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# Notes on East Christian Miniatures

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*Reprinted from*  
THE ART BULLETIN  
Vol. XI, No. 1

The College Art Association of America  
New York University: Washington Square, New York  
1929

Bibliothèque Maison de l'Orient



139446

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FIG. 1

FIG. 2

*Etschmiadzin, Monastic Library: Miniatures of the Etschmiadzin Gospel Tempietto; Christ Enthroned between Peter and Paul (after Strzygowski)*



FIG. 3—Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: Ivory Plaque. Christ Healing the Paralytic; a Prophet Two Evangelists



FIG. 4—Drawing of a Miniature of the Etschmiadzin Gospel. Abraham's Sacrifice (after Strzygowski)

# NOTES ON EAST CHRISTIAN MINIATURES

*Cotton Genesis, Gospel of Etschmiadzin, Vienna Genesis, Paris Psalter  
Bible of Leo, Vatican Psalter, Joshua Roll, Petropolitanus XXI  
Paris gr. 510, Menologion of Basil II*

BY C. R. MOREY

THE scene which is reproduced on the cover of this number of *The Art Bulletin* is perhaps the most charming composition which Early Christian art has left us, sustaining as it does the pure melody of Hellenistic allegory, unperturbed as yet by obscurant mysticism. It is the third day of Creation, and the Lord Who has brought forth the trees and plants looks upon His work, attended by a flight of three winged figures which are the delightful impersonations of the Days. The Lord is conceived as the Logos, and thus conforms in type to Christ; He wears His hair short and curly and carries a scepter-cross. The miniature comes from the Cotton Genesis<sup>1</sup> of the British Museum and it is only by chance that it is preserved to us, by virtue of the otherwise reprehensible habit of borrowing valuable books which was one of the characteristics of the famous antiquary Peiresc. Sir Robert Cotton lent him the manuscript in 1618, and Peiresc kept it a long time, intending to make engravings of all its miniatures, but Cotton having finally insisted on the return of the codex, the drawings for the engravings were never finished and only two of them are left. It is fortunate that one of the two preserved this miniature, for the manuscript was almost wholly destroyed in the fire that wrecked the Cotton Library in 1731, and only blackened fragments of the richly illustrated Genesis remain.

Mr. Lethaby, the latest to study these fragments, assembled an imposing array of circumstantial data which indicated that the manuscript was illustrated in Alexandria, making incidentally the interesting point that one of the pictures that illustrate the story of Joseph gives us a remarkably good, if summary, view of the great pyramids of Gizeh. But he unfortunately overlooked the one piece of direct evidence for an Alexandrian origin of the miniatures, which is precisely this little curly-headed Logos and His scepter-cross.

For this type of Christ is the conception of the Saviour which prevails throughout a long series of Early Christian ivories dating from the beginning to the middle of the sixth century, and ranging in quality of style from the imposing compositions which illustrate the life of Jesus on the famous Cathedra of Maximianus in Ravenna to the type of pyxis that was sold as souvenir to pilgrims who visited the shrine of St. Menas at Alexandria.<sup>2</sup>

1. Bibliography of the Cotton Genesis: *Velusta Monumenta*, pub. by the Society of Antiquaries, 1731; Owen, *Collatio Codicum Cotton.*, 1778; Westwood, *Palæographia sacra*, 1843-5, color-plate III; Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, III, pls. 124-5; British Museum, *Cat. Ancient Mss.*, Part I, Greek, 1881, p. 20; Tikkanen, *Die Genesis-Mosaiken von S. Marco in Venedig*, 1889; Omont, *Fac-*

*similés des miniatures des plus anciens mss. grecs dans la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1902; W. R. Lethaby, *Archæological Journal*, LXIX, 1912, pp. 88 ff.; LXX, 1913, pp. 162 ff.

2. The following examples, dating before 700, of Christ carrying a cross have been listed by the Princeton *Index of Christian Art*:



Compare with the Logos of the Cotton manuscript, for example, the Saviour Who heals the Paralytic on a plaque in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (Fig. 3); the identity in coiffure, gesture, pose, and scepter is striking. These ivories have recently been assembled and discussed as a group by Edward Capps, Jr., in an article in *The Art Bulletin*, and he has pointed out in this article and another of the same periodical on the *Style of the*

**IVORIES:** Bonn, Provincial Museum, pyxis from Bavaria (Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, VI, pl. 439, 2); Cairo, Museum, comb from Antinoë (Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, pl. XVII); Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, diptych (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 452, 1, 2); Etschmiadzin, Monastery, book-covers (Strzygowski, *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, I, pl. I); Florence, Museo Nazionale, pyxis (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 437, 5; here the type is used for the Infant Jesus of the Epiphany); Legnano, Trotti collection, from the Stroganoff collection, panel from the Cathedra of Maximianus (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 418, 3); Naples, Museum, panel from the Cathedra of Maximianus (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 419, 3); New York, Metropolitan Museum, pyxis (Edward Capps, Jr., *The Art Bulletin*, IX, 1927, p. 8, note 43, fig. 5); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, book-covers (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 458, 1, 2); Paris, Musée de Cluny, pyxis (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 428, 4); Paris, Cluny, pyxis (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 439, 3; see also Edward Capps, Jr., *l. c.* p. 7, note 29, where this pyxis is identified with that from St. Maclou, Bar-sur-Aube, which was listed as a separate pyxis by Von Sybel, *Christliche Antike*, II, p. 253); Paris, Louvre, the Barberini diptych (*Römische Quartalschrift*, 1912, p. 4, fig. 1); Paris, Louvre, pyxis from La Voute-Chilhac (Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, V, pl. CCCLXVII); Pesaro, Cathedral, pyxis (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 439, 1); Ravenna, Cathedral sacristy, panels of the Cathedra of Maximianus (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 418, 4; pl. 419, 1); Ravenna, Museum, book-cover from Murano (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 456); Rome, Vatican Library, Museo Cristiano, pyxis (Edward Capps, Jr., *The Art Bulletin*, IX, 1927, pp. 331-340); Vienna, Figdor Collection, pyxis (*Röm. Quart.* 1898, p. 37, fig. 6). An imitation of the type, but with the hair falling on the shoulders in Carolingian or post-Carolingian fashion, is found on a pyxis of the Sneyd collection at Keele Hall (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 439, 4) and on the four plaques of the Micheli collection in Paris (Garrucci, *Storia*, pl. 448). Capps, *l. c.*, has already pointed out that the Micheli plaques are mediæval imitations of Early Christian iconography, and the same is true in my opinion of the Sneyd pyxis.

**LAMPS:** About twenty lamps are known which display a short-haired Christ, standing on a serpent or beasts, and usually planting upon the body of the animal under his feet the long arm of a cross; occasionally the cross is shortened and lifted so that it approaches the scepter of our type. The ultimate provenance of these lamps, so far as it is known, is Egypt and Africa. Cf. E. Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography*, pp. 150 ff.; De Rossi, *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana*, 1867, p. 12; 1874, p. 130; 1890, p. 13; Delattre, *Rev. de l'art chrét.*, 1892, p. 136; 1893, p. 37; Héron de Villefosse, *Le Musée archéologique*, 1871, I, pp. 113-117.

**MINIATURES:** Etschmiadzin, Monastery, Gospels in Armenian (Christ enthroned between Sts. Peter and Paul; Strzygowski, *Byz. Denkm.* I, pl. II, 2); London, British Museum, Cotton Genesis (Garrucci, *Storia*, III, pl. 124, 4).

**MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS:** A terra cotta paten from Alexandria, with a beardless figure, flanked by putti, holding a large gemmed cross (Leclercq in Cabrol, *Dictionnaire de l'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, s. v. *Croix*, fig. 3422; it is difficult to identify the figure as Christ); Berlin, Antiquarium (Von Gans collection) gold medallion from Egypt, adorned with a relief of the Miracle of Cana, in which a short-haired beardless Christ touches the jars with a cross-scepter (Dennison, *A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman Period*, Univ. of Michigan Studies, *Humanistic Series*, XII, pl. XVI); Cairo, Museum, earthenware vessel-cover (Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, p. 248, no. 7142; this figure may be that of a saint); a terra cotta basin found at Orléans, with an incised design representing a short-haired, beardless figure, holding a cross-staff that rests on the head of a serpent beneath his feet, probably Christ (Cabrol, *op. cit.*, s. v. *Basilic*, fig. 1391); Ravenna, Orthodox Baptistery, stucco relief (youthful Christ, holding a book, and a cross over His shoulder, trampling a lion and serpent; Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten*, I, fig. 11); Rome, Vatican, bronze medallion, beardless Christ with short hair, holding a cross, with two angels, and two stags drinking from the Rivers, two trees, and two stars (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 480, 5); Strassburg, Forrer collection, textile from Akhmim (Forrer, *Frühchristliche Allertümer aus Achmim-Panopolis*, pl. XVIII, 1; this figure is conceivably a St. George); Syracuse, stamped terra cotta basin bottom (a short-haired, nimbed, beardless figure, holding a long cross and blessing; Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 466, 1).

**MOSAICS:** The examples of Ravenna (Chapel of S. Pier Crisologo; Tomb of Galla Placidia; S. Michele in Affricisco, now at Berlin) show a variant in the long hair of the Saviour that falls upon the shoulders; the example in the tympanum of the city gate of Ravenna, as depicted in the nave mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo, is too uncertain to be of use in this connection. The examples of *Christus Crucifer* in the Early Christian mosaics of Rome (S. Lorenzo f. l. m.; S. Paolo f. l. m., S. Teodoro) are all of the bearded type.

The **SARCOPHAGI** frequently, and particularly in the columnar division, display the type of Christ holding a cross, but the cross is of the long variety, and the Saviour's hair is long (Apt, Cathedral; two examples in the Museum of Arles; Avignon, Museum; an unpublished sarcophagus in the Museo Archeologico at Milan, no. 453; a lost sarcophagus reproduced in Peiresc's drawings in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and in Le Blant, *Étude sur les*

*Consular Diptychs*<sup>3</sup> the peculiarities of style and iconography which show that the group was produced in Egypt. The Cathedra of Maximianus is assigned now by the majority of scholars to Alexandria; the specific evidence for this attribution was fully set forth ten years ago by Baldwin Smith.<sup>4</sup> The only one of our group of ivories whose ultimate provenance is known is a comb which was found at Antinoë in Egypt, but another which shows the characteristic style of the group displays as well the figure of St. Menas between two kneeling camels, which marks the object as produced for the pilgrim trade at Alexandria.

Our little Logos then may be accepted as a sort of artistic trade-mark which stamps a "made in Alexandria" on the works of art in which it occurs. Or rather it may be so accepted if we can explain why a Saviour with short curly hair carries the cross as a scepter in a miniature of a Gospel Book (Fig. 2) written in Armenian in the tenth century and now preserved in a monastery at Etschmiadzin—sufficiently remote from Egypt and Alexandria!

But it is to be noted that the Gospel Book of Etschmiadzin is one of the famous *pasticci* of mediaeval art, since Strzygowski has shown that while its Armenian text is signed and dated in the year 989 A. D. the illuminated pages forming a separate gathering of eight leaves in the front of the book and the two leaves with miniatures on each page that are sewn in on cut-off guards at its end, are not the work of the Armenian scriptorium in which the text was written ("after old and true models," says the subscription), since this has left some very dubious examples of its skill in drawing in the form of crude marginal miniatures in the text, and the author of these could not possibly have done the pictures and ornament of the first gathering. The ivory plaques which form the covers of the book belong in style and iconography to that same group of Alexandrian works which was noted above as exhibiting our type of the sceptered short-haired Christ. The covers and miniatures are thus earlier works reused by the Armenian who put the book together in the tenth century.

If the ivory covers are Alexandrian, and the miniatures were not made for the manuscript, its present location tells us nothing at all as to the nationality or school of the miniaturists, and we must deduce this information from the miniatures themselves. The arcaded frames that form such fertile ground for vegetation (Fig. 2) are familiar to us as first cousins to the similar frames for the canon tables (lists of parallel passages in the Gospels) of the Syriac Gospel Book of the Laurentiana at Florence (Fig. 32), written by the monk Rabula in the Mesopotamian monastery of Zagba in 586 A. D. Furthermore, the Armenian scribe found these frames empty and filled the first nine pages of them with the Hypothesis (explanation of the canon tables) and his own canons, in Armenian. The tenth page was decorated with

*sarcophages chrétiens d'Arles*, p. 68, pl. LXVIII; the sarcophagus of Probus in St. Peter's, Rome; a sarcophagus from the Vatican cemetery in the Lateran).

It is to be noted that of the above categories into which the examples have been classed, the only one which consistently parallels the type of the Cotton Genesis in the use of the cross as a scepter is that of the ivories; to which may be added the scepter held by the enthroned Christ of the Gospel of Etschmiadzin. Somewhat more removed from this notion of the cross is its use in the manner of a magician's wand by the Christ Who performs the miracle of Cana on the gold medallion from Egypt in the Berlin

Antiquarium. In the type of the triumphant Saviour trampling the beasts of Psalm XCI, on the lamps, the cross is usually long and planted on the head of a beast; sometimes it is carried over the shoulder, as also in some of the miscellaneous objects. The types of *Christus Crucifer* in the sarcophagi and mosaics depart from that of the Cotton manuscript in giving the Saviour long hair, and even a beard.

3. *The Art Bulletin*, IX, 1926-27, pp. 331-340; X, 1927-28, pp. 61-102.

4. *The Alexandrian Origin of the Chair of Maximianus*, in *Amer. Jour. of Archaeology*, 1917, pp. 22-38.

the tempietto illustrated in Fig. 1, while pages 11-15 have figured miniatures. Now the first three of these groups of figures are inserted in the same sort of frames which are used for the canon pages, but the last two, representing the Virgin and Child and the Sacrifice of Isaac, are inclosed in "three-band" borders, i. e., consisting of two dark bands separated by a slender line of lighter hue (Fig. 4), which is the type of border used in the Cotton Genesis. This suggests that two hands were at work at the miniatures of the first gathering of the Etschmiadzin Gospel Book, and inasmuch as the figured groups have the air of being fitted to spaces within the arcaded frames which were not designed for them it would seem likely that these frames, in the case of the three miniatures mentioned, were designed like the others for canon tables, and the insertion of the figure groups was an afterthought on the part of another artist who also did the two last miniatures of the gathering that are inclosed in the "three-banded" borders.

Now the arcaded frames with their little gardens of fruits and flowers and birds on top belong quite clearly to the Syrian style of illumination, but the figure groups of this set of miniatures do not march with other Syrian figure drawing, being quite different, for example, from the halting imitation of Hellenistic figure design such as is found in the miniatures of the Gospel of Rabula, and much closer in its frank flatness and reduction of form to line, in its clean-cut handling of the latter, and in the lack of weight in the paper dolls which it invites us to believe are human beings to the frescoed saints that one finds on the walls of the chapels of Bawit and Saqqara in Egypt, of the sixth and seventh centuries (Fig. 5). And if we interrogate the iconography of the other figured miniatures of the series it becomes evident that we have to do with an artist working in the tradition of Coptic style, if not an Egyptian himself. In one of them (Fig. 4) we find Abraham sacrificing Isaac at an altar which stands at the top of a flight of steps and is fashioned after the manner of "Isis" altars actually found in Alexandria or represented in Alexandrian stelæ, with its upper edge scalloped into a trilobate silhouette. This detail in the Sacrifice of Isaac determines according to Alison Smith (MacDonald) an Egyptian inspiration for the scene.<sup>5</sup>

To the same training in Coptic iconography we may therefore attribute the curly-haired Saviour Who holds the scepter-cross, seated between Peter and Paul (Fig. 2). The mixture of Egyptian with Syrian style and iconography need not surprise us if we remember the close connection existing between the Monophysite Churches of Egypt and Syria in the sixth and seventh centuries, the Syrian monasteries that were founded on the Nile, the employment of Alexandrian workmen by Modestus when he undertook the restoration of Jerusalem's holy places after the Persian raid of 614,<sup>6</sup> and the obvious "give-and-take" in iconographic notions that tends to obliterate the distinction between Syro-Palestinian and Alexandrian-Coptic work of the sixth and seventh centuries.

We may return then to the Cotton Genesis with faith unshaken, so far as the Etschmiadzin example is concerned, in the validity of the youthful Logos and His cruciform scepter as a sign manual of Alexandrian workmanship, and agree with Mr. Lethaby. This final

5. *The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Isaac in Early Christian Art*, in *Amer. Jour. Arch.*, 1922, pp. 159-169. Against Dalton's derivation of this type of altar from the Persian fire altar, see Capps, *Art Bull.*, X, 1927-28, p. 73,

note 57. Cf. also Rostovtzeff, *Römische Mitteilungen*, 1911, p. 66.

6. J. Breck, *Bull. of the Metropolitan Museum*, New York, XIV, 1919, pp. 242-244.



FIG. 5—Bawit, Chapel III: Fresco of Enthroned Madonna with Saints (after Clédat)



FIG. 6—Venice, St. Mark's: Mosaics in Narthex. Creation Scenes



FIG. 7—Venice, St. Mark's: Mosaics in Narthex. History of Noah

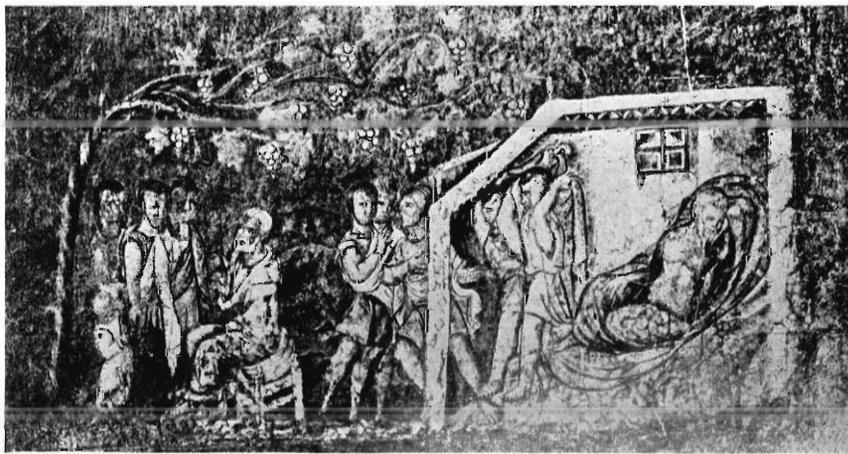


FIG. 8—Vienna, Staatsbibliothek: Miniature of the Vienna Genesis. Noah's Drunkenness (after Wickhoff)



FIG. 9—Vienna, Staatsbibliothek: Miniature of the Vienna Genesis. The Flood (after Wickhoff)

confirmation of the long-suggested attribution of the Genesis to Alexandria would be of inestimable importance were it not for that disastrous fire of 1731. What a flood of light would be thrown on the Alexandrian style in late antiquity if we had intact those picturesque landscapes and architectural vistas whose tantalizing fragments now intrigue the eye!

For partial compensation in this loss we may thank J. J. Tikkanen of Helsingfors, who, in one of the most brilliant pieces of archaeological reconstruction ever accomplished in the field of mediaeval art, proved that the Genesis mosaics that decorate the cupolas of the narthex of St. Mark's at Venice were copied, if not from the Cotton Genesis itself, at least from an illustrated manuscript so much like it that the mosaics may serve as a sound substitute for the first twenty or so of the missing miniatures, due allowance being given to the capacities of the mosaic artist of the thirteenth century in the direction of conventionality and lifelessness. Mr. Lethaby has himself notably confirmed Tikkanen's discovery by showing that the distribution of the miniatures on the pages of the Cotton manuscript indicates that there were just twenty-six miniatures devoted to the story of Genesis as there are twenty-six mosaic pictures of the Genesis scenes in St. Mark's.

In the first dome of the narthex (Fig. 6) the drama of Creation unfolds itself as once it did in the Cotton Genesis. The Dove broods over the waters; light appears and is divided from darkness by the Logos, with the winged figure of the First Day hovering over the orbs. In the next picture the Logos divides the waters by the firmament on the second day duly recorded by a second winged figure which joins the first. Next the Creator separates the land and sea, and in the following picture creates the trees and plants, attended by three Days. The identity of this composition in essential respects with Peiresc's copy of the Cotton miniature, reproduced as our cover design, is obvious and may serve to show the reader the importance of Tikkanen's discovery. From this compartment the story passes into the second zone and the successive days of Creation may be followed by the increasing number of their personifications until the group reaches seven, in the compartment to the left below our picture of the Third Day. "*Et benedixit diei septimo;*" the Seventh Day bows his head to receive the blessing of the enthroned Creator.

Passing through the history of Adam and Eve, and the story of Cain and Abel, we come to the account of the Flood, of Noah's sacrifice and drunkenness, his cursing of Ham, and his burial, all of which is depicted in the mosaics on the soffit of the arch adjacent to the Creation cupola. On one side of the arch (Fig. 7) we see Noah tasting the wine of his vineyard, and next the inebriated patriarch naked in bed, with Ham viewing his nakedness, and telling of it to Shem and Japheth. These two accordingly cover their father in the next compartment, "*incedentes retrorsum,*" while Noah in the next picture curses the prying son in the presence of his brothers. Then follows the burial of Noah.

Now this series of scenes throws welcome light on a puzzle inherent in one of the miniatures of the famous Genesis of Vienna (Fig. 8), in which we see the vine arching laterally as in the mosaic of St. Mark's but under it we find the patriarch, not sampling its fruit but seated in the act of cursing Ham, who is here accompanied by the infant Canaan. To the right we see Ham coming out of his father's chamber to tell his brethren, as at St. Mark's, but inside the chamber we see not his spying upon his father but the two brothers in the act of covering their father, and rendered by the unskilful miniaturist as if they were

walking away, the "walking backward" having been altogether beyond his feeble powers of portrayal. The Vienna miniature is evidently syncopated, since there is no proper sequence of the incidents, but until one compared it with the series of scenes in the mosaics of St. Mark's it was difficult to see how the artist got it so mixed up. With this comparison in mind it is easy to see that the miniaturist has condensed a sequence like that of St. Mark's, which we must suppose to have existed in the Cotton Genesis as well; the two scenes in the interior of Noah's chamber are combined into one, and the space under the vine is utilized for the group of the cursing of Ham.

This being the case we may probably rightly assume a similar combination of two scenes in the miniature of the Flood, which in the Vienna Genesis (Fig. 9) is remarkably like the mosaic of the Flood in St. Mark's (Fig. 10) both in the lines that represent the rain and the attempts at foreshortening visible in some of the floating bodies. The miniaturist seems to have added the Ark from an adjacent composition, transforming its stepped mastaba-like roof into a sort of Mesopotamian ziggurat. The conclusion that imposes itself from these comparisons is that the artists of the Vienna Genesis had before them a Genesis illustrated after the manner of the Cotton manuscript, and that we are to seek the archetypes of the Vienna miniatures not in Asia Minor, where the manuscript was written and decorated, but in Alexandria.

This would help to solve an otherwise puzzling problem, viz., the appearance in the miniatures of the Vienna Genesis of the same picturesque landscape composed in depth, which is still visible in the mountain views and seascapes, and architectural perspectives that appear dimly in the fragments of the Cotton Genesis. The Vienna Genesis belongs unquestionably to the same Anatolian school which produced the miniatures of the Gospel Book of Rossano and of the fragment of Matthew from Sinope in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, yet these two show no trace whatever of the perspective background which crops up again and again in the Vienna manuscript. There is again not enough difference in date between the Genesis (though it is unquestionably earlier than the Rossanensis and Sinopensis) and these two manuscripts, to account for the disappearance, between the date of the Genesis and that of its later congeners, of the landscape which constitutes the striking feature of the Vienna miniatures. The conclusion must be that this perspective background is not indigenous to the Anatolian school, but borrowed from the manuscript that its artists copied.

There were, I think, six of these artists<sup>7</sup> who worked on the forty-eight miniatures of the Genesis. The one who did the initial miniatures and who had the lion's share of the

7. Bibliography of the Vienna Genesis: Garrucci, *Storia*, III, pls. 112-113; Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, I, p. 465; Hartel and Wickhoff, *Die Wiener Genesis* (reproductions of the miniatures, description of the manuscript, and critique of the style); Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, I, p. 298; Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 444. The leaves of the manuscript are now separated and placed under glass, but Hartel's description shows that they were formerly combined into double sheets as follows: Folios XI-XIV and XIX-XXII were gathered in two *binions* XI XII XIII XIV XIX XX XXI XXII;



fourteen folios were combined in seven *unions*, I-II, III-IV, V-VI, VII-VIII, IX-X, XV-XVI, XXIII-XXIV; two folios, XVII and XVIII, were unconnected with any other. The illustration of manuscripts, when several artists were employed, was usually arranged by distributing the gatherings among the miniaturists; following this rule, we find in fact that the gatherings can be distributed among six artists (not five, as Wickhoff concluded, following, apparently, the erroneous principle that the miniatures by one hand must necessarily be consecutive). These six we may name A, B, C, D, E, F, and assign to them the gatherings as follows:



FIG. 10—Venice, *St. Mark's*: Mosaics in Narthex. *The Flood*

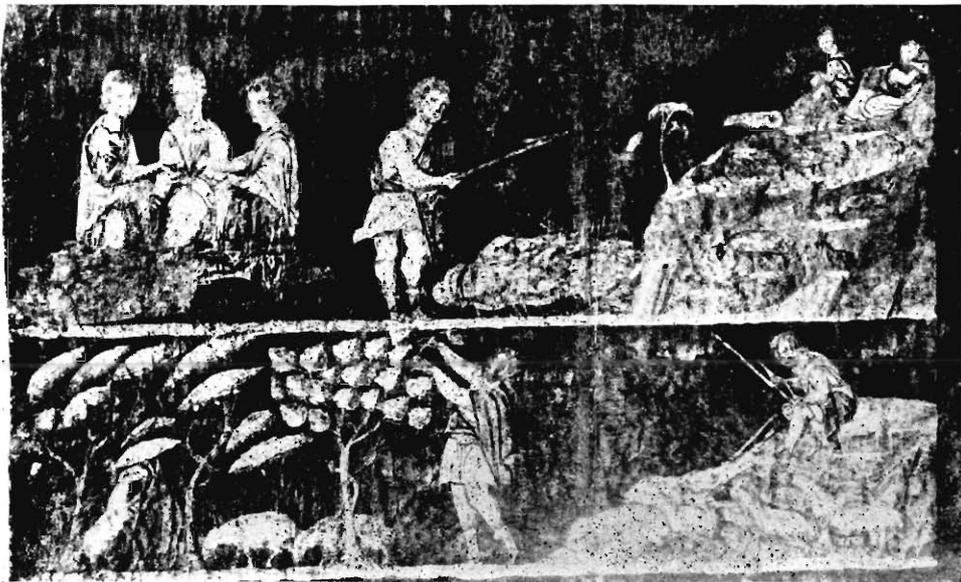


FIG. 11—Vienna, *Staatsbibliothek*: Miniature of the Vienna Genesis  
*Jacob's Compact with Laban* (after Wickhoff)



FIG. 12—Vienna, *Staatsbibliothek*: Miniature of the Vienna Genesis  
*Joseph Sent to His Brethren* (after Wickhoff)



FIG. 13—Vienna, Staatsbibliothek: *Miniature of the Vienna Genesis Joseph Interprets the Dream of Pharaoh (after Wickhoff)*



FIG. 14—Vienna, Staatsbibliothek: *Miniature of the Vienna Genesis Reuben Demands Benjamin of Jacob (after Wickhoff)*



FIG. 15—Vienna, Staatsbibliothek: *Miniature of the Vienna Genesis Jacob Blesses the Sons of Joseph (after Wickhoff)*

work (miniatures 1-16, 21-28) makes his figures large and achieves but little depth in his background (Fig. 8). But the others show far more ability to understand and reproduce the backgrounds of their model, as, for instance, the second artist, whose curly-headed figures are reduced in scale, as compared with the first painter, to make them fit the deeper landscape and more distant viewpoint from which he conceives his scenes (Fig. 11). An even better understanding of his picturesque archetype is shown by the third artist, who tells so charmingly (Fig. 12) the story of Joseph's departure to his brethren, his parting with little Benjamin, his meeting with the man who directed him to Dothan. In the angel, of whom there is no mention in the text of Genesis, we may probably recognize an Alexandrian personification such as the Days of the Cotton manuscript; the column with its fillet is an old favorite of Hellenistic landscape found frequently in the frescoes of Pompeii, and the same attention to picturesque detail giving the effect of distance introduced the building on the mountain to the right, which the archetype, or the Anatolian copyist, has Christianized into a basilican church.

The fourth painter, who did miniatures 33 to 36 inclusive, is more successful in preserving the idyllic quality of the Hellenistic landscape (Fig. 13); the bits of architecture which serve to symbolize his interiors are sharply foreshortened into depth, draped in Pompeian fashion with awnings or fillets, and sometimes thrown into relief by the juxtaposition of a tree—another favorite *motif* with Campanian painters and the sculptors of the landscape reliefs of the same period. The fifth painter (Fig. 14) is still occupied with the perspective background, but he throws it out of focus by a faint impressionistic rendering of walls, exedras, and portals, with now and then a little walled city in the distance. With the sixth painter (who has a mannerism of painting the legs of his figures dark with white streaks across them) the landscape has become mostly a summary rendering of mountainside (Fig. 15).

