upper edge, continues down the right side, and concludes on the left.¹¹ The translation is best rendered by rearranging the order of the first two verses:

- 2 With welling faith Zosimas is rich with
- 1 the life-giving stones from venerable places;
and with desire Nikolaos adorns the reliquary.¹²

The “life-giving stones” mentioned in the epigram are inside the reliquary, placed in the four corners of the box (Figure 10.2).¹³ Inscribed on the revetment next to each of these relics is an identifying inscription: “from the holy Tomb of Christ” (upper left), “from the holy Skull,” that is, Golgotha (upper right), “from holy Bethlehem” (lower left), and “from holy Gethsemane” (lower right).¹⁴ There was originally a gilded repoussé cross, fragments of which survive, in the center of the box.¹⁵ This cross has an inscription, “*xylon*” (wood), which is divided in two parts, placed on either side of the original image.¹⁶ The letter forms of the cross and relic inscriptions are the same as those of the dedicatory epigram on the lid, verifying that the lid and box are contemporary. Based on the presence of the word *xylon*, coupled with the repoussé image of the cross, Anatole Frolov suggests that the Middle Byzantine reliquary originally contained a relic of the True Cross.¹⁷

Given our limited knowledge concerning Zosimas and Nikolaos, it is not possible to identify them in contemporary texts or to locate Zosimas’s monastery. Brigitte Pitarakis suggests that Zosimas may have acquired the stones while on pilgrimage to Jerusalem at some point after 1099, when the Crusaders captured the city and there was an increase in the number of Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land.¹⁸ There is no evidence that either confirms or refutes this suggestion.

The alterations dating to 1758 are documented by the inscription placed on the frame of the box.¹⁹ At this time the reliquary was enlarged to make room for an eighteenth-century enkolpion of the True Cross; it is not known whether or not this enkolpion contains the same wood fragment that was part of the original Middle Byzantine reliquary. It is housed within a cruciform cavity that was cut into the center of the box, destroying most of the Middle Byzantine repoussé cross. The lid was enlarged with silver strips decorated with rinceaux added to the left, right, and lower edges of the crucifixion panel.²⁰ My focus is on the original form of the Protaton reliquary. I offer a reconstruction of the Middle Byzantine appearance of the box based on the surviving components (Figure 10.3).²¹

Figure 10.2 Protaton reliquary, box, eleventh–twelfth centuries and 1758, silver and gilded silver on wood with four stones, 19.3 × 16.1 × 3.0 cm. Treasury of the Protaton, The Holy Community of Mount Athos. After Stelios Papadopoulos and Chrysoula Kapioldasi-Sotiropoulou, eds., *The Treasury of the Protaton*, vol. 1 (Mount Athos: The Holy Community of Mount Athos, 2001), Figure 8, page 51.

Figure 10.3 Protaton reliquary, reconstruction of the box, eleventh–twelfth centuries, silver and gilded silver on wood with four stones. Treasury of the Protaton, The Holy Community of Mount Athos. After Stelios Papadopoulos and Chrysoula Kapioldasi-Sotiropoulou, eds., *The Treasury of the Protaton*, vol. 1 (Mount Athos: The Holy Community of Mount Athos, 2001), Figure 8, page 51, with alterations by Brad Hostetler.

I argue that the epigram's compositional structure, the alliteration in the first two verses, and the placement of specific words were designed to privilege Zosimas over Nikolaos and to convey his ownership of the relics and his access to the holy sites. Each of the three verses focuses on a different aspect of the reliquary. The first references the stones, their life-giving power and their association with the "venerable places" of the Holy Land. The second verse identifies Zosimas as the owner of the relics. The third names Nikolaos, who adorned the reliquary. Grammatically, there are two subjects in the epigram: Zosimas and Nikolaos. Their names are in the nominative, and the words *lithous* (stones) and *thēkēn* (reliquary) are in the accusative. The first two verses form a unified thought that centers on Zosimas (the subject), who is rich with (the verb) the life-giving stones (the object). Through this structure, Zosimas is presented as the more important patron; he is named first and is the subject of two-thirds of the epigram.²²

The use of alliteration draws attention to the first two verses.²³ When the epigram is recited aloud, the words *zōopoious* (life-giving), *zeousē* (welling), and *Zosimas* create an aural rhythm that emphasizes verses 1 and 2.²⁴ The choice of words to alliterate is also significant. *Zōopoious* and *Zosimas* are formed from the same root, *zōē*, meaning "life," and, in the Christian context, "eternal life."²⁵ Wordplay thus establishes the relationship between patron and relic. The salvation desired by *Zosimas* is accessed through the *life-giving* stones, which he possesses with *welling* faith. The relics are material proof that his hope for eternal life will be fulfilled.

The placement of specific words was also determined by Zosimas's desire to convey his ownership of the relics and thus of the holy sites. The phrase *ek topōn* (from places) is centered over the image of the cross at the upper edge of the panel (Figure 10.4, marked a). This inscribed phrase visually links with the image of the rock of Golgotha at the base through the vertical axis of the cross. The connection between word and image positions Calvary as a visual response to the phrase *ek topōn*, identifying the venerable place of one of the life-giving stones within the reliquary.

The placement of the word *lithous* is also significant (Figure 10.4, marked b). This word is positioned at the lower right-hand corner of the panel, where it is aligned with its visual analogue – the rock of Golgotha.²⁶ My suggestion that this pairing is deliberate is supported by the composition of the epigram. The word *lithous* is the last word of verse 2, and its corresponding article, *tous* (the), is the first word of verse 1. Andreas Rhoby notes that it is unusual for *lithous* to be separated from its article by two verses.²⁷ This seemingly odd syntax was necessary, as it allowed for the placement of *lithous* at the lower right-hand corner of the panel. This pairing of the inscribed word with the image of Golgotha visually reinforces Zosimas's contact with the rock.

