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STUDIES IN
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THE task of defining and characterizing Byzantine painting in the eleventh century immediately raises the question whether this century created a style sufficiently distinct from the preceding and following centuries to constitute a clearly discernible artistic identity of its own. We cannot assume, a priori, that history, for the convenience of the scholar, has done us the favor of changing style at the turn of each century. And even if one does notice changes at the beginning of a new century, are they more important and more decisive than those which occur naturally with each new generation within any given century? In order to answer this question, one has first to try to establish as precisely as possible a chronology of miniature and icon painting.

For each phase of the history of art, the analysis and reconstruction of the development of style has to be based on surely dated monuments, which may not always be works of art of the highest artistic merit but which offer incalculable service as focal points around which related works can be grouped. As for the eleventh century¹—and this would be equally true for some other centuries of the Middle Ages—the most suitable

material for such a study is miniature painting, since in this medium, because of its association with texts, a higher percentage of monuments are either firmly dated or datable on historical or paleographical grounds. The study of icon paintings, as far as the eleventh century is concerned, has only very recently come into focus, after a certain number of icons of high quality were discovered at Mount Sinai.² These, however, do not contribute to the solving of the problem of precise dating since not a single icon of this period has a sure date or can be dated by internal evidence. Their dating therefore is conversely dependent on miniature painting. Monumental painting poses a lesser problem than icons, since at least a few of the major mosaic cycles—Nicaea, now destroyed, the Nea Moni of Chios, and S. Sophia in Kiev—can be dated within a fixed period of either a few years or a quarter of the eleventh century. But mosaics are more sporadically preserved than manuscripts and do not give a complete picture of the stylistic development of this century. Thus it seems justifiable to concentrate on book illumination for the sake of establishing a chronology.

STYLISTIC CHANGE IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

Miniature painting of the tenth century has a definite focus in the Macedonian Renaissance, which had reached its zenith around the middle of that century under Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, the scholar and artist on the imperial throne. The Psalter (cod. gr. 139) in Paris, the

² G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai* (Athens, 1956–58).

Reprinted with permission from, *The Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 5–10 September, 1966*, J. M. Hussey, D. Obolensky, and S. Runciman (eds.) (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 207–24.

¹ The most comprehensive treatment of the history of Byzantine painting which does justice to all its branches is found in V. N. Lazarev, *Istoriya Vizantiiskoy Zhivopisi* (Moscow, 1947–48) [revised and translated, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967)].

Fig. 261 Vatican, *Biblioteca. Cod. gr. 1613*,
p. 299, *Baptism of Christ*



Joshua Roll in the Vatican (cod. Palat. gr. 431), and the classicizing evangelists of the Gospels in Stauronikita on Mount Athos (cod. 43) are the best known and most striking witnesses of this revival movement.³ Toward the end of the tenth century the classicizing style began to run its course and to become somewhat mannered, as can be exemplified by the miniatures of the well-known menologion in the Vatican (cod. gr. 1613), a product of an imperial workshop

³ The most recent study of this Renaissance movement, where a more complete bibliography can be found, is Weitzmann, *Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der Makedonischen Renaissance* (Cologne and Opladen, 1963) [translated and reprinted herewith pp. 176 ff.]

made for Basil II.⁴ The classical forms remained alive, however, especially in the scenes from the life of Christ which, we believe, hark back to a Gospel lectionary in which the Macedonian Renaissance had asserted itself most forcefully.⁵ In the scene of Baptism (Fig. 261) Christ is well-proportioned; in the figure of John the Baptist, however, a sense of physical reality begins to be exaggerated or—to use another term—to be mannered;

⁴ *Il Menologio di Basilio II* ("Codices e Vaticanis Selecti," 8 [Turin, 1907]). As for the dating of this manuscript around the year 985 cf. S. Der Nersessian, "Remarks on the Date of the Menologion," *Byzantion*, 15 (1940-41), 104 ff.

⁵ On the various sources of the miniature cycle in the Vatican menologion cf. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (2d ed. Princeton, 1970), pp. 199 ff., esp. pp. 202-3.

Fig. 262 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery. Cod. W 521, fol. 38^r. Baptism of Christ



in the case of Andrew, the artist delights in creating a forceful turning of the body, while Peter, in spite of the unnatural craning of his neck, appears as the most classical figure, not unlike an orator with his arm in the sling of his mantle and holding a scroll. The mountains seem to recede from the foreground, whereby the painter—Georgios is his name⁶—tried to capture the illusion of depth, not from his own observation of nature but by his studies of classical models.

There is in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore a menologion of the month of January (cod. W521),⁷ which once

⁶ The problem of the various artists has more recently been discussed by I. Ševčenko, "The Illuminators of the Menologion of Basil II," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 16 (1962), 243 ff. Cf. also A. Frolov, "L'origine des miniatures du Ménologe du Vatican," *Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'Études byzantines*, 6 (Belgrade, 1960), 29 ff.

⁷ *Arts of the Middle Ages 1000-1400* (catalogue

belonged to the Patriarchal Library of Alexandria,⁸ whose miniatures are obviously copied directly from the Vatican menologion. Though they are not of the same quality, one would assume that these very faithful copies, such as that of the Baptism (Fig. 262), would have been executed in the same imperial scriptorium. The differences are very slight: one will notice that the figure of John the Baptist is not as massive or as vigorous,

of an exhibition [Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1940]), p. 3, no. 3 and pl. II; *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (catalogue of an exhibition [Baltimore, The Walters Gallery, 1947]), p. 139, no. 707 and pl. XCIX; *Byzantine Art—An European Art* (catalogue of an exhibition [Athens; The Zappaion, 1964]), p. 342, no. 360 (the manuscript, however, was not exhibited in this exhibition). A facsimile of this manuscript is being prepared by S. Der Nersessian.

⁸ F. Halkin, "Le mois de janvier du 'Ménologe Impérial' byzantin," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 57 (1939), 225 ff.

and that the movements of the two disciples are somewhat stiffer and the faces less expressive. At the end of each of the twenty-four lives which are contained in the Baltimore manuscript there is a poem with an acrostic which reveals that the manuscript had been written for a certain Michael II, who is supposed to be Michael IV, the Paphlagonian (1034-41). If this is correct, which is not sure, the manuscript would be about half a century later than the Basil menologion, and thus would provide the evidence that in the span of the half century which lies between the execution of these two manuscripts no basic changes in style had taken place and that, consequently, the years around the turn of the millenium were not a starting point for a new trend in miniature painting.

More decisive are the changes one will notice in a miniature of the Baptism that decorates the Gospel Lectionary (cod. 587) in the Athos monastery of Dionysiu.⁹ We believe this manuscript too to be a product of the same imperial scriptorium that produced the two aforementioned menologia, since quite a number of its miniatures belong to the same iconographic and artistic tradition. Moreover, we have previously¹⁰ tried to establish

⁹ Weitzmann, "The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations," *New Testament Manuscript Studies*, M. M. Parvis and A. P. Wikgren (eds.) (Chicago, 1950), p. 157 *passim* and pls. XIV, XVI-XVII, XX-XXI, XXIV-XXVI, XXXII [reprinted herewith, p. 247], A. Grabar, *L'Iconoclasme Byzantin* (Paris, 1957), p. 203 and fig. 142.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 173. [See most recently, Weitzmann, "The Wanderings of the Imperial Lectionary on Mt. Athos," *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, 7 (1969), pp. 239 ff. For color reproductions of a number of miniatures consult *idem*, *Aus den Bibliotheken des Athos* (Hamburg, 1963), pp. 65 ff.]

Fig. 263 *Mount Athos, Dionysiu. Cod. 587, fol. 141^v. Baptism of Christ*



some evidence that the Dionysiu Lectionary was made for the emperor Isaac Comnenos when, in 1059, he retired to the Studios monastery. In this third miniature of Baptism (Fig. 263) not only have the proportions of the human figures changed toward greater slenderness, but John the Baptist and the angels lean forward so that their stance is unstable and they seem to sway. The cross-legged pose of Christ creates a similar effect. The aim of the artist is obviously to deprive the human figures, to a large extent, of their physical reality without altering the harmony of body proportions and without abandoning the formulae of classical drapery. The dates of the Baltimore menologion and the Dionysiu Lectionary, which are highly likely though not definitely proved, suggest that around the middle of the eleventh century, within a fairly narrow time span, a more fundamental change of style occurred than at the turn of the millennium. This change of style coincides with the downfall of the Macedonian Dynasty, and thus it seems more reasonable to group works of art of the tenth century together with those of the first half of the eleventh century under the heading of "Art of the Macedonian Dynasty," rather than to apply a purely mechanical division by centuries. This is not a new idea. Victor Lazarev, in

his history of Byzantine painting, divided different periods by dynasties, and Sotiriou, in his treatment of the Sinai icons, arrived at similar divisions.¹¹ In introducing the Baltimore and the Dionysiu manuscripts, we have been able to bring into sharper focus the characteristic changes which took place in the transitional period and to narrow down its time limits to around the middle of the eleventh century.

Yet the turn from a classicizing emphasis to a comparatively more abstract one which produced a more spiritualizing style was not quite as abrupt as the Baptism miniatures may suggest. Within Byzantine miniature painting of that period, our examples thus far represent only one mode of expression, since the same three manuscripts contain other miniatures in a somewhat different mode.

The majority of pictures in most menologia depict frontally standing saints, who convey an impression of hieratic dignity. They are much less corporeal than the more plastic figures in the scenic compositions, but at the same time, as demonstrated by the portrait of Gregory of Nazianzus in the Vatican¹² (Fig. 264) and the Baltimore menologion (Fig. 265), the comparatively thick-set proportions are still in conformity with the Macedonian style. Characteristic also of this particular recension of menologion miniatures are the elaborate architectural backgrounds which ultimately are derived from the *scenae frons* of the Roman theater.¹³ But while the background in

the Vatican miniature is reminiscent of a perspective rendering derived from the classical past, the architecture in the Baltimore miniature has become more two-dimensional. The Gregory figure in the Dionysiu Lectionary (Fig. 266) is more slender than the two previous ones, but otherwise the change is not as marked as in the case of the Baptism scenes, because in the case of these saints the earlier miniatures already reveal a tendency toward diminishing their physical reality. This dematerialization is also expressed in the architecture of the Dionysiu miniature; it is merely sketched in a brown color to give the impression of a grisaille, thus losing all suggestion of solidity.

In the third quarter of the eleventh century the abstract tendencies in the figure style are greatly intensified, as may be seen in the miniatures of a menologion in the Historical Museum of Moscow (cod. 382)¹⁴ which is dated A.D. 1063. The scenes from the life of John the Baptist, his Birth, Decapitation, and the Finding of his Head (Fig. 267) are executed in a rather sketchy manner with a certain disregard for proportion, movement, and stance of the body, thereby moving further away from the classical tradition than any miniature of the Macedonian period. The same is true for the

47 ff. For the use of theater backgrounds in evangelist miniatures cf. Weitzmann, *Geistige Grundlagen*, pp. 26 ff. [translated and reprinted herewith, pp. 196 ff.]

¹⁴ G. Cereteli and S. Sobolevski, *Exempla Codicum Graecorum*, 1: *Codices Mosquenses* (Moscow, 1911), pl. XIX; K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts* (Boston, 1934-39), 6, pls. 408-11; Lazarev, *Istoriya Vizantiiskoy Zhivopisi*, pp. 109, 315, 324 and pl. 132.

