BYZANTINEΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΕΣ TEXNH, TEXNIKH KAI TEXNOΛΟΓΙΑ

BYZANTINE ICONS ART, TECHNIQUE AND TECHNOLOGY

ΔΙΕΘΝΈΣ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟ AN INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM

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ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΑΚΕΣ ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ ΚΡΗΤΗΣ ΙΔΡΥΤΙΚΗ ΔΩΡΕΑ ΠΑΓΚΡΗΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΝΩΣΕΩΣ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟ 2002

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MARKING HOLY TIME: THE BYZANTINE CALENDAR ICONS*

On 24 October, 1792, the National Convention of Revolutionary France established a new, rational, calendar, one that was to be based entirely on natural phenomena. All months were to have 30 days, all weeks to have 10 days, all days to have 100 hours, all hours 100 minutes. The months were renamed to reflect their seasons: the months were called Frost, Snow, Seeds, Heat, Fruits and so on. And new holidays were introduced that deliberately bore no relation to the traditional ones: there was now Justice Day, Conjugal Fidelity Day, Filial Affection Day, and so forth. All connections with the measure of time as it had been defined by the Church were deliberately broken.

The new calendar, whose year one was deemed to have begun on 22 September 1792, with the proclamation of the French Republic, lasted only until its year 14, that is, 1806, when Napoleon put an end to it. The most unpopular feature of this Revolutionary calendar was the 10-day week, which meant workers had to go for nine days, instead of six, before a day of rest.

I mention the French calendar because it reveals the political significance of the manipulation of time². To break the power of the established Church, these eighteenth-century revolutionaries knew they needed to break its control over time.

The marking of this time, especially that of the hours, has always come from the top, whether it is the clock towers on City Hall today, or the waterclock set up by King Roger II in Palermo in 1142, or the clock that stood before Hagia Sophia from at least the ninth century, whose doors opened and shut according to the hours of the day, or the horologion of Justinian at the Million³. Then there were the carved monthly calendars of the Roman Republic⁴. Binding people into a community, a major goal of any political endeavour, has always involved the imposition of some sort of common temporal order.

I wish to acknowledge the collaboration of my former student, Ludovico Geymonat of Princeton University, whose 1997 seminar paper was entitled "The Calendar Icons on Mount Sinai".

^{1.} M. Meinzer, Der französische Revolutionskalender (1792-1805), Munich 1992.

J. Rilkin, Time Wars. The Primary Conflict in Human History, New York 1987, esp. 75-78. A.
 Aveni, Empires of Time. Calendars, Clocks and Cultures, New York 1989 (repr. New York-Tokyo-London 1995), esp. 144-145.

^{3.} On Medieval time and timekeeping devices, see R. Sorabji, Time, Creation and the Continuum. Theories in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, Ithaca 1983, J. le Goff, Merchant's Time and Church's Time in the Middle Ages, Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages, Chicago 1980, 29-42. A. Borst, The Ordering of Time from the Ancient Computes to the Modern Computer, Chicago 1993, esp. 24-100. G. Dohrn-van Rossum, History of the Hour, Clocks and Modern Temporal Order, Chicago and London 1996, esp. 28, 29-123, and the essays collected in Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'antiquité au moyen âge, Ille-XIIIe siècles, Paris 1984. On the clock at Hagia Sophia, see M. Izzedin, Un prisonnier arabe à Byzance, Hâroun-ibn-Yahya, Revue des Études Islamiques 151 (1941-1946), 59, On the Milion clock, see The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor, transt, and comm. C. Mango, R. Scott, Oxford 1997, 314 (= 216.25 Bonn). See also D. Hill, Arabic Water Clocks, Aleppo 1981.

F. Magi, Il calendario dipinto sotto Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome 1972. M.R. Salzman, New Evidence for the Dating of the Calendar at Santa Maria Maggiore, TAPhS 111 (1981), 215-227.
 D. Mallardo, Il calendario marmoreo di Napoli, Rome 1947. A.K. Michels, The Calendar of the Roman Republic, Princeton 1967.