In addition to placing Zosimas at the holy site, the crucifixion iconography also envisions the salvation granted to him through his contact with the life-giving rock of Golgotha. This is expressed visually by his position on the ground line at Calvary in the presence of Christ, the Theotokos, and John. He offers his prayer of invocation to the Lord (*Kyrie*), but he faces the Mother of God. His petition is therefore one of intercession, directed to the Theotokos, who relays it to her son through gesture and pose. Her body is turned in profile, her head is angled upward, and she is raising her right hand to him, recalling Byzantine iconography in which she is imaged as an intercessor.²⁸ Christ is tilting his head down toward her as if he is responding. The upright beam of the cross then directs the viewer's eye from Christ down to Zosimas, crouching next to the rock of Golgotha.²⁹

If Frolov is correct that the Protaton reliquary originally contained a relic of the True Cross then it is unusual that the epigram lacks any reference to it. Frolov documents

Figure 10.4 Protaton reliquary, detail of the lid marking the words (a) *ek topōn*, and (b) *lithous*, eleventh–twelfth centuries, silver and gilded silver on wood, 17.8 × 14.2 × 1.2 cm. Treasury of the Protaton, The Holy Community of Mount Athos. After Stelios Papadopoulos and Chrysoula Kapioldasi-Sotiropoulou, eds., *The Treasury of the Protaton*, vol. 1 (Mount Athos: The Holy Community of Mount Athos, 2001), Figure 10, page 58, with alterations by Brad Hostetler.

thirty Middle Byzantine True Cross reliquaries with epigrams; only three do not explicitly reference the wood.³⁰ I argue that by omitting any mention of the relic of the True Cross in the epigram and elevating the importance of the rocks in text and image, the Protaton reliquary encompasses the material whole of the Holy Land, both the earth and the wood. In this way, the reliquary elides geographical distance and topographical specificity, allowing the holy sites to be seen, touched, and experienced through their metonymic material references brought together in a personal devotional object.

The Grandmont reliquary

The twelfth-century Grandmont reliquary was, according to its dedicatory epigram, made for Alexios Doukas, grandson of Irene Doukaina and Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118). Unfortunately, it is not possible to know the precise identity of this Alexios because five of the emperor's grandsons had the same name.³¹ The reliquary came into the possession of Amalric I, the Latin King of Jerusalem (r. 1163–1174), who donated it to the Abbey of Grandmont in 1174.³² The reliquary was destroyed in the French Revolution, but its appearance is preserved in a description and two drawings published in 1658 by the French cleric François Ogier, supplemented by a description of the reliquary in the Grandmont Abbey inventory of 1666, published by the abbot Jacques Rémy Antoine Têxier.³³

The Grandmont reliquary was an enkolpion in the form of a box with a sliding lid.³⁴ Like the Protaton, it featured a scene of the crucifixion with an image of the patron.³⁵ Christ was at the center, the Theotokos was on the left, John was on the right, and two angels were positioned above the cross. Alexios was at the foot of the cross, clasping his hands.³⁶ The interior and back of the reliquary differed in appearance from that of the Protaton. Ogier's engraving of the interior shows that the reliquary featured a double-arm cruciform receptacle for a relic of the True Cross, bordered by cabochons (Figure 10.5).³⁷

Ogier also drew the reverse of the reliquary, which was inscribed with a 16-verse epigram written in majuscule letters with diacritics (Figure 10.6).³⁸ Each line of inscribed text on the reliquary was equal to one 12-syllable verse. A verse-by-verse translation reads:

- Having slept a short sleep on the three-part tree (*tridendria*)
 the all-king and divine-man Logos
 granted much grace to the tree (*dendrō*).
 For anyone inflamed with sickness is refreshed
 5 who fleeing for refuge to the branches of the three-part tree (*tridendrias*).
 But being ablaze right at the peak of midday
 I ran, I came, I sneaked to the branches.
 Receive and rightly shelter me with thy shade,
 O Tree (*dendron*), shading the whole earth,
 10 and instill the dew of Haërmon upon me,
 having descended from the beautiful-tree (*kallidendrias*) of the Doukai,
 whose root being the Empress Irene,
 the maternal grandmother, the glory of the kings,
 spouse of Alexios, ruler of the Ausones.
 15 Yea, yea, I beg (you) my sole protector
 your servant Alexios, from the Doukai family.³⁹

Figure 10.5 Grandmont reliquary, interior of box, twelfth century, drawing after François Ogier, *Inscription antique de la Vraye Croix de l'Abbaye de Grandmont, Avec un sermon de la Passion* (Paris: J. Hénault, 1658), plate I.