¹¹ Cf. n. 1 and 2.

¹² *Menologio di Basilio II*, p. 349.

¹³ H. Kenner, "Die frühmittelalterliche Buchmalerei und das klassische griechische Theater," *Österreichische Jahreshfte*, 39 (1952),

Fig. 264 Vatican, *Biblioteca. Cod. gr. 1613*,
p. 349. Gregory Nazianzus



frontal figures of saints, as, for instance, Saint Procopius (Fig. 268), whose thin legs and arms have an almost doll-like quality. What had been two different modes of expression—one for scenic representations and one for single saint figures—have now been fused into one, wherein the abstract mode has gained the upper hand.

We have a considerable number of dated manuscripts from the fourth quarter of the eleventh century, with the beginning of the Comnenian Dynasty, one of the finest being a Psalter and New Testament which comes from the Athos monastery of Pantocratoros (cod. 49) and is now in Dumbarton Oaks in

Washington.¹⁵ The Easter tables begin

¹⁵ G. Millet, "Quelques représentations byzantines de la salutation angélique," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 18 (1894), 453 ff. and pl. XV; O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911), figs. 277-78; G. Millet and S. Der Nersessian, "Le Psautier arménien illustré," *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, 9 (1929), 165 and pl. IX; H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (London, 1938), pp. 28, 38-41 and figs. 53, 68, 76, 78; F. Dölger, *Mönchsländ Athos* (Munich, 1943), pp. 178 and 180 and figs. 98-101; Lazarev, *Istoriya Vizantiiskoy Zhivopisi*, pp. 111, 314, 339, and pl. 141; Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 111, 149, 152, 162, 170, 185, and figs. 140, 157, 164. [S. Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 19 (1965), 155 ff. For the birth of David, pp. 167 ff.]

Fig. 265 *Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery. Cod. 521, fol. 234^r. Gregory Nazianzus*



with the year 1084, and this can be assumed to be the date of the origin of the manuscript.

In the scene of the Birth of David (Fig. 269), obviously modeled after a composition of the Birth of John the Baptist or that of the Virgin, the figures are just as disjoined as those in the Moscow menologion, although they are more refined and not as sketchy. The same holds true if one compares Saint Peter of the former (Fig. 270)¹⁶ with Saint Procopius of the latter. The basic difference between the miniatures of these codices is not so much that of a new direction toward greater solidity, but rather that the Pantocratoros Psalter is of higher quality and has realized a comparatively stronger assertion of the classical mode.

A return to greater solidity of the human body is discernible, however, in

¹⁶ This cut-out miniature was acquired by the Cleveland Museum of Art before the manuscript was sold to Dumbarton Oaks.

the early twelfth century, as exemplified by the miniatures of a Gospel book in the Vatican Library (cod. Urb. gr. 2), which was written in the time of John II Comnenos and his son Alexius (1119–43).¹⁷ As in the miniature of the Birth of John the Baptist (Fig. 271), the outlines and highlights are more sharply delineated and, in certain cases, there is a tendency to overemphasize the plasticity of the human body and to treat highlights in a patterned fashion. This is not merely a return to the style of the Macedonian period, but the formulation of a new style which attempts to fuse the Macedonian heritage with the expressive element emphasized in the style of the second half of the eleventh century, i.e., the Early Comnenian style. The piercing eyes in the stern faces are indications of the development of a new vigor. Another

¹⁷ C. Stornajolo, *Miniature delle Omilie di Giacomo Monaco e dell'Evangelario Greco Urbinato* ("Codices e Vaticanis selecti," ser. min. I [Rome, 1910]), pp. 19 ff. and pls. 83 ff.

Fig. 266 *Mount Athos, Dionysiou. Cod. 587, fol. 143^v. Gregory Nazianzus*



new trend is a certain ornamental quality achieved by dividing the miniature surface into smaller units on a two-dimensional plane with an almost complete disregard of spatial relationships. Although the style of the second half of the eleventh century shows a more dematerialized human figure than in the periods before and after, in order to define generally the style of the eleventh century we have chosen miniatures that represent what we would consider a "middle of the road" style. If one begins to study all the facets of the eleventh-century style, one will soon notice a wide range of modes of expression existing side by side. The style of the Macedonian Renaissance, though losing strength toward the end, nevertheless asserted itself quite strongly on occasion, even in the second half of the eleventh century, as may be demonstrated by another miniature of the Pantocratoros Psalter. Juxtaposed against the general tendency of this period to ignore spatial effects to a large degree, the miniature of Moses receiving the tablets (Fig. 272)¹⁸ shows the prophet in a

¹⁸ Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, pl. XXV, 68.

Fig. 267 *Moscow, Historical Museum. Cod. 382, fol. 210^r. Birth of John the Baptist*



landscape that has not lost its spatial quality, in comparison with the corresponding miniature in the Paris Psalter (Fig. 273),¹⁹ one of the key monuments of the Macedonian Renaissance. The classical personification of Mount Sinai is perhaps not as fully fleshed and vital as its counterpart in the Paris miniature, yet it still conveys the flavor of the classical tradition.

On the other hand, the tendencies toward more abstract forms, as witnessed in the miniatures of the Moscow menologion (Figs. 267-68), are carried still further in a Psalter manuscript now in London (Brit. Mus. cod. add. 19352) which was written in 1066 in the Studios

¹⁹ H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (2d ed.; Paris, 1929), p. 8 and pl. X; Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, pp. 33 ff. and pl. X.

Fig. 268 Moscow, Historical Museum, Cod. 382, fol. 125^v. Procopius



monastery by a monk, Theodore.²⁰ Here the scene of the Receiving of the Law (Fig. 274) is placed in a silhouette-like mountain landscape which lacks any illusion of depth. The human figures are over-elongated and flat, a quality which is enhanced by gold striations that have a decorative quality but do not suggest any highlights.

It is not without significance that this high degree of abstraction occurs in a

²⁰ G. F. Warner, *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, II Ser. (2d ed.; London, 1910), pls. II-III; G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Évangile* (Paris, 1916): for page references cf. index, p. 742; also figs. 13, 33, 64, 87, 119, 142-43, 184, 241, 299, 343, 424, 460, 463; K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, 2, pls. 129-30. Lazarev, *Istoriya Vizantiiskoy Zhivopisi*, pp. 107-8, 321, and pl. 124. [S. Dufrenne, "Deux chefs-d'oeuvre de la miniature du XI^e siècle," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 17 (1967), 177 ff. Here also the older literature.]

Fig. 269 Washington, Dunbarton Oaks (olim Pantocrator Cod. 49), fol. 5^r. Birth and Anointing of David



product of the leading monastery of Constantinople, and one may well deduce from this fact that the spiritual quality which is expressed pictorially through the weightlessness of the human body is an assertion of the ascetic spirit of monasticism. This is the period in which the Studios monastery in particular was the center of ascetic and mystic writing and where Symeon the New Theologian had started his career. Thus it seems logical that there would exist a close connection between the peculiarly ascetic style of the book illumination of the Studios monastery and the spiritual forces asserted in the literary production of this leading monastery of Constantinople. On the strength of close stylistic

Fig. 270 Cleveland, Museum of Art (olim Pantocrator Cod. 49), fol. 254^r. Peter



similarities, one of the richest illustrated manuscripts, a Gospel book in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale cod. gr. 74), can be ascribed to the same date and, with a high degree of probability, to the same scriptorium in the Studios monastery.²¹ As demonstrated once more by a Baptism scene (Fig. 275), the physical reality of the human figures is reduced almost to the degree where they become phantom-like. In this manuscript the abstract figure style has reached its climax.

If, indeed, our thesis is correct, that the ideals of monastic asceticism were a strong factor in shaping the outlook of painters of the second half of the eleventh century, then one would expect this style to be especially clearly expressed in illustrations for monastic writings; and this is indeed the case. The most popular

²¹ H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures Byzantines du XI^e siècle* (Paris, s.d.); Millet, *Recherches*, pp. and figs. cf. index, p. 746. Lazarev, *Istoriya Vizantiiskoy Zhivopisi*, pp. 107-8, 113, 242, 313, 321, 376, and pls. 125-26.

Fig. 271 Vatican, Biblioteca, Cod. Urb. gr. 2, fol. 167^r. Birth of John the Baptist



manual for the conduct of the monk is the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Climacus, which, as far as we can tell, was written in the seventh century on Mount Sinai, and was decorated for the first time with extensive cycles (and this is in itself symptomatic) in the eleventh century.²² The richest and artistically most refined manuscript among a considerable number of copies, which indicates that this treatise became quite fashionable at that time, is in the Vatican (cod. gr. 394). It is surely a product of a Constantinopolitan monastery from the second half of the eleventh century. There is no need to emphasize once more the incorporeal quality of the human figure (Fig. 276), except to state that it seems a peculiarly fitting pictorial formula for the representation of a monk and that it was

²² J. R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Princeton, 1954).

Fig. 272 Washington, Dumbarton Oaks (olim *Pantocrator Cod. 49*), fol. 73'. *Moses Receiving the Law*



applied even to classical personifications like Malice (*μνησικακία*) and Humility (*ταπεινοφροσύνη*),²³ i.e., even to figures derived from the classical tradition where one would least expect to find it. Moreover, the denial of physical reality applies also to the attenuated architectural details and to the impression of floating given by the human figures.

This illustration from the *Heavenly Ladder*, then, leads us to the more general problem of what miniature and icon painting as well contributed to the history of Byzantine art of the eleventh century from the iconographical point of view. In book illumination the great narrative cycles of the Old Testament, such as those of the Octateuchs, the Books of Kings, the Book of Job, and also of the Gospels, continued to be illustrated

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 66 and pl. XXXI, 102.

Fig. 273 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. *Cod. gr. 139*, fol. 422'. *Moses Receiving the Law*



with comparatively few changes. The major changes took place in the liturgical books. Of course the Psalter, the Gospel lectionary, and the menologion, to mention only the three most outstanding ones in the history of book illumination, had long existed with illustrations, but in the eleventh century some important innovations and enrichments were made which are not so much to be sought in the iconography of the single scene but in the organization of the miniature cycle as a whole, in which the individual scenes are often derived from various sources and then rearranged.

THE ILLUSTRATED MENOLOGION

I should like to deal briefly with all three service books and begin with the menologion. The older tradition was a selection of the lives of certain saints,²⁴

²⁴ The main study where the older bibliography can be found is A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*

Fig. 274 London, British Museum. *Cod. Add. 19352, fol. 193^v*. Moses Receiving the Law



and when these were illustrated²⁵ they

(“Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur,” 50–52 [Leipzig, 1937–52]).

²⁵ For the illustration of the menologion cf. S. Der Nersessian, “The Illustrations of the Metaphrastian Menologium,” *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert M. Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), pp. 222 ff; P.

Fig. 275 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. *Cod. gr. 74, fol. 169^r*. Baptism of Christ



were, so it seems from later evidence, accompanied by more or less extensive narrative miniature cycles. This type of illustrated menologion has survived in the eleventh-century manuscript in Esphigmenu on Mount Athos (cod. 14),²⁶ which contains altogether eight *Vitae* from September to December, and each *Vita*, like that of Menas, Hermogenes, and Eugraphus (Dec. 10) (Fig. 277),²⁷ has at its beginning a narrative picture cycle which covers the recto and verso of a purple leaf. This system of illustration of a saint's life surely has a long history and still persists, in some instances like the Esphigmenu manuscript, in the Metaphrastes texts.