Wickhoff notes that the miniatures from no. 34 on are painted on a colored background whereas all but one (the Rainbow group) of the preceding compositions are painted directly on the vellum. From this and the character of the work of the last three painters (miniatures 33-48) he deduced that the painstaking style of the previous group had delayed the work so much that "fresco" or "easel" painters were called in to finish it, one of whom had already assisted in the Rainbow picture, which has also the painted background of the

A depicts the hair in parallel locks; renders little or no distance in his landscape; gives large scale to his figures; renders interiors by section. Miniatures 1-16, 21-28 on folios I-VIII (the first four *unions*), and XI-XIV (the first *binion*).

B uses curly hair and a small scale in his figures, proportioned to his more distant conception of landscape. Miniatures 17-20 on folios IX-X (fifth *union*).

C, in sharp contrast to the preceding two, exhibits a bold modeling of the nude and a marked opposition of lights and darks; he is strongly Hellenistic in the details of architecture, his picturesque landscape, the freedom of his postures, and the symbolic rendering of interiors (i. e., not by section, but by some characteristic feature, such as a doorway or an exedra). Miniatures 29-32, on folios XV-XVI (sixth *union*).

D employs a unified layout of scene and setting, a obdiagonal perspective in his architecture, and stringy hair. Miniatures 33-36, on folios XVII, XVIII (the unconnected folios).

E is a poor draughtsman, using a faint, impressionistic architecture and sketchy legs and feet; his handling of light and shade is coarse, coming out particularly in the heavy contour given the jaw; he uses symbolic interiors, and is fond of little walled cities in the distance. Miniatures 37-44, on folios XIX-XXII (second *binion*).

F uses a Christ type for his aged heads, and a high-placed eye in the face of Joseph; his chiaroscuro is looser and more suave than is the case with the preceding painter; a mannerism of this miniaturist is the drawing of the legs in black silhouette with white streaks across them. Miniatures 45-48, on folios XXIII-XXIV (seventh *union*).

final series. Thus Wickhoff accounts for the large scale of the figures, the unified composition, and the aspect of an easel picture which characterize the final third of the illustrations of the Genesis.

This explanation suits the case better than that of Ainalov, who supposed that the "easel pictures" were copied from actual "pictures" and not from the same manuscript model which is to be assumed for the first and larger portion of the series. For it is to be noted that in spite of the more *arrangé* effect of the final miniatures, their action is still predominantly from left to right, as is the case in the main with the preceding series. There seems no reason therefore to consider the variety of handling as an indication of different models, but rather as reflecting the different reactions and capacities of a group of artists confronted with the task of reproducing or adapting a single model in an unfamiliar style.

The outstanding feature of this model must have been its perspective background, and the miniaturists of the Genesis handle it with varying degrees of awkwardness. The figures are seldom in scale with it; in the hands of the first and second painters (Fig. 11) the mountainside becomes invariably a triangle removed to one side of the picture to avoid its combination with the actors in the scene and the consequent problem of depth. The same is true even of the dextrous draftsmanship of painter no. 3; and no. 4 also, in spite of his evident delight in the architectural picturesque, nevertheless finds it convenient to keep such *motifs* out of the way of his figures and to leave the architecture at times in impressionistic incompleteness (Fig. 13). The sketchiness of the background *motifs* of painters no. 5 and no. 6 (Figs. 14 and 15) has been pointed out above. All through the series one senses a translation into two dimensions of a three-dimensional archetype.

The format of this archetype is indicated throughout those miniatures which have not been turned into "easel" pictures by the very frequent division into two registers or strips, and is particularly clear in Fig. 16, which reproduces the incident of Jacob's crossing the ford Jabbok and his wrestling with the angel. The model which the artists copied was evidently a rotulus like that of the Book of Joshua in the Vatican Library (Fig. 17), which was divided into sections for adaptation to book form. Sometimes the artist reproduced one section in his miniature, as was particularly the case with the freer translation adopted by the "easel" painters at the end of the manuscript, but more often one section was superimposed upon another, the details of landscape and architecture being rearranged to suit the copyist's two-dimensional prepossessions. The interest of the miniature just mentioned lies in the fact that here the two sections have not been severed, but the bridge across Jabbok is twisted backward to maintain the continuity of the scene, which in the original developed from left to right. This miniature explains why the action from left to right of the upper zone is so often reversed in the lower, in the pictures consisting of two registers.

The assumption of a model like the Rotulus of Joshua is confirmed by the fact that the Vienna Genesis, like the Rotulus, is a picture book rather than an illustrated text, at least in the sense that in both cases the text is not complete but excerpted with reference to the illustrations. That the rotulus copied was Alexandrian is indicated not only by its perspective background of landscape and architecture, found also in the Cotton Genesis, and foreign to Anatolian tradition, but by certain other features in which Egyptian rather than



FIG. 16—Vienna, Staatsbibliothek: *Miniature of the Vienna Genesis  
Jacob Wrestles with the Angel (after Wickhoff)*



FIG. 17—Rome, Vatican Library: *Detail of the Rotulus of Joshua  
Execution of the King of Ai (after Vatican Facsimile)*



FIG. 18—Paris, Louvre: *Detail of the Barberini Ivory Plaque*



FIG. 19

*Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Paris Psalter. David as Harper;*



FIG. 20

*Coronation of David (after Omont)*



FIG. 21



FIG. 22

*Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Paris Psalter. David Kills the Lion; the Daughters of Israel Glorify David (after Omont)*



FIG. 23



FIG. 24

*Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Paris Psalter. Moses on Sinai; Prayer of Isaiah (after Oumont)*

Asiatic usage are reflected. One is the flying "trumpet" fold with peculiarly upward cast, which is a persistent feature of the Alexandrian ivories listed in note 2, and visible in the mantles of the barbarians bringing gifts in the lower panel of the Barberini plaque (Fig. 18) as well as in the mantles of Jacob and his angelic opponent as they wrestle near the ford of Jabbok (Fig. 16). Further indications of Alexandrian tradition crop up here and there in the Vienna miniatures: the couch and colonnade which form the background for the temptation of Joseph by Potiphar's wife reappear in abbreviated form on the Cathedra of Maximianus, the ivory panels of which form the nucleus of the Alexandrian group above-mentioned, and the type used for the aged Jacob is the same both in the miniatures and on the Cathedra. Indeed the emphasis placed upon the tale of Joseph in both Cathedra and Genesis—the whole back of the Cathedra, and twenty-one out of forty-eight miniatures in the Genesis being devoted to his story—points to Alexandria and Egypt as the locality that would be disproportionately interested in this hero of Egyptian Jews and Christians. Still another feature, strange to Asiatic tradition but familiar to Alexandrian practice, is the use of abstract personifications, some trace of which survives in the female figure, probably an impersonation of Repentance, which accompanies Adam and Eve as they leave the Garden of Eden. We have already seen an explanation of the angel, unmotivated by the text, who pilots Joseph on his way to his brethren (Fig. 12), as a possible translation of an Alexandrian personification like the Days of the Cotton Genesis. The lavish use of such figures in Christian Egypt is sufficiently attested by the Faith, Hope, Justice, and Prayer that are rendered by female figures on the ceiling of El-Bagawat and similar figures at Bawît.

But the strongest evidence for an Alexandrian model lies after all in the perspective background, an exotic element in the school to which the Genesis belongs, and awkwardly handled as such by the miniaturists of this manuscript. What could be done with it by an artist to whom the tradition was native and familiar, even at a date much farther advanced into the Middle Ages, may be seen in the miniatures of the Paris Psalter.<sup>8</sup> Viewing the beautiful composition of David the Harper (Fig. 19), one sees what the original of the Genesis miniatures must have been. Here is the column with its fillet that we saw in the landscape of Joseph's journey to his brethren (Fig. 12); the mountain god of Bethlehem crouches at the foot of the mountain slope that is so conventionally rendered in the Genesis miniatures. Tree foliage relieves the hardness of the rock on which Melody and David sit; to the left above is the distant Bethlehem. There is no glaring disproportion between the size of the figures and their setting; the composition expands as naturally into depth as do those of the Vienna Genesis into lateral extension.

8. Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 139. Bibliography: Waagen, *Kunst und Künstler in Paris*, Berlin, 1833, p. 217; Labarte, *Hist. des arts industriels*, III, Paris, 1866, p. 46; Bordier, *Description des miniatures et des ornements des mss. grecs de la Bibl. Nat.*, Paris, 1883, p. 4; Kondakov, *Hist. de l'art byzantin*, II, p. 41; Bayet, *L'art byzantin*, p. 160; Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, Helsingfors, 1897, p. 112; Dobbert, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXI, 1898, p. 15; J. von Schlosser, *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte des frühen Mittelalters* (*Sitzungsber. Akad. Wiss. phil.-hist. Kl. Bd. 123*, 1890), p. 162; Wickhoff, *Jahrb. Oesterreichischen Kunstsammlungen*, XIV, 1893, p. 199; *idem*, *Wiener Genesis*, p. 92; Kraus,

*Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, 1896, I, p. 453; Strzygowski, *Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters*, p. 123; *idem*, *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik* (*Denkschriften Wiener Akademie, phil.-hist., Kl. 1906*), p. 182; Omont, *Facsimilés des plus anciens mss. grecs de la Bibl. Nat.*, pls. I-XV, with text; Berliner, *Zur Datierung der Miniaturen des Cod. Par. gr. 139*, 1911; Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 290; Millet, in A. Michel, *Hist. de l'art*, I, pp. 222-223; Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, pp. 448, 468; Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1925, p. 607; Myrtille Avery, *Alexandrian Style at S. Maria Antiqua*, in *Art Bull.*, VII, 1925, pp. 145, 148.

It is true that this power of re-creating the antique, inherent in this miniature down to such details as the mountain god, whose posture repeats the formula used in the Odyssey landscapes of Augustus' time, is not present in all the hands that were engaged on the Psalter's miniatures. The Coronation of David (Fig. 20), patterned after the ceremony of the elevation of the emperor which was introduced into Roman custom by the barbarian elements of the army in the fourth century, is by a hand which has even more difficulty in managing architectural background and free movement than the illustrators of the Vienna Genesis. The same contrast is seen in the miniatures of David killing the lion, encouraged by the personification of Force (Fig. 21), and that in which the women of Israel are depicted glorifying David, to the evident uneasiness of Saul (Fig. 22). The clumsy handling of landscape and architecture here is fully matched by the lack of articulation in the figures; Saul's attendant, for instance, looks out toward the scene and the spectator in spite of the fact that his head is placed on a body in rear view. The other miniature is, in contrast, full of lively movement and ample space; the same figure that peeped around the rock behind the harping David emerges from the same place here; here again is the column, and the distant view of architecture.

The hand of this artist is seen again in the miniature of Moses on Sinai, with the mount personified by the naked figure in the lower left corner (Fig. 23). He repeats here the rocky ledges of the harping David and the killing of the lion, while in the Prayer of Isaiah, who stands between personifications of Night and Dawn (Fig. 24), he fills his background with the impressionistic foliage that rises behind David in the miniature of Fig. 19. Night has the same beautifully domed head and Hellenistic features, the same clasping of the tunic on one shoulder only, and the same rectangular fold in the center of the waist below the girdle, which mark her sisters Melody and Force.

We find our artist again employed on the two miniatures that represent the Crossing of the Red Sea (Fig. 25) and the answer to Hezekiah's prayer for longer life (Fig. 26) after his demise had been predicted by Isaiah. The "degrees" of the story were translated as "steps" in the Greek version, so that the hope of divine favor is here rendered as the shadow of the sun retreating up the steps of the king's house. In both miniatures we see our artist's characteristics plainly: Night in the Red Sea miniature deploys her veil over her head as she does in the Prayer of Isaiah; the Abyss, who pulls Pharaoh into the depths by the hair of his head, is the same boldly modeled figure that represents the mountain of Sinai (Fig. 23); the Prayer who stands behind the orant Hezekiah (Fig. 26) has the same noble head that our painter gave his personifications in the other miniatures, and the same rectangular *motif* below her girdle. Hezekiah has the face of Pharaoh (Fig. 25), of Moses facing the Hand of God (Fig. 23), and of the David who kills the lion (Fig. 21). Again we note, in contrast to the Genesis, the ease wherewith the artist in the Hezekiah miniature holds his figures into scale with their background by moving the architecture backward into his space and allowing only a portion of the king's palace to appear. He found an imitator in the artist who did the miniatures of the Anointing of David (Fig. 27) and the combat of David and Goliath (Fig. 28). This artist's architecture and foliage evidently strive to reproduce the other's, but with unsure drawing and little sense of space; in the combat the landscape is omitted altogether. His personifications, Meekness in the Anointing, and Power and Vainglory (attending David and Goliath respectively) in the combat, have lost the nobility of those of his master; a mannerism of the miniaturist is to be noted



FIG. 25



FIG. 26

*Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Paris Psalter. Crossing of the Red Sea; Prayer of Hezekiah (after Omon)*



FIG. 27

Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Paris Psalter. Anointing of David; Combat of David and Goliath (after Omon)



FIG. 28



FIG. 29



FIG. 30

*Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Paris Psalter. Prayer of Hannah; Story of Jonah (after Omont)*



FIG. 31—*Bawit, South Church: Relief of Jonah Cast up by the Sea Monster*



FIG. 33—*Rome, Vatican Library: Miniature of the Menologion of Basil II. Story of Jonah*

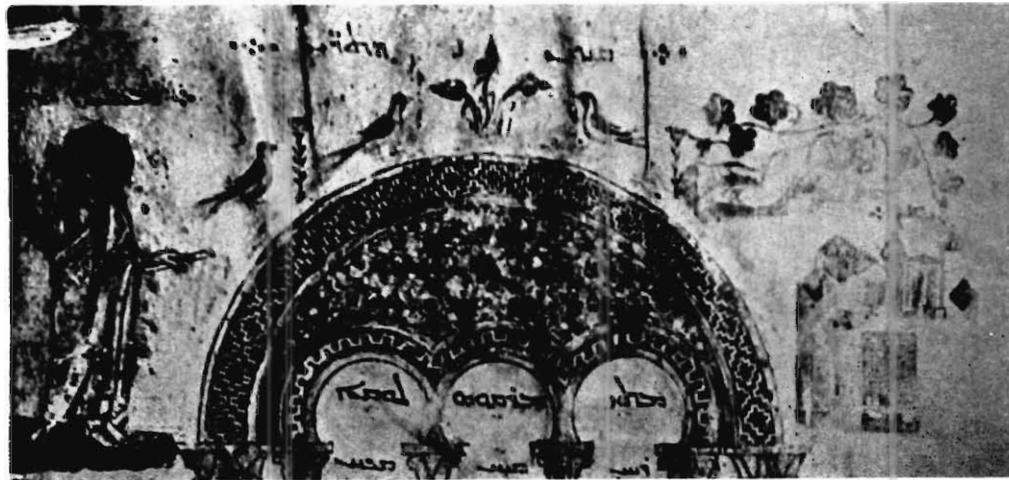


FIG. 32—*Florence, Bibl. Laurentiana: Detail of Canon Table of the Gospel of Rabula. Jonah under the Gourd Vine*

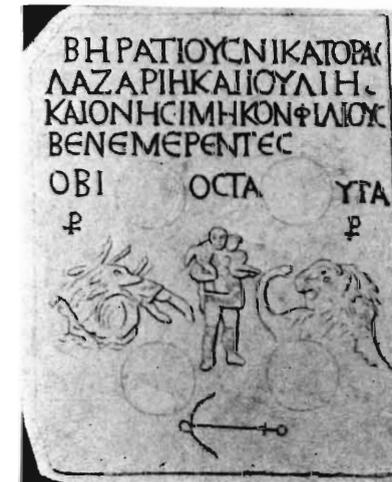


FIG. 34—*Rome, Lateran Christian Epitaph*

in the knotted fold of the tunic that has slipped down from the shoulder of Meekness and Power. The eyes in both miniatures are small, the action stiff and awkward, and the features pinched, with often a too emphatic rendering of the cheek bone.

Contrasting with all the three painters whose work we have hitherto traced in the miniatures of the Psalter is the wholly different artist who painted the Prayer of Hannah (Fig. 29) and the Story of Jonah (Fig. 30). He introduces us to Hannah by a long title: "The Prophetess Hannah, mother of Samuel, making confession to the Lord and saying," after the manner of the titles of the miniatures of the Asiatic Codex of Rossano, whereas elsewhere in the Psalter (save in the case of the glorification of David by the women of Israel) the scene is explained only by individual labels on the figures, as also in the Rotulus of Joshua. He handles his architecture without understanding in the Hannah miniature and out of scale in that of Jonah; the landscape is summarily treated and terminated at the horizon by a gold background. He never uses a profile, wherein again he shows kinship with Asiatic painters, who usually bring the head far enough around to show the farther side of the face (cf. the miniatures of the Vienna Genesis, of the Codex of Rossano, and of the Sinope Matthew). Evidently the full profiles of his model made his native practice in this regard somewhat difficult, for the rendering of the further profile in the faces of Hannah and Jonah has resulted in an ugly bulging contour. A mannerism of the artist which we shall see repeated in Asiatic work is the use of *rincaux* to decorate buildings; the little city of Nineveh is another trace of Asiatic connection, consistent with Asiatic habit of symbolizing locality rather than rendering it, and thus resembling the cities of the Codex Rossanensis (cf. also the Gospel of Rabula, Fig. 32). To complete the evidence for the Asiatic nationality of this painter we have the rendering of Jonah clothed throughout his adventure with the sea monster, and especially the peculiar physiognomy of the monster itself.

Egyptian usage in this regard, continuing as late as the fifth or sixth century, is reflected in a limestone relief from Bawît (Fig. 31), and in a miniature of the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, of which the copy (of the ninth century according to Stornaiuolo) in the Vatican Library repeats the iconographic types of the original written and illustrated in the sixth century in Alexandria. Jonah is nude and the monster has the smooth hide, long proboscis, and small head of the Hellenistic monster that figures in the Jonah scenes of the catacombs and sarcophagi. But Jonah here is clothed, as he is also in the representation of the prophet lying beneath the vine in the Syriac Gospel of Rabula at Florence (Fig. 32). The monster too is different, having in our miniature a canine muzzle and a hairy hide. Mitius<sup>9</sup> believed that he could distinguish this type as "Syrian" from the other, Alexandrian, portrayal of Jonah, with the added feature in the latter of the triangular sail on Jonah's ship. The "Syrian" type (a more correct term would be "Asiatic") is found again in the Jonah story of the Menologion of Basil II in the Vatican Library (Fig. 33), of the end of the tenth century, where we find a miniature much resembling that of the Psalter, with Jonah clothed, the same little symbolic city of Nineveh that also appears in the Gospel of Rabula (Fig. 32) and the dog-headed hairy sea monster.

Mitius regretted the absence of earlier examples by which to trace the origin of this division of the Jonah types in East Christian art; earlier evidence of the existence of the

9. *Jonas auf den Denkmälern des christlichen Altertums*, 1897, pp. 78 ff.

Asiatic form is nevertheless not altogether lacking. In the Lateran is an epitaph written in Latin with Greek letters of a family headed by a certain Veratius Nicatoras on which is incised among other Christian symbols the scene of Jonah disgorged by the monster (Fig. 34). Schneider-Graziosi attempted to show that the figure of the prophet was no more than the enormous proboscis of a monster meant to serve as pendant to the lion,<sup>10</sup> but reference to Marucchi's facsimile plate proves him wrong.<sup>11</sup> It is to be noted that the line across the back and neck of the prophet indicates that he was meant to be considered clothed, and in the rendering of the monster there is no difficulty in recognizing the dog-headed hairy monster of the Paris miniature.

Now this epitaph comes from a certain burial place between the Via Appia and the Via Latina which has furnished several others with similar foreign names and occasional indications of nationality which are invariably of Asia Minor.<sup>12</sup> The formula which terminates the Lateran inscription—ὁ βίος ταῦτα—is itself characteristic of Asiatic epitaphs. De Rossi believed that since the sepulcher lay within the wall of Aurelian, the epitaphs might be of the third century, in spite of the cross monograms, which do not appear on the dated Christian epitaphs of Rome until well along in the fourth century. However this may be, the epitaph is evidence of the existence in Asiatic minds at least as early as the fourth century of a specific iconography of the Jonah story quite different in details from that which obtained in Alexandria and the Latin West.

We need not rely then on Kondakov's statement,<sup>13</sup> that the costume of the Ninevites in the Paris miniature is Syrian, to convince ourselves that the artist was a disciple of Asiatic practice, including in the term Asiatic the focus of Asiatic culture which was Constantinople. After the Asiatic miniaturist we find one other represented in the Paris Psalter, the artist who composed the Exaltation of David, standing between Wisdom and Prophecy (Fig. 35), and the curious scene of the Penitence of the King (Fig. 36), in which a pious mediaeval hand has eliminated, behind the throne of the seated David, the *fons et origo mali*, viz., Bathsheba. Nathan stands before David, whose gesturing hands betray the perturbation of spirit wrought by the prophet's denunciation, and to the right the king is seen again groveling on the ground, while above him, leaning on a sort of *prie-Dieu*, is the personification of Repentance. The identity of hand is betrayed not only by the similarity of the male and female types in one miniature to those in the other—for instance one feels sure that if Wisdom turned her head she would reveal the profile of Repentance—but by identities in detail—e. g., the star ornament on David's shoes in both miniatures, and the jewel with border of pearls which adorns the diadems of Repentance and Wisdom above the forehead.

We have then an artist (A, let us call him) working in a tradition of lithe movement, lavish use of personifications, perspective background of monuments, trees, and distant or nearby architecture scaled in proper proportion to the figures and adequately suggesting depth—and working therein with the ease and happy facility of one to the manner born,

10. *N. Bull. di archeologia cristiana*, 1914, p. 34.

11. *I Monumenti del Museo Cristiano Pio-Lateranense*, pl. LVII, 8. Mitius lists the epitaph among his monuments, but without noting its Asiatic connections; *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 99, no. 126.

12. De Rossi, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1886, pp. 15 ff.; 1892, p. 127.

13. *Histoire de l'art byzantin*, II, p. 36.



FIG. 35



FIG. 36

*Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Paris Psalter. Exaltation of David; Penitence of David (after Omon)*



FIG. 37—Vienna, Staatsbibliothek: *Miniature of the Dioscurides and Discovery Viewing the Effect (on a Dog) of the Mandrake (after Gerstinger)*

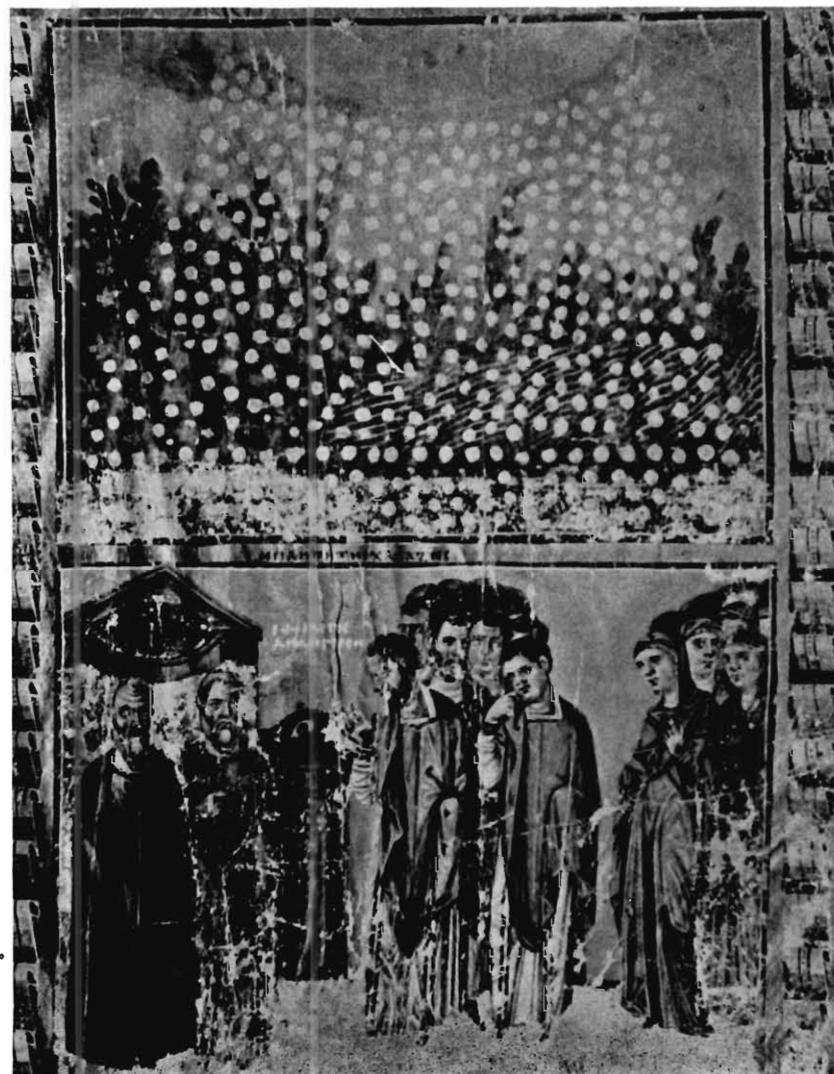
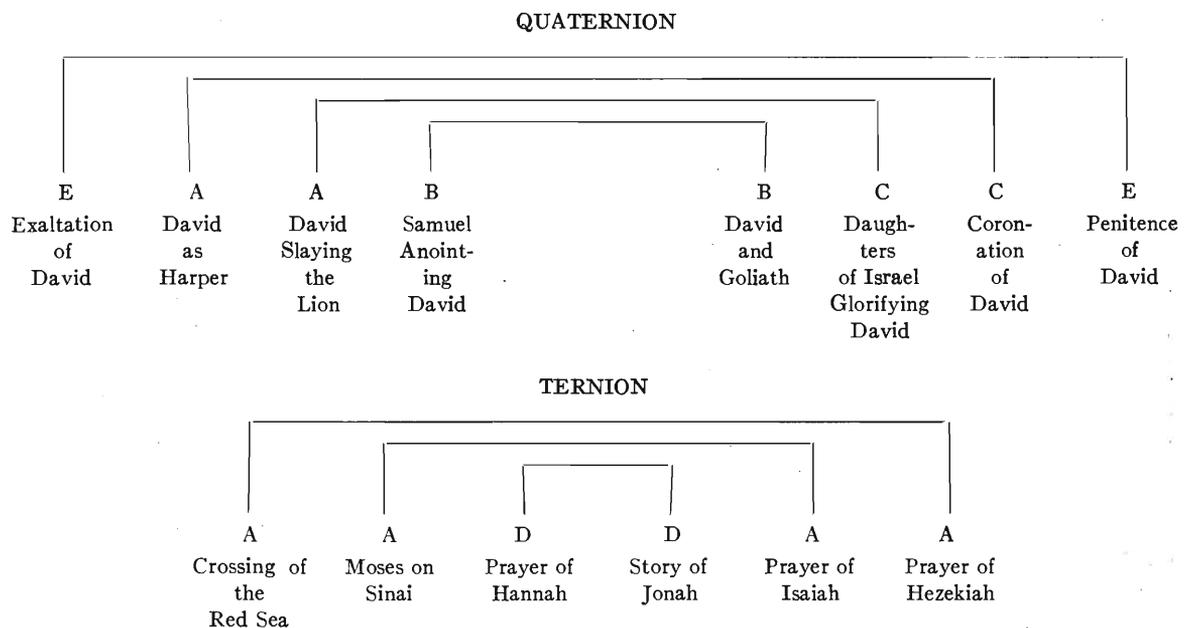


FIG. 38—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: *Miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus. Homily on the Hail (after Omont)*

handling familiarly a native style. He is the author of David the Harper, David Slaying the Lion, the Crossing of the Red Sea, Moses on Sinai, the Prayer of Isaiah, and the Prayer of Hezekiah. Being thus the author of six out of the fourteen miniatures, he is by this token the head of the atelier which produced them, as well as by his obvious superiority of style. Another artist, B, strives in the Combat of David and Goliath and the Anointing to compass the master's bold modeling and free movement, but is unable to attain to more than a reasonably good imitation thereof, as also in the architectural background which he ventures in the Anointing, while completely renouncing his master's landscape in the Combat. The lowest artistic level in the group is reached by C, who displays his ignorance of anatomy, his bungling architecture, and his sorry composition in the Daughters of Israel glorifying David, and the Coronation. D is the author of the two miniatures of pronounced Asiatic style, the story of Jonah and Hannah's Prayer. E, an artist of static poses, rather schematic modeling, and none too good understanding of architectural background, was the painter of the Exaltation of David, and of his Penitence. In an article in *The Art Bulletin* in 1924<sup>14</sup> the present writer pointed out that the above identification of hands in the Psalter miniatures is solidly supported by Omont's reconstruction of their original arrangement. The miniatures are at present each on its own folio (verso) but Omont's convincing rearrangement unites them two by two on sheets which were gathered into a quaternion which originally preceded the text of Psalms, and a ternion which was inserted before the text of Canticles (the Prayers) as follows:



The letter denoting each of our five artists has been placed above the title of each miniature, and it will be seen that the miniatures were distributed to the painters in sheets on each of which two miniatures were to be painted. A received four of the sheets and finished two of them himself; in the case of the other two the second miniature on each

14. *The Sources of Mediaeval Style*, in *Art Bull.*, VII, 1924, p. 42.

sheet was finished by that hopeless bungler C. B did only one sheet, as also D and E. The miniatures on each sheet are paired in our illustrations, as follows: Figs. 19-20 (Artists A and C); 21-22 (A and C); 23-24 (A); 25-26 (A); 27-28 (B); 29-30 (D); 35-36 (E).