Source: BNF

† ΒΡΑΧΥΝΨΥΓΝΩΣΑΣ ΨΤΝΟΝ ΕΝΤΙΔΕΝΔΑ
 ΟΠΑΝΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΑΝΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ :-
 ΠΟΜΗΝ ΕΠΕΒΡΑΒΕΥΣΕΤ ΔΕΝΔΡΟΧΑΡΙΝ
 ΕΝΨΥΧΕΤΑΙΓΑΡ ΠΑΣ ΠΥΡΨΗΕΝΟΣ ΝΟΣΟΙΣ
 ΟΠΡΟΣΠΕΦΕΥΓΩΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΙΔΕΝΔΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΛΔΟΙΣ
 ΑΛΛΑΦΛΟΓΩΘΕΙΣ ΕΝ ΗΕΣΗΕΣΗΗΒΡΙΑ
 ΕΔΡΑΗΟΝ ΗΛΘΟΝ ΗΣ ΚΑΛΔΟΙΣ ΨΠΥΣΕΔΥΝ
 ΚΑΙΣΙΣ ΚΑΙΜΕΧΟΥΗΕ ΚΑΙΚΑΩΣ ΣΚΕΠΕ
 ΩΣΥΣ ΚΑΙΖΟΝΔΕΝΔΡΟΝΑΠΑΣΑΝ ΧΘΟΝΑ :-
 ΚΑΙΤΗΝΑ ΕΡΗΩΝ ΕΝΣΑΜΖΟΝΗΔΡΟΣΟΙ
 ΕΚΔΟΥΚΙΚΣ ΦΥΕΝΤΙ ΚΑΜΙΔΕΝΔΡΙΑΣ :-
 ΗΣ ΡΙΖΟΠΡΕΗΝΩΝ ΗΒΑΣΙΤΣ ΕΙΡΗΗ
 ΗΗΗΤΡΟΜΑΗΗΟΙ ΤΗΝΑΝΑΚΤΕΝΤΟ ΚΛΕΟΣ
 ΑΛΕΨΥΚΡΑΤΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΑΥΣΟΝΩΝ ΔΑΗΑΡ
 ΝΑΙΝΑΙ ΔΥΣΩΠΩΤΟΝ ΗΟΝ ΦΥΜΚΑ ΗΨ :-
 ΘΟΒΔΥΛΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΙΟΣ ΕΨ ΕΝΥΣ ΔΟΥΚΑΣ :- †

Figure 10.6 Grandmont reliquary, interior of box, twelfth century, drawing after François Ogier, *Inscription antique de la Vraye Croix de l'Abbaye de Grandmont, Avec un sermon de la Passion* (Paris: J. Hénault, 1658), plate II.

Source: BNF

The epigram is written in the first person, in the voice of Alexios. The first seven verses address the reader and describe the crucifixion and the restorative power of the True Cross. In the last nine verses, Alexios addresses the relic itself, urging it to protect him, and relaying his genealogy in order to justify his request. Frolov convincingly argues that, based on style and vocabulary, this epigram was composed by Nicholas Kallikles, the Komnenian court poet and physician. Kallikles also authored True Cross reliquary epigrams for Alexios's grandmother Irene and for her daughters Eudokia and Maria.⁴⁰

It is noteworthy that the words *stauros* (cross) and *xylon* (wood) are not included in the epigram. Two-thirds of the epigrams on Middle Byzantine True Cross reliquaries that have been documented by Frolov use one or both of these terms.⁴¹ Kallikles instead introduces various cognates of the word *dendron* (tree) in verses 1, 3, 5, 9, and 11.⁴² This particular terminology is found in only one other True Cross reliquary epigram of this period, and it too was authored by Kallikles.⁴³

The use of this new terminology is significant because it reflects the ways in which the True Cross was meant to benefit Alexios. The Grandmont epigram describes the cross as a three-part tree (*tridendria*), to which Alexios runs for shade.⁴⁴ The protection of its branches extinguishes the heat of the sun "at the peak of mid-day" – the time when Christ was crucified.⁴⁵ By using these words and phrases, the epigram portrays Alexios finding solace at the crucifixion, next to the cross – a sheltering tree. This description corresponds to the iconography in which Alexios was shown at Calvary, beneath the cross beam, as if shaded by the "branches" of the cross.⁴⁶

The relic was also an instrument of healing. Alexios implores the tree to anoint and heal him because, according to verses 4 and 6, he is "inflamed with sickness."⁴⁷ The miracle-working nature of the True Cross is conveyed by verse 10, which references Psalm 132:3: "It is like the dew of Haërmmon, which descends onto the mountains of Zion, because there the Lord commanded the blessing, life forevermore."⁴⁸ Early pilgrims to the Holy Land collected the dew from Mount Haërmmon, which was renowned for its medicinal properties.⁴⁹ In Byzantium, the dew was also typologically associated with the *anargyroi* saints, Kosmas and Damianos, through their feast day on November 1.⁵⁰ According to the eleventh-century Synaxarion of the Euergetis Monastery in Constantinople, this was the only day of the year when Psalm 132:3 was read in the liturgy.⁵¹

The "*dendron* terminology" is also used to describe Alexios's genealogy. This functioned to convey his legitimate ownership of the relic of the True Cross. Verses 11 and 12 declare that Alexios is part of the beautiful tree (*kallidendrias*) of the Doukai family, and his grandmother, the Empress Irene, is the root (*rhizopremnon*) from which he sprang. The epigram also names three family members that make up his *kallidendria*, corresponding in number to the *tridendria* that form the True Cross.

Frolov notes that for genealogies, tree imagery was "official jargon" of Byzantine poets of the twelfth century, and that Kallikles frequently made use of it.⁵² Although this metaphor may have been a topos, its application in the context of the Grandmont reliquary underscores his family's possession of, and Alexios's right to, the sacred wood. The True Cross was emblematic of Byzantine imperial power and identity.⁵³ Emperors invoked relics of the True Cross on ceremonial occasions and in battle, controlled their distribution to the Christian *oikoumene*, and housed them in

richly decorated reliquaries.⁵⁴ Alexios's grandfather and namesake utilized relics of the True Cross to negotiate treaties with the Normans.⁵⁵ His grandmother Irene is known to have commissioned at least five reliquaries of the True Cross, and her daughters, Maria and Eudokia, each commissioned one.⁵⁶

In this epigram, Alexios insistently proclaims his membership in this illustrious family. His connections thus granted him access to the precious wood and to the same court poet who authored True Cross reliquary epigrams for his family. By using "*dendron* terminology" to describe his relic and his lineage, Alexios reinforces the association between the True Cross and his patrimony, thereby establishing his continuity with the past and his entitled claim to the relic.