In Byzantium, of course, time was God's time, measured from His creation of the world. The months and years were a steady march of commemorations observed by both Church and State alike⁵. I would like to examine in this context one special group of icons, the so-called 'calendar' icons found on Mt Sinai, which aim at providing one or more images for every day of the year (figs 1-6). These Sinai icons date from the late eleventh to the very late twelfth century, and are, in fact, the only examples of this type of icon known to us from the Byzantine period⁶. G. and M. Soteriou first published a selection of these icons, and Kurt Weitzmann included observations on them as a genre⁷, but not all of them have been published, even today.

These Sinai calendar icons have images of saints arranged according to their date of commemoration, in panels that start with September, the beginning of the Church year, and end with August. All the saints of the year may be contained on just two panels, as is the case with one small, late eleventh-century diptych (figs 1-2)a, or on four panels, each displaying three months, as with a tetraptych also of the late eleventh century (figs 3-4)9, or with each month on its own individual panel, as with a very large series from around the year 1200 (figs 5-6)10. The saints are represented either by holy portraits, or by images of their martyrdoms. In the portrait type (figs 1-2, 5-6), standing saints are arranged in small units: generally three separate saints or groups of saints are commemorated on each day. In the martyrdom type of calendar icon (figs 3-4), only one saint or group is commemorated each day, and he or she is depicted at the moment of death. If - but only if - the saint died a peaceful death, a portrait substitutes for a scene of execution. When a major feast day comes around, such as that of the Annunciation, it is given priority, and a miniature image of the feast replaces the holy figure (fig. 5, second row from the bottom, right end).

Cycles of this martyrdom type were painted in the narthexes of churches of the Palaiologan period, mostly in Slavic royal foundations¹¹. But a calendar

^{5.} V. Grumel, La chronologie, Paris 1958. See also the studies devoted to Byzantium in Le temps chrétien, op. cit. (note 3). On liturgical time in Byzantium, see T.J. Talley, The Origins of the Liturgical Year, New York 1986. A. Ehrhard, Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche, Leipzig 1937, vol. 1, 25-35.

Some Postbyzantine examples, which take a slightly different form, have been studied by P. Vocotopoulos, Οι εικόνες μηνολογίου τοῦ μεγάλου Μετεώρου, Ευφροσύνον 1991, 78-90. See also M. Chatzidakis, D. Sophianos, The Great Meteoron. History and Art, Athens 1990, figs 167, 197, 199, 201. For Russian examples, see 56 below.

Soteriou 1956-1958, figs 26-45, K. Weitzmann, Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century, in Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination, ed. H.L. Kessler, Chicago and London 1971, 284, 296-304, figs 282, 301, Idem, Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th centuries at Sinai, ΔΧΑΕ 12 (1986), 63-116, esp. 107-112. See also Belting 1994, 249-256.

Soteriou 1956-1958, figs 131-135. G. Galavaris, in Σινά 1990, fig. 17.

Soteriou 1956-1958, figs 136-143. G. Galavaris, in Σινά 1990, fig. 16.

^{10.} Soteriou 1956-1958, figs 126-130. D. Mouriki, in Σινά 1990, fig. 30. There is another series of this type on Sinal, although only four or the original 12 panels survive (12th century); the panels are double-sided, with feast and Passion scenes on the verso: Soteriou 1956-1958, figs 144-145.

^{11.} These cycles as a genre have been studied by P. Mijović, Menolog, Belgrade 1973; others have dealt with specific Postbyzantine cycles of this type in Greece: H. Deliyanni-Doris, Die Wandmalereien der Lite der Klosterkirche von Hosios Meletios, Munich 1975, esp. 22-29, 36-104, 184-298. M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, Η Μονή των Φιλονθρωπηνών και η πρώτη φάση της μεταβυζαντινής ζωγραφικής, Athens 1983, 184-185. See also N. Patterson-Ševčenko, Illustrated

consisting entirely of single portraits, such as we find on the icons, does not exist in Byzantine monumental painting: despite the large number of saints in Byzantine churches, the portraits of those saints were never arranged in any consistent chronological order, but rather by professional category - warrior, bishop, monk, holy woman12. And it is by profession that they approach the Lord on the Day of Judgement, at the end of time, as on this Sinai icon (fig. 12), when the temporal connection of a saint with a particular day of the month would no longer have any meaning.