In spite of the marked differences in style and school which appear in the work of our five artists, it cannot be said in explanation thereof that the miniatures were done at different dates or places. Aside from community of format and parchment we have the decisive evidence on this point of the borders which, while varying in *motifs* throughout the series, do not vary in accordance with the variation of the five painters. In other words, the borders must have been a practice of the atelier or the work of one artist who did the borders for all the miniatures. Even in a case of maximum stylistic divergence between the miniatures themselves, e. g., David Killing the Lion by A, and the Daughters of Israel Glorifying David by C, we find the inner band of the border rendered in like manner in both cases with a meander pattern.

Now these borders, within the period which concerns us, belong to a type of limited use. It is in fact possible to find parallels for them in only two manuscripts of certain provenance, viz., the Dioscurides of Vienna (Fig. 37) and the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus at Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 510). The miniatures of the Vienna Dioscurides ornament a book which was written for Anicia Juliana at Constantinople in the early part of the sixth century, while the Homilies of Gregory was illuminated in the same city for Basil I and his empress Eudoxia between 880 and 886. The borders in the Dioscurides represent a development of the earlier, simpler type of banded border which we have mentioned before as used in the Gospel of Etschmiadzin (Fig. 4) and in the miniatures of the Cotton Genesis. It consists usually of two dark bands separated by a narrower strip of lighter hue, done in white or gold. The employment of it in the Cotton Genesis is characteristic since it goes with the type of miniature with perspective background which we by virtue of the Cotton Genesis may recognize as Alexandrian. It is found again in the miniatures of the Ambrosian Iliad at Milan and passes on into Latin art as may be seen by its employment in the Vatican Vergil. This tradition of framing the manuscript pictures is in sharp contrast to early Asiatic practice as seen in the Genesis of Vienna, the Gospel of Rossano, and the fragment of Matthew from Sinope, wherein the miniatures have no border at all. We of course exclude from consideration the frames for canon tables, as we have seen them in the Gospel of Rabula (Fig. 32), and we must also exclude from the number of possible parallels the frames of the full-page miniatures of the Gospel of Rabula, for here the decorative *motif* constitutes the whole of the narrow border, and the characteristic framing thereof between two narrow bands and the almost invariable corner *motif* (cf. Figs. 19-30) are absent.

The two bands that enclose the ornamental filling seem to me to show that this type of border, which corresponds to the broad garland borders similarly framed that are characteristic of Italian mosaics in the fifth century, was ultimately derived from the "three-banded" border which we find in the Cotton Genesis, and whose presence in the Gospel of Etschmiadzin, along with indications of Egyptian iconographic and stylistic tradition, lead us to suppose that the miniatures at the beginning of that codex were done by a hand trained in Coptic tradition. A similar narrow banded border appears as the frame for the miniatures in the Vatican copy of the sixth century *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, a work composed in Alexandria. The new development given the border



FIG. 39  
 Rome, Vatican Library: Miniatures of the Bible of Leo. Scenes in the Life of Moses; Coronation of Solomon  
 (after Coll. Paleografica Vat. I)



FIG. 40

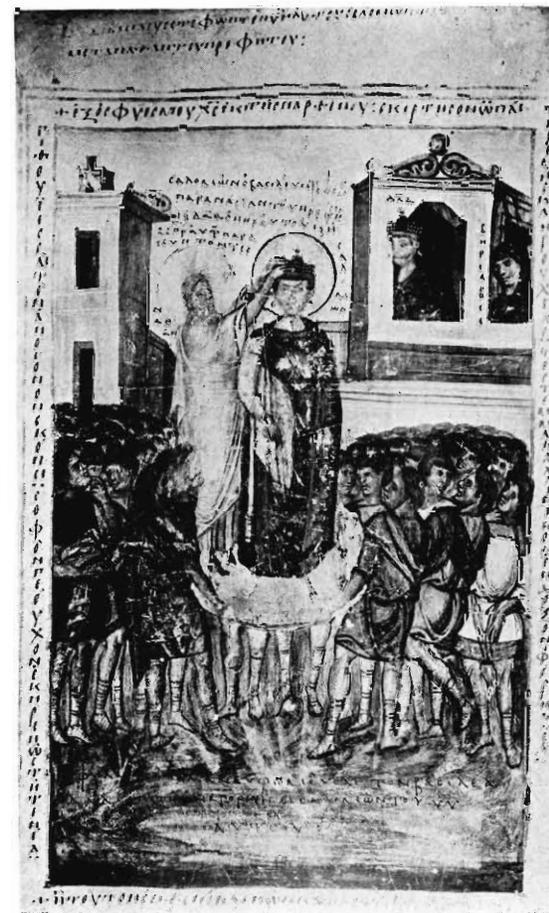


FIG. 41



FIG. 42—Rome, Vatican Library: Miniature of the Bible of Leo. Anointing of David (after Coll. Paleografica Vat. I)



FIG. 43—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus. Moses Receiving the Law (after Omon)

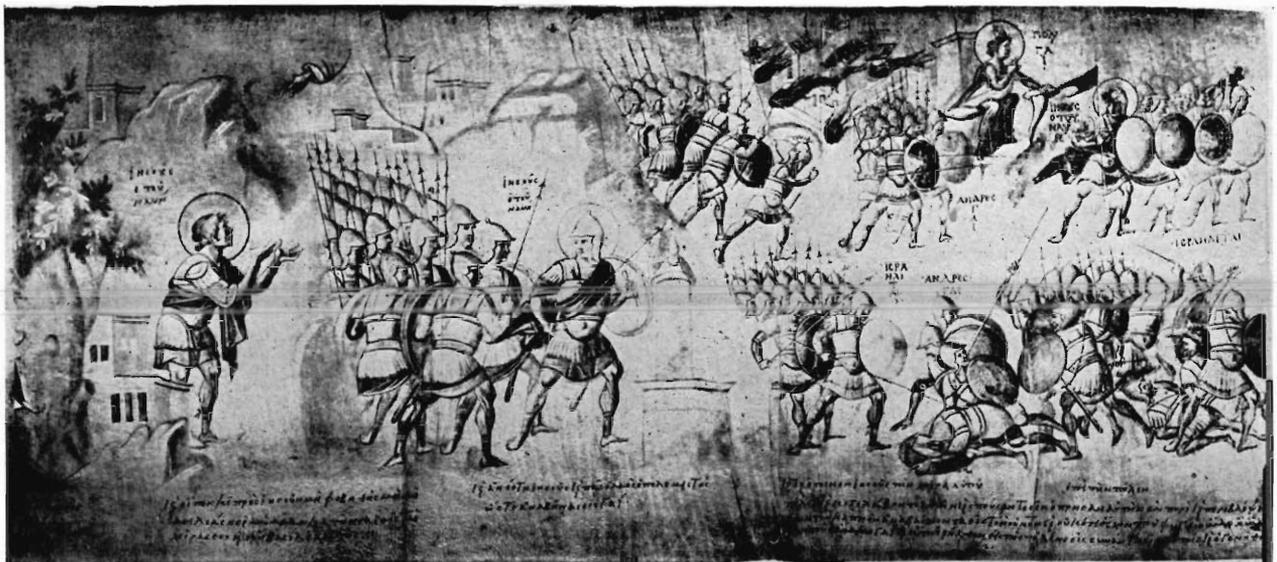


FIG. 44—Rome, Vatican Library: Detail of the Rotulus of Joshua. Prayer of Joshua Attack on the City of Ai (after Vatican Facsimile)

in the miniatures of the Paris Psalter is, so far as the evidence shows, a *motif* characteristic of the scriptoria of Constantinople, since the earliest example in manuscripts is that of the Vienna Dioscurides, and we find it again at the end of the ninth century in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris gr. 510), where it sometimes takes a form very close to that employed in the Paris Psalter (cf. Fig. 22 with Fig. 38).

The borders of the Paris Psalter may therefore be taken as a good indication that the miniatures were produced in Constantinople (whence the manuscript was brought in the sixteenth century) since the only parallels of proved provenance came from the ateliers of that city.

We have, however, further and more direct evidence to prove that the miniatures are Constantinopolitan, arising from the peculiar relation which exists between them and an illustrated Bible in the Vatican Library (Reg. gr. 1)<sup>15</sup> which was executed in the middle or more probably in the first half of the tenth century for a certain Leo, patrician and incumbent of various offices in the imperial household at Constantinople, whose portrait appears on folio 2v. where he is represented offering the volume to the Virgin. Other miniatures of the manuscript show a remarkable identity with those of the Paris Psalter, ranging from the similarity of the Crossing of the Red Sea (Fig. 39; compare Fig. 25), in which we find the additional episodes of Moses removing his shoes before the Burning Bush, and the appearance of Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh, to the closer correspondence of the miniatures of Moses on Sinai (Fig. 40; compare Fig. 23) and of the Coronation of Solomon (Fig. 41; compare the Coronation of David, Fig. 20), and the almost complete identity of the Anointing of David (Fig. 42; compare Fig. 27).

The resemblance is close enough to raise the question whether the painter of the Leo Bible did not copy or adapt the actual miniatures of the Paris Psalter. The alternative explanation would be that both were copied from the common original. In either case we derive corroborative evidence for the execution of the Psalter miniatures at Constantinople; if Leo's painter copied them they must have been in Constantinople at the early date of the Vatican manuscript; if he took an earlier manuscript for his model, he must have found it in the libraries of Constantinople where it also served as model for the miniaturists of Paris gr. 139.

There is no question that the Paris miniatures, far from being the original creations of the Byzantine "Renaissance" as Kondakov,<sup>16</sup> Bayet,<sup>17</sup> and Tikkanen<sup>18</sup> believed, are copied from an earlier model. It is clear for instance, that in the Crossing of the Red Sea (Fig. 25) the gaze of Moses and of the man who carries a pack about his neck would be better motivated, and the composition would be more logically correct, if the strip which represents the sea and the catastrophe of Pharaoh's army were moved up to the left and adjusted to the upper register; the copyist has evidently cut the original picture in two and superposed one half above the other as was done by the miniaturists of the Vienna Genesis. Again in the representation of Moses Receiving the Law (Fig. 23) the group of Israelites at the foot of the mountain should be to the right of Moses instead of below him,

15. *Miniature della Bibbia Cod. Vat. Reg. gr. 1, e del Salterio Cod. Vat. Palat. gr. 381 (Collezione Paleografica Vaticana, fasc. I) pls. 1-18.*

16. *Hist. de l'art byzantin*, II, p. 30.

17. *L'art byzantin*, pp. 160 ff.

18. *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter.*

to make him the objective of their gaze. The proper placing of the group is seen in a miniature derived from the same iconographic type, in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus at Paris (Fig. 43), where the gaze of the group below unifies the composition.

There are even more convincing traces of the earlier model to be found in the Prayer of Hezekiah and the Penitence of David. Hezekiah (Fig. 26) in the present miniature lifts his veiled hands and his eyes to nothing at all, and it is clear that we must supply the Hand of God missing from the sky above to complete and motivate the group. By doing this one restores a composition such as the Prayer of Joshua in the Joshua Roll (Fig. 44) and we begin to see the character of the ultimate archetype of the Paris miniatures; it must have been a rotulus like the famous one of the Vatican Library. For only thus does one explain the omission of the essential Hand of God; the rotulus illustration was cut at a certain point to avoid bringing in part of the next scene, as would be the case for instance if a meticulous copyist should turn the praying Joshua into a codex miniature by making a vertical cut to the right of the Hand of God. In the process of avoiding the following scene the Hand of God was omitted and Hezekiah left with nothing to pray to.

The assumption of a rotulus as archetype explains also the constant employment of the continuous method in this series of miniatures; the figure of Moses is repeated, and two scenes combined, in the miniature of Moses on Sinai; the Jonah miniature (Fig. 30) displays its hero no less than four times; David encounters and decapitates Goliath in one composition (Fig. 28). The same reason may be assigned for the occasional awkward placing of the figures in other centers of interest too close to the right-hand border (cf. Fig. 29) and the tendency of the mountain background to become a triangle rising to left or right and sharply cut off by the inclosing frame.

The most conspicuous example, however, both of the continuous narration proper to a rotulus but unsuited to a codex, and of the loss of an essential part of the original composition, is furnished by the miniature of David's Penitence (Fig. 36). Here we have not only the penitent King prostrate before nothing but the border, but also the personification of Repentance leaning on a *prie-Dieu* and gazing at an absent something that is obviously needed to explain the situation. The missing something proves, in the frontispiece of the Psalter of Basil II (Fig. 45) to be the prophet Nathan at whose feet the King prostrates himself and at whom, were Repentance still present, she would be directing her gaze. A composition of the same sort as that which was thus amputated in the Paris Psalter, was cleverly adapted by a miniaturist of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Fig. 46); here the two scenes of the Psalter are combined, and we see behind the throne the bust of Bathsheba that was expunged from the Psalter miniature. The architecture of the background has been brought "down stage," and so diminished in scale, with characteristic Asiatic indifference to such considerations, as not to interfere with the action and significance of the figures. The throne is empty, and the artist, having neatly thus disposed of the troublesome continuous method, proceeds to the second phase of the episode with his kneeling David and minatory Nathan. The Alexandrian personification, having no place in Asiatic iconography, has been transformed into an angel.

The date of the immediate model for the miniatures is indicated by the miniature of the Coronation of David (Fig. 20) for the barbarian custom of raising the newly elected emperor on a shield, imported into the Byzantine army by Northern mercenaries, is not

attested for any emperor earlier than Julian the Apostate. It might be objected that this miniature is one of the two which we owe to the worst artist of the Psalter (C), who finished the other half of two sheets on which the first miniature was done by the master-artist A, and that his marked inferiority to the other workmen of the atelier may mean that he is a much later painter engaged to fill two blank pages left by A; his two pictures might thus be later intrusions in the Psalter series, and not to be assumed in the archetype. In support of this it may be pointed out that the two scenes he painted—the Coronation of David, and David Glorified by the Daughters of Israel—are rare scenes in Psalter illustration and indeed in Old Testament iconography in general as practiced by East Christian art. But we have against the assumption of a late addition the decisive evidence of the borders of these two miniatures, which are consistent with the style of border prevailing in the other miniatures, as well as the considerations advanced by Berliner<sup>19</sup> in favor of regarding these two miniatures as very bad copies of the same antique series that formed the model for the others.

This being the case, the original must have been a work of a period no earlier than the middle of the fourth century. It is true that by this time the codex had displaced the rotulus in common use, but we have the Joshua Rotulus of the Vatican Library to prove to us that illustrated rotuli were still made at a much later date than the fourth century, so that the period of the immediate model does not preclude its having been in roll form. Shall we suppose two generations back of the Psalter miniatures—an ultimate archetype of rotulus form and of the very early date which is certainly consistent with the remarkable preservation of the antique landscape in many of the miniatures, and an intermediate ancestor of codex form in which the compositions of the rotulus were reduced to book format? This immediate and second ancestor would then be dated at some time later than the middle of the fourth century and it would be conceivable that the two miniatures of artist C were added to the series at that time.

The latter alternative seems to me to be the less probable, because if this were the case it would seem as if the infelicities pointed out above as resulting from the change from rotulus to codex form would have been corrected in the copying of the earlier codex miniatures wherein we would have to suppose that these mistakes were originally made. It seems more likely that we have before us in the miniatures of the Paris Psalter the original reduction of the rotulus illustration to the form of codex miniatures, with the characteristic symptoms of this process remaining in such things as the misplacement of the Israelites at the foot of Mount Sinai, the omission of the Hand of God in Hezekiah's Prayer, and the leaving out of Nathan in the Penitence of David. It is not an unreasonable hypothesis that the original rotulus was brought to Constantinople at the time of the capture of Alexandria by the Arabs in the seventh century.

We may now return, after this long digression, to the interesting question that is raised by the close correspondence of certain miniatures in the Leo Bible to those of the Paris Psalter. Shall we assume that the artists of each manuscript used the rotulus independently, or that the miniatures of the Leo Bible were copied from the corresponding

19. *Zur Datierung der Miniaturen des Cod. Par. gr. 139*, pp. 12 ff.

miniatures of the Psalter? The latter must have been the case if we assume that one was copied from the other, for the Paris miniatures invariably show exactitude in all details.

For a common derivation from the rotulus we have the fact that in the miniature containing scenes from the life of Moses, in the Leo Bible (Fig. 39) much more is included than in the corresponding Paris miniature (Fig. 25), and that the subjects are arranged in strips as if coming from the continuous illustration of a rotulus. But it must be remembered that we are by no means certain of possessing all of the miniatures that originally were comprised in the Paris series; for example, the text of the Psalter contains twelve Canticles for which only six illustrations (the "Prayers") are given. Again, the miniatures are physically independent of the manuscript; it is quite possible that the existing ones belonged to another manuscript, not necessarily a Psalter, in which they formed part of a longer series from which selections were made that fitted the purpose of the one who made up the Paris Psalter in its present combination of text and illustration. Hence the crowded series of episodes of Moses' life which we find in the miniature of the Leo Bible may be copied from a series of three miniatures in an original manuscript from which the Crossing of the Red Sea may have been quite appropriately selected to illustrate in the Paris Psalter the Song of Moses.

We may discount as well the discrepancy between the inscription of the Paris miniature and that of the Leo Bible, for this discrepancy would be equally valid against derivation from a common original, which is the only alternative to the assumption that the Leo miniatures are based on those of the Psalter. One other discrepancy is however of great interest to the iconographer: viz., the change which the miniaturist of the Leo Bible has made in the figure who heads the procession of the Israelites to the right, gazing at the Column of Fire. In the Paris Psalter this figure is a man in white robes, and the male figure is also preserved in the replicas of the Paris miniature which appear—one cannot be sure through what process of derivation—in the Octateuchs of Constantinople, Smyrna, and the Vatican.<sup>20</sup> But in the Leo Bible the figure has been made into a woman, doubtless to represent Miriam, and a dark mantle has been added to her costume, and veils her head, by way of emphasizing her sex.

Now it is worth noting that the artist who painted the miniature of the Red Sea in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Fig. 47), which follows so closely the Paris miniature as regards the catastrophe of Pharaoh's host, has also inserted at the head of the Israelite throng a female figure, in this case certainly Miriam, since she is represented as a dancer in the act of her song of exultation. It would seem from this coincidence that both artists were conforming to local practice in this detail of iconography, and this conclusion is confirmed by a curious circumstance in the earlier history of this scene in Christian art.

It is well known that the Early Christian sarcophagi for the most part avoid scenes that would occupy the whole front of the trough and use rather an uninterrupted series of abbreviated episodes. But there is a conspicuous exception to this, viz., the series of

20. Constantinople: Uspensky, *L'Octateuque du Serail*, in *Bull. de l'Institut arch. russe à Constantinople*, XII, album, pl. XXII, fig. 121. Smyrna: Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus*, pl. XXXIX. Vatican: D'Agincourt, *Hist. de l'art par les monuments*, V, pl.

LXII, 4. The change to the female figure is found also in the Greek Psalter fragment of Leningrad; in the Greek Psalter of the University of Berlin, the figure is omitted (Tikkanen, *Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, pl. IX, 1, 2).

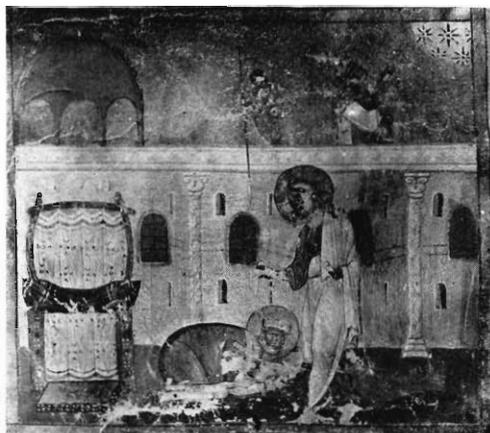


FIG. 45—*Venice, Marciana: Miniature of the Psalter of Basil II. David's Penitence (Photo Frick Art Ref. Lib.)*

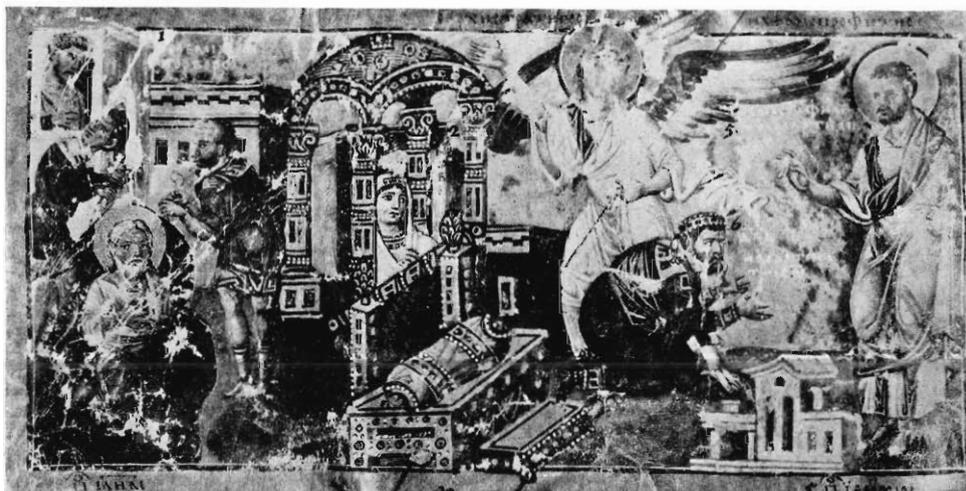


FIG. 46—*Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus. Penitence of David (after Omont)*



FIG. 47—*Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus. Crossing of the Red Sea (after Omont)*



FIG. 48—Arles, Museum: Sarcophagus Relief. Crossing of the Red Sea



FIG. 49—Rome, Vatican Library: Miniature of the Bible of Leo. Cross (after Coll. Paleografica Vat. I)



FIG. 50—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus Cross (after Omont)

"Red Sea" sarcophagi (Fig. 48), whose pure type invariably portrays on the front the same episode which we have in our two miniatures, but always, in examples which conserve the whole front, with Miriam leading the throng of the Chosen People, and usually indicated by the tambourine which she carries in her hands. These sarcophagi, numbering some nine complete examples, form a compact stylistic unit, and occasionally are further distinguished by the background representing the wall of a city which decorates the lateral faces. This latter feature, together with the peculiar style of the figures, classifies their makers with the ateliers which produced the "city-gate" sarcophagi, recently discussed in an able article by Marion Lawrence in this periodical.<sup>21</sup> Miss Lawrence found that these sarcophagi were sharply differentiated in style, iconography, and ornament from the Latin sarcophagi of the same period (end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century) and were to be attributed to Asiatic workmen probably operating in Italy but retaining Eastern tradition in the three respects mentioned above. The rendering of the Exodus scene that they put upon their sarcophagi therefore reflects Asiatic usage, so that the detail of Miriam introduced by the artists of the Homilies of Gregory and of the Leo Bible corresponds to local practice and tradition in Constantinople.

This discrepancy then would merely be a change introduced by the artist of the Leo Bible and like the other discrepancies noted would merely show that he was somewhat free in the rendering of his model. There is nothing, therefore, so far apparent that forms a real objection to the hypothesis that the miniature of the Leo Bible was adapted directly from that of the Paris Psalter. Indeed if we examine the miniature of the Leo Bible closely, and apply the test of "agreement in error" which is the textual critic's strongest argument for the derivation of one text from another, we shall find some positive evidence of the copy.

In the miniature of the Paris Psalter a fault was committed by the artist in the left arm and hand of Pharaoh, since its action and silhouette are obscured by the grip of Bythos on his hair and by his chlamys that passes over his left shoulder. As a result the hand and forearm seem silhouetted in a detached manner against the nimbus, and this mistake has been copied by the painter of the Leo Bible, who has painted the hand against the nimbus as if it grew out of Pharaoh's head. In the same way in the miniature of Moses on Sinai (Fig. 40), where he has evidently combined two pictures into one, the absurd pair of parallel lines which stand for cracks in the rock on which the personification of Mt. Sinai sits in the miniature of the Paris Psalter (Fig. 23) has been repeated. In the Anointing of David (Fig. 42) it will be noted that the top of the oil jar which stands behind Samuel's right leg has been drawn in full contour so as to interrupt the contour line of the leg as if it really passed in front of it. The gold or silver which originally covered this jar has flaked off, leaving the drawing obscure, but our reproduction at least shows the interruption of the silhouette of Samuel's leg. If now one turns to the miniature of the Paris Psalter (Fig. 27) it will be seen that the jar indents the leg of Samuel in the same fashion. It is noteworthy also that the pink nimbi of the Psalter are repeated in the Bible miniature;<sup>22</sup> and further evidence of a copy is to be seen in the travesty which the artist of the Bible

21. *City-Gate Sarcophagi* (*Art Bull.*, X, 1927-8, pp. 1-45).

22. Bordier, *Description des peintures et des autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Biblio-*

*thèque Nationale*, Paris, 1883, p. 112. For the information regarding the color in the miniature of the Bible of Leo, I am indebted to Myrtilla Avery.

has made of the left arm of the personification, already ambiguously rendered in the Psalter. Similarly, if one compares the Coronation of David in the Psalter (Fig. 20) with the adaptation thereof which the artist of the Leo Bible used for his Coronation of Solomon (Fig. 41) it is difficult to believe that two artists copying from a good model could have both arrived at the uncouth solecism of the bodyless legs behind the shield. It is far more credible that the artist of the Leo Bible, who shows himself as a rule much superior in craftsmanship to Artist C of the Psalter, who was responsible for this travesty, owes this slip to the fact that he was imitating the Psalter miniatures. It is true that here and in the miniature of Moses on Sinai he reversed his model, but this is rather in favor of the theory of a direct copy than otherwise, if we may judge by the practice in this respect in Western manuscripts.

In fact he has left, it seems to me, further evidence among his miniatures of his exploration of the libraries of Constantinople in search of models. On folio 2 recto there is painted a cross under an arch, from the base of which spring two acanthus leaves and beside which is the inscription  $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}} \overline{\text{NH}} \overline{\text{KA}}$ —"Christ is victorious" (Fig. 49). The same decoration is repeated, with some alteration of the inclosing arch, on folio 3 verso. Two pages decorated in this manner are somewhat surprising, but we find the same duplication in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus, on folio B verso and C recto (Fig. 50). Moreover, save for the inclosing arch in the Leo Bible and the hangings on the cross in the Homilies, it is not difficult to conceive the two crosses in the latter manuscript as the source from which the illustrator of the Leo Bible derived his two pages, since the jewelings and the leaves are very similar and the inscription and the abrupt termination of the arms of the cross are identical. But the duplication of one page by another in the Homilies has a good reason behind it, since the cross on folio B verso was painted in to cover up the discarded drawing for the portrait of Basil I between Gabriel and Elias which was later painted on folio C verso. No duplication was therefore originally intended by the painter of the Homilies; the artist of the Bible, lacking this motivation, is therefore the more open to the suspicion of copying.

I think we may conclude that the painter of the Leo Bible used the Psalter miniatures as models for at least a part of his illustrations. Whether we may go further and reconstruct from his other miniatures missing subjects in an originally longer series from which only the existing Psalter miniatures have survived, is a question not to be dealt with here. We have, however, further evidence that the present series of miniatures in the Paris Psalter was originally longer, in the relation they bear to the four miniatures of the Psalter of the twelfth or thirteenth century in the Vatican Library (Cod. Vat. Palat. gr. 381).<sup>23</sup> The first three of these four reproduce with startling fidelity the David as Harper, the Exaltation of David, and the Moses on Sinai (Fig. 51; compare Fig. 23) of the Paris Psalter. The imitation in the last case extends even to a crude imitation of the archaic (to a painter of the twelfth or thirteenth century) lettering of the inscription. But what we note particularly is the same misplacement of the group of Israelites at the foot of the mountain, which precludes the assumption of common derivation from the original rotulus and argues for a direct copy. This being the case, the fourth miniature (Fig. 52), which represents the

23. *Miniature . . . del Sallerio Cod. Vat. Palat. gr. 381 (Coll. Paleografica Vat. fasc. I), pls. 19-22.*



FIG. 51



FIG. 52

Rome, Vatican Library: Miniature of Psalter. Moses on Sinai; Moses Receives the Law and Presents it to the People (after Coll. Paleografica Vat. I)



FIG. 53—Rome, Vatican Library: Detail of the Joshua Roll. Return of the Spies Joshua Leads the Israelites against Jericho (after Vatican Facsimile)



FIG. 54—Rome, Vatican Library: Detail of the Joshua Roll  
*Joshua Meets the Angel of the Lord* (after Vatican Facsimile)



FIG. 55—London, British Museum: Miniature  
of the Cotton Genesis. *Separation of Lot and  
Abraham* (after Lethaby)



FIG. 56—Rome, S. Maria Antiqua: Fresco of  
VII Century. *Head of an Angel* (after Wilpert)

Receiving and Promulgating of the Law, must have been taken from the same source and we are compelled to suppose that the original series to which the Paris miniatures belonged was longer by at least the original of this miniature.