My argument that the *dendro*-centric language was deliberately crafted in order to convey these messages for Alexios is supported by the etymologies of the words *tridendria*, *kallidendria*, and *rhizopremnon*. Rhoby observes that the Grandmont epigram is the earliest known use of the word *tridendria*. He also notes that the words *rhizopremnon* and *kallidendria* are *hapax legomena*.⁵⁷ All three terms are compound words that were created to evoke tree imagery. The words *tridendria* and *kallidendria* combine the prefixes *tria* (three) and *kallos* (beautiful) with the word *dendron*.⁵⁸ *Rhizopremnon* is formed from the word *rhiza*, which can, in its literal sense, refer to roots of any type or, more broadly, to a race from which a family springs.⁵⁹ Combined with the term *premnnon* (base of a tree), the word is given a more specific arboreal connotation.⁶⁰ This epigram, therefore, utilizes nontraditional vocabulary for the relic of the True Cross, combined with newly invented compound words. Word repetition and word innovation were used in order to articulate and personalize Alexios's devotion to the relic of the True Cross as his protector and healer.

The unusual iconography of the Grandmont can thus be understood in the context of the epigram's messages. The lid featured Alexios at the crucifixion, at the foot of the cross. Thus he was depicted beside his relic at the specific event when (at the peak of midday) and at the place where (beneath the "branches" of the cross), he ran to the tree for shade. The presence of the relic of the True Cross in his enkolpion made Alexios's hope for protection by the tree a material reality.⁶¹

Peter Brown demonstrates that for relics of the Early Latin West, the *praesentia* of the holy was made manifest through material remains. This allowed the faithful to "feed on the facts of distance and the joys of proximity."⁶² Whereas pilgrimage was one way to overcome such distance, the Protaton and Grandmont reliquaries reveal how – in the Middle Byzantine period – the intimate link between patron and sacred matter could be imagined, verbalized, and experienced through a single object.⁶³ The Protaton reliquary, and its *litho*-centric messages, emphasizes Zosimas's ownership of the four life-giving stones and, in turn, his access to the holy sites. The Grandmont reliquary with its *dendro*-centric messages presented the wood of the True Cross as a tree that protected, sheltered, and healed Alexios. The patrons' choices of iconography, while unusual by Middle Byzantine standards, were visual expressions of what was conveyed by the epigrams. Their imagined presence at the crucifixion, in visual

proximity to the earth and the wood, was realized through the inclusion of a piece of Golgotha layered beneath the portrait of Zosimas and a fragment of the cross beneath that of Alexios. The reliquaries thus functioned, for Zosimas and Alexios, as holy sites, where they accessed their relics, witnessed the biblical event that sanctified these materials, and harnessed their salvific properties.

Notes

- * A version of this chapter was presented at the 48th International Congress on Medieval Studies in 2013 for the panel “Eco-Critical Approaches to Medieval Art: East and West.” I thank the session chairs, Nancy Ševčenko and Anne Harris, as well as those in attendance, for their helpful comments. I also benefitted from the advice of Lynn Jones, Stratis Papaioannou, Ida Toth, and the anonymous reviewers. All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.
- 1 Henry Maguire, *Nectar and Illusion: Nature in Byzantine Art and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 105.
- 2 For the Protaton reliquary, see Gabriel Millet, Jeanne Fourier-Pargoire, and Louis David Petit, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de l’Athos*, vol. 1, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome 91 (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1904), no. 26; Anatole Frolov, *La relique de la Vraie Croix: recherches sur le développement d’un culte*, Archives de l’Orient chrétien 7 (Paris: Institut Français d’Études Byzantines, 1961), no. 1120; Katia Loverdou-Tsigarida in *Treasures of Mount Athos*, ed. Athanasios Karakatsanis (Thessaloniki: Ministry of Culture, Museum of Byzantine Culture, 1997), no. 9.18; Brigitte Pitarakis and Yota Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, “Decorative Arts,” in *The Treasury of the Protaton*, vol. 1, eds., Stelios Papadopoulos, and Chrysoula Kapioldasi-Sotiropoulou (Mount Athos: The Holy Community of Mount Athos, 2001), 48–55; Brigitte Pitarakis, *Άγιον Όρος: Κειμήλια Προτάτου* (Thessaloniki: Hagioreitike Hestia, 2006), no. 67; Démétrios Liakos in *Le Mont Athos et l’Empire byzantin: trésors de la Sainte Montagne* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2009), no. 124; Andreas Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung* (hereafter, *BEIÜ*), vol. 2: *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), Me34; Brad Hostetler, “The Iconography of Text: The Placement of an Inscription on a Middle Byzantine Reliquary,” *Eastern Christian Art* 8 (2011): 49–55; and idem, “The Function of Text: Byzantine Reliquaries with Epigrams, 843–1204 (PhD dissertation, Florida State University, 2016), 145–159, 172–173. For the Grandmont reliquary, see François Ogier, *Inscription antique de la Vraie Croix de l’Abbaye de Grandmont: Avec un sermon de la Passion* (Paris: J. Henault, 1658); Charles Dufresne Du Cange, “Explication des inscriptions de la vraie croix, qui est en l’abbaye de Grandmont, et de celle qui est au monastere du mont Saint-Quentin en Picardie,” Dissertation XXVI in *Histoire de Saint Louis par Jean de Joinville* (Paris, 1668), reprinted in *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, ed. Léopold Favre, vol. 10 (Niort: L. Favre, 1887), 90–93; Jacques-Paul Migne, *Dictionnaire d’épigraphie chrétienne*, vol. 1, Nouvelle encyclopédie théologique 30 (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1852), cols. 672–675; Jacques Rémy Antoine Têxier, *Dictionnaire d’orfèvrerie, de gravure et de ciselure chrétiennes* (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1857), cols. 833–836; Ernst Curtius, and Adolph Kirchhoff, eds., *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*, vol. 4 (Berlin: Vendit G. Reimeri Libraria, 1877), no. 8735; Anatole Frolov, “Deux inscriptions sur des reliquaires byzantins,” *Revue Archéologique* 18 (1941): 233–239; idem, *La relique*, nos. 319, 365; Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, *Highways of the Faith: Relics and Reliquaries from Jerusalem to Compostela*, trans J. A. Underwood (Secaucus, NJ: Wellfleet Press, 1986), no. 28; Holger Klein, *Byzanz, der Westen und das ‘wahre’ Kreuz: die Geschichte einer Reliquie und ihrer künstlerischen Fassung in Byzanz und im Abendland* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), 219–224; *BEIÜ* 2:Me15; and Hostetler, “The Function of Text,” 167–168.
- 3 The Protaton is a Middle Byzantine reliquary altered in the eighteenth century. Its current dimensions are 19.3 × 16.1 × 3.0 cm (overall), and 17.8 × 14.2 × 1.2 cm (lid). The original dimensions, based on my measurements of a scaled photograph of the crucifixion panel, were approximately 14.5 × 10.5 cm. The dimensions of the Grandmont reliquary were 15 × 10 cm; see note 34.