In the eleventh century these narrative cycles from the lives of saints invade icon painting, and the earliest example we know of is a triptych wing, now cut in two parts, which is preserved in the icon collection of Saint Catherine's monastery

Mijović, “Une Classification Iconographique de Ménologes Enluminés,” *Actes du XII^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, 3 (Belgrade, 1964), 271 ff.

²⁶ H. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athosklöstern* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 192, 228, and pl. 26; Dölger, *Athos*, p. 174 and fig. 94.

²⁷ Weitzmann, *Aus den Bibliotheken des Athos* (Hamburg, 1963), pp. 89 ff. and pls. on pp. 91, 95.

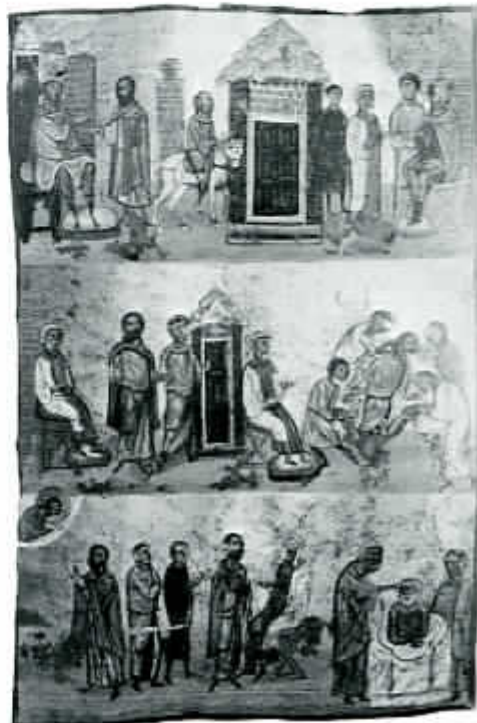
Fig. 276 Vatican, *Biblioteca. Cod. gr. 394, fol. 66^r. Malice and Humility*



on Mount Sinai (Fig. 278).²⁸ The six scenes from the life of Saint Nicholas, including the early scenes of his ordination as priest and bishop, and the last one, his burial, belong to a cycle of twenty scenes which were originally distributed over the center and both wings of the triptych. The style of these delicately depicted scenes is so much in the tradition of the illustrated book that we must assume not only that a miniature cycle was the source, but that icons and miniatures in instances like this actually may have been executed by the same artist. Toward the end of the tenth century Simeon Metaphrastes compiled his extensive collection of the lives of saints with the intention of having, as a norm, one *Vita* for each day of the ecclesiastical year. A complete copy of this hagiographic encyclopedia consisted commonly of either twelve volumes, one for each month, or—and this is by no means a rare case—of twenty-four volumes, one

²⁸ The lower part of the wing is published by G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones*, p. 62 and pl. 46, the upper part by Weitzmann, "Fragments of an Early St. Nicholas Triptych on Mount Sinai," *Timētikos G. Sotiriou. Deltion Archaiologikēs Hetaireios*, 4th ser., 4, 1964-65 (Athens, 1966), 1 ff. and figs. 1-3.

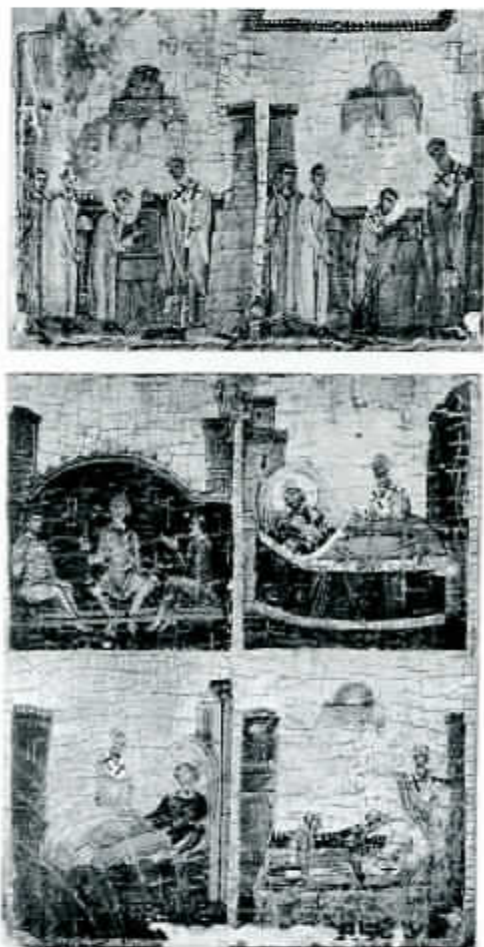
Fig. 277 Mount Athos, *Esphigmenu. Cod. 14, fol. 294^r. Sr. Menas et al.*



for each half month. This Metaphrastian compilation led to the need for standardization of its illustration. The norm would now be to have one picture at the beginning of each *Vita* and, on occasion, a second one at its end, and these pictures could be either scenic or consist of frontally standing saints. A characteristic example is the eleventh-century menologion in the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos (cod. Δ. 51),²⁹ which comprises only the lives from the second half of December, and thus must have been part of a twenty-four volume edition. A picture of either a scenic illustration or a standing saint precedes each *Vita*: the life of

²⁹ S. Der Nersessian, "Metaphrastian Menologium," p. 226 and pls. XXIV, 2; XXV, 7.

Fig. 278 Mount Sinai, St. Catherine's. Icon. Life of St. Nicholas



Saint Eugenia (Fig. 279) is preceded by a scene of her martyrdom which seems to be excerpted from a more richly illustrated *Vita*. In other instances, where narrative cycles did not exist or were not available, new pictures had to be invented, which did not always fit the narrative details of the text. In the case of the standing saints, like Saint Melane (Fig. 280), we deal with solitary figures which the artist repeats with a certain monotony. To extract from larger narra-

Fig. 279 Mount Athos, Lavra. Cod. Δ.51, fol. 131^v. Saints



tive cycles and to add single miniatures is a procedure which was already used in the Basil menologion, which strictly speaking is not a menologion but a synaxarion, and it is by no means unlikely that this famous manuscript was the first ever to adopt this system.

Another variant is to collect on one title page all the individual miniatures of one volume and to line them up in rows. There is on Mount Sinai a menologion (cod. 512) with such a title miniature (Fig. 281), which comprises in three rows frontal standing saints as well as scenic representations like that of the killing of the forty martyrs of Mount Sinai and that of Saint Peter in prison. The depictions in this volume relate to the *Vitae* that begin 5 January and end 17 January, indicating that once more we are dealing with a manuscript from a twenty-four volume edition.

We find this very same arrangement on icons of that period. From a set on Mount Sinai which originally had twelve panels, one for each month, four remain,

Fig. 280 *Mount Athos, Lavra. Cod. Δ.51, fol. 229^v. Melane*



including that of the month of February (Fig. 282).³⁰ In seven rows standing saints, scenes of martyrdom, and calendar feasts like the Presentation in the Temple in the top row are lined up in precisely the same fashion as in the Sinai miniature. There can be little doubt that the individual scenes and figures of saints ultimately hark back to an illustrated menologion, while, conversely, the idea of a "collective picture" very likely started out in icon painting and then was adapted for greater convenience by some miniature painters. Possibly we are dealing in both cases with an artist who was used to working in either technique.

PSALTER ILLUSTRATION

The second liturgical book containing profuse and varied illustrations, which surely reach back into the Early Byzantine period, is the Psalter. The changes

³⁰ G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones*, pp. 123 ff. and pl. 144.

Fig. 281 *Mount Sinai, St. Catherine's. Cod. 512, fol. 2^v. Saints of the Month of January*



which took place in the eleventh century in its illustration are perhaps less spectacular than in the menologion but nevertheless add further new aspects to the iconographical development. The problem in the two basic picture recensions which Tikkanen³¹ had once termed the "aristocratic" and the "monastic" is not so much that of a reorganization of the basic cycles but of the additions which were made in both recensions.

We have already introduced the Psalter which was once in the Pantocratoros monastery and is now in Washington, and which belongs to the aristocratic

³¹ J. J. Tikkanen, "Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, 31 (1903) [S. Dufrenne, *L'illustration des Psautiers grecs du Moyen Age* ("Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques," 1, Paris, 1966).]

recension, and we have also dealt with its miniature of the Birth of David (Fig. 269). The lower scene of the same page, the Anointing of David, is a literal copy of the corresponding miniature of the tenth-century Psalter in Paris.³² The Birth scene does not exist in the Paris Psalter, however, and must therefore have been added to this recension later, and most likely not before the eleventh century. The rather novel intention of the artist is clear: to round out the David cycle in the fashion of a saint's *Vita* with a picture of his birth, although this event is not mentioned in the Books of Kings. The model was apparently a miniature of the Birth of the Virgin which the Psalter painter could have found in a Gospel lectionary,³³ where it headed the lesson for 8 September, the feast of the Birth of the Virgin. What is of primary importance is the fact that a New Testament composition had stimulated the imagination of an Old Testament illustrator. This is by no means an isolated case, but the expression of a general trend in the Middle Byzantine period which was intensified in the eleventh century.

Another addition to the recension is found in the composition of the folio preceding the one with the Birth and Anointing of David. It is also divided in two zones (Fig. 283);³⁴ the upper one

shows the Virgin cut off below the waist and on a much larger scale than the flanking John the Baptist and the Archangel Michael, and the lower zone is occupied by the three church fathers, Gregory, Basil, and John Chrysostom. In this case the miniature painter was inspired by monumental art, to be precise, by an apse decoration in which the Virgin dominated the center of the conch (this explains the deviation in scale), and the church fathers occupied the lower regions of the apse wall. Other instances of an influence of monumental art upon book illumination have been known from earlier centuries,³⁵ but the point in which our miniature differs from these is that the influence is not confined to a single scene or figure but attempts to reflect a complex liturgical program typical of an apse composition. The depiction of the chief intercessors is based on the prayer of intercession of the liturgy³⁶—only the Apostles are not represented. With this liturgical aspect we touch upon perhaps the most decisive element in eleventh-century Byzantine painting, about which more will be said later. It is all the more important since it appears here in an Old Testament manuscript. The second major recension of the illustrated Psalter, the so-called monastic one, also made some significant additions in the eleventh century.

³² Omont, *Manuscripts grecs*, pl. III; Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, pl. III. [Cf. n. 15.]

³³ As, e.g., in the Vatican Lectionary gr. 1156, fol. 246^v, Weitzmann, "Narrative and Liturgical Illustration," p. 160 and pl. XVIII, fig. 1 [herewith, pp. 256 f. and Fig. 243.]

³⁴ This leaf has recently been cut out and its present whereabouts is unknown to me. I am reproducing a photograph I took when the manuscript was still in Pantocratoros.

³⁵ A striking example are some of the full page miniatures of the Rossano Gospels. W. C. Loerke, "The Miniatures of the Trial in the Rossano Gospels," *Art Bulletin*, 43 (1961), 171 ff.

³⁶ For the impact of the liturgy, especially the prayer of intercession, on the ivories of the tenth century, cf. E. H. Kantorowicz, "Ivories and Litanies," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), 56 ff.