These cases of direct copying after the miniatures of the Paris Psalter have a bearing of course on the provenance and inspiration of the numerous parallels to them found in various manuscripts, and should cause a reconsideration of the prevailing theory that all such parallels arise from the copying of the archetype of the Psalter miniatures rather than these miniatures themselves. With this we are not here concerned, but rather with the bearing of our conclusion—that the painter of the Leo Bible saw and imitated the Paris miniatures—on the question of the date of the latter. For if, as the Vatican editors assert, the Leo Bible was written and illustrated early in the tenth century, one would be inspired to date the models from which some of its miniatures were copied in the ninth or an earlier century although the palaeography of the text which the Paris miniatures now illustrate points to the tenth. There is also the fact that the present miniatures originally were part of a longer series to be considered, as well as Berliner's point that the illustrations for Canticles, in the Paris Psalter, are sufficient for only half the Canticles. We may repeat here that the miniatures are insertions and physically independent of the present Psalter, and add the points brought up long ago by Bordier<sup>24</sup> that the miniatures have been cut down to fit the text, that the gold used in them is different and inferior in quality to that used in the text, and that their ornament is of different character from that of the text titles and headings. In the face of all this, it seems strange that the miniatures can still be considered even to-day as contemporary with the tenth century text.<sup>25</sup>

It is not strange, however, if one considers the influence of fixed ideas in archaeology. The *idée fixe* in this case is the theory of Kondakov's of the "Byzantine renaissance" which assigns to the Macedonian period of the Eastern Empire a positive power to re-create an antique style with Christian content. As far back as Labarte, it was conjectured that the miniatures came originally from another manuscript or were copied therefrom. Bordier's very decisive argument against the unity of the miniatures with the text has already been summarized. But after Kondakov's *Histoire de l'art byzantin* had produced the concept of the "Byzantine renaissance" and in accordance therewith had catalogued the miniatures as original creations of the tenth century, acceptance of the "renaissance" carried with it acceptance of the Paris miniatures as one of its most conspicuous and characteristic achievements. Thus Kondakov was followed by Bayet and Venturi, and even by as keen-sighted a critic as Tikkanen. Dobbert also accepted Kondakov's view, but beginning with von Schlosser there appeared a compromise between Kondakov and the facts, in the theory that the miniatures are tenth century copies of earlier models. So Wickhoff argued that the archetype could have dated no later than the fourth century, and that the difference in style pointed to interpolations in the original series. To Kraus and Millet the miniatures pointed to an Alexandrian archetype, to Strzygowski to one of Asia Minor or of Antioch. Dalton pointed out that wherever the archetype was done, it was the same center that produced the model for the Joshua Roll. Since the time of Labarte, Bordier and Berliner are the only critics who have subjected the manuscript

24. Bordier, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

25. E. g., by Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine*, p. 25, notice 14.

to a thoroughgoing examination as to its make-up, save, of course, Omont, whose reconstruction of the miniatures into the original quaternion and ternion made possible the verification of the hands employed on the paintings.

It is evident from what has gone before that the miniature sheets are independent of the tenth century text, that they represent the reduction of an originally more numerous series, and that they were in a library at Constantinople at least as early as the beginning of the tenth century. For further delimitation of their date we must have recourse to their style.

Dalton's point of the community of style between the Psalter miniatures and the drawings of the Joshua Roll has been recognized by many, but the bearing of this on the date of the miniatures of the Psalter, owing to the uncertainty of the date of the drawings, has never been thought worth discussion until recently taken up by Lietzmann,<sup>26</sup> who employed the supposed dating in the tenth century, of the Paris miniatures, and their resemblance to the drawings of the Joshua Roll, to bolster an otherwise dubious argument for an origin of the Joshua drawings coeval with the explanatory text written below and between them, which is of the tenth century. Lietzmann's article is valuable in demonstrating with more detail something which had already been suggested in the introduction to the facsimile of the Joshua manuscript published by the Vatican Library,<sup>27</sup> viz., that the lacunæ and mistakes of this text show that it too was a copy, and a copy of an original text that went with the drawings, being excerpted with reference to them from the Septuagint text of the Book of Joshua. He therefore concluded that drawings and text were copied at the same time. Unfortunately for his conclusion, he has ignored the facts (most of which were brought out by the editors of the Vatican facsimile) that militate strongly against dating the drawings and the text in the same period. In the first place, a glance at the Vatican facsimile shows that the drawings are placed midway on the parchment with no apparent notion of leaving space for the text. The space below the drawings is about what an artist would leave in any case and it is not marked off by a line or otherwise (Fig. 53). Second, the difference in the color of the ink of the drawings, thinner and paler than that of the text, indicates a greater antiquity. A third objection lies in the fact that some of the inscriptions are done in capitals, in the pale ink of the drawings while others are in the ink and the cursive of the text, showing that the hand that did the drawings and also the capital inscriptions, found some of these capital inscriptions too indistinct in his original to copy, and the omissions were later supplied by the hand that wrote in the text—a process which coincides fairly with the theory of a set of drawings to which the text was added later, and not very well with the notion of text and drawings as a single project. It is also difficult to explain on the basis of Lietzmann's view, the frequent inconsistency between text and drawings, in that the text sometimes describes incidents not represented by the drawing above it. Lastly, we have a valid argument against a coeval dating of text and drawings in the fact that occasionally the text invades the drawings and is tucked in between the figures in an unsightly manner which would hardly have been the case had the copy of text and drawings been the result of a single plan (Fig. 54). The reconciliation of these objections with Lietzmann's argument from the excerpted and specialized original

26. Hans Lietzmann, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften*, in *Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstage von Hermann Degering*, pp. 181 ff.

27. *Il Rotulo di Giosuè: codice Vat. Pal. gr. 431*, Milan, Hoepli, 1905.

text which belonged to the pictures seems to lie in the very natural supposition that this original text was written at the end of the roll, or on a separate roll, that it had become injured by use, and that a tenth century restorer copied it in upon the pictures.

In any case, the date of the Joshua drawings cannot be settled by the date of their text, but must be deduced from what internal evidence is offered by themselves, and by their stylistic relation to the miniatures of the Paris Psalter. The internal evidence is very meager. A *terminus a quo* seems to be offered at first sight by the capital inscriptions which occasionally are written vertically, a practice which becomes common, in existing works, not before the seventh century. That the drawings are copied from an early original is generally agreed, the evidence lying in such things as mistakes and omissions on the part of the copyist, one of them appearing in Fig. 53, where a bust on a stele has been misunderstood, a detail which is correctly copied from the same model used by the draftsman of the Joshua Roll, in the later Octateuchs.<sup>28</sup> A case of omission is found in the execution of the King of Ai (Fig. 17), where the executioner's implement has been left out. The same reason obviously underlies the occasional omission of the labels and capitals, owing no doubt to illegible faintness of the lettering in the original.

The date of the archetype is difficult to determine archæologically. The Vatican editors have seen reason for not dating the original before the fourth century because the *furca*, which is used in the Execution of the King of Ai and of the Five Kings, was not substituted for the cross until the time of Constantine. On the other hand they point out that the cult of sacred trees was abolished by Theodosius the Great, and if one assumes that the precinct with a tree inside it such as we see in Fig. 53 is the inclosure of a sacred tree, we might on the above evidence date the archetype between Constantine and Theodosius the Great. Unfortunately, the "sacred precinct" is only part of the old picturesque landscape vocabulary characteristic of the perspective style of which the Joshua drawings and their archetype are survivals; even if one accepts the very dubious interpretation of such a *motif* as a "sacred tree" and its precinct, to use the *motif* to establish a *terminus ante quem* would be like dating a piece of literature by the use of the expression "sacred tree."

As to the *furca*, its use in the execution of the King of Ai is motivated by the text: Καὶ τὸν Βασιλέα τῆς Γαὶ ἐκρέμασεν ἐπὶ ξύλου διδύμου (Joshua viii, 29), and its employment in the execution of the Five Kings may have been suggested by the previous episode. There is more reason to see in it an indication of Alexandrian provenance for the archetype, since we find it again in one of the miniatures of the Vienna Genesis (in the execution of Pharaoh's baker, where Genesis uses the same ἐκρέμασεν which described the end of the Kings in Joshua),<sup>29</sup> and in the same scene of the baker's execution in the frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua,<sup>30</sup> wherein Miss Avery has demonstrated a pervasive Alexandrian influence in the iconography.<sup>31</sup> More specifically, this peculiarity of iconography is indicated as Egyptian by its occurrence on an enigmatic wooden relief from Egypt in the Museum of Berlin.<sup>32</sup> Another Alexandrian peculiarity of the Joshua Roll was singled

28. E. g., the miniature in Vat. gr. 746, fol. 442; *Il Rotulo di Giosuè*, pl. B, 2.

29. X, 26.

30. Wilpert, *Die Mosaiken und Malerien der kirchlichen Bauten*, IV, pls. 192-3.

31. *The Alexandrian Style at S. Maria Antiqua*, in *Art Bull.* VII, 1925, pp. 131 ff.

32. Strzykowski, *Orient oder Rom*, pl. III, pp. 65 ff.

out by Strzygowski<sup>33</sup> in the barbs which are added to the spear heads and which occur again in an Egyptian papyrus of Berlin (no. 5004). Most convincing of all proofs, however, is the striking identity between the figure to the right in the miniature of the Separation of Lot and Abraham, in the Alexandrian Cotton Genesis (Fig. 55), with the angel accosted by Joshua before Jericho (Fig. 54). The arrangement in depth of this group of soldiers and the manner in which the spears are made to multiply the ranks, may be compared with any of the military scenes of the Rotulus.

The Vatican editors noted another objection to an early dating of the archetype in the imperial costume given the executed kings (Fig. 17), with their broad *clavi* ending in discs on skirt and shoulder—*motifs* connoting a late period in antique costume. The antiquity of the soldiers' dress, the bits of Pompeian landscape, the Hellenistic reminiscences in movement, posture, and gesture have been cited again and again in attempts to date the archetype in a very early period, but the creative familiarity with which these *motifs* are handled by the copyist of the Joshua Roll and by artist A of the Paris Psalter, warn us that if such good imitation of Hellenistic drawing and painting could be produced in the seventh century or later, it is *a fortiori* to be expected of the fifth, which is the century to which the Vatican editors incline to assign the archetype—that is to say, the immediate archetype, for the fifth century roll might have had, and probably did have, an ancestor of date still more remote.

If the date of the archetype of the Rotulus of Joshua must thus be left somewhat in doubt, we are in better case I think as to the date when the present drawings were done. We have seen that Lietzmann's attempt to date them coevally with the text is a failure, and that the tenth century text, clearly a later feature added to the already existing drawings, may therefore serve as a *terminus ad quem*. A *terminus a quo* is at least indicated by the vertical disposition of the inscription labels, since we have no examples of this practice, so far as I know, which antedate the seventh century.<sup>34</sup> If we take the seventh to tenth century as the epoch within which the Joshua drawings were done, it is possible that we may find further evidence by which to limit their date in the obvious community of style and epoch which exists between them and the miniatures of the Paris Psalter, at least those miniatures which we have ascribed to artist A. The close resemblance of A's style to that of the Joshua draftsman has often been pointed out, notably by the editors of the Joshua facsimile,<sup>35</sup> and also by the present writer.<sup>36</sup> It is unnecessary to repeat here the specific identities, for the reader need only compare Figs. 17, 44, 53, and 54, reproducing the Joshua drawings, with such examples of the style of the head master of the Psalter's atelier as are furnished by Figs. 19, 25, and 26. Joshua leading the Israelites against Jericho (Fig. 53), in silhouette and turn of head is a replica of the Moses in the Crossing of the Red Sea (Fig. 25). The ornamental *clavi* of the tunic of the King of Ai (Fig. 17) are

33. *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik*, in *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1906, p. 182. Cf. *Coll. Pal. Vat.* fasc. I, introduction, note 9.

34. An early example may be found at the end of the sixth century in Rome, in the mosaic of the arch of S. Lorenzo, where the name of St. Hippolytus is written. The mosaicist was evidently here cramped for space, but nevertheless he handled the

spacing of the letters and his terminal ivy leaf with evident relish for the vertical mode. The other names in the mosaic are written horizontally, and Hippolytus' name can be considered no more than symptomatic of the new method.

35. *Il Rotulo di Giosuè*, pp. 15 ff.

36. *The Sources of Mediaeval Style*, in *Art Bull.*, VII, 1924, p. 40, note 2.

repeated on that of Hezekiah (Fig. 26). One may compare the column and the foliage of the miniature of David as Harper (Fig. 19) with the same features of Joshua's prayer in Fig. 17. In Fig. 44 we find in the Joshua drawings the same distant city emerging above the shoulder of a mountain that fills the corner of the David scene in Fig. 19. The massed soldiery of Pharaoh's army (Fig. 25) reappear again and again in the Joshua scenes (cf. Fig. 44). Identities of profiles, postures (cf., e. g., the spies climbing the hill in Fig. 53 with the Moses on Sinai of Fig. 23), and of drapery are too numerous to point out in detail; we have also to note the common feature of profuse use of personifications, and the curious "club-foot" which results in both manuscripts from sharp foreshortening.

The sketchier character of the Joshua drawings results merely from their being drawings; it is well known how much freer East Christian drawing appears before the laying-in of the color and we may attribute the harder line of the Paris artist to this fact. Certainly there exists no difference between the Vatican manuscript and the best work of the Paris Psalter that would permit us to consider them far apart in date, and their community of school is self-evident. The Vatican editors found the seventh century the most likely epoch in which to place the production of the Joshua drawings; if this be right, the Psalter miniatures must date in the same period or not much later.

The real evidence for the final solution of this problem has been furnished by Myrtila Avery in her able article *Alexandrian Style in S. Maria Antiqua*.<sup>37</sup> She finds that the existing decoration of S. Maria Antiqua began with the Asiatic style current in Rome in the sixth century and represented by the Crowned Madonna of the apse. Over this Madonna was laid a coating of plaster frescoed in a wholly different style, which can be dated in the second half of the seventh century. This new style maintains itself up to the redecoration of the church under John VII (705-707) and is still evident, though mingled with local tradition, in the work done under this pope. The later frescoes of the eighth century show its gradual alteration and disappearance as the familiar Italo-Asiatic style which it had interrupted becomes again prevalent, and as the Greek inscriptions which accompanied the intruding style are displaced by Latin labels. Throughout the prevalence and influence of the Greek style, its iconography and usages are shown by Miss Avery to have been strongly Alexandrian,<sup>38</sup> so much so that it seems a reasonable explanation to account, as Miss Avery does, for its sudden appearance at S. Maria Antiqua in the middle of the seventh century by assuming the employment of a painter or painters that were refugees from the Arab conquest of Alexandria in 641.

The similarities of style that exist between these "Alexandrian" frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua and the miniatures of the Paris Psalter and of the Joshua Roll have been exhaustively listed by Miss Avery, who even canvasses the possibility that the actual hands of the Psalter may be found employed again in the frescoes. However this may be, a few comparisons will doubtless suffice to convince the reader of the soundness of Miss Avery's association of the frescoes with the Psalter in point of date and style. The beautiful angel's head (Fig. 56), with its long straight nose, its small mouth and chin, its horizontal shadow

37. *Art Bull.*, VII, 1925, pp. 140 ff.

38. Noteworthy are: the use of the Coptic title for the Virgin, *ἡ ἀγία Μαρία*; the *furca* employed in the execution of Pharaoh's baker; the inclusion of an angel and Joseph

in the Adoration of the Magi, and of the doubting Salome in the Nativity; and the strong Egyptian bias in the choice of saints.

below the lower lip, and long low curve to the jaw, affords a remarkable instance of the type of head we have already found characteristic of artist A of the Psalter and illustrated by the heads of Moses in the Crossing of the Red Sea and that of the Prayer in the scene of Hezekiah (Figs. 25, 26). The profile of the praying Hezekiah himself reproduces that of the last of the Magi in the Epiphany of S. Maria Antiqua (Fig. 57). The Night in Isaiah's Prayer of the Psalter (Fig. 24) is the Mother of the Maccabees in the beautiful fresco of S. Maria Antiqua (Fig. 58) in dignity of structure, high waist, placing of the feet, and especially the remarkable identity of the drawing of the left leg; the larger of the two boys is strikingly like the Dawn in structure and pose of head, and especially in the mannerism of the tuft of hair projecting beyond the forehead; the stately figure on Salomone's left may be compared with the Nathan of David's Penitence (Fig. 36). The depth of background in this fresco is one of the characteristics of this Alexandrian interlude in Roman painting, which, as Miss Avery shows, died out in the eighth century, and with it may be classed the impressionism of light and shade, and the freedom of posture and movement, that form such strange contrast to the conventionalities of the two-dimensional Italo-Asiatic style that preceded and followed it in Rome.

It seems clear therefore that Miss Avery's masterly analysis of the decoration of S. Maria Antiqua has provided us with the date of the miniatures of the Paris Psalter. The style that was practiced by the immigrant painters of the church in Rome in the seventh and early eighth centuries is that of the master who with his less gifted assistants painted in Constantinople the miniatures of the Psalter, and it is the same style that we find in the drawings of the Joshua Roll. The latter is not without its parallels also at S. Maria Antiqua. Noteworthy is the tendency found in both the frescoes and the Rotulus to round out the back and shoulder into full convexity. One will be also arrested by the resemblance of the Seraph's head (Fig. 60) from the Adoration of the Crucified to that of the angel who stands before Joshua (Fig. 54), in the impressionism of the hair and its emergence in a knot at the nape of the neck, as well as the general structure of the head. I have already pointed out elsewhere<sup>39</sup> the even closer resemblance of the drawing of this head to that of an angel's head at Bawît (Fig. 59), of earlier date than its stylistic congener at S. Maria Antiqua. But the style of the Joshua Roll, if we discount the artificial stiffness which the addition of color always gives to East Christian Painting, cannot be far distant in date from the Psalter miniatures and the frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua.

The two sets of miniatures may thus be roughly dated in the seventh century, or at the latest in the early eighth, and we may explain the familiarity with which artist A of the Psalter copied his Alexandrian original by crediting him too with Alexandrian origin. We may explain his presence in Constantinople, where the miniatures were painted, as Miss Avery explained the presence of the exponents of foreign style at S. Maria Antiqua—as the result of the flight of artists from Alexandria at the time of the Arab conquest. The Joshua Roll may well be the work of another such exile, seeking employment for his talents at the capital. The archetype of the Roll, and that of the Psalter, may well have been brought to Constantinople in the seventh century by reason of the same exodus of artists and works of art.

39. *The Sources of Mediaeval Style*, in *Art Bull.*, VII, 1924, p. 41.



FIG. 57



FIG. 58

*Rome, S. Maria Antiqua: Frescoes. Adoration of the Magi (early VIII Century)  
Eleazar and the Maccabees (VII Century) (after Wilpert)*

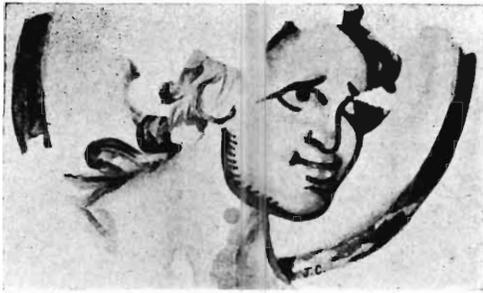


FIG. 59—*Bawit, Chapel XVII*  
*Fresco of Angel's Head*



FIG. 60—*Rome, S. Maria Antiqua: Fresco of early VIII Century. Head of a Seraph (after Wilpert)*



FIG. 61—*Leningrad, State Library: Miniature of Gospel Lectionary. St. John the Evangelist*

Such style as these two masterpieces exhibit was quite as much an innovation at Constantinople as at Rome. There is trace of Alexandrian influence before this in the miniature painting of the capital, in the illustrations of the Dioscurides of Vienna (Fig. 37). The Pompeian putti of the dedication page, the frequent personifications, and the pseudo-depth of the mandrake miniatures and of the physician groups, show the influence of the perspective and picturesque style of Alexandria. But that we are dealing here with a foreign influence and not a native style is clear from the arrangement in the two miniatures of famous physicians, in which the figures are disposed as if seated in a landscape but are nevertheless in actuality sitting on nothing but the gold background.

The native Asiatic style, at about the time the drawings of the Joshua Roll and the miniatures of the Paris Psalter were produced, appears to be well reflected by the miniatures of an important manuscript which hitherto has received altogether too little attention. This manuscript is Petropolitanus gr. XXI.<sup>40</sup> Of its sixteen miniatures four were reproduced by Likhatchev (Incredulity of Thomas, the Last Supper, Christ Appearing to the Holy Women, the Mission of the Apostles), one by Haseloff (the Washing of Feet), and the portraits of the three evangelists by Friend, while Millet included in his *Recherches* reproductions of the Baptism, the Transfiguration, the Supper, the Washing of Feet, the miniature in which are represented the Entombment and the Holy Women Watching the Sepulcher, and that depicting Easter Morn. The Miracle of Cana, the Pentecost, the Harrowing of Hell, and the miniature of Christ and His Disciples are here reproduced for the first time.

The date of these miniatures has never been definitely determined. Kondakov in one passage of his *Histoire* places them in the eighth or ninth century, while in another he is influenced by the round uncials of the text and the absence of large initials toward a date in the seventh or eighth century. Dobbert, arguing from iconography, places the types represented by the scenes from the Gospel between the cycle of the fifth and sixth centuries and the developed Byzantine works of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Millet appears in his first citation of the manuscript<sup>41</sup> to accept a dating in the seventh or eighth century, but elsewhere he varies from the eighth to the tenth and finally, troubled apparently by the developed iconography of the Harrowing of Hell, accepts the suggestion of Thibaut that the early-looking text is really of the eleventh century in a hand that imitates the uncial of the eighth century. Pokrovski<sup>42</sup> dates the manuscript in the tenth or eleventh century.

The manuscript contains fourteen folios which formerly formed part of a Gospel in minuscule of the tenth or eleventh century given to the library at Leningrad in 1858 by the metropolitan of Trebizond.<sup>43</sup> The miniatures are for the most part on the verso of the folio and constitute the illustration of a set of pericopes or lessons which originally must have formed part of an Evangelion or Book of Gospel readings arranged to follow the liturgy. Since in such books the movable feasts come first and the fixed feasts in the latter part of

40. Bibliography: Muralt, *Cat. des mss. grecs de la Bibliothèque impériale publique de Petersbourg*, Leningrad, 1864, p. 13; Dobbert, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XIV, p. 199; Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art byzantin*, I, p. 193; Haseloff, *Codex purpureus Rossanensis*, p. 101; Likhatcheff, *Matériaux pour l'histoire de l'iconographie russe*, pls. CCCLIII, CCCLIV; Millet, *Recherches sur*

*l'iconographie de l'évangile*, passim, see *Répertoire des monuments*; A. M. Friend, *Art Studies*, 1927, pp. 115 ff.

41. *Recherches*, p. 13.

42. *Iconography of the Gospels* (Russian), Leningrad, 1892, p. 16.

43. Millet, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 ff.

the volume, we may assume that the miniatures of the Baptism and of the Transfiguration belong at the end of the present incomplete series. If rearranged according to the sequence of the festivals which they commemorate, and with the portrait of each evangelist preceding the series of lections drawn from his Gospel, the series is as follows:

1. Portrait of John
  2. Harrowing of Hell
  3. Incredulity of Thomas
  4. Mission of Apostles
  5. Miracle of Cana: Lesson for Second Monday after Easter
  6. Holy Women at Sepulcher
  7. Christ Appearing to Holy Women
  8. Pentecost: Lesson for Pentecost
  9. Portrait of Matthew
- } Lesson for Easter
- } Lesson for Thomas Sunday
- } Lesson for Myrrhophoroi Sunday

(The Matthew lections after Pentecost are not illustrated in the surviving miniatures; the portrait of Luke, and any illustration of his lections after the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, September 14, are also missing.)

10. Portrait of Mark
  11. Christ and Disciples
  12. Last Supper
  13. Washing of Feet
  14. Entombment and the Two Maries at the Sepulcher: Lesson for Friday of Passion week
  15. Baptism (fixed feast)
  16. Transfiguration (fixed feast)
- } Lesson for Monday of Passion week
- } Lesson for Thursday of Passion week

The three portraits of the evangelists have been placed in the relative positions which they would occupy in an illustrated Evangelion. It is to be noted however that the readings that accompany the miniatures are predominantly from Matthew. For instance, the readings on Myrrhophoroi Sunday in the Greek service of the present day are from Luke and Mark, but the text that accompanies the scene of Christ Appearing to the Holy Women is Matthew xxviii. The miniature also follows Matthew, as is always the case with this scene in East Christian art, by depicting the women as two instead of Mark's three. The text accompanying the miniature of the Last Supper is, in the first column, part of the lesson from Matthew for Thursday of Holy Week, while in the right column is the beginning of the lesson from John xiii on the Washing of Feet, of which we find another portion under the miniature of that scene. This miniature is on folio 6 verso of the manuscript at present, while the Supper is on 9 verso, which shows the present confusion of arrangement of the folios. The above rearrangement is tentative and awaits confirmation after examination of the original at Leningrad. We may, however, on the basis of the photographs of the *Archives photographiques d'art et d'histoire*, here reproduced, arrive perhaps at a determination of the approximate date of the miniatures and of their significance in East Christian art.

1. *Portrait of John* (Fig. 61). Within a border of the type we have recognized with good reason as characteristic of illuminated manuscripts of Constantinople, here decorated



FIG. 62—Mt. Athos, Monastic Library: Miniature of Stavroniketa 43. St. John the Evangelist (after Friend)



FIG. 63—Leningrad, State Library: Miniature of Gospel Lectionary. Harrowing of Hell

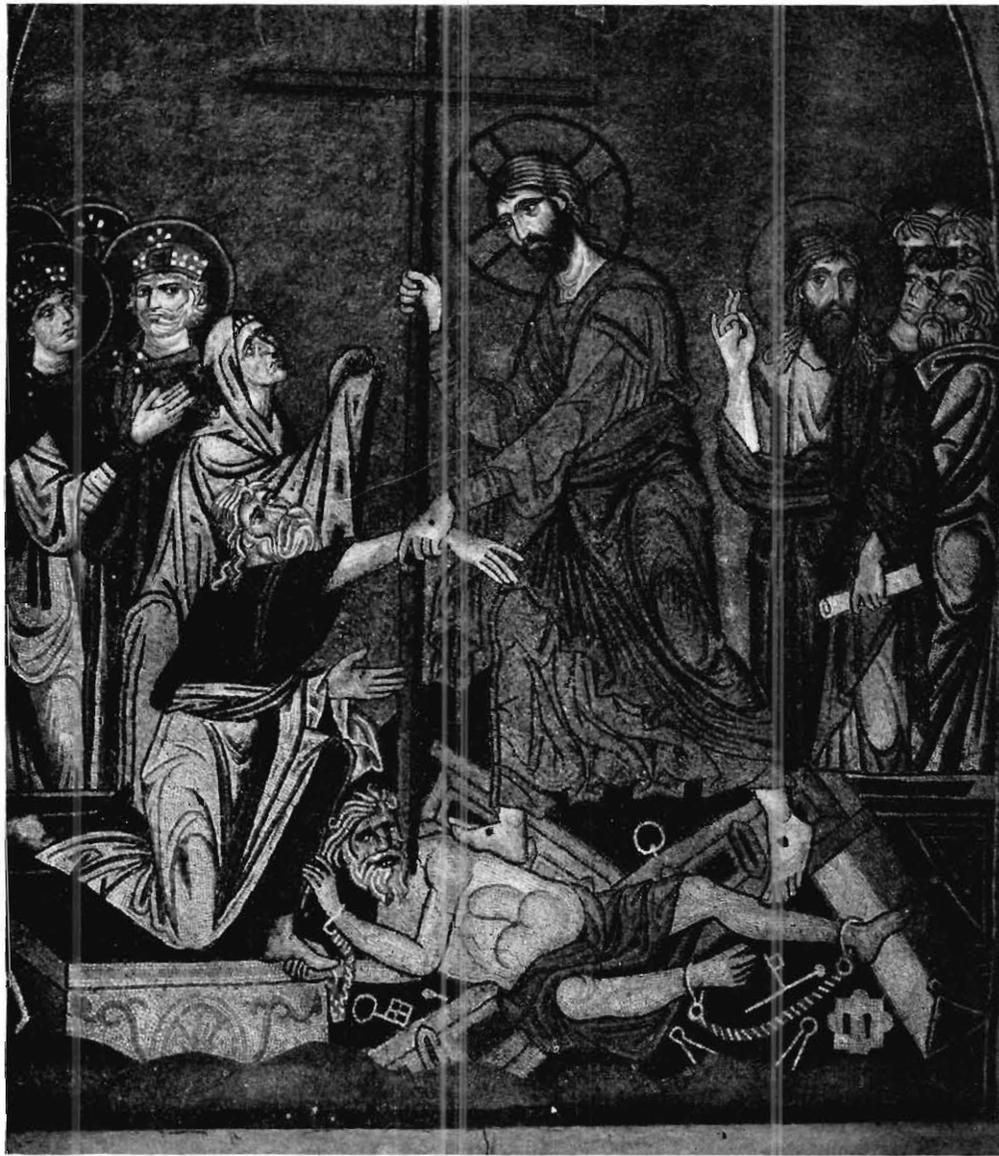


FIG. 64—*Daphni, Church: Mosaics. Harrowing of Hell*



FIG 65—*Leningrad, State Library: Miniature 'of Gospel Lectionary. Incrudulity of Thomas*

with a floreate filling resembling the teasle plant, sits the evangelist, with right hand grasping a rotulus and his left held to his lips in sign of meditation. His seat is a cushioned stool, pearly along the edges of its parts, as is also the footstool on which rest his feet. The lectern is supported on the tail of a very badly drawn dolphin, and contains an open codex. The background is neutral—apparently gold—and broken only by the inscription: ὁ ἄ(γιος) Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος.