- 4 For an overview of Byzantine epigrams, see *BEIÜ* 1: 37–73.
- 5 Scholars have traditionally used the term *donor portrait* to refer to any contemporary figure depicted on a work of art. For problems associated with the scholarly use of this term, see Linda Safran, “Deconstructing ‘Donors’ in Medieval Southern Italy,” in *Female Founders in Byzantium and beyond*, Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 40/41, eds. Lioba Theis et al. (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2011–2012), 135–151. I have chosen to use the word *patron* to refer to Zosimas and Alexios because it emphasizes their roles in commissioning the reliquaries. I assume, therefore, that as patrons, Zosimas and Alexios had to make choices about the reliquaries’ form, decoration, and dedicatory epigrams that reflect their individual needs and desires. The Saint Demetrios ciborium reliquary, now in the Moscow Kremlin (MZ 1148), features portraits of the Emperor Constantine X Doukas (r. 1059–1067) and his wife, Eudokia Makrembolitissa. These are not donor images, but rather commemorative imperial portraits placed there by the patron named in the dedicatory epigram: the *mystographos* John Autoreianos; *BEIÜ* 2: Me99.
- 6 Brigitte Pitarakis notes that it is unusual for Zosimas to be shown at the crucifixion, but does not discuss its significance; “Decorative Arts,” 50. Nancy P. Ševčenko, “The Representation of Donors and Holy Figures on Four Byzantine Icons,” *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας* 17 (1993–1994): 162–164, identifies three other examples of Middle Byzantine “donors” shown with biblical narrative scenes. To this list I add the unnamed figure shown with a scene of the Annunciation in the Cappadocian rock-cut church of Yusuf Koç Kilisesi, which dates to the first half of the eleventh century, as well as the two men named John Entalmatikos and Genethlios represented with the *Benediction of the Apostles* in the mid-eleventh-century rock-cut Church of Karanlık Kilise, also in Cappadocia; Lyn Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 53–54, 156, figs. 10a, 29a. See also the processional cross at the Cluny Museum in Paris which features a monk next to an image of the Virgin being fed by an angel; in John A. Cotsonis, *Byzantine Figural Processional Crosses*, *Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications* 10 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1994), Figure 14b. The Khakouli Triptych features an enamel image of a Byzantine empress in what appears to be a scene of the Annunciation; Ioli Kalavrezou, “Female Popular Beliefs and Maria of Alania,” *Journal of Turkish Studies* 36 (2011): 85–101, at Figure 4. For Late Byzantine examples, see Fani Gargova, “The Meteora Icon of the Incredulity of Thomas Reconsidered,” in *Female Founders in Byzantium and beyond*, Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 40/41, eds. Lioba Theis et al. (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2011–2012), 369–381.
- 7 The most important study of these epigrams is *BEIÜ* 2: Me15 and Me34. For the Grandmont, see also Frolov, “Deux inscriptions,” 233–239.
- 8 The seminal work on the topic of portable *loca sancta* is Robert G. Ousterhout, ed., *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990). See also the unpublished dissertation by Laura Veneskey, “Alternative Topographies: ‘Loca Sancta’ Surrogates and Site Circulation in Late Antiquity and Byzantium” (PhD dissertation, Northwestern University, 2012).
- 9 The date of the Middle Byzantine components is based on style, iconography, and epigraphy; Frolov, *La relique*, 653; *Treasures of Mount Athos*, 341; Pitarakis, “Decorative Arts,” 49; *Ἁγιον Όρος*, 119; and *Le Mont Athos*, no. 124.
- 10 Κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθει Ζωσιμᾶ μοναχῷ. *BEIÜ*, 2:202.
- 11 The inscription is complete; however, the upper left corner of the panel is missing. That portion of the panel likely featured a cross that marked the beginning of the inscription; see Hostetler, “Iconography of Text,” 51.
- 12 Τοὺς ζωποιοὺς ἐκ τόπων σεβασμίων
πίστει ζεούση Ζωσιμᾶς πλουτεῖ λίθους·
κοσμεῖ δὲ Νικόλαος τὴν θήκην πόθῳ.
Ed. *BEIÜ* 2: 202

This translation revises my previous rendering in Hostetler, “Iconography of Text,” 53.