Fig. 282 *Mount Sinai, St. Catherine's, Icon.*
Month of February

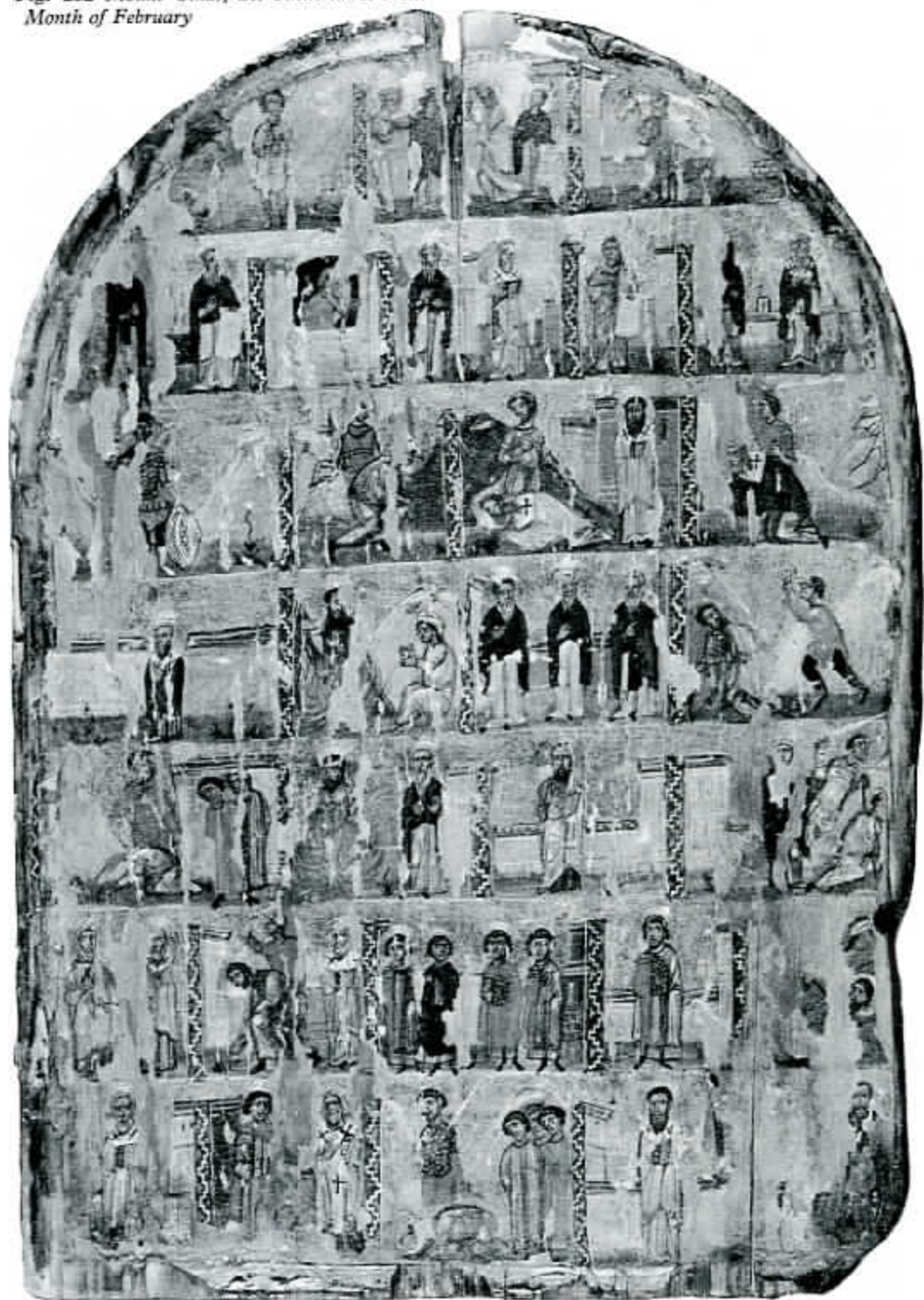


Fig. 283 Washington, Dumbarton Oaks (olim Pantocrator Cod. 49), fol. 4^r. Virgin and Saints



The ninth-century Psalters with their extensive cycles of marginal illustrations, such as the one in the Pantocratoros monastery (cod. 61, Fig. 39)³⁷ and the Chludov Psalter in the Historical Museum in Moscow (cod. 129, Fig. 38),³⁸ are

³⁷ Tikkanen, "Psalterillustration," p. 11 and *passim*; Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), pp. 54 ff. and pls. LIX-LXI. [Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs*, pp. 1 ff.]

³⁸ N. Kondakov, *Miniatures du MS. grec du Psautier du IX^e siècle de la collection A. I. Chludov à Moscou* (Moscow, 1878); Tikkanen, "Psalterillustration," p. 11 and *passim* and pls. 1-3; N. Maliskij, "Remarques sur la date des mosaïques de l'église des Saint Apôtres à Constantinople décrites par Mésarités," *Byzantion*, 3 (1926), 123 ff. and

what I should like to call polycyclic, i.e., they contain whole sets of pictures from different sources, including a few from the lives of saints. The latter belong to an iconographic realm where the illustrator of the eleventh century expanded the pictorial cycle and added many more hagiographical illustrations,³⁹ which obviously were taken from a Simeon Metaphrastes menologion of the same type as the one in Lavra, of which I showed two illustrations, the standing Saint Melane and the martyrdom of Saint Eugenia (Figs. 279 and 280). Both these types of pictures occur in the Theodore Psalter in London, as may be demonstrated by the figure of Saint Stephen the Younger (Fig. 284),⁴⁰ whose picture the illustrator found in the Metaphrastes *Vita* of 28 November, and by the scene in which a servant of the emperor carves an inscription on the forehead of Saint Theodore Graptos, taken from the saint's *Vita* of 27 December (Fig. 285). It is significant that this new influx of iconographical subject matter should be taken from a Metaphrastes menologion, i.e., a liturgical book

pls. 1-3; idem, "Čerty palestinskoj i vostočnoj ikonografii v vizantijskoj psaltiri," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, I (1927), 49 ff.; idem, "Le Psautier byzantine à illustrations du type Chludov est-il de provenance monastique?" *L'art byzantine chez les slaves, l'ancienne Russie, les slaves catholiques; deuxième recueil dédié à la mémoire de Théodore Uspenskij* (Paris, 1932), p. 235; Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pp. 55 ff. and pls. LXI-LXII. [A. Grabar, "Les Psautiers grecs illustrés byzantins du IX^e siècle," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 11 (1965), 61 ff.]

³⁹ L. Mariès, s.j., "L'Irruption des Saints dans l'illustration du Psautier Byzantin," *Mélanges P. Peeters*, 2, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 68 (1950), 153 ff.

⁴⁰ Grabar, *Iconoclisme*, p. 202 and fig. 141.

Fig. 284 London, British Museum. Cod. Add. 19352, fol. 117^r. Stephen the Younger



which itself is a creation of the end of the tenth century.⁴¹

THE ILLUSTRATED LECTIONARY AND ITS INFLUENCE

Of all the liturgical books the most important is the Gospel lectionary, which is used as an implement of the service, being carried around by the deacon in the Little Introitus of the Divine Liturgy, and for this reason it usually had a precious metal cover studded with jewels, pearls, and enamels, though only a few such covers are preserved (cf. Fig. 231). No wonder that miniaturists concentrated their greatest effort on the embellishment of this service book, and this applies to the refinement of the technique as well as the icono-

⁴¹ The increasing popularity of the full calendar in the eleventh century also finds expression in its versified form in the eleventh-century poet Christophoros of Mytilene. E. Follieri and I. Dujčev, "Il Calendario in Sticheri di Christoforo di Mitilene," *Byzantinoslavica*, 25 (1964), 1 ff.

Fig. 285 London, British Museum. Cod. Add. 19352, fol. 120^v. Theodore Graptos



graphic richness.⁴² Several illustrated lectionaries of high quality, like the fragment in Leningrad (cod. 21),⁴³ still survive from the tenth century; and these already concentrate on the liturgical pictures of the great feasts. Yet it is not before the eleventh century that lectionary illustration reaches the state of its fullest complexity, which will inspire all subsequent lectionary illustration.

The finest lectionary of the eleventh century which we possess today is the one in Dionysiu, of which I have already introduced two examples (Figs. 263 and 266). At the opening of the book the lesson of Easter Sunday is, as is normal, preceded by a picture of the Anastasis

⁴² For the importance of the illustrated lectionary cf. Weitzmann, "Narrative and Liturgical Illustration," [herewith, pp. 247 ff.]. Idem, "The Constantinopolitan Lectionary Morgan 639," *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle de Costa Greene* (Princeton, 1954), pp. 358 ff.

⁴³ C. R. Morey, "Notes on East Christian Miniatures," *Art Bulletin*, 11 (1929), 53 ff. and figs. 61 *passim*; Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pp. 59 ff. and pls. LXVI-LXVII; Lazarev, *Istoriya Vizantiiskoy Zhivopisi*, p. 81 and pls. 66-68.

Fig. 286 *Mount Athos, Dionysiu. Cod. 587, fol. 2^v. Anastasis*



(Fig. 286),⁴⁴ a subject which, it will be remembered, is not based on a canonical Gospel but on the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, in which text, therefore, this composition must have originated. Thus it is logical that the traditional narrative miniature cycle of the Gospels, on which the lectionary cycle is largely based, would not have this scene.

The richest illustrated Gospel book, with literally hundreds of iconographical units, is in the Laurentian Library in Florence (cod. Plut. VI, 23) and belongs to the end of the eleventh century.⁴⁵ The Gospel narrative is illustrated with a spirit of epic breadth, and at the end of Matthew's Gospel (Fig. 287)⁴⁶ the Deposition from the Cross and the Bewailing of Christ are followed by scenes of lesser importance: first the priests and Pharisees ask Pilate to have the tomb guarded, later the tomb is sealed and guards are

⁴⁴ For the Anastasis iconography in general cf. C. R. Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection* (New York, 1914), pp. 45 ff.

⁴⁵ Millet, *Recherches*, pp. and figs.; cf. index, p. 739; Lazarev, *Istoriya Vizantijskoy Zhivopisi*, pp. 115, 216, 374, 376, and pl. 159.

⁴⁶ Millet, *Recherches*, p. 493 and fig. 527.

posted. The last scene, which depicts the Holy Women at the Tomb, is again an important one. Each scene is a very literal illustration of the end of the twenty-seventh chapter and the beginning of the twenty-eighth chapter of Matthew.

The second Gospel book of this period, almost as richly illustrated as the one in Florence, is the better known one in Paris, of which I discussed the Baptism scene (Fig. 275). What is significant is that within the almost identical set of pictures of the Passion cycle (Figs. 288–290)⁴⁷ a representation of the Anastasis is added in the Paris Gospels ahead of that of the Women at the Tomb, and there can be little doubt that the intrusion of this scene is due to the influence of a lectionary. Nor is this the only instance of this kind in the Paris Gospels, while the Florentine Gospel book is free from strictly liturgical scenes.⁴⁸ Whereas Millet, in his *Recherches sur l'Évangile*, tried to explain the differences between the picture cycles of these two Gospel books in terms of a difference between an Antiochene and an Alexandrian recension, we rather believe that the basic distinction is that the Florentine cycle follows more strictly the narrative tradition of Early Christian art, while the Parisian cycle has undergone far-reaching changes under the impact of the liturgical lectionary cycle. It would seem to us to be no exaggeration to state that the crystallization of the lectionary illustration into a liturgical cycle of can-

⁴⁷ Omont, *Évangiles*, pls. 52–54.