The John of this miniature, reversed, is a replica of the John (Fig. 62) in a manuscript of one of the monastic libraries of Mt. Athos, Stavroniketa 43, the evangelist portraits of which were published along with those of our manuscript of Leningrad by Mr. Friend in *Art Studies*.<sup>44</sup> Comparison of the two reveals close resemblance, but one that clearly comes from a common model, since neither is a copy of the other. The Athos Gospel is evidently a finer copy of the original and preserves a feature which the miniaturist of the Leningrad manuscript found too much for his Asiatic prepossessions, viz., the background of architecture preserving the old Pompeian illusion of a garden wall above which extend the tops of trees. In the other evangelist pictures of the Leningrad manuscript we shall find him making an attempt to cope with this unfamiliar background, with sorry success. A more accomplished method of combining the exotic architectural perspective with the gold field of native tradition was found by the artist of Coislin 195 (Gospels) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, who copied the same model for his John that was used by the Leningrad painter and by the miniaturist of Stavroniketa 43, but *incised* the architectural perspective on the gold background of his miniature.<sup>45</sup>

2. *The Harrowing of Hell* (Fig. 63). The same framing is used for the miniature, but with the characteristic corner squares included in this instance, which were left out in the preceding miniature. The scene is the customary illustration, in the *Evangelia* or lectionaries, for the readings for Easter with which the lessons of John commence and thus is usually the first miniature in this type of Gospel Book after the evangelist portrait. It is clumsily painted here, the right periphery of Christ's glory having been painted over the left arm of the aged white-clothed figure who stands with a companion to the right. This figure should be John the Baptist, balancing with uneven symmetry the throng of the Just on the other side, among whom stand the crowned figures of David and Solomon and another king. Below are the risen First Parents, emerging from tombs; Adam kneels and clasps the right hand of the Saviour, Who strides toward him in the midst of an ample mandorla over the chained and prostrate form of Satan. Inscription: ἡ ἀνάστασις.

The present writer has already cited this example of the Harrowing of Hell, in a discussion of the iconography of the scene in which the Leningrad manuscript was classed among the examples as of the tenth or eleventh century.<sup>46</sup> Millet<sup>47</sup> also was impressed by the developed iconography of this composition, representing to him "*un type développé, qui dépasse non seulement la colonne de Saint-Marc et les psautiers Chludov, mais aussi les mosaïques ou les peintures de San Zeno, à Rome, de Sainte-Barbe, en Cappadoce, de Saint-Luc, en Phocide, en un mot, l'époque du pape Pascal I<sup>er</sup> (817-824), de l'empereur Basil II*

44. *Art Studies*, 1927, p. 134, fig. 98.

45. A. M. Friend, *l. c.*, p. 135, fig. 102.

46. *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, 1914, pp. 46-47.

47. *Recherches*, pp. 557, ff.; cf. p. 558, note 1.

(976-1025) et même de ses successeurs. Le R. P. Thibaut nous a révélé le mot de l'énigme: le xi<sup>e</sup> siècle a imité l'onciale du viii<sup>e</sup>."

The above list contains two examples that might be considered in point of date to represent a developed iconography, i. e., the frescoes of St. Barba in Cappadocia of the tenth or eleventh century (to repeat Millet's dating), and the mosaics of St. Luke in Phocis, of the first half of the eleventh century. The Cappadocian frescoes are however often archaic in their types, and one must simply disagree with the citation of the Harrowing of Hell at St. Luke's, inasmuch as this mosaic contains two *motifs* that have not yet appeared in our miniature—the Gates of Hell and the cross in the Redeemer's hand. In a study published in 1914<sup>48</sup> the present writer had occasion to tabulate the iconography of the scene<sup>49</sup> and from this tabulation certain indications of date emerged. One of these is the *motif* of the Broken Gates of Hell, which are absent from the early representations (ciborium of St. Mark's, Chapel of John VII in Old St. Peter's, S. Maria Antiqua, S. Clemente, Chludov Psalter), and first appear in such tenth century examples as the Chekmoukmedi enamel.<sup>50</sup> They are absent also in our miniature, which displays another mark of early date in the roll which Christ carries in His left hand as in the frescoes of the scene in S. Maria Antiqua. Beginning with the tenth century (the earliest example seems to be a fresco attributed to that date by Wilpert, in the lower church of S. Clemente), the Saviour's well-nigh constant attribute is the cross-staff (Fig. 64). It is true that the roll appears in Christ's hand in the scene in a Psalter of the British Museum of the eleventh century (Add. 19352),<sup>51</sup> but this Psalter reflects the same archaic tradition as the Chludov Psalter, to whose family it belongs, and the same survival of an old *motif* may be credited to the representation in the frescoes of the Peribleptos Church at Mistra, which also retains other characteristics of the early type in the glory surrounding Christ and the movement of the Saviour toward Adam instead of the opposite direction as is more often the case in later examples. The Satan in chains, so much resembling the mosaic of Daphni (Fig. 64), and the symmetrical composition with groups of the Resurrected on either side, are features that do not appear elsewhere in the scene before the tenth century, but the symmetry here is manifestly undeveloped, while this feature and the chained Satan as well are both found in the archaistic frescoes of Toqale no later than the tenth century (Fig. 80, lower right). It is difficult therefore to see why Millet should regard the scene as indicating a date as late as the eleventh century for the series of miniatures to which it belongs. No iconographic feature in it brings its date later than the tenth century, which is given us as a *terminus ad quem* only by the Toqale frescoes that in other cases appear to preserve earlier usage. On the other hand, the rotulus in the Saviour's hand and the omission of the Gates of Hell align the type with the examples of the eighth and ninth centuries.

3. *The Incredulity of Thomas* (Fig. 65). Within the same foliate border, with corner squares filled in this case by eight-pointed stars, the scene is developed against the back-

48. *East Christian Paintings, l. c.* Notable additions to the list given on p. 49 are the two frescoes of the lower church of S. Clemente at Rome, of the ninth and tenth centuries respectively, and the fresco of Toqale in Cappadocia of the tenth century (Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, pl. 66, 2).

49. For the iconography of the Harrowing of Hell, cf.:

Millet, *Monuments et mémoires*, Fondation Piot, II, 1895, pp. 204 ff.; Rushforth, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, I, pp. 114 ff.; Clemen, *Die romanische Monumentalmalerei in den Rheinlanden*, p. 215, note 37, and p. 217, note 60.

50. Kondakov, *Les émaux byzantins*, fig. 43.

51. Rushforth, *op. cit.*, fig. 10.

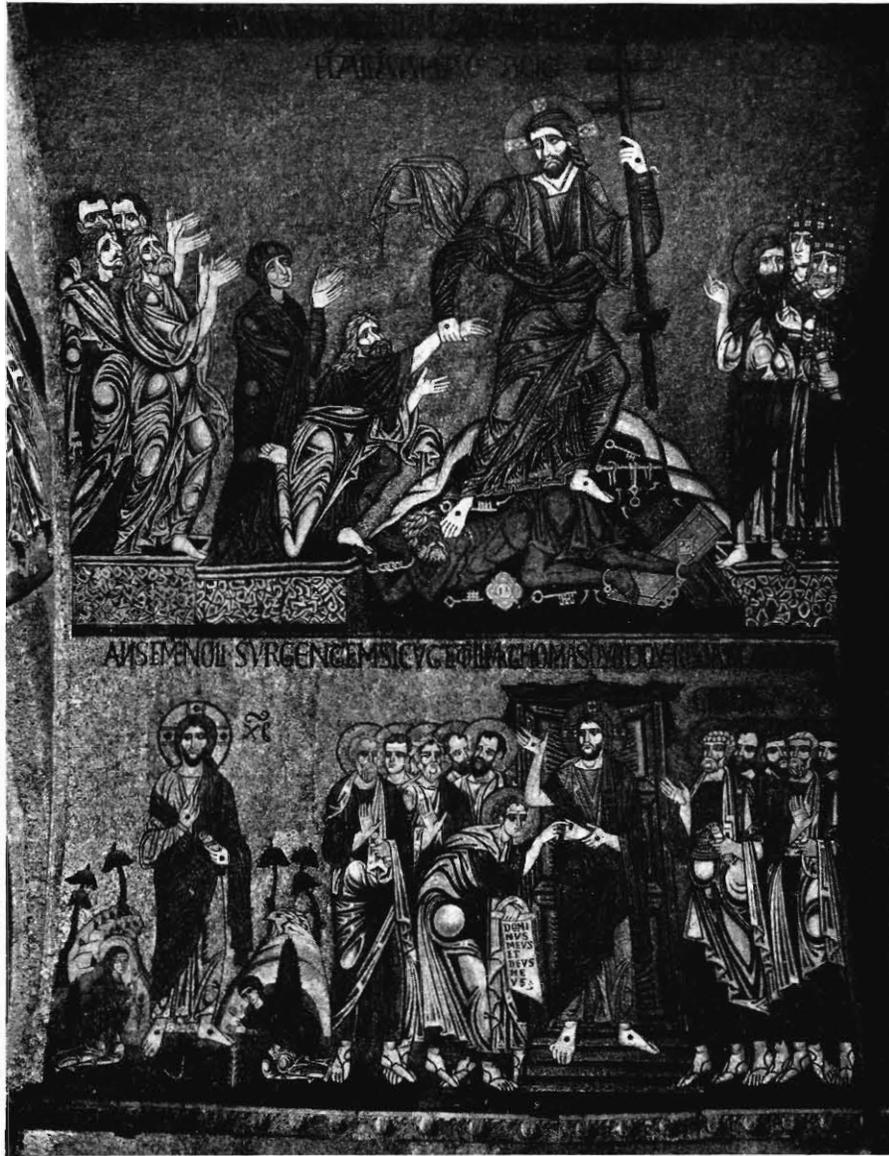


FIG. 66—Venice, St. Mark's: Mosaics. Scenes after the Resurrection



FIG. 67—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus. Miracles of Christ (after Omont)

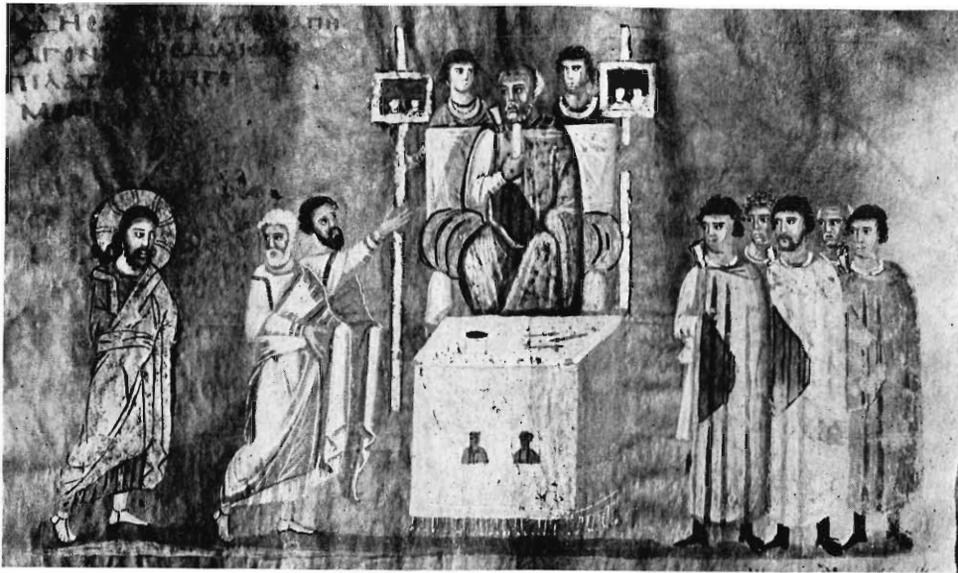


FIG. 68—Rossano, Cathedral: Miniature of Gospel Book. Christ before Pilate

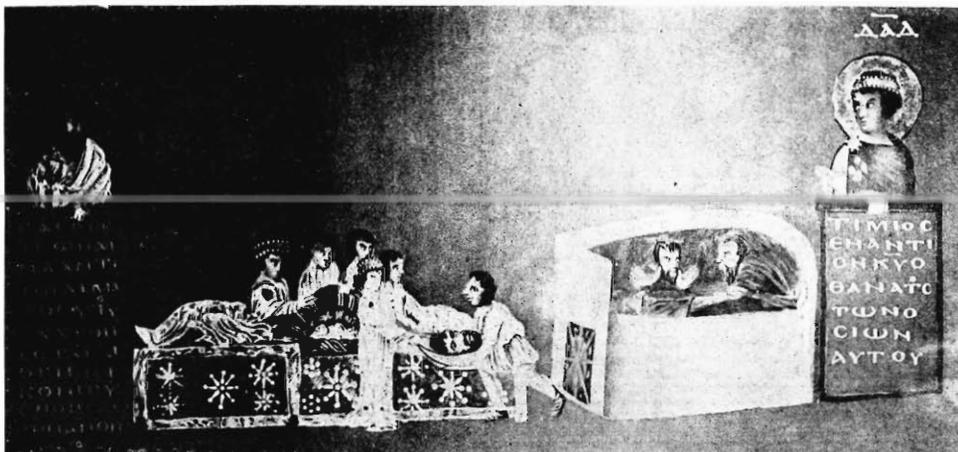


FIG. 69—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniature of the Codex Sinopensis. Herod's Feast  
(after Muñoz)



FIG. 70—Rome, S. Saba: Fresco. Christ Saving Peter from the Waves  
(after Styger)

ground of a wall, decorated with a curtain draped from the central portal, which represents the "closed doors" of the room in which the Saviour made His miraculous appearance to the disciples after the Resurrection. The uprights of this door have the *rinceau* ornament which appeared on the architecture of the "Asiatic" miniatures of Artist D of the Paris Psalter (Figs. 29 and 30). The miniature is singularly interesting as an example of the archaic stage of the Byzantine type, before it had crystallized into the rigid formula illustrated by the mosaic of St. Mark's at Venice (Fig. 66). Peter in our miniature already heads the group to the right, as in the mosaic, and one may see how his gesture at St. Mark's has been developed out of the right arm of the miniature, still classic in its suspension in the pallium. The Thomas of the miniature is in profile, differing thus from earlier Asiatic practice, and has not yet turned his head outward in obedience to the Middle Byzantine revival of the three-quarters head, but he bends his body as at St. Mark's, and on his thigh is seen the premonition of the conventional disc with which the drapery is rendered at this point of the body in later art. But the doubting apostle and his Master both stretch out their two hands; at St. Mark's, in contrast, we have the typical *contrapposto* of Mid-Byzantine style, one arm of Christ being raised, while the other hand bares the wound, and the left hand of Thomas contrasting in movement with the extended right that seeks the side of Christ. The groups of disciples are casually placed in the miniature, and the steps leading down from the *fores clausæ* have not yet been added to the type.

On the other hand, the miniature differs from the Early Christian representations<sup>52</sup> in various ways: the brief renderings on the sarcophagi have not yet amalgamated the Appearance to the Eleven with the Incredulity of Thomas, and the full number of disciples is first seen in the mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo. If this mosaic in truth depicts our scene, it is singular in representing Thomas approaching Christ's left side, as he does also on the ivory panel of the British Museum and still again in the abbreviated representation in a miniature of the Codex Purpureus at Munich, of doubtful date, but probably of the sixth or seventh century.<sup>53</sup> The above peculiarity evidently rests on the notion that the lance wound was in the left side of the Saviour's body. This conception, which also puts Longinus and his lance to Christ's left in some Irish representations of the Crucifixion, is apparently a Latin characteristic. The ampullæ of Bobbio and Monza of c. 600 show Christ grasping the hand of Thomas to apply it to the wound. At S. Maria Antiqua a fragmentary fresco of the eighth century<sup>54</sup> shows Thomas advancing from the spectator's left toward the Saviour, Who raises His right arm to bare the wound; to the right of Christ is a group of disciples behind whom

52. Sarcophagus, S. Maria presso S. Celso, Milan (Garrucci, *Storia*, V, pl. 315, 5); sarcophagus, Museum of Ravenna (S. Muratori, in *N. Bull. arch. crist.*, 1911, pp. 39 ff., fig. 1); ivory panel, British Museum (Dalton, *Cal. Early Christ. Antiquities*, pl. VI); mosaic, S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (Garrucci, *Storia*, IV, pl. 252, 1); ampulla, treasury of Monza Cathedral (Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 434, 6); ampulla from Egypt, British Museum (Dalton, *Byz. Art and Archaeology*, fig. 399). A brief discussion of the iconography of the scene will be found in the present writer's *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, pp. 54 ff., and a longer one in the article by S. Muratori, *N. Bull. arch. crist.*, 1911, pp. 39 ff.

53. Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, pl. II. The Grimaldi drawing of the lost fresco of Old St. Peter's (891-896) which represented the Incredulity of Thomas is too uncertain to serve usefully as an iconographic parallel to our miniature (Wilpert, *Mosaiken und Malereien*, I, fig. 122). The type used on the silver *stauratheca* from the Sancta Sanctorum (817-824), now in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library (Lauer, *Mon. Piot*, XV, pl. IX), apparently separates the Incredulity from the *fores clausæ*. The Incredulity is of the type of S. Maria Antiqua, save that the disciples are grouped behind Thomas, instead of the Saviour.

54. Grüneisen, *Ste.-Marie-Antique*, fig. 118.

risers a gabled edifice that seems to signify the "closed doors." The scene here has not achieved even as much symmetry as was found in the mosaic of Ravenna or on the ampullæ of Monza and Bobbio, and another of the British Museum.

There is little to be gained, so far as determining the date of our miniature is concerned, from comparison of iconography, further than the obvious position of the type between the early representations and the developed and crystallized scene of St. Mark's. The figure style, however, betrays some marked peculiarities that indicate an early date. In the first place, the miniature is the work of a story-teller working still in the vein pursued by the painters of the Vienna Genesis and the Gospel Book of Rossano, and innocent as yet of the dogmatic interest which in Mid-Byzantine compositions will emphasize the figure of the Saviour, reduce the accessory figures to the rôle of a symbolic chorus, and eliminate all but a mere approximation of reality. But further than this we have in some of the facial types clear evidence of an early phase of the developing Byzantine style. The Christ Himself has not yet attained even the distinction of dignity and scale which is accorded Him in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Fig. 67), of the end of the ninth century. The head of the youthful disciple who looks toward the Saviour from the extreme right of the picture is too reminiscent of the types in the Rossanensis, or the Sinopensis (cf., e. g., the head of the last figure to the right in the Christ before Pilate of the Rossanensis, Fig. 68, or the head of the prophet David in Herod's Feast of the Sinopensis, Fig. 69), to permit one to classify the style of our miniatures in a period too remote from the sixth century. A more definite parallel for dating is afforded by the striking resemblance of the Peter of the miniature to the same apostle saved from the waves by Christ in a fresco of S. Saba at Rome, of Greek style, and dating in the beginning of the eighth century (Fig. 70).

4. *The Mission of the Apostles* (Fig. 71). The leaf is badly mutilated, with half the border gone and most of the inscription ἡ προ(σκήνησις), a title which came to the scene from a passage in the lesson from Matthew (xxviii, 17: καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν προσε-κύνησαν αὐτῷ) which is read on Thomas Sunday and is illustrated by the miniature. The end of the text appears above the miniature in our reproduction: (καὶ ἰδοὺ, ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμὶ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος ἀμήν).

The scene appears in connection with the same text, in Latin, in the mosaic which once was part of the decoration of the triclinium of Leo III in the old Lateran (c. 800; Fig. 72), and now is preserved in a niche opposite the palace.<sup>55</sup> Here the apostles are eleven, in strict adherence to the Matthew text; Peter carries a cross, and the Saviour stands on a mount from which flow the Four Rivers that symbolize the Gospels. These two features—the cross and the mount—relate the type of the mosaic immediately to that scene which is characteristic of the "city-gate" sarcophagi (see p. 23) such as one in the Louvre (Fig. 73). Here again Christ stands on the mount, which also is the source of the Four Rivers, but the apostles are twelve and headed in each group of six by Peter and Paul, whose heads have been badly restored, together with all of those in the forward row of figures. The little figures of the deceased for whose burial the sarcophagus was intended, kneel at the feet of the Saviour. It was very largely from the style and ornament of this and similar sarcophagi, with their unusual preservation of the peculiar atelier tricks of the Asiatic sarcophagi of

55. Garrucci, *Storia*, IV, pl. 183.



FIG. 71—Leningrad, State Library: Miniature of Gospel Lectionary  
*Mission of the Apostles*



FIG. 72—Rome, Triclinium of Leo III (formerly): Mosaic  
*Mission of the Apostles* (after Garrucci)



FIG. 73—Paris, Louvre: Sarcophagus Relief  
*Mission of the Apostles*

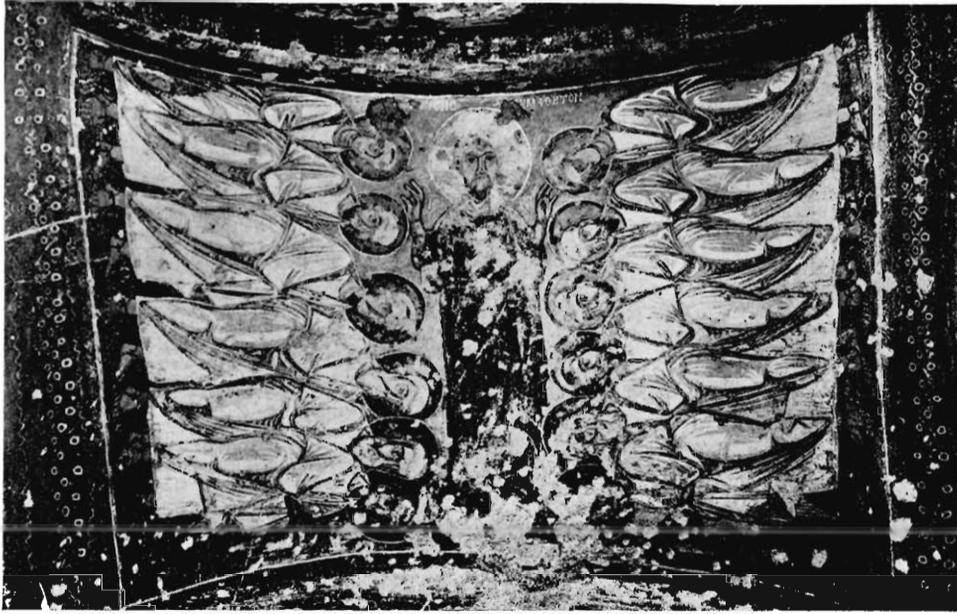


FIG. 74—*Qeledjlar, Church: Fresco. Mission of the Apostles (after Jerphanion)*



FIG. 75—*Leningrad, State Library: Miniature of Gospel Lectionary Holy Women at the Sepulcher*

the second and third centuries, that Miss Lawrence proved that the group was the product of Asiatic ateliers. It is interesting to find her view confirmed by the miniature in Leningrad, which shows that the type arose from the lesson for Thomas Sunday in the Asiatic church. Its primitive form appears in the sarcophagus type, and the original connection of this with the liturgical text is proved by the use of the text with the sarcophagus type in the mosaic of Leo III (at a time when Asiatic iconography was prevalent in Rome). The mount on which the Saviour stands was originally the "mountain" of Matthew xxviii, though quickly transformed in the symbolic art of the sarcophagi to the source of the Four Evangelical Rivers, and to the same symbolic prepossession may be ascribed the change from the "eleven" of Matthew to the full apostolic college that included Paul, who as Apostle of the Gentiles personified beyond all the rest the significance of the Mission.

The gesture of the Saviour is one of benediction, thus recalling the blessing of the apostles at Bethany of Luke xxiv, 50. Our scene, however, by virtue of the connection of it with Matthew xxviii, 16, the Mission of the Apostles, and its title of "The Obeisance" is borrowed from that text. In Cappadocia, on the other hand, at Qeledjlar, we find an almost identical composition inscribed "The Blessing of the Disciples," which led Jerphanion<sup>56</sup> to derive the type from the passage in Luke. The Cappadocian fresco (Fig. 74) resembles the miniature of Leningrad even to the pedestal which has replaced the mount under Christ's feet, and we may therefore see in its new title a later or local transformation in the conception of the scene's significance.

5. *The Miracle of Cana* (Fig. 76). In this miniature the border returns to its corner pieces and diversifies the teazle with crocketed bands representing the stem of an indeterminate plant or tree. The upper panel of the picture is labeled  $\delta$  γάμος, "The Wedding," while the label below shows the same uncertainty in Greek orthography which characterizes the inscriptions of the frescoes in Cappadocia:  $\delta$  χ(ριστὸ)ς ποιῶν τὰ (sic) ὑδὼρ οἶνον, "Christ turning the water into wine."

The primitive quality that lurks in the preceding three miniatures reaches here its most marked expression—in the pronounced narrative interest, in the diminutive and undistinguished Christ, in the small scale adopted generally in the figures, and in the strong resemblance of the heads to those of the Cappadocian<sup>57</sup> manuscripts of the Rossanensis group. The last-named parallel is best illustrated by some of the heads in the miniatures of the Sinope Matthew, but it may suffice to compare the flat cranium, side-long glance, and triangular effect of the head of the merchant holding a jar in the Cleansing of the Temple of the Rossanensis (Fig. 78), with the similar characteristics of the head of the servant who pours the water into one of the jars in our miniature.

The miniature follows the story with faithfulness. To the left of the upper panel the Virgin tells her Son of the lack of wine; He is seated in the place of honor at the end of the sigma couch on which recline or sit the wedding guests, while the groom and his bride, with a white-haired man, are seated at the upper end. The right end of the couch is occupied by the master of the feast, to whom a servant offers a cup of wine. The same

56. Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, p. 226, pl. 52, 2.

57. The term is used advisedly. The evidence for placing in Cappadocia the school which produced the

Vienna Genesis, and the codices of Rossano and Sinope, was summarized in the present writer's *Sources of Mediaeval Style*, in *Art Bull.*, VII, 1924, p. 37, note 2.

servant appears in the scene below, pouring water into one of the five jars (the text calls for six); in the middle of the group the master of the feast raises his hand in astonishment, and another figure beside him, in similar dress, gestures toward the servant. To the left is the Miracle-worker, dipping a wand into one of the jars before the gaze of His Mother.

According to the story in the second chapter of John, the master of the feast did not witness the miracle, but the same repetition of this figure as a spectator of the working of the wonder is found in the frescoes of the old church at Toqale in Cappadocia (Figs. 79 and 80), where the episode is depicted, as here, in two scenes. In the tunnel vault on the right side (Fig. 79) is seen the wedding feast (upper, right), with a rectangular table, to the left of which sits the Saviour, and behind the table are the bride and groom, accompanied as in our miniature by an aged personage, who, however, wears a halo on his head, and is labeled enigmatically "the deacon." The servant arrives with a cup of wine at the right. On the left side of the vault the story continues (Fig. 80) with the miracle proper; the Virgin is absent, but Christ again sticks his wand into one of the jars (six in this case), and the servant fills another with water. Between the two the master of the feast holds a cup in his hand.

The early types of the Miracle of Cana were classified by Baldwin Smith,<sup>58</sup> who showed that the primitive scene wherein Christ touched the jars with a wand was transformed in Alexandria by the addition of a servant pouring water into one of the jars, while in the Syriac Gospel of Rabula, and in a fresco at Antinoë in Egypt the servants are increased to two and the Virgin is introduced into the scene. The addition of the wedding feast was considered by him to be the peculiarly Byzantine feature of the type, and to indicate a later phase. It occurs, however, in the reliefs of the colonnettes of the ciborium of S. Marco and Choricus describes the wedding guests and the Virgin in his account of the scene as it appeared in the mosaics of the church of St. Sergius at Gaza in the sixth century. The archaic feature common to the tenth century fresco of Toqale and to our miniature seems to be the separation of the feast from the miracle and the consequent repetition of the figure of the Saviour. In Mid-Byzantine art the two scenes are commonly combined and the Christ appears but once, nor is the quaint archaism of the wonder-working wand retained. Nevertheless, we still find in a manuscript of a date no earlier than the twelfth century (Iwiron 5, Mt. Athos),<sup>59</sup> the archaism of whose types we shall have occasion to notice again, the repetition of the figure of Christ, seated at table with the nuptial pair and an aged man, as in our miniature and at Toqale, and standing with hand outstretched (minus the wand) before the six jars, with a servant pouring water, another bringing the aged man a cup, and a third figure, drinking from a cup, that seems to echo the master of the feast in the miracle scene of Toqale.

For the mosaic of Gaza we have only Choricus' description, and on the ciborium of St. Mark's we have a very loose rendering of the scene. It is likely, therefore, as the Athos manuscript represents the latest appearance of this distinctively Asiatic version of the Cana miracle, so our miniature is the earliest existing example of it in its characteristic layout and details. The miniature must represent an earlier phase in the history of the

58. *Early Christian Iconography*, 1918, pp. 85 ff.

59. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athosklöstern*, p. 219, note.