- 13 On the topic of stone relics in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see Sandrine Lerou, “L’usage des reliques du Christ par les empereurs aux XIe et XIIe siècles: le Saint Bois et les

- Saintes Pierres,” in *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, eds. Jannic Durand and Bernard Flusin (Paris: Association des amis du Centre d’histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2004), 159–182. Other examples of Middle Byzantine reliquaries with stones from the Holy Land are to be found in Frolow, *La relique*, nos. 332, 405, 473. See also Hostetler, “The Function of Text,” 41–43.
- 14 ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου Τάφου τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ; ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου Κρανίου; ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Βηθλεέμ; ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας Γεθσημανί.
 - 15 The finial rosettes on the left, right, and lower ends of the cross are extant. For a similar image of a cross with rosettes, see the twelfth-century gold and enamel enkolpion at the Natsionalen Arkheologicheski Muzei in Sofia (487) in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, eds. Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), no. 574. On the Protaton reliquary, the right rosette was cut from the revetment, rotated clockwise 135 degrees, and reattached in approximately the same location.
 - 16 [τίμιον] ξύλον. Frolow, *La relique*, 652.
 - 17 Frolow, *La relique*, 652.
 - 18 Pitarakis, “Decorative Arts,” 52; and *Ἁγιον Όρος*, 120.
 - 19 ΤΟ ΠΑΡΟΝ ΕΓΚΟΛΦΙΟΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΚΕ ΤΟΥ ΤΙΜΙΟΥ ΞΙΛΟΥ ΗΠΑΡΧΙ ΕΤΙΜΑ [ΚΤΗΜΑ] ΤΙΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΙΣ ΕΚΙΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΣΙΝΔΡΟΜΙΣ | ΚΕ ΕΞΟΔΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΚΗΛΙΟΤΟΝ ΚΕ ΕΑΝ ΤΙΣ ΒΟΥΛΗΘΗ ΑΠΟΞΕΝΟΣΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ Η ΤΙ ΕΞ ΑΥΤΟΥ | ΕΧΕΤΟ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΑΝΤΗΜΑΧΟΝ ΚΕ ΤΙΝ ΚΗΡΙΑΝ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΝ ΑΝΤΙΔΙΚΟΝ ΕΝ ΗΜΕΡΑ ΚΡΙΣΕΟΣ ΑΨΝ8. (This *enkolpion* (sic) with the cross and the True Cross is the possession of the great church of the Protaton, through the subvention and at the expense of the kelli-dwellers, and if anyone alienates this or anything from it, may he have the Lady Theotokos as his adversary in the Day of Judgment. 1758.) Transcription and translation by Yota Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos in “Decorative Arts,” 49. See also Millet, *Recueil des inscriptions*, no. 26.
 - 20 On these alterations, see Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos in “Decorative Arts,” 52–55.
 - 21 Pitarakis also published a reconstruction drawing in “Decorative Arts,” 281, ill. 1, but it does not include a reconstruction of the repoussé cross.
 - 22 Zosimas is further distinguished from Nikolaos through the use of the word *de* in verse 3, which creates a conceptual break between the second and third verses. It also serves as a conjunction, offsetting verse 3 from the rest of the epigram in order to present a new idea about a different individual; Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, rev. Gordon M. Messing (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), no. 2834.
 - 23 The alliteration was first noted by BEIÜ 2: 203.
 - 24 On the practice of reading epigrams aloud, see Amy Papalexandrou, “Text in Context: Eloquent Monuments and the Byzantine Beholder,” *Word & Image* 17 (2001): 259–283.
 - 25 *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G.W.H. Lampe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), s.v. “ζωή.”
 - 26 Hostetler, “Iconography of Text,” 54.
 - 27 BEIÜ 2: 203.
 - 28 Pitarakis notes that this pose recalls the iconography of the Theotokos Hagiosoritissa and Paraklesis – image types associated with the Virgin’s role as intercessor for the faithful; “Decorative Arts,” 50. See also *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.vv. “Virgin Hagiosoritissa” and “Virgin Paraklesis” (Nancy Patterson Ševčenko).
 - 29 The representation of rocks as visual referents to specific Holy Land sites was a characteristic feature of a group of ivories produced around the same time as the Protaton reliquary; Henry Maguire, “Ivories as Pilgrimage Art: A New Frame for the ‘Frame Group,’” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 63 (2009): 117–146.
 - 30 Frolow, *La relique*, nos. 126, 473, 662. For more recent literature on these reliquaries, see BEIÜ 2: Me16, Me29, Me96. For further discussion, see Hostetler, “The Function of Text,” 91.
 - 31 For a list of their grandsons named Alexios, see BEIÜ 2: 177. Alexios identifies himself as Doukas, rather than Komnenos, because the former had greater social prestige; Demetrios I. Polemis, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London: Athlone Press, 1968), 134.
 - 32 It is not known how Amalric acquired the reliquary; Frolow, *La relique*, no. 365.
 - 33 Ogier, *Inscription antique*; and Téchier, *Dictionnaire d’orfèvrerie*, cols. 833–836.
 - 34 Migne, *Dictionnaire d’épigraphie*, col. 673; Klein, ‘wahre’ Kreuz, 220, and BEIÜ 2: 174, record that the reliquary measured 12 × 10 cm. Téchier, *Dictionnaire d’orfèvrerie*, cols.