⁴⁸ As for the influence of the lectionary cycle on the Paris Gospel book in other instances cf. Weitzmann, "Narrative and Liturgical Illustration," p. 168 and pl. XXVII [here-with, pp. 264 f. and Figs. 254–56].

Fig. 287 Florence, *Laurenziana. Cod. Plut. VI, 23, fol. 59^v. Passion Scenes*



onical validity, and its spread into other manuscripts and a variety of media, are the most important aspects of eleventh-century book illumination.

One of the most striking examples of the wide distribution of lectionary miniatures is the appearance of the Anastasis picture in many different texts,⁴⁹ e.g., in the homilies of Gregory of

Nazianzus, as a title miniature for the Easter homily—the codex in Jerusalem (Taphou 14) being a typical example (Fig. 291).⁵⁰ What makes the appearance of the Anastasis and other lectionary miniatures in the Gregory so significant is that they occur during the time of the establishment of a new textual recension.⁵¹

⁴⁹ For a case of an Anastasis miniature in a Psalter cf. Weitzmann, "Aristocratic Psalter and Lectionary," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, 19 (1960), 98 ff.

⁵⁰ W. H. P. Hatch, *Greek and Syrian Miniatures in Jerusalem* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pp. 58 ff. and pls. I–XVII; Lazarev, *Istoriya Vizantiiskoy Zhivopisi*, p. 108 and pls. 129–30.

⁵¹ G. Galavaris, "The Illustrations of the

Fig. 288 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Cod. gr. 74, fol. 59^v. Deposition and Entombment



Out of the original 45 homilies that exist with illustrations in the well-known Paris cod. gr. 510 of the end of the ninth century,⁵² a selection of 16 was made in the eleventh century, and these were arranged to be read in the liturgical order of the feast days. Consequently we now find the Easter homily placed at the beginning and illustrated with the Anastasis miniature. In this way the organization of the new edition of the illustrated homilies is very much the same as that of the Gospel lectionary proper, and this liturgical edition has survived as the accepted one.

The Anastasis is only one of the great feasts which in the Middle Byzantine period were crystallized in a cycle of twelve. There is nothing canonical about these twelve feasts and their selection is, to a certain extent, alterable, since a few feasts are interchangeable, but the cycle as such became a firmly established convention.⁵³ The time when the cycle

Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus" (Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, 1955). The liturgical aspect is much stressed in this thesis. [G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton, 1969).]

⁵² Ormont, *Miniatures*, pp. 10 ff. and pls. XV-LX bis.

⁵³ Millet, *Recherches*, pp. 15 ff.

Fig. 289 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Cod. gr. 74, fol. 60^r. Tomb Sealing and Anastasis



of the twelve feasts became fixed is not quite clear. The available evidence suggests that it might have existed already in the tenth century, although no complete cycle of that century has come down to us. We do have complete cycles from the eleventh century, although unfortunately none has survived in any Gospel lectionary, where above all one would have expected it. Most of the extant lectionaries have only a selection of feast pictures, in the form of splendid full-page miniatures. Our evidence for the full cycle rests on other eleventh-century manuscripts, whose miniatures are based on a lectionary, and also on works of art in other media.

A unique Psalter in the Vatican Library (cod. gr. 752), whose Easter tables begin with the year 1059, contains, inserted between the illustrated prefaces and the beginning of the first Psalm, a cycle of the twelve feasts, distributed over three pages (Fig. 292).⁵⁴ These individually

⁵⁴ E. T. DeWald, *Vaticanus Graecus 752* ("The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint," 3 [Princeton, 1942]), Part II, 6 ff. and pls. XI-XIII. Actually there are thirteen in the cycle, the Women at the Tomb being the supernumerary.

Fig. 290 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Cod. gr. 74, fol. 61^r. Women at the Tomb



framed little feast pictures must ultimately have been derived from a lectionary, where the prototypes quite surely occupied full pages, and thus they provide the evidence for lectionaries with full feast cycles. The arrangement in rows in the Vatican Psalter resembles that of the previously discussed calendar icons, and thus it seems quite possible that the *direct* model in this case was an icon. This is just another instance of the easy interchange between these two media.

There exists on Mount Sinai a diptych (Figs. 293–294)⁵⁵ which on stylistic grounds can be dated, if we are not mistaken, not later than the middle of the eleventh century; it is the earliest icon with a cycle of the twelve feasts known to us. The scenes are executed in the most delicate miniature style and arranged in rows, which are unevenly subdivided; the latter feature may well be explained by the use of miniatures as models, where a variance of dimension is not uncommon. This cycle, although it has the normal number of twelve feasts, is irregular inasmuch as the Death of the Virgin is omitted at the end, and, instead, the *Chairete* inserted between the Anastasis and the Ascension. There are

⁵⁵ G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icons*, pp. 52 ff. and pls. 39–41.

Fig. 291 Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library. Cod. Taphou 14, fol. 3^r. Anastasis



other examples of feast cycles in which the *Koimesis* is missing, but there is no other instance known to me where the substitute scene is the *Chairete*. The event of Christ meeting the two Marys is included in the lesson for the Holy Sabbath (Matt. 28: 1–20), and this is the place where it occurs in illustrated lectionaries.⁵⁶ Its presence in the Sinai icon suggests that the conventional set of the twelve feasts had not yet been fully accepted at that time.

The innovations in the illustration of the lectionary, however, are not confined to turning narrative illustrations into feast pictures into which dogmatic and liturgical elements are injected in order to give them, by pictorial means, a greater significance. On occasion the painter went one step further and invented entirely new scenes, theological rather than narrative.

A characteristic example is an illustration of John 1: 18, "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he

⁵⁶ So, e.g., in the fragment Leningrad cod. 21 (Morey, "East Christian Miniatures," p. 70 and fig. 83; Weitzmann, "Das Evangelion," pp. 94–95) and the lectionary Istanbul, Greek Patr. cod. 8, Fol. 254^v (G. Sotiriou, *Κεφάλια τοῦ Οἰκουμένου Πατριαρχείου* [Athens, 1937], p. 88).

Fig. 292 Vatican, *Biblioteca. Cod. gr. 752, fols. 17^v-18^r. Twelve Feasts*



hath declared him," a verse which marks the beginning of the lesson to be read on the Monday after Easter. In a narrative cycle of the four Gospels such a passage seems to have had no appeal to the illustrator,⁵⁷ but in a lectionary, such as the one in Dionysiu (Fig. 295),⁵⁸ there is an imaginative illustration of John the Evangelist who dramatizes the truth of his statement by pointing to heaven where God, in the manifestation of Christ, is depicted enthroned as the Ancient of Days, holding a youthful Christ Emmanuel in his lap. None of the lectionaries of the tenth century has either this or any other scene of a similar nature. While

there is no proof that the illustrator of the Dionysiu Lectionary was the first to invent this type of illustration, the probability is that it was an innovation of the eleventh century.

Another type of illustration, which was invented earlier, but which gained increasing popularity in the eleventh century, is the pictorial rendering of the liturgical ceremonies proper. A characteristic example is the Elevation of the Holy Cross as depicted in the Basil menologion from the end of the tenth century (Fig. 296).⁵⁹ The patriarch is standing on the ambo of Saint Sophia and, flanked by other clerics, he raises the Holy Cross in his hands. There is a reason to believe that the illustration of this feast consisted originally of a historical narrative, i.e., the Finding of the Holy Cross by Helen. Such illustrations have survived in the Syriac lectionaries.⁶⁰ The

⁵⁷ The only instance where it does occur in a Gospel is in the Rockefeller McCormick Gospel in Chicago (H. R. Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament*, 3 [Chicago, 1932], 207 ff., and I, pl. fol. 86^v), but here it is pictorially corrupt, using a compositional scheme that was invented as an illustration of John 1:37 where Christ meets the first two disciples.

⁵⁸ Weitzmann, "Lectionary Morgan 639," p. 635 and fig. 294.

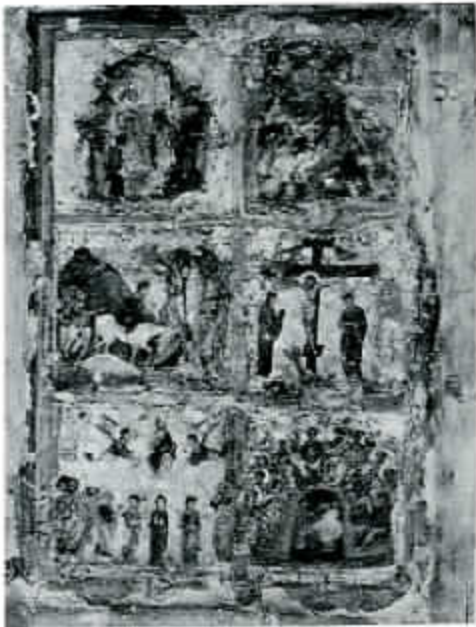
⁵⁹ *Il Menologio di Basilio II*, p. 35.

⁶⁰ London, Brit. Mus. Cod. add. 7169, fol. 13r, and Berlin, Staatsbibl. Cod. Sachau 304, fol. 162v. J. Leroy, *Les Manuscrits Syriaques*

Fig. 293 *Mount Sinai, St. Catherine's. Icon. Twelve Feasts*



Fig. 294 *Mount Sinai, St. Catherine's. Icon. Twelve Feasts*



ambo picture occurs also in a richly illustrated lectionary in the Vatican (cod. gr. 1156; Fig. 297) of the third quarter of the eleventh century.⁶¹ This and the picture of the Basil menologion seem to be derived from the same archetype, which was more likely a lectionary than a menologion.

Now, in the Vatican lectionary this ambo miniature is preceded by four similar scenes, all of which have to do with the feast of the Elevation of the Holy Cross (Figs. 298–299); in each of them worshippers, in the presence of one or

more bishops, are either bending over the altar table to kiss the Cross upon it or making a proskynesis. This proskynesis is celebrated in four consecutive days before the Feast of the Elevation on 14 September, and this accounts for the repetition of the miniatures. This serial representation must be understood as an expression of the growing interest of the eleventh-century illustrator in liturgical ceremonies.

The most conspicuous enrichment of the illustration of the lectionary is due to an ever-increasing influence of the menologion. True, tenth-century manuscripts like the Uncial Lectionary in Lavra on Mount Athos (cod. A.86)⁶² already had a few saint figures in the calendar part, but in the eleventh century the

⁶¹ *à Peintures* (Paris, 1964), p. 355 and pl. 124, 2; p. 368 and pl. 126, 3–4.

⁶² Millet, *Recherches*, pp. (cf. index, p. 749) and figs. 76–77, 93–99, 141, 344, 426, 533; Weitzmann, "Narrative and Liturgical Illustration," pp. 156, 160, and pl. XIII, 1–4; XVIII, 1–2 [herewith, pp. 251 ff. and Figs. 235–38 and 243–44].

⁶² Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pp. 46 ff., and pls. LII–LIV.

Fig. 295 *Mount Athos, Dionysiou. Cod. 587, fol. 3^v, John the Evangelist*



saint pictures in the lectionary increase in splendor and numbers. In the Vatican Lectionary, for example (Figs. 298–299), there exists, at least in its earlier part, a saint picture for every day of the month, and in this particular manuscript the menologion pictures by far surpass in number the christological ones.