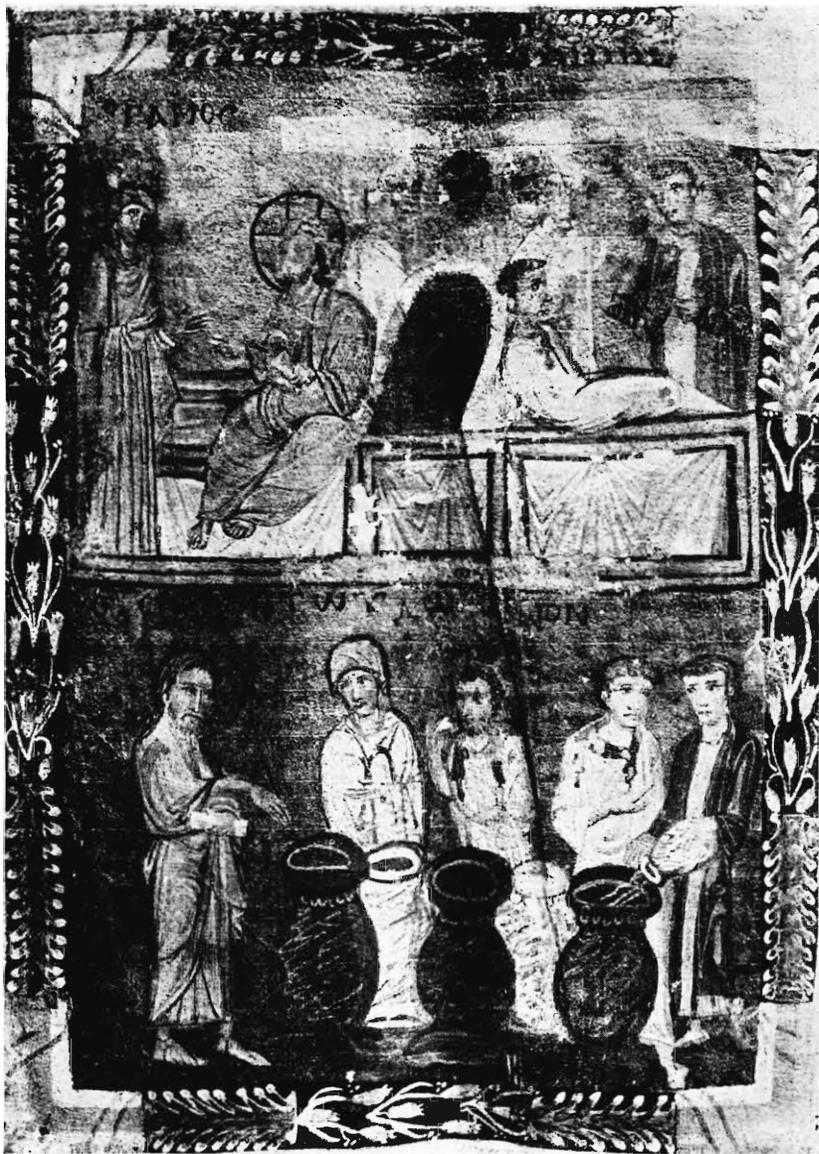


FIG. 76—Leningrad, State Library Miniature of Gospel Lectionary. Miracle of Cana



FIG. 77—Rome, Museo Cristiano: Painted Panel from the Sancla Sanctorum



FIG. 78—Rossano, Cathedral: Miniature of Gospel Book. *Cleansing of the Temple*



FIG. 79—Toqale, Old Church: Frescoes. *Scenes from the Life of Christ (after Jerphanion)*

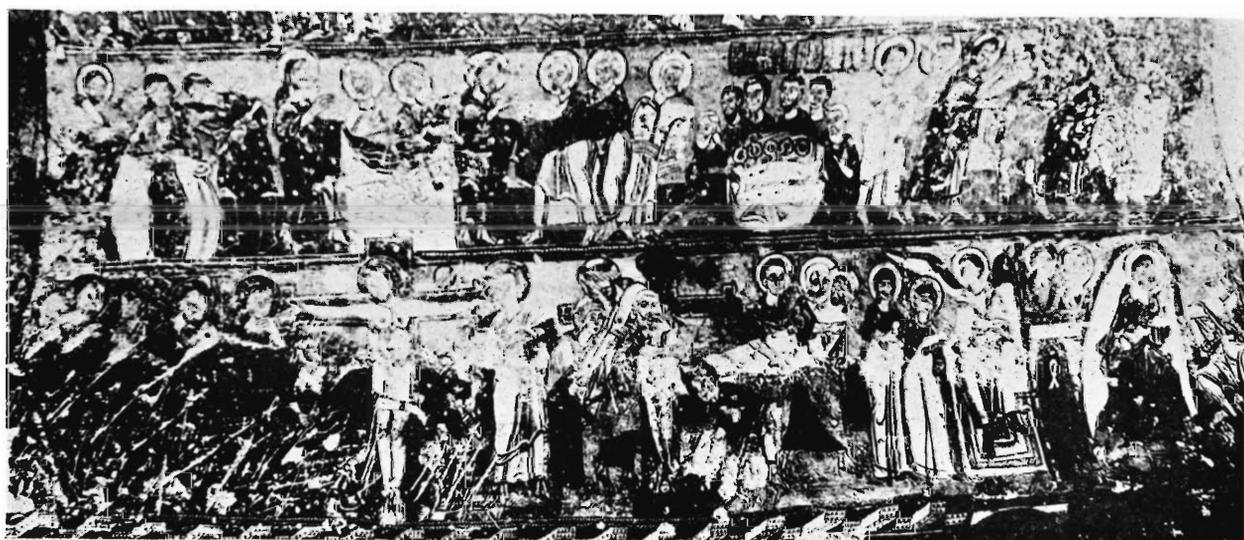


FIG. 80—Toqale, Old Church: Frescoes. *Scenes from the Life of Christ (after Jerphanion)*

type than the fresco of Toqale, for in the latter the compositions are condensed and the Hellenistic couch has yielded its semicircular form to the simpler square arrangement.

6. *The Holy Women at the Sepulcher* (Fig. 75). The teazle border here has the corner pieces which were also used in the miniature of the Miracle of Cana, and are familiar to us from their employment in the Paris Psalter (Fig. 27). The scene is taken from Matthew xxviii, and the two women are the Magdalen and "the other Mary," to whom the angel, seated on the stone that blocked the entrance to the sepulcher, points out its emptiness. Below are the badly damaged figures of two soldiers, whose gestures betray the fright described by Matthew.

The miniature was reproduced by Millet<sup>60</sup> as part of the illustration for the extraordinarily learned commentary which he devotes to the iconography of this scene. The particularly East Christian conception of the scene in its early phase is best illustrated by the little picture of it that occurs on the painted cover of a wooden reliquary from the Sancta Sanctorum, now in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library (Fig. 77), where the actual Holy Sepulcher as it existed in the sixth century is reproduced, with above it the dome of the Anastasis church which Constantine built to enshrine it.<sup>61</sup> A Western translation of this type is seen in one of the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna (Fig. 82), at least half a century earlier than the panel and showing its earlier date by the position of the angel on the left. Through the door of the tomb in the mosaic scene may be seen the displaced door of the sepulcher, and in Millet's opinion it is this same door which the artist of the Leningrad miniature meant to represent by the irregular quadrangle seen in perspective which leans against the stone "rolled back." The tomb itself is an affair of masonry construction, with a solid base in which the door appears, and a superstructure whose apparently conical roof indicates a rotunda; whether this rotunda was pierced with windows or was meant as a two-storied circular colonnade supporting the conical roof is difficult to decide from the defaced remains of this portion of our miniature. In any case, the conception of the sepulcher here is still the early one of the free-standing structure as at S. Apollinare Nuovo, in the Vatican panel from the Sancta Sanctorum, and even earlier works such as the ivory panel in the Trivulzio collection at Milan.<sup>62</sup> The sepulcher in frescoes of Toqale and Qeledjar also is a structural affair, in accordance with the characteristic archaism of Cappadocian art, but of a gabled type that is briefer and more conventional than the tomb of our miniature. In Mid-Byzantine art the sepulcher is freed from the influence of Constantine's *memoria* and becomes more literally the tomb "hewn out in the rock;" this feature is already present in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris gr. 510), of the end of the ninth century (Fig. 84). It is thus conceived in another miniature of the Leningrad manuscript itself (Fig. 100), wherein the "rock" is a mountainside rising on the right of the miniature, into which the portal of the tomb opens as a rectangular doorway closed by the great stone.

Our series of miniatures illustrate in this feature once again their intermediate position between the primitive and developed East Christian types. To the latter already belongs the placing of both women and angel to the left of the sepulcher, and the gesture of the

60. *Recherches*, fig. 570; pp. 517 ff.

61. Cf. Morey, *The Painted Panel from the Sancta Sanctorum*, *Festschrift Clemen*, pp. 150-167.

62. Garrucci, *Storia*, VI, pl. 449, 2; E. Baldwin Smith, *A Source of Mediaeval Style in France*, in *Art Studies*, 1924, pp. 90 ff.

angel, characteristic of the Mid-Byzantine scene, as his right arm crosses his body to point to the empty tomb. Another feature of the later angel already present here is the extended right wing in *contrapposto* to the vertical left. But the literal *gaucherie* of his perch upon the huge stone, and the narrative and dramatic interest that is seen in the Mary that shrinks in fright against her companion, belong still to a time when the Gospel themes had not yet lost their human interest in the dogmatic revision of East Christian art.

7. *Christ appearing to the Holy Women* (Fig. 83). The border here presents us with a *motif* not found in the frames of the miniatures of the Paris Psalter—a combination of differently colored facets that combine to give a kaleidoscopic or “rainbow” effect. It is characteristic of the earlier Asiatic repertory of ornament in illuminated manuscripts, appearing in the Dioscurides of Vienna (Fig. 37), in the border of the frontispiece to the canon tables in the Rossanensis,<sup>63</sup> in Vienna 847 (Greek Gospel of the sixth century),<sup>64</sup> in the Syriac Gospel of Rabula of 586.<sup>65</sup> It also appears as the filling of the corner pieces in borders of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris gr. 510; Fig. 89), at the end of the ninth century. But the *motif* is also found, though somewhat rarely, in later Byzantine manuscripts.<sup>66</sup>

The scene is drawn from Matthew xxviii, 9, a portion of which text appears above the miniature in our reproduction: “And as they went to tell the disciples, behold, Jesus met them, saying, All hail. And they came and held him by the feet, and worshipped him.” The Saviour’s “All hail” is recorded in the inscription — +XAIPETE. He stands with right hand blessing, and a roll in His left, between two trees on flowering (?) mounds (standing for the garden of the sepulcher, of John xix, 41), below which are the prostrate figures of the Magdalen and the Virgin. The latter embraces and kisses His foot.

Millet’s discussion of the scene<sup>67</sup> differentiates an earlier narrative type such as that found in the Gospel of Rabula (Fig. 81), wherein Christ approaches the women from the left, from the “monumental type” seen in our miniature, in which they are arranged symmetrically on either side of a statuesque Saviour. The “other Mary” was considered to be the Virgin, as we may see from the fact that in the panel from the Sancta Sanctorum (Fig. 77), she wears the same costume assumed by the Virgin in the Ascension. In the Rabula miniature also the more prostrate of the two women is indicated as the mother of Jesus by the nimbus which she wears, and according to Millet the evolution of the type carries with it the gradual differentiation of the Magdalen, in that she rises from a prostrate to the kneeling position in which we find her in the mosaic of St. Mark’s (Fig. 66). An identical composition, save for the inscription and the omission of the hillocks from which the trees rise, is to be found in the illustrated Gospel, no. 5, of the library of the Iwiron monastery on Mt. Athos,<sup>68</sup> and in one of the miniatures of the Freer Gospel.<sup>69</sup> Millet explains the resemblance of our scene to the Iwiron miniature by assuming a common model “*vers le VIIIe siècle*” for both, but we should have to include the Freer miniature among the copies from this model. The Freer miniature is of the latter half of the twelfth century;

63. Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano ed il frammento sinopense*, pl. IX.

64. Wickhöff, *Jahrbuch der k. k. Kunstsammlungen*, 1893, pp. 196 ff.

65. Garrucci, *Storia*, III, pls. 128, 2; 133, 2; 136, 1.

66. E. g., the Apollonius of Citium of the Laurentiana

at Florence and Hamilton 246 in Berlin (Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine*, pls. XXXVIII, 1, and XLIV).

67. *Recherches*, pp. 540 ff.

68. C. R. Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, fig. 28.

69. *Ibid.*, pl. IX.



FIG. 81—Florence, *Bibl. Laurentiana*: *Detail of Miniature of the Gospel of Rabula. Resurrection Scenes*



FIG. 82—Ravenna, *S. Apollinare Nuovo*: *Mosaic Holy Women at the Sepulcher*



FIG. 83—Leningrad, *State Library*: *Miniature of Gospel Lectionary Christ Appearing to the Holy Women*



FIG. 84—Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*: *Miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus. Scenes of the Passion and Resurrection* (after Oumont)



FIG. 85—Leningrad, *State Library*: *Miniature of Gospel Lectionary Pentecost*

Brockhaus<sup>70</sup> dated Iwiron 5 in the same period, although it is possibly even later. Whatever the relation of the three manuscripts to a common archetype, the much earlier date of the Leningrad example is shown by the more circumstantial rendering of the hillocks and trees, the squat proportions of the Christ, and the early character of the inscription, which, in contrast to the hieratic IC XC of Iwiron 5 and the mosaic of St. Mark's, is borrowed directly from the text after the manner of the labels in the Rossanensis. It provides us undoubtedly with the earliest existing example of this Byzantine type. The XAIPETE of the Leningrad miniature is repeated in the less accurate XAIPE of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris gr. 510; Fig. 84); if Millet's criterion be valid, the scene of the Homilies represents a later phase in the development of the type, because of the half upright posture of the Magdalen. Certainly the more statuesque and elongated Christ of this miniature shows a later stage of style, as compared with ours.

8. *Pentecost* (Fig. 85). Within a border of parti-colored quatrefoils is depicted the Miracle of Tongues. The twelve apostles, with Paul and Peter in the center, are seated in a semicircle; upon their heads descend the twelve rays of the Spirit. The inscription, partly erased, merely labels the scene: Η ΗΕΝΤΗ(ΚΟΟ)ΤΗ. The rays radiate from an indeterminate source at the top of the miniature, and cross an architectural perspective consisting of a recessed wall, over each of whose projecting ends is draped a scarf. The dais on which the apostles sit curves around a semicircular central area into which steps descend; below to left and right are the peoples of "every nation under heaven," gathered in Jerusalem (Acts ii).

There is, so far as I know, only one extant example of the scene of Pentecost in Christian art of the early period, i. e., to 700 A. D. This is the miniature of the Gospel of Rabula in the Laurentiana at Florence of the year 586 (Fig. 86), in which the Virgin is present as the central figure and in accordance with Acts i, 14. The scene is fairly literal; the "cloven tongues as of fire" are on the heads of the apostles, and the Holy Ghost that is the source of the miracle is rendered by its primitive symbol of the dove. Our miniature shows the early type completely transformed: the "tribes and tongues" are present, the apostles are seated in a semicircle; the Virgin is gone; and rays instead of tongues of fire descend upon the heads of the twelve. On the other hand, it shows a remarkable resemblance to the Pentecost in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris gr. 510; Fig. 88) in arrangement of the groups and general scheme, but especially in the architectural perspective that forms the background to the assemblage of the apostles. The one feature that essentially separates the two Pentecosts is the cushioned *throne* on which lies the Book, surmounted by the dove, and which serves as the source of the rays streaming down on the heads of the apostles in the Paris miniature.

This is the first instance of a *motif* in the Pentecost composition which thereafter attained considerable vogue in Byzantine art. It is found, for instance, in the mosaic Pentecost at St. Luke's in Phocis of the first half of the eleventh century;<sup>71</sup> it formed part of the original composition (Pentecost) of the mosaic on the triumphal arch of the church at Grottaferrata, assigned by Baumstark<sup>72</sup> to the twelfth century; it appears in the Pentecost which is the

70. *Die Kunst in den Athosklöstern*, p. 217.

71. Schultz and Barnsley, *The Monastery of St. Luke of Stiris*, p. 59, fig. 40.

72. *Oriens Christianus*, IV, 1904, pp. 126 ff. Wilpert, *Mosaiken und Malereien*, II, p. 916, assigns the mosaics to the thirteenth century.

subject of one of the mosaic domes of the nave of St. Mark's; and it is found in a Gospel of 1221 in the Syrian monastery at Jerusalem.<sup>73</sup>

Wilpert<sup>74</sup> is inclined to assign the introduction of the throne into the Pentecost as evidence of the influence of Rome on East Christian art. The throne as the symbol of the Christ-Judge, especially with reference to the Second Coming, is in fact a well-known symbol in Italian mosaics of the early period.<sup>75</sup> Its significance is contained in the name commonly given the symbol, the Etimasia, or "Preparation," which rests on the throne prepared in heaven, of Rev. iv, 2, and passages in the Psalms such as ix, 7, "he hath prepared his throne for judgment," and lxxxix, 14, "Justice and judgment are the habitation of thy throne," wherein the English version has mishandled the *ἐτοιμασία* ("preparation") of the Greek. It required no great stretch of symbolic propriety to introduce the throne, thus conceived as the Christ, into the composition of the Pentecost, but it must be admitted that the symbolic complex thus resulting is not an obvious one. It may therefore be suggested that the composition was derived from an artistic model rather than made up as a somewhat arbitrary symbolic synthesis, and this is borne out by the similarity of its arrangement to that of the representation of the second œcumenical council at Constantinople in 381 (Paris gr. 510; Fig. 89).<sup>76</sup> Hence no symbolism is necessary to explain the throne, since an unoccupied throne with the Book upon it was a regular feature of such councils, indicating that the presidency thereof resided in Christ Himself. The more casual arrangement of the groups, and the architectural perspective, indicate that the composition originated as a more or less literal representation of a great council of the Church, and was adapted in the new type of the Pentecost.

The omission of the throne and dove in our miniature is doubtless due to the artist's disinclination to interrupt his border, and with the throne restored, the resemblance to the miniature of Gregory's Homilies becomes so close that it is impossible to deny a common archetype. The similar composition at Qeledjar (Fig. 87) might suggest the mosaic of an apse or dome as the model. However this may be, the original must have dated later than the sixth century, if we may trust the Rabula miniature (Fig. 86) as reflecting the usage of its time, and before the Homilies of Gregory, which were illustrated in the end of the ninth century. The style of our miniature, compared with that of the last-named work, seems more primitive, and one feels a certain affinity between the figures of the groups of "tribes and tongues"—especially the bearded man who heads the group to the right—and certain silhouettes of the Ascension miniature in the Gospel of Rabula itself.

73. *Zeitschrift des Palästina-Vereins*, XXXIV, 1911; pp. 144 ff.; pl. IV.

74. *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 914 ff.

75. Triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, III, pls. 70-72); S. Matrona at S. Prisco (*ibid.*, pl. 77).

76. The council is described by Omont, *Facsimilés des miniatures des mss. grecs de la Bibl. Nat.*, pl. L, p. 28, as that of 362 "against Macedonius." The figure crouching in the left-hand corner is indeed thus labeled, but the inscription above the throne refers to the council as the "second," which would naturally mean the second œcumenical council of 381. This is borne out by

the fact that the events referred to in the sermon illustrated by the miniature are those which led to the condemnation of Gregory's opponent, Maximus, in the conflict over the episcopal tenure of Constantinople. At the council at which this occurred the emperor Theodosius presided, as he is represented doing in the miniature, and Apollinaris was also condemned. According to Banduri, *Imperium orientale*, Paris, 1711, II, p. 936, the figure of Apollinaris appeared in the lower right-hand corner of the miniature, which is now missing. The discrepancy seems resolvable only on the assumption that the author of the labels of the miniature mistakenly inscribed the crouching figure "Macedonius" instead of "Maximus."



FIG. 86—*Florence, Bibl. Laurentiana: Miniature of the Gospel of Rabula. Pentecost*



FIG. 87—*Qeledjlar, Church: Fresco. Pentecost (after Jerphanion)*

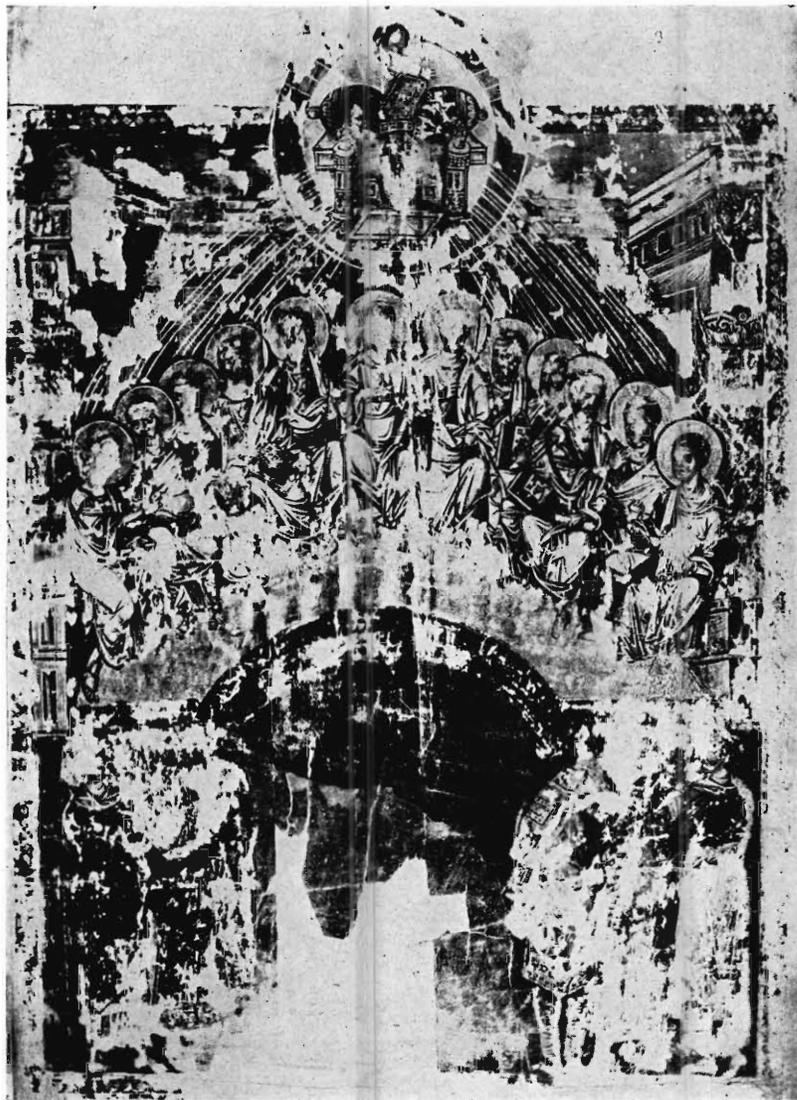


FIG. 88

*Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus. Pentecost;*

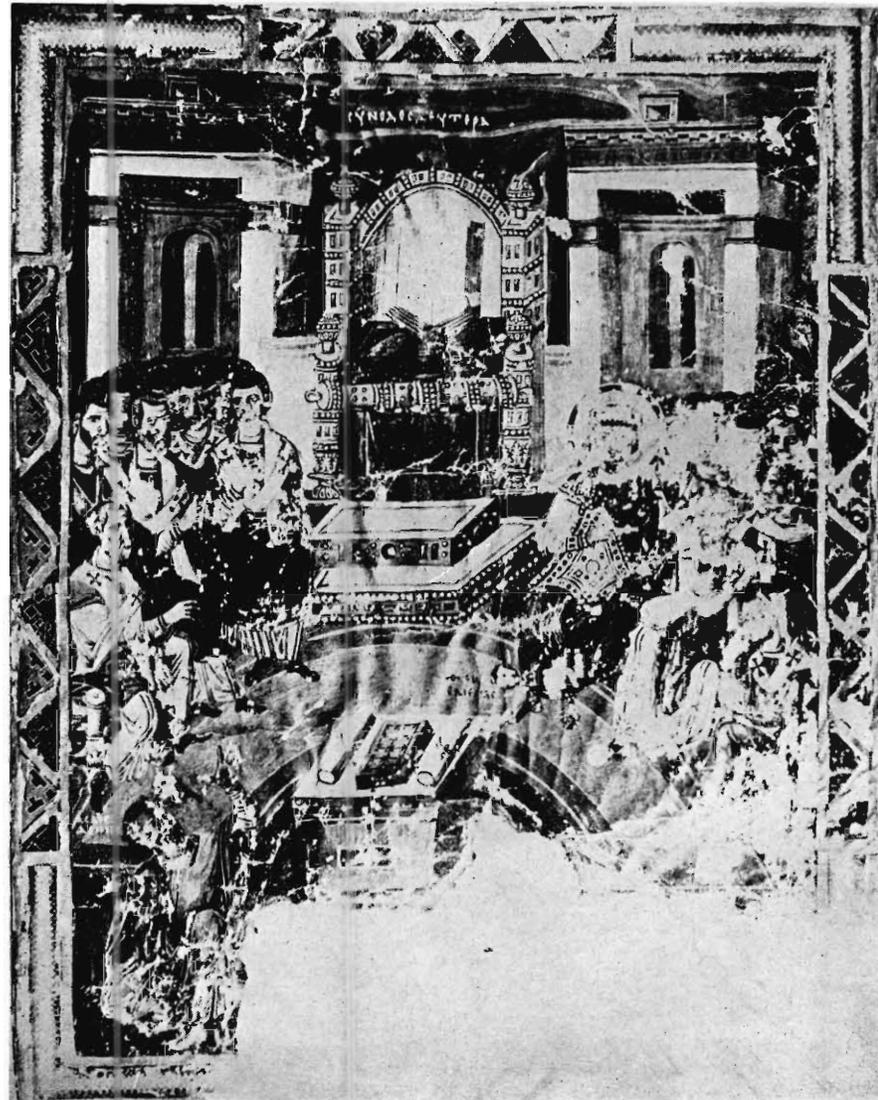


FIG. 89

*Council of Constantinople in 381 (after Omont)*



FIG. 90  
*Leningrad, State Library: Miniatures of Gospel Lectionary. Portrait of Matthew; Portrait of Mark*



FIG. 91



FIG. 92—Mt. Athos, Monastic Library: Miniature of Stavroniketa 43. St. Mark (after Friend)



FIG. 93—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniature of Greek Gospel Sermon on the Second Coming (after Omond)

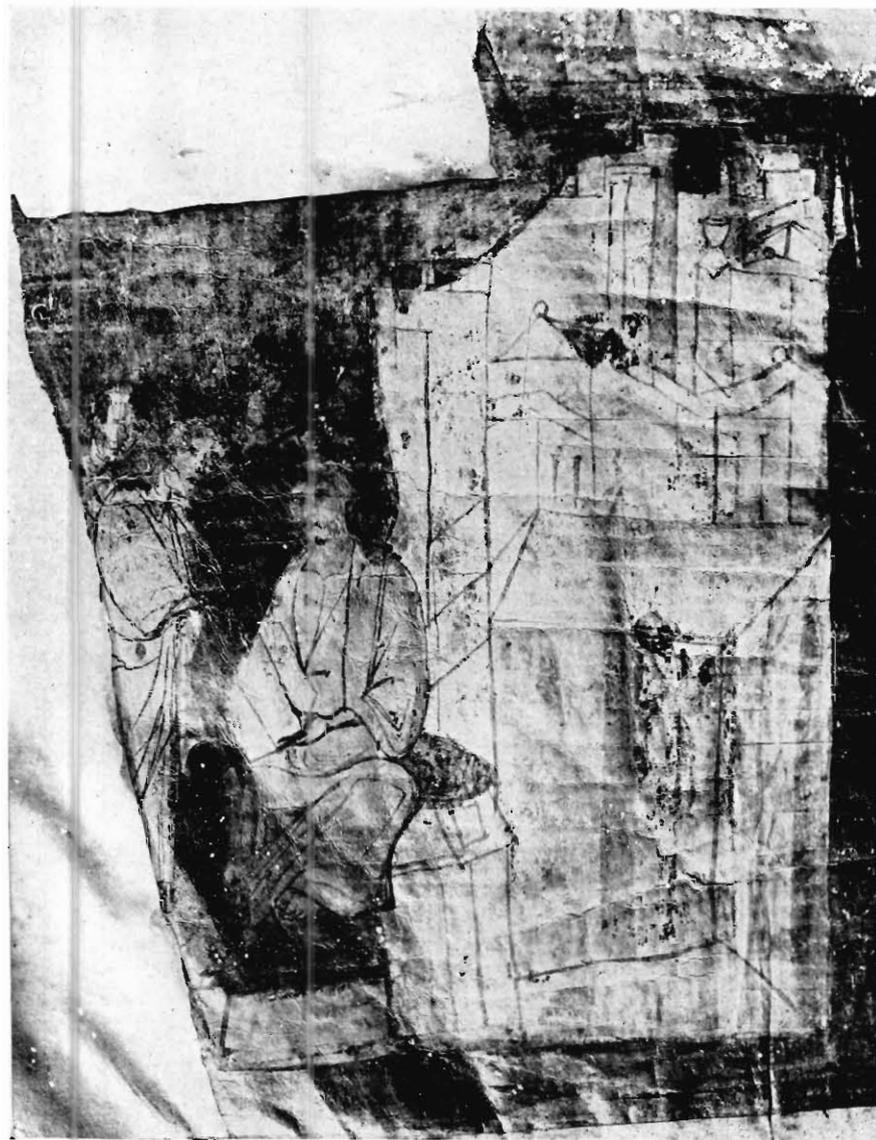


FIG. 94—Leningrad, State Library: Miniature of Gospel Lectionary Christ and Disciples

9. *Portrait of Matthew* (Fig. 90). The border—corner pieces, garland filling, ribbons, and all—is very close indeed to that which surrounds the miniature of the Anointing of David in the Paris Psalter (Fig. 27). The misunderstood and incomplete architecture of the background (based on an archetype like that of Stavroniketa 43), and the manner in which the table and lectern violate all laws of the existence of matter in space, show that the miniaturist has made a bad copy. The text above the miniature is the termination of the last lesson for Pentecost, Matthew xviii, 20, "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." This confirms our restoration of the order of the miniatures (see p. 32). The inscription reads: ὁ ἅγιος Ματθαῖος; the script on the open book which the evangelist holds is merely impressionistic, and meaningless.