- 833–834 states that the reliquary was 15 × 10 cm and that the height of the cross relic, inside the reliquary, was 12 cm. Texier's measurements are supported by Frolow, *La relique*, 320. Based on the aspect ratio of Ogier's drawings (10.5:15), Texier's dimensions are correct.
- 35 The description of the lid is recorded in Téxier, *Dictionnaire d'orfèvrerie*, col. 835.
- 36 Téxier, *Dictionnaire d'orfèvrerie*, col. 835, notes "et aux pieds une petite figure d'un home avec les mains jointes." Although Texier's description does not explicitly identify the figure at the crucifixion, scholars suggest that, based on the internal evidence of the epigram, it was Alexios; Frolow, *La relique*, 320; Klein, 'wahre' Kreuz, 220; and BEIÜ 2: 175.
- 37 A similar composition is found on the eleventh–twelfth-century reliquary of the True Cross at Poitiers; Lynn Jones, "Perceptions of Byzantium: Radegund of Poitiers and the Relics of the True Cross," in *Byzantine Images and Their Afterlives: Essays in Honor of Annemarie Weyl Carr*, ed. Lynn Jones (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 105–124, Figure 5.7.
- 38 I know of only two other Middle Byzantine reliquaries with longer epigrams; both were commissioned by members of the Komnenian family. The now-lost reliquary of the True Cross of Emperor Manuel Komnenos (r. 1143–1180) had a 24-verse epigram; Frolow, *La relique*, no. 367; and Brad Hostetler, "Epigrams on Relics and Reliquaries," in *Byzantine Texts on Art and Aesthetics*, vol. 3: *From Alexios I to the Rise of Hesychasm (1081 – ca. 1330)*, eds. Charles Barber and Foteini Spingou (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming). The cross of Alexios's grandmother, Irene Doukaina, now in the Tesoro di San Marco (Santuario 57), features a 17-verse epigram; BEIÜ 2: Me90; and Hostetler, "The Function of Text," 87–89. An eleventh- or twelfth-century reliquary of Saint Demetrios, no longer extant, was also inscribed with a 16-verse epigram; Spyridon Lampros, "Ο Μαρκιανὸς κῶδις 524," *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 8 (1911), no. 79; and Hostetler, "The Function of Text," 198–199.
- 39 Βραχὺν ὑπνώσας ὕπνον ἐν τριδενδ[ρί]ᾳ
 ὁ παμβασιλεὺς καὶ θεάν(θρωπ)ος Λόγος
 πολλήν ἐπεβράβευσε τῷ δένδρῳ χάριν·
 ἐμψύχεται γὰρ πᾶς πυρούμενος νόσοις
 5 ὁ προσπεφευγὼς τοῖς τριδενδρίας κλάδοις·
 ἀλλὰ φλογθεὶς ἐν μέσῃ μεσημβρία
 ἔδραμον, ἦλθον, τοῖς κλάδοις ὑπείσεδυν·
 καὶ σῇ σκιᾷ δέχου με καὶ καλῶς σκέπε,
 ὦ συσκιάζον δένδρον ἄπασαν χθόνα,
 10 καὶ τὴν Ἀερμῶν ἐνστάλαξόν μοι δρόσον
 ἐκ Δουκι(κ)ῆς φυέντι καλλιδενδρίας,
 ἧς ριζόπρεμνον ἡ βασιλὶς Εἰρήνη,
 ἡ μητρομάμη, τῶν ἀνάκτων τὸ κλέος,
 Ἀλεξίου κρατοῦντος Αὐσόνων δάμαρ·
 15 ναί, ναί, δυσωπῶ τὸν μόν(ον) φύλακά μου
 σὸς δοῦλος Ἀλέξιος ἐ[κ] γένους Δούκας.
 Ed. BEIÜ 2: 175
- 40 Frolow, "Deux inscriptions," 233–239. BEIÜ 2: 177, cautions against Frolow's thesis because there are characteristics of the epigram's meter that suggest that it was not authored by Kallikles. For Kallikles's cross reliquary epigrams, see the two composed for Irene and Eudokia; Frolow, *La relique*, nos. 241 and 312; and *Nicola Callicle Carmi*, ed. Roberto Romano (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1980), nos. 6 and 27. These reliquaries are no longer extant. It has been argued that Kallikles authored epigrams for two other reliquaries of the True Cross. One was owned by Irene and is now in the Tesoro di San Marco (see note 38); Frolow, *La relique*, no. 308; idem, "Reliquie orientale e reliquiari bizantini," in *Il Tesoro di San Marco*, vol. 2, ed. Hans Hahnloser (Florence: Sansoni, 1971), no. 25; *Nicola Callicle Carmi*, ed. Romano, no. 35; and BEIÜ 2: Me90. The other reliquary was owned by Irene's daughter Maria and is now in the Church of St-Eloi in Eine; Frolow, *La relique*, no. 249; Edmond Voordeckers, and Ludo Milis, "La croix byzantine d'Eine," *Byzantion* 39 (1969): 456–488; *Nicola Callicle Carmi*, ed. Romano, no. 33; and BEIÜ 2: Me3.