What I should like to emphasize is that this mixture of primarily liturgical scenes based on the New Testament with the wealth of imagery coming from the menologion and additional material from other sources is not confined to the illustration of the Gospel lectionary nor to that of other liturgical manuscripts, such as the Theodore Psalter in London, but that it occurs equally in this period in other branches of the representational arts such as icon painting.

ICON PAINTING

I have already introduced the little

Fig. 296 *Vatican, Biblioteca. Cod. gr. 1613, p. 35. Elevation of the Holy Cross*



Sinai icon with a complete set of saints for the month of February (Fig. 282), which is only one of an original set of twelve. Preserved on Sinai are four altogether, namely those of January, February, March, and April. Now if one visualizes these four icons as a single unit and turns them over, the one on the far right now naturally becomes the first on the left: one will then see an extensive christological cycle which begins with the Birth of the Virgin and her Entry into the Temple and is followed by the Infancy of Christ. The next panel depicts the miracles of Christ and with the third one (Fig. 300)⁶³ begins the Passion, starting with the Entry into Jerusalem and ending, on the fourth panel, with the Koimesis. This cycle is in part narrative and in part liturgical, so far as it incorporated the great feasts, including of course the Anastasis, Pentecost, and Koimesis, which are not Gospel scenes. It is a mixture similar to the one which had developed in the illustration of the Gospel lectionary, and since the style of this icon is identical with that of miniature painting it can be taken for granted that the model was indeed a lectionary, and this may

⁶³ G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icons*, p. 123 and pl. 145.

Fig. 297 Vatican, Biblioteca, Cod. gr. 1156, fol. 250^v. Elevation of the Holy Cross



also apply to the menologion scenes. After all, we have seen that the Vatican Lectionary had an almost complete set of calendar pictures incorporated into its second part, i.e., the synaxary.

Since in the case of the four Sinai icons just discussed the christological part is complete, these panels of the calendar from January to April formed a central unit, a tetrptych, apparently preceded on the left by another tetrptych with the months of September to December, and, on the right, a similar one with the months of May to August. Did these two other tetrptychs, now lost, also have paintings on their backs, and, if so, what could their subject have been? This we do not know for sure, but we can at least make some suggestions on the basis of analogous cases. There are other such complex polyptychs among the Sinai icons, and it seems to us more than likely that this type of polyptych was actually invented in the eleventh century, in order to accommodate the increasingly elaborate liturgical programs, whereas previously diptychs and triptychs in icon painting, ivory carvings, metal

reliefs, and so on, had sufficed for the more limited programs.

There is at Sinai another set of four calendar icons,⁶⁴ almost intact,⁶⁵ which comprise the saints for every day of the year and depict the saints of three months on each icon with three rows allotted to each month, as may be seen in the first panel, which contains all the saints from September to November (Fig. 301). Compared with the previous set of calendar icons the style is somewhat earlier, i.e., quite assuredly still belonging to the second half of the eleventh century, and iconographically the narrative scenes from the lives of the saints make up a higher proportion of the illustrations, in contrast to the later calendar icons, in which the simple, frontally standing saints become preponderant. Now the far sides of the outer calendar icons have metal hinges, which proves that the first panel on the left and the fourth panel on the right were each connected to another panel, so that we are dealing here with a hexptych rather than a tetrptych. These two outer panels also exist separately on Sinai. The one that should be on the far left shows again a mixture of the narrative and the liturgical illustration

⁶⁴ G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones*, pp. 121 ff. and pls. 136-43. The inscriptions are in Greek and Georgian.

⁶⁵ The panel that contains the months of December, January, and February is cut through horizontally (Sotiriou, pl. 139) and at the right side a narrow strip is missing. I found it reproduced in N. P. Likhachev, *Materialy dlya Istorii Russkogo Ikonopisaniya* (St. Petersburg, 1906), pl. XII, 21. Apparently it is one of the Sinai icons which Porphyrius Uspensky brought to Russia in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Fig. 298 Vatican, Biblioteca. Cod. gr. 1156,
fol. 248^r. Holy Cross



Fig. 299 *Vatican, Biblioteca. Cod. gr. 1156, fol. 248^v. Holy Cross*



Fig. 300 *Mount Sinai, St. Catherine's. Icon.*
Life of Christ



of the New Testament (Fig. 302).⁶⁶ After a depiction of the Miracle of Cana in the second row, more than half the panel is devoted to other miracles, which are followed by Passion scenes essentially based on the two lessons for Maundy Thursday, i.e., the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet, and on some of the twelve Passion readings of Good Friday. At the very end there are the great feast pictures of the Anastasis, the Ascension, and an area now destroyed which would assuredly have depicted Pentecost. Once again we are reminded of the impact of the illustrated lectionary, whose dominating position and radiating influence became apparent also in icon painting.

The top row of the same icon is occupied by five images of the Virgin, four of which copy famous miracle icons that were venerated in churches of Constantinople. In the center is the Virgin Enthroned, who is known under the name of Platytera or Nikopoia⁶⁷ or still other names, and she is flanked on one side by the Blachernitissa and the Hodegetria and on the other by the Agiosoritissa and the little-known Cheimeutissa. In the case of the four lateral images, no doubt, various Virgin icons served as models, which the icon painter transformed into a miniature style, to which he was equally accustomed.

The panel that once occupied the extreme right of the hexaptych depicts the

⁶⁶ G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones*, pp. 125 ff. and pls. 146-9.

⁶⁷ While Sotiriou calls this Virgin Platytera, a good case for calling this type Nikopoia has been made by G. A. Wellen, *Theotokos. Eine ikonographische Abhandlung über das Gottesmutterbild in frühchristlicher Zeit* (Utrecht and Antwerp, 1961), pp. 147 ff.

Last Judgment (Fig. 303).⁶⁸ Essentially it shows the same lay-out as the two Last Judgment miniatures in the richly illustrated and almost contemporary Gospel book in Paris (grec. 74).⁶⁹ Obviously, miniatures and the icon alike derive from the same source. Because both share an extraordinary complexity, a clearly organized lay-out in horizontal rows, and a hieratic quality, achieved by symmetry and other means, the composition seems to point to an archetype in mosaic or fresco painting.⁷⁰ The place of a monumental Last Judgment in a church, as we know from the mosaic in Torcello⁷¹ and other examples in fresco as well, was on the west wall. In the Sinai icon, the groups of the elect show a more even distribution and the zones are more sharply divided than in the miniatures, and this suggests that the icon is closer to the archetype than the Paris' miniatures. This conclusion is supported by many details, such as the fuller depiction of the choirs of the elect, or the placing of the dead rising out of the tomb at the bottom of the panel. There is no evidence, as far as we can see, for the existence of this complex Last Judgment composition in the tenth century, though some clues, of course, may have been lost. However this may be, it is not before

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 128 ff. and pl. 150.

⁶⁹ Omont, *Évangiles*, pls. 41 and 81.

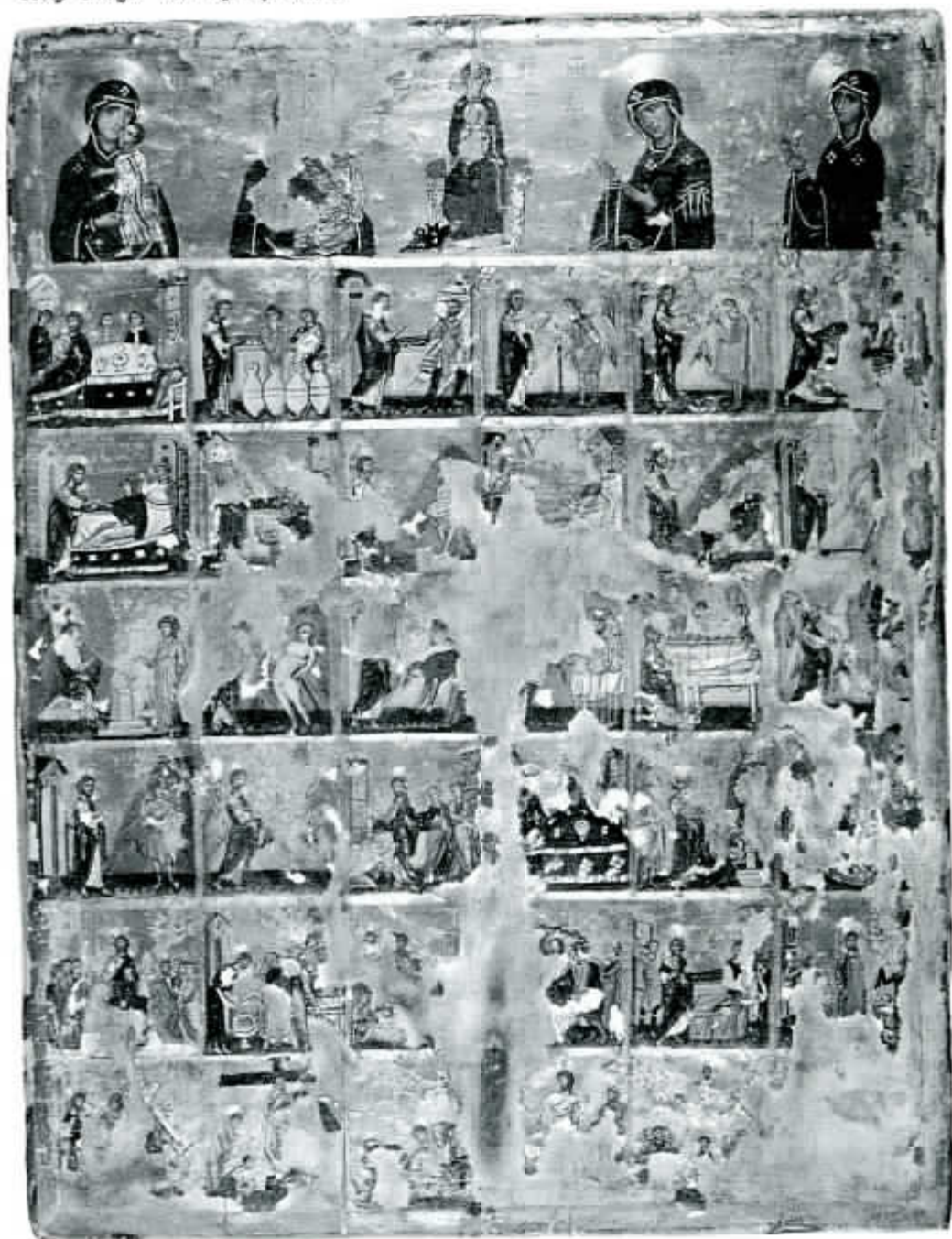
⁷⁰ As for the most recent writing on the subject of the Last Judgment cf. B. Brenk, "Die Anfänge der Byzantinischen Weltgerichtsdarstellung," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 57 (1964), 106 ff. [B. Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung in der christlichen Kunst des ersten Jahrtausends: Studien zur Geschichte des Weltgerichtsbilds* ("Wiener byzantinische Studien," 3 [Vienna, 1966]).]

⁷¹ Lazarev, *Istoriya Vizantiiskoy Zhivopisi*, pl. 240.

Fig. 301 *Mount Sinai, St. Catherine's. Icon.*
Saints from September to November



Fig. 302 *Mount Sinai, St. Catherine's, Icon.*
Holy Images and Life of Christ



the eleventh century that this composition became firmly established and spread into miniature and icon painting, and even ivory carving.⁷² All copies show the style of the capital, so there can be little doubt that the archetype was a monumental mosaic or fresco in some church of Constantinople.