10. *Portrait of Mark* (Fig. 91). A similar border incloses a rendering of Mark, that is evidently derived from the same original that served as model for the Mark of Stavroniketa 43 (Fig. 92). The inscription differs: ὁ ἅγιος Μάρκος, and the perspective background has been quite too much for our miniaturist, who has found himself unable to complete the exedra whose beginning he shows behind the evangelist. He has made a contribution of his own in the crenellations with which he has adorned his buildings in the background. Such crenellations are among the favorite *motifs* of the Syriac Gospel of Rabula and common on the walls that serve as backgrounds for many of the miniatures of the Menologium of Basil II; they belong to the common stock of Asiatic ornament.

11. *Christ and Disciples* (Fig. 94). Before a walled city which must represent Jerusalem, on a cushioned bench with a broad foot-stool, sits the Saviour, holding in His hands a book or an open roll, and addressing two figures who stand before Him in attitudes of close attention. The mutilation of the miniature leaves open the possibility that there may have been other figures in the group of listeners; their simple garb, and the resemblance of the beardless head to that of the disciple next to Christ in the Last Supper (Fig. 95) indicate that they are disciples.

The scene is, so far as I know, unique in Early Christian art, or in the earlier phases of the Byzantine cycle. We are to seek for its theme without question among the readings of the liturgy, since we are dealing with a lectionary and not a complete text. In view of the predilection for Matthew which our series of miniatures has already shown, it is to be expected that the subject is drawn from that Gospel. These two conditions are best satisfied by considering the miniature an illustration of one of the Matthew lessons for Monday of Holy Week. The Matins for this day in the present liturgy contain a lesson from Matthew xxi, 18-43, and the evening liturgy one from Matthew xxiv, 3-15. The first contains the episode of the barren fig tree, the colloquy of Jesus with the chief priests and elders, and the parable of the husbandmen; the second is Jesus' discourse on the Second Coming. It seems that the miniature illustrates the second of these, and that the location of the Mount of Olives is suggested by the proximity of the city. The moment illustrated would be: "As he sat upon the Mount of Olives, the disciples came to him privately, saying, Tell us, when shall these things be?" The lesson ends with "whoso readeth, let him understand," which seems to be illustrated by the apparent displaying of the open codex or roll in the hands of the Teacher. The scene in Paris gr. 74, of the eleventh century

(Fig. 93), which illustrates this passage of Matthew, retains the seated Christ, and indicates by a gabled portal the vicinity of the Mount of Olives to the City, which is more amply rendered in our miniature.

12. *The Last Supper* (Fig. 95). Within a border of the same "rainbow" motif met with in miniature 7, the Supper is depicted in surprisingly archaic fashion. The table in the center is of the "sigma" shape, and confused as to its forward draperies and its contour with the couch that surrounds it. On this couch the Saviour occupies the antique place of honor at the left, gestures with the right hand, and holds in the left a round piece of bread. Five more loaves or portions thereof lie upon the table to the left. Eleven disciples, beginning with Peter, who reclines in the post second in honor at the other end of the couch, are grouped about the table, the ones to the right extending their hands toward Christ as if to receive the newly consecrated element. On the table is a bowl, containing a fish which seems, in the painter's effort at clarity, to lie along its rim. The interior in which the Supper proceeds is indicated by four pillars bearing an entablature of the simplest sort, and since the Lord "sat down with the twelve," "when the even was come" (Matt. xxvi, 20), two candelabra bearing boat-shaped lamps at their summits flank the group. In front of the table, separated from his fellows, sits the guilty Judas, his left hand to his lips in the antique gesture of mental distress, his right extended with the fingers bent in the Hellenistic gesture of speech. The text visible below the miniature in our reproduction is, in the left column, the end of the first lesson (from Matthew) for the liturgy of Great Thursday (Holy Week): ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης etc., "Now when the even was come;" in the right column is part of the beginning of the second lesson (John xiii, 3-17): (εἰδὼς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι πάντα δέδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ πατήρ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθε καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὑπάγει) etc., "Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he was come from God, and went to God," etc. This lesson is that which describes the Washing of Feet, represented by the miniature following.

Millet's thoroughgoing discussion of the iconography of the Supper<sup>77</sup> distinguishes the "Byzantine" type from the "Oriental" according to the gesture of Judas; if the latter dips his hand in the dish, the type is Byzantine; if his hand is merely raised in the gesture of speaking, the type is Oriental. Millet found our miniature not quite consistent with the "Oriental" type, in that Judas' left hand "*semble porter un morceau à sa bouche, tandis que la droite hésite à en saisir un autre.*" Our reproduction, however, shows that the "morceau" is merely the bent fingers of the hand, and since the right hand has its index finger extended with the others bent inward, in the traditional gesture of speaking, there is no reason for dissociating the miniature from the "Oriental" class.

The most conspicuous examples of Millet's "Oriental" type are, however, to be found in Cappadocia, in the archaic cycles of Qeledjlar and Toqale,<sup>78</sup> the former of which is reproduced in our Fig. 97 and the latter in Fig. 79. The frescoed scenes are remarkably similar to our miniature in the placing and gesture of Judas; in the fresco of Toqale the feature of a torch, like the lamp-stands of our miniature, is introduced, and the fresco of Qeledjlar accords with the Leningrad example in omitting the haloes of the disciples. The bowl with the fish is also found in them. The difference between our miniature and the

77. *Recherches*, pp. 286 ff.

78. Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres*, p. 220, pl. 49, 2; p. 280, pl. 65.

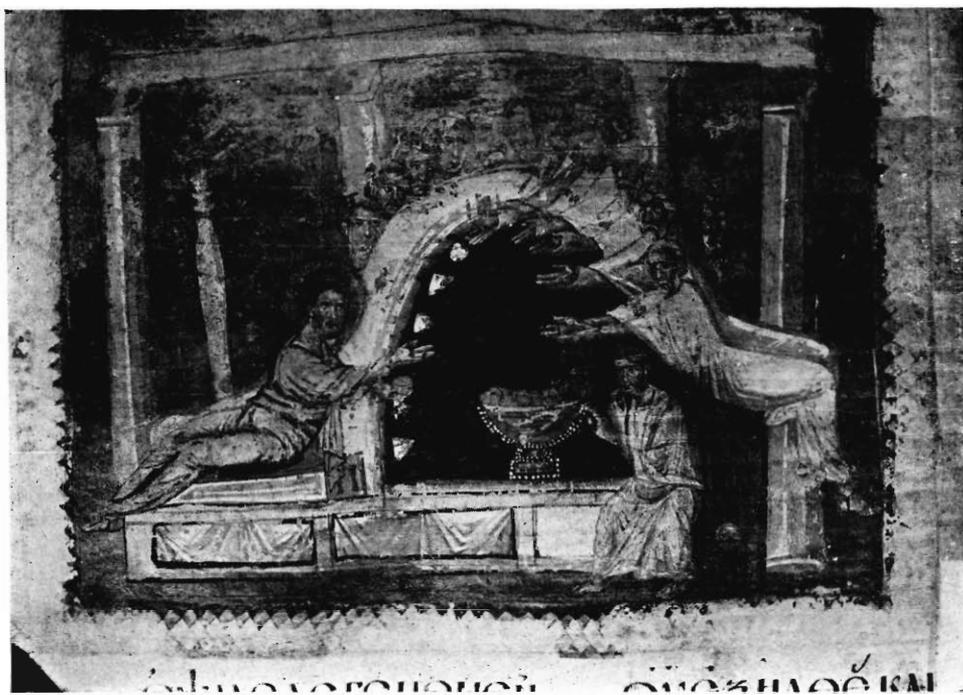


FIG. 95



FIG. 96

*Leningrad, State Library: Miniatures of Gospel Lectionary  
Last Supper; Washing of Feet*



FIG. 97—Qeledjar, Church: *Fresco. Last Supper*  
(after Jerphanion)



FIG. 98—Arles, Museum: *Detail of Sarcophagus Relief. Washing of Feet*



FIG. 99—Rossano, Cathedral: *Miniature of Gospel Book. Last Supper; Washing of Feet* (after Muñoz)

Cappadocian frescoes lies in the nearly complete abandonment, on the part of the latter, of the antique reclining attitude, which is preserved implicitly and explicitly in the Leningrad picture in every figure except that of Judas.

This feature makes our miniature resemble the early renderings of the scene, such as that of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, where Judas reclines *in sinistro cornu*, at the end of the file of disciples, or, even more closely, the miniature of the Gospel Book of Rossano (Fig. 99), where the traitor is the middle figure in the semicircle, reaching out his hand to dip it in the dish.

Judas' gesture classifies the Codex Rossanensis in the Byzantine tradition, according to Millet's criterion, and yet if the Cappadocian frescoes reflect the "Oriental" conception of the scene, so must also the Rossanensis, whose Cappadocian connections are many. The truth seems to be that the Rossanensis represents a general Asiatic type of the sixth century, which later on became divided into a "Byzantine" or Constantinopolitan variant that retained the composition of the Rossanensis, and an Anatolian type which is represented by our miniature and the Cappadocian frescoes.

Since the latter obviously reflect a later phase in the evolution of this type, they indicate an early date for our miniature. The approximation of the seated attitude is also found in the fresco of S. Bastianello in Pallara at Rome,<sup>79</sup> which in other respects (lamp, bowl with fish, seating of Judas) is so close to the Leningrad scene. These frescoes, dated by Dobbert in the eighth century, are considered by Millet anterior to the end of the tenth century. An even closer analogy is found in the miniature that illustrates the Supper in the Chludov Psalter of the ninth century; a lamp like those in the Leningrad miniature illuminates the room; the placing of Judas is the same; we see the same bowl and fish upon the semicircular table. Yet even here the antique reclining posture is nearly abandoned, and another later feature is introduced by the insertion of John next to the Saviour, "lying on Jesus' breast."

We have thus again in this miniature an indication of the position of our manuscript midway between the Early Christian art of the East and the Middle Byzantine—between, that is, the sixth and the eleventh century. But in this case the iconographic type seems earlier even than that of the Chludov Psalter of the ninth century, and certainly represents a phase far earlier than that employed at Toqale in the tenth. The style amply bears out the early date: the archaic *motif* of the border, the naïve literalness of the rendering, and especially the preservation of the antique proportions of couch and table, with the oblong paneling of the drapery which is found in the Rossanensis, make it difficult to conceive the miniature as executed in the post-Iconoclastic period.

13. *The Washing of Feet* (Fig. 96). The border here returns to the corner pieces, to which are added similar center pieces on each side, interrupting the stylized garland that constitutes the filling *motif*. The same interior is indicated as for the preceding miniature and indeed this one is but a continuation of the illustration of the Gospel lesson for Great Thursday of Holy Week, of which a portion from John xiii, 11, may be read in the text of the right column in our reproduction: οὐχι πάντες καθαροί ἐστε, "Ye are not all clean."

79. Destroyed, but preserved in copies in Vat. ms. lat. 9071. De Rossi, *Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1884, p. 142, Dobbert,

*Rep. f. Kunstwissenschaft*, XIV, 1891, p. 201; Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 291, fig. 276.

The resemblance of our manuscript to the Codex Rossanensis (Fig. 99), noted above in the case of the Last Supper, is even more marked in this case. The large towel wrapped about the lower body of Christ, the energetic manner in which the Saviour prepares to perform the service, Peter's realistic protest, the similar *clavi* on the white garments, the very grouping of the disciples, are details common to both miniatures. In fact, the Leningrad composition serves to confirm Muñoz's opinion<sup>80</sup> that the group in the Rossanensis must have been copied from an original in which the composition was laterally extended; the process of compressing the picture into a narrower space has pushed the disciples too far to the left, and the gaze of some, originally directed toward Christ, has now no objective at all. One can imagine the original from which the Rossanensis group was condensed by comparing with it the miniature of Leningrad.

Millet<sup>81</sup> classifies our miniature in the "Cappadocian" type of the Washing of Feet, differing from the Middle Byzantine, which added the *motif* of others of the disciples baring their feet, and preferred to represent Christ wiping, instead of washing, the feet of Peter. Our miniature also lacks a *motif* persistent in the later type—Peter's gesture of hand to head in illustration of his words, "Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head." This already appears in the Chludov Psalter (ninth century) and is a feature of the scene at Qeledjar.<sup>82</sup> The quality of the miniature emerges in the narrative realism of the actual operation; there is here nothing of that reserve with which the Saviour, towel over shoulder, stands but does not stoop before Peter on the columnar sarcophagi (Fig. 98). The latter, as we have noted before (p. 36), reflect, according to Miss Lawrence, the Asiatic subject cycle of the fourth century; if we compare the sculptured scene with its transformation in the Gospel Books of Rossano and Leningrad, we may gauge the extent to which the Oriental love of a story expanded the symbolic brevity of the Hellenistic molds in which themes were initially cast in the Christian East.

The striking resemblance to the composition in the Rossanensis is in itself sufficient to guarantee the relatively early date of our miniature, but it exhibits another feature which would make a late date difficult to sustain. This is the use of letters for the ornament of the mantles of the disciples. Strzygowski<sup>83</sup> once said that these do not appear later than 800, a dictum which is not strictly true, for there are isolated instances of the usage even as late as the twelfth century.<sup>84</sup> But the practice is generally abandoned after the early ninth century, for the good reason that it was merely the perpetuation (through copying of early works) of a mode of decorating actual garments which died out in late antiquity.

14. *Entombment. The Two Marias Watching at the Sepulcher.* (Fig. 100). The border is the same as in the preceding miniature. We have the illustration of the eleventh and tenth lessons for Good Friday, from John xix, 38-42, and Mark xv, 43-47, respectively. From John comes the mention of Nicodemus along with Joseph of Arimathaea as the two who took the body of Jesus, "and wound it in linen clothes with the spices. . . ." A nearly obliterated tree represents the garden, the entrance to which is summarily rendered

80. *Il codice porporeo di Rossano*, etc., p. 26.

81. *Recherches*, pp. 310 ff.

82. Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres*, etc., pl. 50, 2.

83. *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, I, p. 63.

84. E. g. at Rome: arch mosaic of S. Clemente, c. 1125; a lost mosaic of S. Francesca Romana (middle of twelfth century); S. Maria in Trastevere, arch mosaic, 1140-48. But these are all very probably imitative of earlier compositions.



FIG. 100

*Leningrad, State Library: Miniatures of Gospel Lectionary. Entombment; Maries at the Sepulcher; Baptism of Christ*



FIG. 101



FIG. 102—Qeledjlar, Church: Fresco. Baptism of Christ  
(after Jerphanion)



FIG. 103—Leningrad, State Library: Fragment of Miniature of  
Gospel Lectionary. Transfiguration



FIG. 104—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniature of the Homilies of  
Gregory Nazianzenus. Transfiguration (after Omont)

by the portal to the left: "and in the garden a new sepulcher, wherein was never man yet laid." The lesson from Mark tells us that "Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Jesus beheld where he was laid," but the miniaturist undoubtedly had also in mind the striking picture given in Matthew xxvii, 61: "And there was Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, sitting over against the sepulcher." As was pointed out before with reference to the miniature of the Holy Women at the Sepulcher (Fig. 75), the artist of the Leningrad manuscript hovered between the earlier tradition of the free-standing masonry tomb and the later literal adherence to the text, since in the former miniature the sepulcher is a construction while here it is an excavation in the side of a mound or hill, with its entrance closed by the same huge rectangular stone on which the angel sits in the scene of Easter Morn.

Millet's careful analysis of the iconography of this scene<sup>85</sup> is explicit as to the early character of its type as here depicted. Paris gr. 115, an illustrated Greek Gospel of the tenth century, contains the two pictures of the Entombment and the Maries "over against the sepulcher," but on separate pages. The Chludov Psalter of the ninth century uses both scenes, but in illustration of different Psalms; it is followed by a slightly later Psalter of the same family in the Pantokrator monastery of Mt. Athos (no. 61). But already in the ninth century appears the sequence which later prevails in East Christian art (Fig. 84), in a miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris gr. 510), where the Entombment follows the Crucifixion, with the same title, ὁ ἐν(ταφιασμός), as here. The same combination is found in the frescoes of Toqale of the tenth century. The seated Maries watching the sepulcher are no longer to be found after the tenth century, save in a miniature of a Greek illustrated Gospel in Berlin (no. 66), of the twelfth or thirteenth century, which in this and in others of its illustrations is following, according to Millet, a very early prototype. This miniature, then, like its predecessor, is still within the primitive cycle of East Christian iconography, before the transformation of its narrative prolixity into a series of fewer and more significant types.

15. *The Baptism* (Fig. 101), ἡ βάπτισις (*sic*, with the change of ι to η that savors, like the τῶ of the Cana Miracle, of provincial carelessness such as the curious misspellings of the inscriptions that label the Cappadocian frescoes). The artist, for his border *motif*, has conventionalized his teazle plant into alternating pods and pairs of trifid flowers. From a semicircle that stands for Heaven, the Hand of God speeds the dove in a shaft of light toward the nimbed head of Jesus. The Precursor looks up at the Hand, gestures with his left hand, and with his right baptizes the head of the Christ. Three angels to the right hold each a napkin on outstretched arms. The text above is part of the last lesson for the Baptism (Epiphany in the Eastern Church), from Matthew iii, 13-17: (Ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἄφες ἄρτι οὕτω γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶν (ἡμῶν πληρῶσαι πάσαν δικαιο)σύνην. Τότε ἀφίησιν αὐτόν. "And Jesus answering said unto him, Suffer it to be so now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffered him."

We are fortunate again in having Millet to act as our guide in the discussion of this scene; his long chapter on the Baptism<sup>86</sup> brings out clearly the classification of our miniature

85. *Recherches*, pp. 461 ff.

86. *Ibid.*, pp. 170 ff.

as first cousin to the Baptisms of the Cappadocian frescoes (Fig. 102). The essential feature is the lack of landscape and perspective, the river being conveniently piled up as a sort of mound to the height of the Saviour's shoulders; Christ turns toward John, not having as yet assumed the frontal pose of Mid-Byzantine examples that vitiates the narrative verity of the composition, while increasing its dignity and spiritual significance. A detail common to certain of the Cappadocian frescoes<sup>87</sup> and to our miniature, though it seems to have escaped Millet's attention, is the river god representing Jordan (and nearly effaced), who crouches in the left corner of the triangle of the river, resting on his left elbow and holding a trumpet to his lips with his right. Jerphanion believes the trumpeting Jordan to be motivated by Psalms lxxvi, 18, (lxxvii, 17, in the English version), where the Septuagint text mentions the *πληθος ἤχους ὑδάτων*, "the multitude of sound of the waters." He is very probably right in this, since this Psalm is one of the readings of the "Imperial Hours" on the eve of the Epiphany in the Greek Church. The presence of the personification is suggested in any case by the frequent allusions in the liturgy to the "rolling back," and other marks of respect on the part of Jordan at the time of the Baptism, as well as the poetic elaborations of the "troubling of Jordan" which are found among the Greek Fathers<sup>88</sup> and religious poets.

Three angels used to be regarded, in accordance with a criterion long ago set up by Strzygowski,<sup>89</sup> as an indication of date in the twelfth century or later, but Millet<sup>90</sup> has disposed of this. The Early Christian prototype of the scene as here portrayed is visible in the Baptism of the painted panel from the Santa Sanctorum (Fig. 77), to which our miniature, reflecting a later development, has added an angel and the river god, suppressing the two disciples of John. It has as usual increased the dramatic reality of the story by substituting for the Hellenistic *contrapposto* of the panel, whereby John holds his mantle with his left hand, the frank extension of both hands outward. The gesture of Christ in the panel, with both hands concealing His sex, is modified to a more dignified extending of the right hand toward John, after the manner of the fresco of Qeledjar.

The close resemblance of our miniature to the Cappadocian Baptisms was remarked by Millet, and there can be little doubt that it represents a Cappadocian later version of the early Asiatic type of the Vatican panel, which is also in essentials the same that is found on the leaden oil flasks of Monza, manufactured in Palestine in the later sixth or early seventh century, for the pilgrim trade.<sup>91</sup> The earlier date of the type, with reference to its congeners in Cappadocia, is however indicated by the stronger narrative interest which superposes the angels without reference to decorative effect, and accentuates the eagerness of John in his climbing feet and bowed back, as in the Baptisms of the sixth or seventh century on the Vatican panel and the Monza phials.

87. Jerphanion's type 2 of the Baptism; see *Eglises rupestres*, I, 1, p. 81.

88. Jacoby, *Ein bisher unbeachteter apokrypher Bericht über die Taufe Jesu*, 1902, pp. 48 ff.; Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, p. 81, note 5; Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 203. Antoninus of Piacenza (sixth century), in his pilgrim's account of Palestine, asserts that at the beginning of the baptismal liturgy as performed by the clergy of Jerusalem in Jordan in his day,

the river *cum rugitu redit post se et stat aqua usquedum baptismus perficiatur* (Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, p. 82, note 5).

89. *Ikonographie der Taufe Christi*, p. 22.

90. *Recherches*, p. 178.

91. On the relation of the panel to the Monza flasks, and of both to the Early Christian art of Asia Minor, see the writer's *The Painted Panel from the Sancta Sanctorum*, in *Festschrift zum sechsigsten Geburtstag von Paul Clemen*, 1926, pp. 151 ff.; fig. 6.

16. *The Transfiguration* (Fig. 103). The border is of the same character as that of the preceding miniature. Of this miniature we have but the lower half, the upper group of Christ in the glory, flanked by Moses and Elias, being apparently cut off. From the glory descended three rays toward the three disciples, of which the ends may be seen crossing their bodies. We should expect, from the adherence to Matthew throughout our series wherever such was possible, to find here the account of the first evangelist followed rather than that of Luke, though both were read for the feast of the Transfiguration, Luke at Matins and Matthew in the Liturgy. And so in fact we find it, for the outstanding feature of Luke's account is the awakening of Peter, James, and John from slumber to be confronted with the dazzling vision, while according to Matthew, "they fell on their face and were sore afraid." In both accounts, Peter utters his strange proposal "to make three tabernacles." He, therefore, as the least overcome of the three, is the figure kneeling to the right; the head is gone but the posture shows that he was looking upward, addressing the Saviour. James is the disciple at the left, almost prostrate, with hands enveloped in his mantle. John, in the center, rests one hand upon the earth, sinking to the ground on one knee. All three reflect the stunning effect of the "voice out of the cloud," in Matthew.

The attitude of James is found in Cappadocian frescoes of the eleventh century,<sup>92</sup> but it is regarded by Millet as a variant of the "Byzantine" type of Transfiguration, whereas he classifies the miniature as a whole in the "Oriental" category. His distinctions in the discussion of the Transfiguration are not as clear-cut as in the case of other scenes, but one may accept the criterion for the "Byzantine" type—Peter speaking, James striving to rise, and John succumbing—as generally valid. It may be seen in the Transfiguration of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris gr. 510; fig. 104). The resemblance in attitude of at least two of the disciples places our miniature, according to Millet, in the "Oriental" group, but if his own criterion be accepted, the attitude of James betrays the influence of Constantinople as constituting the variant of the "Byzantine" type referred to above. The early quality of the miniature comes out in the beardless James and John; in the earliest Cappadocian example we have, a fresco of the old church of Toqale,<sup>93</sup> John at least is bearded. The two faces have the same early type, related to the heads of the Early Christian manuscripts of Asia Minor, that we noticed in the disciple who looks toward Christ from the right margin of the miniature of the Incredulity of Thomas (Fig. 65).

The conclusion of our examination of these sixteen miniatures brings up again, with I hope more ease of solution, the problem of when and where they were done. We have aso to settle, as a preliminary to the solving of the major problem, the question of the relation of the miniatures to an earlier manuscript from which they may have been copied. We have already seen that the portraits of John and Mark were undoubtedly drawn from the same source which inspired the John and Mark of Stavroniketa 43, and furnished the model also for the John of Coislin 195. It is clear also that our miniaturist was ill at ease in this imitation, handling the figures awkwardly, the accessories with a lack of skill that at times becomes distortion, and either suppressing the perspective architecture of his background, in the case of John, or making a sorry mess of it, in the case of Mark.

With the narrative miniatures, the case is quite different. Nowhere do we feel in the miniatures of the Gospel scenes that the artist is handling an unfamiliar tradition. His

92. Millet, *Recherches*, p. 223.

93. Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres*, pl. 67, 1.

drawing is far from supple, but his compositions are complete, well balanced, and free from *pentimenti*. If he copied the Gospel scenes, as well as the evangelists, from an earlier model, his copying in the former case was at least intelligent and familiar.

M. Millet, on the authority of Thibaut, proposes to see in these miniatures, as well as in the script, an imitation in the eleventh century of an eighth century model. If one chooses to discard the difficulties that always beset an hypothesis of an imitated script, this would afford an explanation of the archaic iconography of the miniatures. We have noted the multitude of indications of early iconography. The very Harrowing of Hell, the "developed type" of which caused M. Millet to relinquish a dating of the miniatures earlier than the eleventh century, contains the early features of the *rotulus* instead of the cross in the hand of Christ, and omits the Gates of Hell, which belong to the Mid-Byzantine type from the tenth century. The Miracle of Cana retains the primitive two episodes of the type which are also found in the archaic frescoes of Toqale, and shows an earlier period than these by retaining the Hellenistic round table in the wedding feast. The sepulcher before which the two Maries listen to the angel is still of the free-standing type in which the conical roof preserves the reminiscence of the Early Christian replicas of Constantine's memorial. In the Meeting of Christ with the Holy Women, the archaic feature of the greeting XAIPETE is still retained, as against the usual IC XC of the later type. The Last Supper so much resembles the early compositions in S. Apollinare Nuovo and the Rossanensis, in the antique couch and table and the conservation of the reclining posture, that it might be mistaken for a sixth century work, were it not for the detached position given to Judas, and the loaf with which Jesus stamps the significance of the Eucharist on a scene which in its early phase was only the prophecy of the Betrayal. The resemblance to the Rossanensis is even stronger in the Washing of Feet. In the union of Entombment and the Maries Watching the Sepulcher we have an early combination which is already discarded in favor of the regular juxtaposition of Descent from the Cross and Entombment in the ninth century miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris gr. 510).

It is possible that the character of such iconography might have been preserved by a copyist of the eleventh century employing a model of the eighth. It is by no means probable. Nowhere do we find the usual intermixture of old and new ideas that are wont to appear in such cases, as when the copyist of Iwiron 5, in his miniature of Christ Appearing to the Holy Women, retained the ancient composition but changed the inscription from the ancient XAIPETE of the Leningrad miniature to the more up-to-date IC XC. But when we are invited to accept, along with the improbability of an artistic imitation which managed so consistently to maintain the primitive aspect of the original, the hypothesis of a successful imitation of an eighth century script, one's belief is too severely taxed.

Lastly, the style of the miniatures destroys, for such an hypothesis, its last claim to credibility. We have noted the use of the "rainbow" *motif*, characteristic of early Asiatic illumination. The letters on the garments of the disciples in the Washing of Feet are extremely rare after the ninth century. The facial types of the Incredulity of Thomas are reminiscent of the Rossanensis and the fragment of Matthew from Sinope, and the head of Peter in this miniature finds its closest parallel in the head of the same apostle in the eighth century frescoes of S. Saba at Rome. The insignificant Christ of the Miracle of Cana, and His squat proportions in the Meeting with the Holy Women find again their

closest parallels in the frescoes of S. Saba, or in the Christ of the seventh century in the cupola of S. Sophia at Salonika. Certainly the artist of our miniatures has not yet arrived at the significant dignity which clothes the Saviour when He appears in the miniatures of Gregory's Homilies (Fig. 67). These miniatures show, in the reserve of their action, the dignity of postures and gestures, and the growing unreality of episode, that trend toward the hieratic which sets in after the close of the Iconoclastic Controversy and gradually eliminates the quaint realism of the earlier narrative style.

Our miniatures, on the other hand, are conceived throughout from the standpoint of the story-teller. The Miracle of Cana is the outstanding example of this; seldom has a story been told in Christian art with more naïve literalness. The Mary that shrinks against her companion as she hears the words of the angel at the sepulcher, the Jesus Who prepares, with such serious preoccupation in His task, to wash the disciples' feet, the Joseph and Nicodemus bearing away the body of the slain Lord, the Maries so intently watching the Tomb—these are figures that have not yet learned the impassive solemnity of officiants in a liturgy such as enact the scenes of developed Byzantine style. The spontaneity of both hands outstretched, so often found in our miniatures, is lost in the *contrapposto* of later works.