- 41 For epigrams with the word *stauros*, see Frolow, *La relique*, nos. 146, 212, 273, 276, 528, 661. For those that use the word *xylon*, see nos. 95, 134, 135, 157, 205, 241, 249, 308, 312, 587. For those that use both, see nos. 275, 367, 405, 465, 729. For the epigrams that do not include either word (excluding the Protaton and Grandmont reliquaries), see nos. 126, 338, 407, 427, 467, 473, 662. For further discussion, see Hostetler, “The Function of Text,” 33, 91.
- 42 For the typology of the True Cross as the Tree of Life, see Anatole Frolow, *Les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix*, Archives de l’Orient chrétien 8 (Paris: Institut Français d’Études Byzantines, 1965), 178–186, esp. 183–184.
- 43 The reliquary is no longer extant, but the epigram is recorded in his corpus of poems; *Nicola Callicle Carmi*, ed. Romano, no. 7. See also Frolow, *La relique*, no. 338.
- 44 *Tridendria* refers to the three species of wood that supposedly made up the True Cross. Isaiah 60:13: “καὶ ἡ δόξα τοῦ Λιβάνου πρὸς σὲ ἥξει ἐν κυπαρίσσῳ καὶ πεύκῃ καὶ κέδρῳ ἅμα, δοξάσαι τὸν τόπον τὸν ἁγίον μου.” (And the glory of Lebanon shall come to you, with cypress and pine and cedar together, to glorify my holy place.) *Septuaginta*, Editio altera, eds. Alfred Rahlfs and Robert Hanhart (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006); translation from *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, hereafter cited as NETS, eds. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
- 45 John 19:14: “ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα, ὥρα ἦν ὡς ἕκτη. καὶ λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, Ἴδε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑμῶν.” (Now it was the day of preparation of the Passover; it was about the sixth hour. He said to the Jews, “Behold your King!”), *The Greek New Testament*, 4th rev. ed., eds. Kurt Aland et al. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983); translation from RSV. The phrase “right at the peak of midday” is also found in the panegyric for the feast day of the Elevation of the Cross (September 14) by the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Cypriot monk and saint Neophytos Enkleistos. *BEIÜ* 2: 175, notes that the wording of this sermon is similar to verses 1 and 6 of the Grandmont epigram: “Ζητοῦσα γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Γολγοθᾶ ἐν μέσῃ μεσημβρίᾳ εὐρήσω πάντως ἀρυπνοῦντά σε τῇ τριδενδρίᾳ.” (Searching on Mount Golgotha, right at the peak of midday, I would, of course, find you sleeping on the three-part tree.), “Πανηγυρική Α,” Th. Giagkou and N. Papatriantafyllou-Theodoridi, eds., in *Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Συγγράμματα*, eds. Ioannes Karabidopoulos et al., vol. 3 (Paphos: Ἱερά Βασιλικὴ καὶ Σταυροπηγιακὴ Μονὴ Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου, 1999), 8.72–8.74.
- 46 The symbolism of the tree’s shade is discussed by Gregory of Nyssa in his fourth homily on the Song of Songs: Hermann Langerbeck, ed., *Gregorii Nysseni in Canticum Cantorum*, Gregorii Nysseni opera 6, eds. Werner Jaeger et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1960), 118–119.
- 47 The use of healing oil from the Tree of Life appears in Rémi Gounelle ed., *Les recensions byzantines de l’Évangile de Nicodème* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 300–302.
- 48 Psalm 132:3: “ὡς δρόσος Ἀερμων ἢ καταβαίνουσα ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Σιών· ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐνετείλατο κύριος τὴν εὐλογίαν καὶ ζωὴν ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος.” *Septuaginta*, Editio altera; translation from NETS. See also Silvio Giuseppe Mercati, “Osservazione a CIG 8785,” *Bessarione* 27 (1923): 72–73.
- 49 John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1977), 81.
- 50 The healing nature of the True Cross and its association with *anargyroi* saints is reflected in the choice of imagery on the twelfth-century Philotheos Staurotheke, now at the Moscow Kremlin (1141); *BEIÜ* 2: Me97. The *anargyroi* Kosmas, Damianos, Kyros, and Panteleemon are the only figures featured on this reliquary.
- 51 *The Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis*, 3 vols, trans. Robert H. Jordan (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, the Institution of Byzantine Studies, The Queen’s University of Belfast, 2000), vol. 1, 167.
- 52 Frolow, “Deux inscriptions,” 239. A characteristic feature of Kallikles’s poetry is his metaphors of nature; *Nicola Callicle Carmi*, ed. Romano, 30. It was also a common theme for Manuel Philes; Andreas Rhoby, “Metaphors of Nature in the Poetry of Manuel Philes (XIVth c.),” in *Le lierre et la statue: La nature et son espace littéraire dans l’épigramme gréco-latine tardive*, eds. Florence Garambois-Vasquez and Daniel Vallat (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l’Université, 2013), 263–273.
- 53 Brad Hostetler, “The Limburg Staurotheke: A Reassessment,” *Athanos* 30 (2012): 7–13.
- 54 Frolow, *La relique*, 73–94; and Jones, “Perceptions of Byzantium,” 105–106.

- 55 Frolov, *La relique*, nos. 245 and 256.
- 56 For these reliquaries, see note 40. Irene also has three reliquaries of the True Cross listed in the typikon for her convent in Constantinople dedicated to the Theotokos Kecharitomene; Paul Gautier, “Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôménè,” *Revue des études byzantines* 43 (1985): 152.
- 57 Rhoby states that the word *mētromammē* (grandmother) is also a *hapax legomenon*. There has been some disagreement on the interpretation of this term as either grandmother or great-grandmother; *BEIÜ* 2: 177–178.
- 58 *Greek-English Lexicon* hereafter cited as *LSJ*, 9th rev. ed., eds Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), s.vv. “κάλλος” and “τρία.”
- 59 *LSJ*, s.v. “ρίζα.”
- 60 *LSJ*, s.v. “πρέμνον.”
- 61 For the protective function of enkolpia, see Brigitte Pitarakis, “Byzantine Enkolpia,” in *Enkolpia: The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi* (Mount Athos: The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi, 2001), 13–14; and idem, *Les croix-reliquaires pectorales byzantines en bronze*, Bibliothèque des cahiers archéologiques 16 (Paris: Picard, 2006).
- 62 Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 86–87.
- 63 On the ways in which images validate the authenticity of relics, and sacred matter gives presence to the images they accompany, see Holger Klein, “Eastern Objects and Western Desires: Relics and Reliquaries between Byzantium and the West,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004): 283–314, esp. 299–300; and Maguire, “Ivories as Pilgrimage,” 142–143.