As mentioned before, the location for the Last Judgment, in cases where it is included in the liturgical program, is the west wall of a church, a place usually reserved for the Death of the Virgin. Now, the first panel of our hexptych apparently ended with Pentecost, omitting the Death of the Virgin. This suggests that the Last Judgment has taken its place, just as in a church decoration, as a substitute for a Koimesis.

Reflecting on the hexptych as a whole, one notices basically the same range of iconographical subject matter which one finds in a Gospel lectionary, i.e., a mixture of narrative and liturgical Gospel scenes and a complete calendar. If the Last Judgment is not preserved in any lectionary, this may be accidental. Its presence in the Paris Gospel book which, as demonstrated before, possesses quite a number of feast pictures adopted from the liturgical Gospels, suggests that once it *did* exist in an eleventh-century lectionary. Even so, it is equally possible or perhaps even more likely that in our particular case the Sinai icon, because of its greater complexity, derives directly from a monumental painting. We must

⁷² An ivory in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, 2 [Berlin, 1930-34], 60 and pl. XLV, no. 123) with a Last Judgment, which is abbreviated but derived from the same archetype, likewise must be dated to the eleventh century.

reckon with repeated evidence of mutual interpenetration of the various media, an interpenetration which may have been much easier and much more frequent than is generally assumed.

Sotiriou has published a second icon of the Last Judgment (Fig. 304)⁷³ which I would like to discuss briefly although it dates from the early twelfth century, because it can be demonstrated that this icon also was once a part of a polyptych of which we have been able to trace the other panels among the Sinai icons. A cutting in the right side of the frame precisely matches the projection of a wing which, when joined and closed, fills the recessed area of the Last Judgment icon. On the left side, holes for hinges suggest the existence of an identical square panel which also had provisions for an outer wing. In other words, we are dealing here with a quadriptych that folds twice. The Last Judgment was not, in this case, at the extreme right, but at the right of the center. Iconographically, it is very close to the previous one without being a direct copy, and this would suggest that both were rather closely related to the lost archetype. The second panel off the center (Fig. 305), once positioned at the left of the Last Judgment, is kept in the bema of the church at the back of the iconostasis. It represents precisely the twelve feasts as they were finally accepted, and a comparison with the corresponding panel in the earlier hexptych makes it clear that, by this stage, the concentration on the liturgical feast cycle had led to the complete elimination of narrative scenes.

⁷³ G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icons*, p. 130 and pl. 151.

Fig. 303 *Mosque Sinai, St. Catherine's. Icon.*
Last Judgment



The two wings (Figs. 306–307),⁷⁴ now in the icon room of the monastery, depict at the very top the Birth of the Virgin and her Presentation in the Temple. These two scenes from Mary's infancy had become important feast pictures, and they occur twice on Sinai iconostasis beams,⁷⁵ where they precede the twelve feasts and thus serve as a kind of introduction to them. Underneath the two Virgin scenes, on the wings, are two rows of saints who, contrary to the hexptych, are arranged not according to the calendar but to their hierarchical order. First come the great church fathers, followed by the soldier saints, the physician saints, the holy monks and nuns, and finally by Constantine and Helen. This is the liturgical order in which the saints are placed in a church decoration: the fathers of the church occupy the most honored place in the apse, then follow the soldiers and other saints, and finally, the monks and nuns take the more humble place close to the entrance of the church.

Analyzed as a whole, this tetraptych brings into focus the liturgical program more sharply than the hexptych discussed before: (1) by giving to the Last Judgment a more central position within the polyptych; (2) by concentrating the christological cycle entirely on the twelve canonical feasts; (3) by adding the pictures

of two Virgin feasts; and (4) by positioning the saints according to their hierarchical order. Thus the comparison between these two polyptychs gives us a clear insight into the trend toward an ever-increasing precision in the formulation of the liturgical program as it developed within the eleventh century. It seems appropriate to stress the point once more that liturgical programs as such were not an innovation of the eleventh century but were intensified, elaborated, and systematized at that time. One of the earlier crystallizations into a liturgical composition is the Deesis, which is based on the prayer of intercession of the liturgy. This can be demonstrated by the tenth-century ivory triptychs of the Romanus group,⁷⁶ where the theme is fully developed, with the archangels, apostles, and other saints grouped around the Deesis proper.

Yet the fact that the Deesis, together with the cycle of the twelve great feasts, forms a larger liturgical unit is compatible with the tendency toward greater complexity in the eleventh century. This may be seen in another Sinai icon, which was executed in the refined style of Constantinople in the second half of the eleventh century (Fig. 308).⁷⁷ The Deesis in the top row is flanked by the two archangels and two pairs of apostles at either side. But there was no place for all the apostles,

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 167 and fig. 180.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 107 ff. and figs. 99, 101, 125. The second beam is still unpublished. [Several scenes on this beam, though not the infancy of the Virgin, have been published in Weitzmann, "Thirteenth-Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," *Art Bulletin*, 45 (1963), 181 ff. and fig. 3; *idem*, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 20 (1966), 62 ff. and figs. 22–24.]

⁷⁶ Cf. n. 36. [Now see Weitzmann, "Die byzantinischen Elfenbeine eines Bamberger Graduale und ihre ursprüngliche Verwendung," *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener* (Marburg, 1967), pp. 11 ff.]

⁷⁷ G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icons*, pp. 75 ff. and pls. 57–61.

Fig. 304 *Mount Sinai, St. Catherine's. Icon.*
Last Judgment

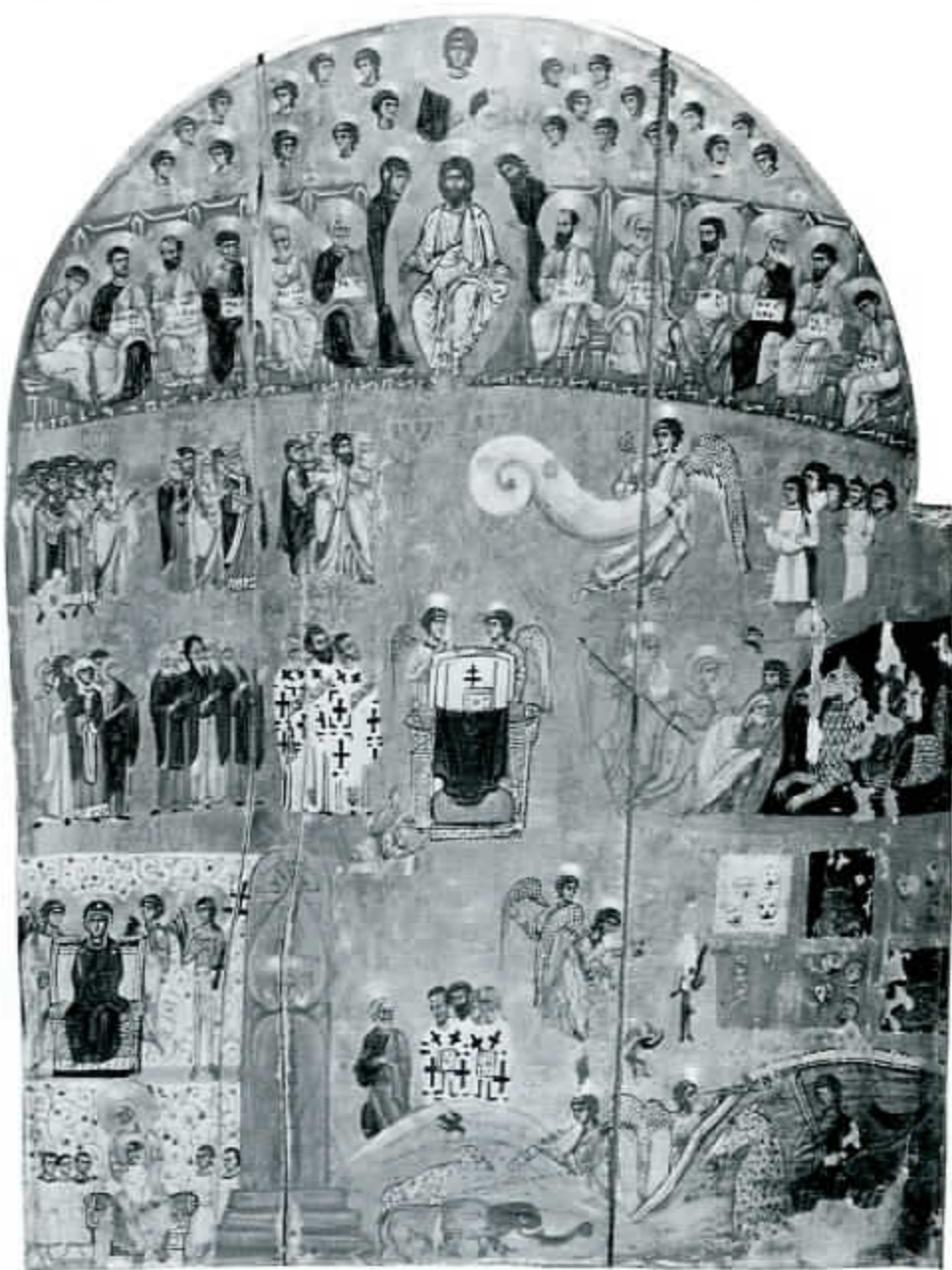
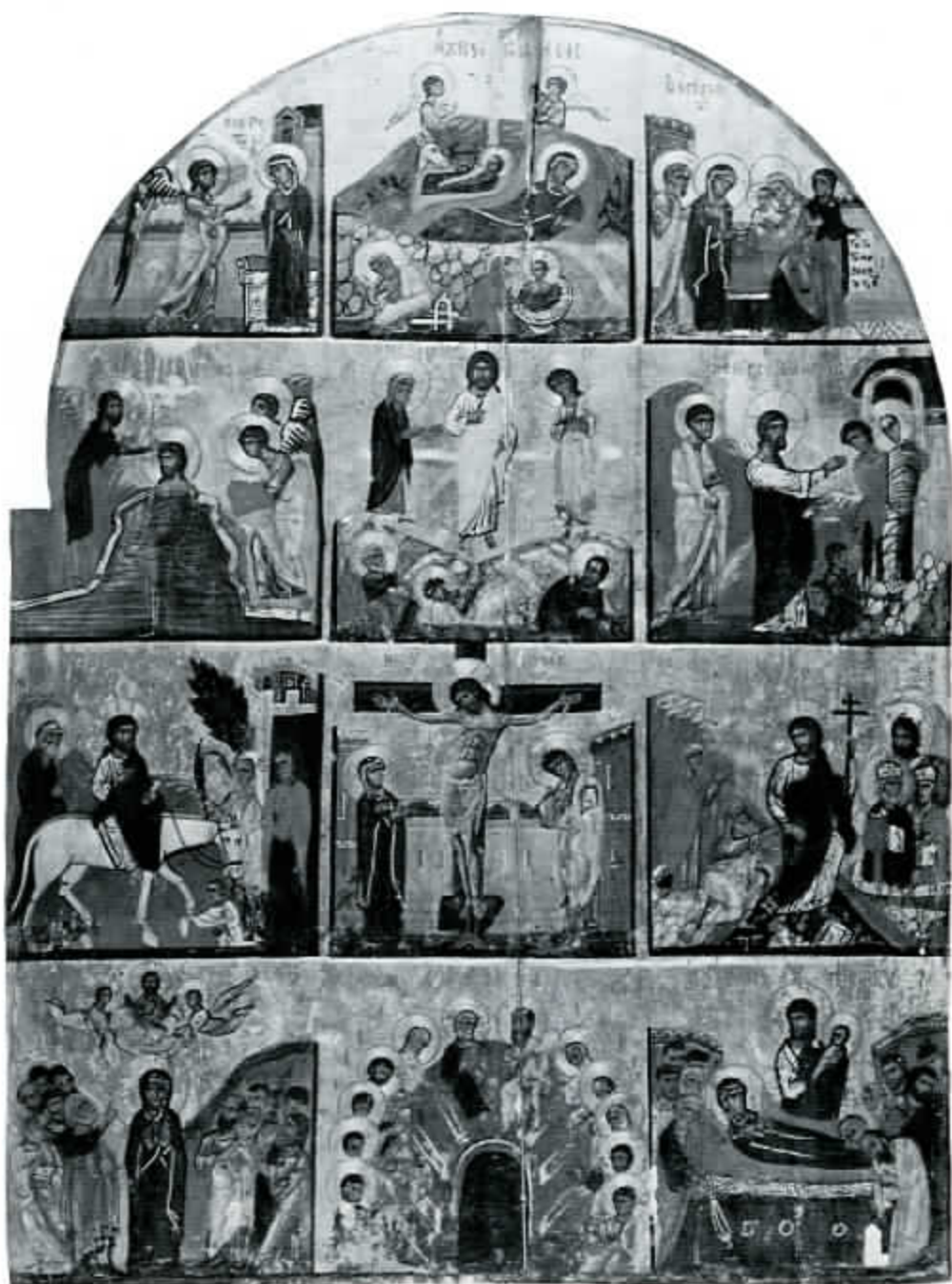