The figures in our miniatures share their realism with the actors in the dramas portrayed on the walls of the Cappadocian churches, though the poetic sensitiveness that transcends the halting technique of the Leningrad miniatures is hard to find in Cappadocia. Nevertheless, the bonds of union with the art of the underground churches are everywhere apparent; the Mission of the Apostles is all but reproduced in a ceiling at Qeledjar; Toqale furnishes the only parallel in Christian art for the Miracle of Cana; the Judas, the bowl with its fish, the omission of haloes on the heads of the disciples, are *motifs* common to the Last Suppers of Cappadocia, and to the Leningrad example; the Baptism, with its triangular river devoid of banks, and its trumpeting river god, finds its place also in the repertoire of the Cappadocian painters. The frescoes whose publication we owe to Jerphanion form the natural continuation, as the miniatures of the Rossanensis and Sinopensis reflect the early stage, of the art and school whose interesting intermediate phase has been preserved to us in Petropolitanus XXI.

We are left then with no alternative but to date the miniatures in or near the eighth century, where the manuscript would be placed on the face value of its text. We cannot, in the face of the abundant evidence of their connection with the Cappadocian frescoes, assign the miniatures to an atelier of the capital. We have to do rather with a provincial work, probably produced in Cappadocia itself, and reflecting the art of Constantinople in a style presumably of less brilliance and sophistication.

That the fountain from which our artist ultimately drew his inspiration was Constantinople is shown by his use of the borders that we have found to be characteristic of illumination of manuscripts in that center. He had access, in some way or other, to the portraits of the evangelists in an early Gospel Book that was also copied in this respect by the miniaturists of Stavroniketa 43 and Coislin 195, manuscripts whose style is by no means provincial. His Pentecost follows almost line for line the type that was used by the author of the corresponding miniature of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus that were illuminated in Constantinople at the end of the ninth century. We find, then, in Petropolitanus

XXI, new evidence for the dominant influence of Constantinople over the mental images and artistic concepts of the artists of Asia Minor in the period preceding the Iconoclastic Controversy, an influence which becomes attenuated and distorted as we pass further East until the Grecoid art of Cappadocia becomes the Orientalized style of Syria and Palestine.

Provincial product though it be, the Leningrad lectionary nevertheless thus allows us to estimate the native style of Constantinople, indirectly, and note its contrast to the Alexandrian manner that must have found its way into the ateliers of the capital with the dispersion of the schools evicted by the Arab conquest of Egypt. In place of the perspective background, we find a neutral one, with locality barely symbolized by such reductions of interiors as that which denotes the "upper room" in the Supper and the Washing of Feet, or by the pair of trees which stand for the garden of the sepulcher. The inability of our artist to open up his background is sufficiently shown by the havoc he wrought with such a perspective in his portraits of Matthew and Mark. The figures move in two-dimensional space, without the free torsion and *contrapposto* that gives so Hellenistic an air to the active men and women of the Joshua Roll and the Paris Psalter. The play of light and shade is far less vivid, the attitudes far more stiff, the spatial grouping of figures far less convincing, than in the works of Alexandrian style. In Petropolitanus XXI we see the progressive decay of the old Neo-Attic prepossession for limited space and self-contained, statuesque figures, quaintly and attractively modified by the Oriental love of a story. The undeniable charm of the miniatures arises from the poetic force which this poor technician was able to feel in the sacred theme. Given this sample of the Asiatic style in or near the eighth century, one may easily imagine the strong impression which the Alexandrian artists and works of art must have exerted upon the ateliers of Constantinople, and how their lithe and vigorous figures, moving in a real atmosphere of unlimited space, must have opened to the eyes of the artists of New Rome a vista of recovered Hellenism.

We have seen the result of this meeting of Alexandrian and Asiatic tradition in the miniatures of the Paris Psalter. The chief of the atelier in which they were produced handles the foreign style with an ease and familiarity that proves it native to him. His assistants, B and E, make a valiant effort to imitate him, while D is content with translating the Alexandrian models into Asiatic phrases, producing an effect not at all unlike that of the Leningrad miniatures themselves.

In such an atelier we see the first mingling of the two styles. A subsequent phase in the art of Constantinople should show a greater degree of domestication of the new manner, and such indeed we find in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Paris gr. 510), illustrated in the reign of Basil I, between 880 and 886. We have already noted (pp. 20, 22) the close resemblance of certain miniatures in this manuscript to the types of the Paris Psalter. Moses receiving the Law (Fig. 43) replaces the group of Israelites who have been obviously moved from their original situation in the Psalter, but the picture otherwise corresponds sufficiently to the Psalter's type (Fig. 23) to warrant at least the supposition that it was adapted from the original of the Psalter miniature. The Penitence of David (Fig. 46) enables us to restore the missing figures of Bathsheba and Nathan in the composition from which the same scene in the Psalter (Fig. 36) was copied. The Crossing of the Red Sea (Fig. 47) repeats so much of the Paris miniature (Fig. 25) that it is not difficult to suppose that the artist of the Homilies took his scene from the Psalter miniature or its archetype, adapting it to Asiatic usage, as we have seen, by introducing the dancing Miriam. The



FIG. 105



FIG. 106

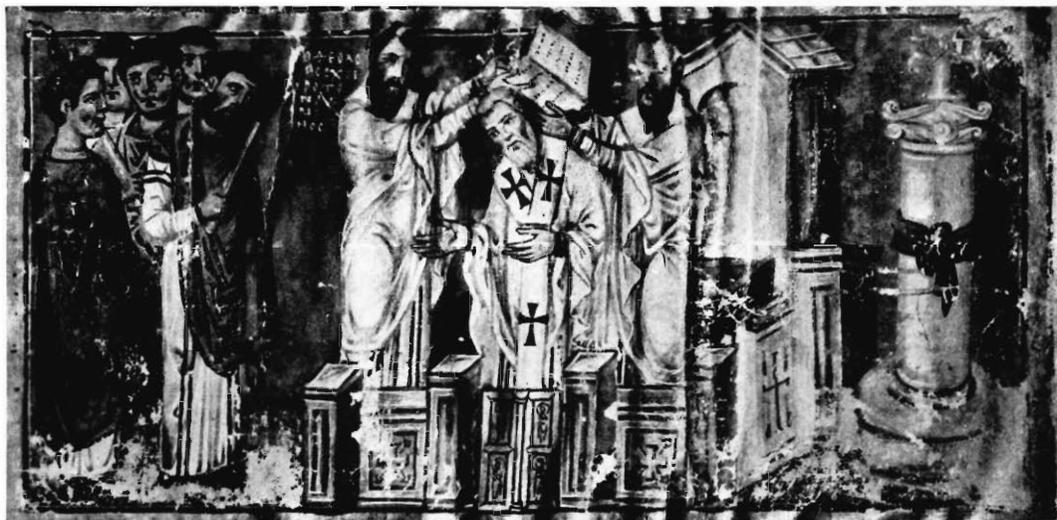


FIG. 107

*Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Details of Miniatures of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus  
Anointing of David; Adoration of the Magi; Ordination of St. Gregory (after Omont)*



FIG. 108



FIG. 109



FIG. 110



FIG. 111

*Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Miniatures of the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus. Vision of Ezekiel; Story of Jonah  
 Sts. Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzenus, and the Affliction of Job;  
 Scenes from the Life of Christ (after Omont)*

Anointing of David (Fig. 105) shows a significant relation to the Psalter's rendering of the same subject (Fig. 27) by repeating in reduced scale the curious structure that occupies the background of the Paris miniature to the left; the Constantinopolitan artist has brought it down stage, as he did the background architecture in the Penitence of David (Fig. 46), being averse or not equal to the problem of a spatial background. He has adapted the Psalter's composition in the same sense, stringing out the group to right and left in accordance with his native two-dimensional prepossessions. The Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 106) is almost a replica (reversed) of the Epiphany of S. Maria Antiqua (Fig. 57), that gave us unmistakable evidence of Alexandrian style, through the profile of one of the Magi that so closely repeats that of Hezekiah (Fig. 26). The Story of Jonah (Fig. 109) is fuller than the sequence in the Psalter (Fig. 30), and is of different arrangement, but the similarity is close enough to make one suspect a common archetype, from which the artist of Paris 510 has preserved the Alexandrian triangular sail and long proboscis of the sea monster (see p. 15), which painter D of the Psalter transformed into the canine snout traditional in Asiatic usage. The Joshua Roll itself may have been laid under contribution by the painters of the Homilies; one of its miniatures (fol. 226v.) combines the Joshua prostrate at the feet of the angel with the dramatic figure of the hero staying the sun and moon, with a fidelity to details of both scenes that makes an imitation more than possible. In other cases, when the parallels in the Psalter or the Rotulus fail us, we can see the imitation of Alexandrian models in spirited architectural perspectives, as in the story of St. Cyprian (fol. 332v.), or in the miniature of the Vision of Ezekiel (Fig. 108), wherein the angel's head repeats the beautiful formula of the personifications of the Psalter (cf. the Night in Isaiah's Prayer, Fig. 24), and the mountainous landscape, together with the vivid play of light and shade in the draperies, might be worthy of the hand of the head master of the Psalter's atelier.

But the miniaturists of the Homilies were no Alexandrians. They, like the one who copied the Psalter miniatures for the Bible of Leo, were painters of Constantinople, industriously ransacking the libraries of the city for their models, and finding in the Psalter miniatures and in the Joshua Roll (both of which must have been in Constantinople when the Homilies were illustrated), or perhaps in the original of the Psalter, which we have seen must also have been there, a rich and convenient mine of *motifs* and types the vigorous Hellenism of which stirred their admiration.

In one of the miniatures (Fig. 110), the familiar background of late Asiatic sarcophagi<sup>94</sup> greets us with its alternation of gable and arch and rosettes in the spandrels; in the picture below, against a bit of perspective landscape that smacks of Alexandrian models, Job's wife holds out on a stick the consolation of a potsherd with which her afflicted husband may scratch his sores; this is the type which in sarcophagus sculpture is found almost exclusively on those of columnar type or their imitations, i. e., in that category which Miss Lawrence has shown to be subject to Asiatic notions of style and iconography. The miniature of the Pentecost (Fig. 88) we have already found to be a replica of the one in our Leningrad lectionary, and a type of distinctly Asiatic affinities. The rare scene of

94. Cf. the writer's *The Sarcophagus of Claudia*

*Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi, Sardis, V,* Princeton, 1924.

the Mission of the Apostles, an Asiatic notion from its beginning (cf. pp. 36ff.), and for which we found a close parallel for the Leningrad example only among the frescoes of Cappadocia, appears again in one of the miniatures of the Homilies (fol. 426v.). The Crucifixion (Fig. 84) classifies at once with that in the Gospel of Rabula (Fig. 81), which the present writer has elsewhere shown to be a Syrian copy after some Anatolian original in the style of the Codex Rossanensis.<sup>95</sup> The scenes that accompany it, the Entombment, Christ and the Holy Women, find their echo in the Anatolian miniatures of Petropolitanus XXI. For our best comparisons with the Healing of the Blind Man and of the Paralytic on fol. 316, we must have recourse to a miniature of the Codex Rossanensis and the Asiatic frescoes of S. Saba in Rome. The Rossanensis again furnishes the prototypes of which the artist of the Homilies gives us condensed versions in the Raising of Lazarus and the Entry into Jerusalem (Fig. 111).<sup>96</sup> Millet has shown that in the Transfiguration of the Homilies (Fig. 104), we have a thoroughly Byzantine type.<sup>97</sup> The iconography, in fact, of the manuscript of the Homilies is dominantly Asiatic; the significant fact, however, is that these Asiatic miniatures that we have cited are not usually the ones which show the Alexandrian style. The latter seem, therefore, to have entered the manuscript by way of imitation of Alexandrian originals from which both style and iconography were borrowed together.

The Asiatic scenes, on the other hand, betray a manner near in character to the miniatures of Petropolitanus XXI. They even show at times the same reminiscences of the early Cappadocian manuscripts (Rossanensis, Sinopensis,) that we have traced in the Leningrad miniatures (cf. pp. 36, 37, 45, 46, 49, 51). The type of Christ is still below the stature of Mid-Byzantine portrayals of the Saviour; He still wears the nimbus with the broad but severely simple cross, not spreading at the ends of the arms as in Asiatic nimbi of the sixth century, not as yet narrowed or adorned with jewels as was common in the Middle Byzantine period, but plain, wide, and with parallel lines as in the frescoes of S. Saba and in the miniatures of Leningrad (Fig. 111; cf. Fig. 70). We find here the same heavy outlining of the drapery, the same restraint of movement, the same lack of background, the same statu- esque poses that descend in direct line from ancient Neo-Attic formulas<sup>98</sup> which became familiar phenomena in our perusal of the miniatures of the Leningrad lectionary (Fig. 67). But here the later date is betrayed by the greater dignity accorded the Christ, in the hieratic solemnity that begins to sober the piquant story-telling of the older Asiatic style. The Saviour dominates the scene, and is no longer portrayed in the humble attitudes in which we found Him in the Leningrad Miracle of Cana, or the Washing of Feet. The symbolic unreality of Mid-Byzantine style is already announced in the Homilies of Gregory.

The foreign stylistic invasion had thus reached its second stage in the ninth century. When the Paris Psalter was illustrated, its Alexandrian master could find at Constantinople few helpers who could compass the Hellenistic freedom of his native style, witness the bungling efforts of his assistant C and the frank Asianism of D, who painted the Story of Jonah and Hannah's Prayer. But the miniatures of the Paris Psalter were executed in Constantinople as we have seen, and from an Alexandrian original that must have been

95. *Festschrift Paul Clemen*, p. 164.

96. Cf. Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano*, etc., pls. I, II.

97. Millet, *Recherches*, p. 222.

98. Cf. the writer's *The Sources of Mediaeval Style*, in *Art Bull.*, VII, 1924-25, pp. 36 ff.

there also. These could not have been the sole illustrated manuscripts of their kind that the Arab conquest of Alexandria caused to find refuge, or to be produced, in Constantinople. Among such treasures thus added to the imperial and monastic libraries of the capital, miniaturists such as those who illustrated the Homilies of Gregory found a happy hunting ground. Unlike their predecessors, who found the new style difficult in the Psalter, they show more power to assimilate it and produce a not too halting imitation of the brisk impressionism which forms so strange a contrast, in the seventh and eighth centuries, to the two-dimensional limitations of the native manner. Nevertheless, the two styles remain distinct; any eye that peruses the miniatures of Paris 510 can distinguish the flat and narrative composition in the Asiatic manner from the more unified and centralized Alexandrian theme that groups itself about an axis in depth. These are the "two manners" of the Homilies of Gregory that have become a commonplace in handbooks of art history.<sup>99</sup>

The tenth century saw the coalescence of the "two manners." In the Menologion of Basil the Second, illuminated by eight artists of Constantinople a century later than the Homilies, there is no very obvious demarcation between what is inherited from Asiatic tradition and what Alexandria has contributed to the enlivenment thereof. A singularly significant *motif* may be selected to show the continuity of this latter contribution. The reader will remember, in the picturesque rendition which the third painter of the Vienna Genesis gave to the story of Joseph's journey to his brethren (Fig. 12), the colonnette adorned with a knotted scarf that is so reminiscent of Pompeian landscapes. We met with it again, functioning as a fountain in the Paris Psalter (Fig. 19), as one of the properties with which the head master of the atelier furnished his Alexandrian landscape. It was noted in this or some similar manuscript by an artist of the Homilies of Gregory, and inserted by him for picturesque effect in the otherwise conventional episode of the ordination of St. Gregory (Fig. 107). Finally it turns up again, displaced from its traditional position in a landscape, and adorning the background walls of some of the miniatures of the Menologion of Basil II (Fig. 112).

So much for the tenacity of the Hellenistic landscape. It has left its traces in the miniatures of the Menologion in many other features, less obvious than the example we have chosen, but perhaps more essential to the tradition. In the story of St. Ariadne (Fig. 113), the saint flees from the pursuing executioner into one of those defiles that divide the mountains in the Odyssey landscapes and are frequent in Pompeian backgrounds. It is the same device that is used by the draughtsman of the Joshua Roll to produce the army of the Israelites when their presence is called for upon his landscape stage. Joachim and Anna meet and embrace (Fig. 114) before a garden wall with trees emerging behind it that was a feature of the background of the evangelists in the manuscript imitated by the painter of Stavroniketa 43 (Fig. 62) and the painter of the Leningrad lectionary. It is an old Pompeian *motif*, and as such to be expected in the miniatures of the Paris Psalter, where in fact we find it in Hezekiah's Prayer and the Anointing of David (Figs. 26 and 27). Retracing our steps along the path of Alexandrian tradition, we find the picturesque combination of wall and foliage once more in the miniature of the Vienna Genesis that depicts the feast of Pharaoh.<sup>100</sup>

99. Cf., for instance, Herbert's analysis of the style of the miniatures of this manuscript in his *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 1911, pp. 41 ff.

100. F. Wickhoff, *Wiener Genesis*, pl. XXXIV.

The iconographic types of the Alexandrian tradition make their appearance occasionally in the Menologion, but never in the pure form in which they were borrowed by the artists of the Homilies of Gregory. Here they are rather combined with the Asiatic forms, as in the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 115), where Joseph, constant attendant of the Virgin in the Alexandrian Epiphanies,<sup>101</sup> is omitted, but the angel that introduced the hurrying Magi to the Virgin at S. Maria Antiqua and in the Homilies of Gregory (Figs. 57, 106), is still present in characteristic pose. The Asiatic tradition betrays itself in the rocky cavern which the artist has placed behind the Virgin, in reminiscence of a feature that distinguishes the Asiatic Nativity (Fig. 77). In the Jonah story (Fig. 33) we have a reduction of the miniature of the Paris Psalter (Fig. 30), which we found already tinged with Asiatic influence. But here the process has gone further in the introduction of the prophet, fully clothed, asleep beneath the gourd vine, as he was depicted in one of the miniatures of the Syriac Gospel Book of Rabula (Fig. 32).

Occasionally one finds in the Menologion what might be a direct imitation of the Alexandrian models. Compare, for instance, the rendering of St. Matrona (Fig. 116) with the praying Hannah of the Psalter (Fig. 29); the combination of city and mountain in the background might well be suggested by the earlier miniature, as well as the attitude of the saint herself. Joshua, on p. 4 of the Menologion, meets the angel and falls at his feet before the walls of Jericho in the same composition (though reversed) which we find in the Joshua Roll. There are many miniatures, however, wherein old Asiatic *motifs* are preserved: the sarcophagi which occur so frequently as the last resting places of the martyrs in the long and (it must be confessed) tedious series of executions that mostly illustrate the Menologion, are here and there depicted as of the Asiatic columnar or arcaded type. The old *motif* of gable-and-arch which was the favorite background for the figures on the pagan Asiatic sarcophagi, and which we found preserved in the Homilies of Gregory (Fig. 110), is frequently employed to frame the standing figures of saints in the Menologion. The most surprising instance of the conservation of early Asiatic tradition is the repetition (Fig. 117) in so many details (attitude of John, two angels, the two disciples) of the Palestinian Baptism on the panel from the Sancta Sanctorum (Fig. 77). To this the artist has added the cross remarked by the pilgrims of the sixth century, which denoted the spot of the Baptism. He has added, however, more than this; the disciples of John are now full figures with Hellenistic counterpoise of movement and Hellenistic faces; Christ has abandoned the prudish Oriental gesture and adopted the attitude of a Hellenistic dynast; the river has acquired a level surface instead of the quaint triangle of the early type; the angels move with some degree of grace toward their task of attendance; and back of the scene appear the characteristic mountains of the Alexandrian landscape.

It is in such more subtle fashion that the new element in Byzantine art shows itself in the Menologion. One cannot divide the miniatures, as in the Homilies, into two categories of Asiatic and Alexandrian. The style of the series is in fact remarkably homogeneous, in view of the employment of no less than eight painters. It is rather in the new vigor of movement in bodies that nevertheless seek the Hellenistic formula of self-balance by *contrapposto*, in a search for physical as well as ascetic beauty, in a shift from the left-to-

101. E. Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography*, p. 48.



FIG. 112

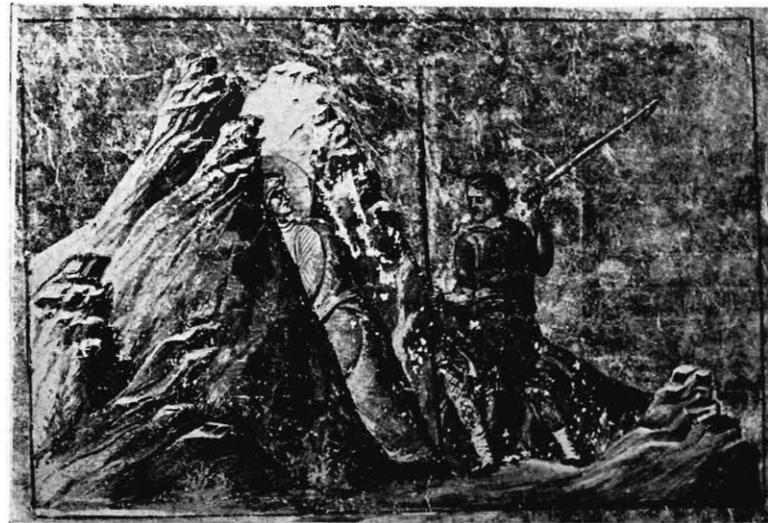


FIG. 113



FIG. 114



FIG. 115

Rome, Vatican Library: Miniatures of the Menologion of Basil II. Martyrdom of St. Thomas; Execution of St. Ariadne  
Meeting of Joachim and Anna; Adoration of the Magi (after Vatican Facsimile)





FIG. 116—Rome, *Vatican Library*: *Miniature of the Menologion of Basil II. St. Matrona*  
(after *Vatican Facsimile*)



FIG. 117—Rome, *Vatican Library*: *Miniature of the Menologion of Basil II. Baptism of Christ*  
(after *Vatican Facsimile*)



FIG. 118—Rome, *Vatican Library*: *Miniature of the Menologion of Basil II. St. Euphrasia*  
(after *Vatican Facsimile*)



FIG. 119—Munich, *Alte Pinakothek*: *Visitation, by the Master of the Lyversberg Passion*

right narrative composition to one arranged on an axis of depth, in an attempt to free the drapery and to give solidity to bodily forms, that the silent teaching of the Alexandrian miniatures in the libraries of Constantinople has left its mark on this style.

The trade-mark, however, of the new factor is always, in the last analysis, the landscape background. It is handled by our octette of artists conventionally enough. They ring the changes on the garden wall, the two mountain peaks that leave a valley between, against which to relieve a figure, or a conical single mount which again serves as background for a figure or a group. Most of all they love, with characteristic Asiatic preference for limited space, the wall or arcade that stretches across the picture, which can be varied by the different treatment of the structures at each end, or even combined with the monotonous mountain. Throughout the long series, one sees the *disiecta membra* of Hellenistic landscape pieced together in various combinations and patterns, but never really arriving at the illusion of unlimited space that one realizes in the best miniatures of the Paris Psalter. The epitome of the conception of landscape in the minds of these painters of c. 1000 is the miniature of St. Euphrasia (Fig. 118), wherein we see the formula of the double mountain, the semi-distant architecture to the left, and to the right a comical commentary on the mechanical construction of the Menologion landscapes in the shape of the isolated column, distant echo of the romantic vistas of Pompeii, that balances insecurely on a mountain peak!

This in itself, without the countless indications afforded elsewhere by the miniatures of the Menologion, should prove that the landscape which these artists used formed no part of their native tradition. Its very absorption into their style has deprived it of verity and added it as one more item to their list of conventions. In even the more convincing landscapes of the series, where mountains, architecture, trees, and colonnades or walls combine into an ensemble of quasi-picturesque effect, there is yet the constant factor that belies any suggestion of space throughout the miniatures, viz., the gold that fills the unoccupied area. This, or some other neutral filling, was from the very beginning of Asiatic style, the native mode of shutting off the space behind the figures, and its unnatural combination with the remnants of perspective landscape illustrates in a perfect manner the collision of the two traditions. It is in every way like the result in German painting of the fifteenth century, when the miniaturist tradition of the school of Cologne was interrupted by the infiltration of Netherlandish landscape; the painters imitated with success the settings of Dirk Bouts or Memling, but filled their skies with gold, as did the painters of the Menologion, in obedience to ancestral practice (Fig. 119).

The two factors that thus appear in the Menologion in preliminary coalescence were finally welded into a consistent style in the eleventh century. It was done mainly at the expense of the Alexandrian landscape, as one may see in the mosaics of St. Mark's by noting to what proportions the "two-mountain" formula has shrunk in its employment to represent the garden of the Holy Sepulcher (Fig. 66). In the figures, however, we may see the influence of the Alexandrian factor in the lither, slenderer proportions, with heads that express an ascetic content in features that are nevertheless more Hellenistic than before. Antique formulæ of drapery such as the flying mantle fold have entered in, to become a permanent part of the Byzantine vocabulary. A semblance of Hellenistic *contrapposto* enables the long, loose-jointed mannikins to approximate self-balance after the manner of

Greek statuary; the formulæ of Hellenistic modeling provide a factitious solidity. The foreign factor has been potent above all in the change of composition from the narrative movement from left to right to a static arrangement around a central axis. But in the background of every composition appears the gold or neutral tone that holds the Byzantine style true in the main to its Attic aversion to unlimited space, and confines the ghostly existence of the actors in its sacred themes to a world of two dimensions.

It was inevitable that the Alexandrian element, as something foreign and borrowed, should never affect anything but the outer aspect of the style. One passes inevitably also from this conclusion to a more critical attitude toward the current conception of the Byzantine "renaissance." The creation of Kondakov, this concept rested, as did his *Histoire de l'art byzantin*, mainly upon the manuscripts. Indeed, if one seeks examples of this revival of antique art that is supposed to have revolutionized East Christian style in the ninth and tenth centuries, it is only to find them very rare in monumental works, somewhat more frequent in ivories, but the bulk of them in the miniatures. One may even go further and discover that the nucleus of examples on which the concept is based consists, in the last analysis, of the groups of manuscripts and ivories that cluster about the miniatures of the Paris Psalter and of the Joshua Roll. Indeed, if these outstanding putative products of the "renaissance" be removed from the tenth century to the pre-Iconoclastic period, as we have seen good reason for doing, the Macedonian "renaissance" loses a considerable part of its material basis.

We have seen that the miniatures of the Bible of Leo were copied from the miniatures of the Paris Psalter in the early tenth century, and that four of its subjects were copied again in the Vatican Psalter of the twelfth or thirteenth century. We have good evidence also that the miniatures of the Paris Psalter, or the illustrations of the rotulus from which its miniatures were copied, were among the models gleaned from the libraries of Constantinople by the industrious painters who made up the illustration of the Homilies of Gregory in the ninth century. We thus have instances extending over four centuries of this sort of imitation of Alexandrian prototypes. The "renaissance" seems therefore to be not of a particular period, but only that vision of antiquity "through a glass darkly" which was vouchsafed the scribes and miniaturists working in the imperial and monastic libraries of the capital and reproducing as best they could the masterpieces of a freer and more Hellenistic style than their native tradition afforded. Thus would be explained the phenomenon of the "aristocratic" Psalters considered hitherto to be more or less original creations of the Byzantine art of the "renaissance," for the satisfaction of secular taste, and contrasting with the "monastic" Psalters which are the inheritors of the native Asiatic style.<sup>102</sup> We may admit the existence of a taste for such re-creations of antiquity, but the original genius that imagined these types of the Paris Psalter and the manuscripts with like adornment was lost with the extinction of the Alexandrian schools.

In the light of the above considerations, the Byzantine "renaissance" is little more than the stylistic imitation of works in Alexandrian style such as the miniatures of the Paris Psalter and of the Joshua Roll, existing in the libraries of Constantinople, and copied or imitated for generation after generation by the scribes and illuminators of the capital.

102. Cf. the writer's *The Sources of Mediaeval Style*, in *Art Bull.*, VII, 1924-25, p. 38, note 1.

It was an influence naturally confined for the most part to the decoration of manuscripts, but spreading also into the ivory carvings, just as some Carolingian ivories faithfully reflect, even to the point of actual copies, the style of the manuscripts of Reims. Indeed, an excellent parallel to the change in Byzantine miniatures which was produced by the importation and imitation of Alexandrian art and artists at Constantinople is to be found in the much more fundamental revolution in the traditional Celtic art of England that followed the reform of the Benedictine order from Continental sources in the tenth century, and the consequent importation of liturgical books from across the Channel, with their new and stimulating draughtsmanship in the style of Reims or St.-Denis. The copying and imitation of the illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter of the ninth century, in English works of the eleventh (Brit. Mus. Harl. 603), twelfth (Eadwine Psalter, Trinity College, Cambridge), and thirteenth (Tripartite Psalter in Bibl. Nat.) centuries, is a fair parallel to the copying or imitation of the Psalter miniatures of Paris or of their archetype in Constantinople, by the artists of the Homilies of Gregory in the ninth century, of the Leo Bible in the tenth, and of the Vatican Psalter in the twelfth or thirteenth.