Fig. 305 *Mount Sinai, St. Catherine's. Icon.*
Twelve Feasts



and two more pairs had to be moved to the corners of the second row. Presumably there must have been a model in which the twelve apostles were all lined up in one row, and this model assuredly was an epistyle of an iconostasis, in which, as we now know from the findings on Mount Sinai, the placing of a Deesis in the center of the beam is quite normal.⁷⁸ Moreover, as we learn from the same group of Sinai monuments, the epistyle of the iconostasis is also the place for a cycle of the twelve great feasts, sometimes with a Deesis in the center,⁷⁹ and thus we are justified in believing that the feast cycle of our Sinai icon is also derived from an iconostasis beam. The traditional arrangement on these beams is to place the individual scenes under painted arches, and the effect of such a decorative system is apparent in a few scenes from our Sinai icon.⁸⁰

It is an open question whether the icon painter used two different iconostasis epistyles as models; it is perhaps more likely that he used as a model one epistyle which either had all the saints and feasts in one long beam or in two, the upper one being composed of the Deesis with the apostles and the lower one consisting of the twelve feasts. That the pre-iconoclastic period already had figurative representations, mainly of those saints, on the epistyle of the iconostasis we know from the description of the sixth-century iconostasis in Hagia Sophia, as described

by Paul the Silentiary.⁸¹ Yet among the achievements of the eleventh century,⁸² as we learn from the icon just analyzed, was, if we are not mistaken, the use of the twelve-feast cycle for the decoration of an epistyle of an iconostasis which dates from a period earlier than the extant instances of Sinai, which are from the latter part of the twelfth century. The icon also seems to suggest that the eleventh century already saw the introduction of the epistyle with two beams of different subject matter in separate zones, a form which so far has been known only from considerably later instances.

The program of this icon and of the previously discussed polyptychs has many features in common with the general lay-out of monumental church decoration, both in mosaic and fresco. In the eleventh-century mosaic decoration of Hosios Lukas, the Nea Moni, and Daphni, the cycle of the twelve feasts played a dominant role, at the very time that it became a central theme in icon painting. Christ, the Virgin, John the Baptist, the archangels, the apostles, and the saints are all integrated into a program which is as systematized in monumental art as it is in polyptychs. So close indeed are the interpenetrations of all branches of painting that it becomes almost superfluous to raise the question as to which

⁷⁸ Cf. the thirteenth-century iconostasis beam with the Deesis and apostles: Sotiriou, *Icones*, pp. 112 ff. and pls. 117-24.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 102 ff. and pls. 87-102; pp. 111 ff. and pls. 112-16.

⁸⁰ Cf. n. 76.

⁸¹ St. G. Xydīs, "The Chancel Barrier, Solea and Ambo of Hagia Sophia," *Art Bulletin*, 29 (1947), 7 ff.

⁸² For the importance of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in developing a richer iconostasis cf. V. Lasarev, "Trois fragments d'Epistyles peintes et le Temple Byzantin," *Tīmētikos G. Sotiriou. Deltion Archaiologikēs Hetaireias*, 4th ser., 4, 1964-65 (Athens, 1966), 117 ff. [This same article appeared in *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, 27 (1967), 162 ff.]

Fig. 306 *Mount Sinai, St. Catherine's. Icon.*
Birth of Virgin and Saints



Fig. 307 *Mount Sinai, St. Catherine's. Icon.*
Presentation in Temple and Saints

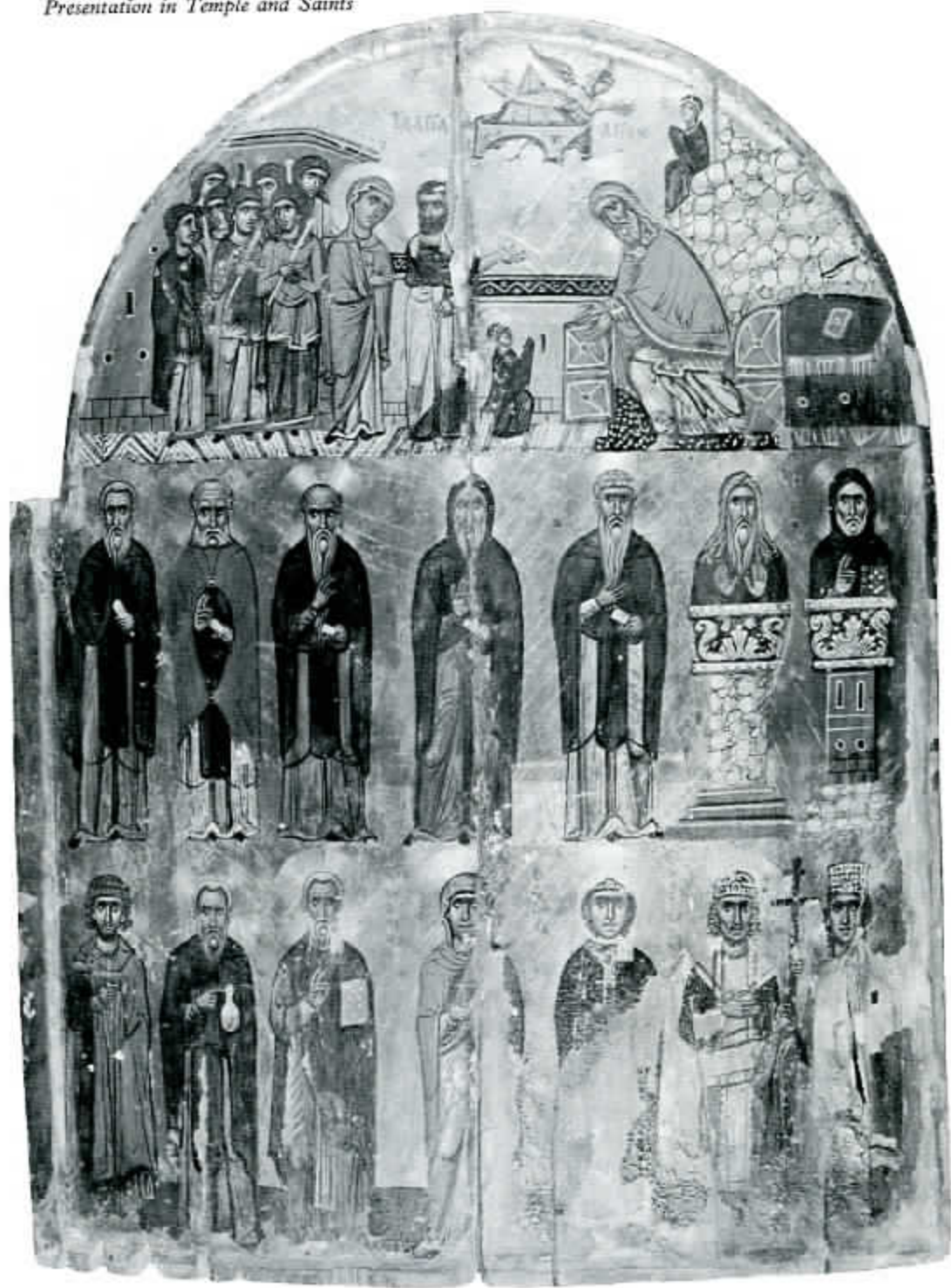


Fig. 308 *Mount Sinai, St. Catherine's. Icon. Deesis and Twelve Feasts*



medium has the priority of invention. Liturgical programs apparently were laid out by learned clerics without regard for a special medium of the representational arts. They were, if such a comparison may be permitted, like some of Bach's music composed without a specific instrument in mind.

SUMMARY

If some generalizations about the artistic achievements of eleventh-century painting may be permitted, one would have to say this. The achievements of the Macedonian Renaissance were never to be abandoned, and a classicizing quality in the rendering of the human figure as an organic and corporeal unity

remained a stable factor as long as Byzantine art lasted, although the physical reality of the individual figure was diminished somewhat in the eleventh century in order to achieve the effect of greater spiritualization. An ascetic body depicted in billowing classical drapery became the ideal in this period, when a conciliation between monastic precepts and a continued study of the classics, which had been mutually antagonistic in the early days of Christianity, finally achieved a perfect balance. It is in the eleventh century that these two forces were molded into an indissoluble and harmonious entity of such strength that the eleventh-century style became the normalized—one may even say the

"canonical"—style for centuries to come, surviving in its essence, though altered in detail, even after the fall of Constantinople.

In the iconographic realm one may note, notwithstanding the continuation of a rich tradition ever-present in Byzantine art, the development of new subject matter such as the illustrations of monastic treatises, which achieve the same richness and expressiveness as the more traditional biblical and patristic illustrations. The new ascetic and spiritualizing trend affects in this period even the miniatures of classical subject matter.

The most fundamental change in eleventh-century iconography was the transformation of a comparatively more descriptive painting into a more complex one in which the liturgical element increased steadily. Certainly liturgical art had existed before the eleventh century, but it now became by far the predominant factor in all ramifications of religious painting. It found its newly strengthened position in the concentration on and lavish illustration of the leading liturgical books: the Psalter, the menologion and, most important of all, the Gospel lectionary. In these manuscripts changes and innovations occurred which were paralleled by similar ones in icon and monumental painting, art forms which also became thoroughly impregnated with a sense of liturgical order. The culminating point in eleventh-century iconography was reached when the liturgical art crystallized into larger programs which were so thoroughly adjusted to the orthodox rite that the Church never felt the need to change them in their essence, though in detail

alterations and accretions occurred from time to time. To the advantage of Byzantine civilization, the harmonious art of the eleventh century fulfilled for subsequent centuries the need of an all-pervading liturgical art.