The choice of saints on these icons corresponds extremely well with what we know of the eleventh- and twelfth-century Constantinopolitan calendar, whether represented by the Synaxarion of Constantinople or the Typikon of Hagia Sophia¹³, by a Middle Byzantine Gospel Lectionary such as Vatican gr. 115614, by the typikon of a monastery such as the Evergetis in Constantinople15, or by the sets of mnemonic jingles devoted to the feasts composed by Christopher of Mytilene, an imperial official of the mid-eleventh century16,

In fact, the relationship to Christopher of Mytilene is in one particular case very close indeed. On the Sinai tetraptych with martyrdom scenes (figs 3-4), the inscriptions which characterize in each case the saint's mode of death ξίφει τελειούται for example, or λιθοβοληθείς τελειούται, πυρί τελειούται, έν είρηνη τελειούται - are remarkably similar to the titles, or didascaliai, to Christopher of Mytilene's verses on the feasts of the year. The icon calendar is not absolutely identical to that of Christopher with regard either to the choice of saints or to their modes of death, but it is close enough to warrant our assuming a close Constantinopolitan connection for this tetraptych 17.

Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologian, Chicago 1990, 189-191.

 Synaxarium CP 1902. For the Typikon of the Great Church, see J. Mateos, Le Typicon de la Grande Église, 2 vols, Rome 1962-1963.

 For the Evergetis calendar, see A.A. Dmitrievskij, Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej. Kiev 1895, vol. 1, 256-499. For an English translation, see R.H. Jordan, The Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, September to February, Belfast 2000, See also N. Patterson-Ševčenko, The Calendar of the Evergetis, forthcoming.

 On Christopher of Mytllene, see E. Foilieri, I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo, 2 vols, Brussels 1980. Another metrical calendar was written by Theodore Prodromos: A. Acconcia Longo, Il calendario giambico in monostici di Teodoro Prodromo, Rome 1983.

17. On the relation between the verses of Christopher of Mytilene and the captions accompanying some Palaiologan frescoed menologia cycles, see M. Maksimovic-Gilgorijevic, Slikani kalendar u Treskavcu i stihovi Hristofora Mitllenskog, Zograf 8 (1977), 48-54. The verses of Christopher of Mytilene were incorporated into the Synaxarion, as preface to the readings, in a certain group of manuscripts, Synaxarium CP 1902, xxxviii-xLiv. On the Sinai tetraptych, Georgian inscriptions have been added to the Greek ones.

O. Demus, Byzantine Mosaic Decoration, London 1948 (repr. New Rochelle 1976), 26-29. L. James, Monks, Monastic Art, the Sanctoral Cycle and the Middle Byzantine Church, in The Theotokos Evergetis and Eleventh-Century Monasticism, ed. M. Mullett, A. Kirby, Belfast 1994, 162-175. In one early Russian church, holy portraits are indeed arranged according to their date of celebration (church of St Symeon, Zverin monastery, Novgorod, third quarter 15th century), see L.I. Lifshits, Monumental'naja zivopis' Novgoroda XIV - XV vekov, Moscow 1987, 517-520, figs 395-430. I wish to thank Engelina Smirnova for this reference.

^{14.} V. Lazarev, Storia della pittura bizantina, Turin 1967, fig. 205. K. Weitzmann, Byzantine Miniature, op. cit. (note 7), figs 298-299. J. Lowden, Early Christian and Byzantine Art, London 1997, 297, fig. 173. M.-L. Dolezal is preparing a monograph on this manuscript. For another illustrated calendar, see J. Anderson, The New York Cruciform Lectionary, University Park, Pennsylvania 1992. For lectionary calendars in general, see C. Gregory, Textkritik des Neuen Testaments, 3 vols. Leipzig 1900-1909, esp. vol. 1, 365-384.

The icons with martyrdom scenes present the days in separate compartments rather like a modern calendar. But the portrait icons rely entirely on the Byzantine artist's subtle mastery of the grouping of figures to achieve the visual isolation of one day of the month from the next. The density of figures here – a rarity in Byzantine art – means that these saints are not easily approached as devotional images.

What then was their function? This is a difficult question to answer, Icons of this type are virtually never mentioned in Byzantine sources. We do, however, have the report of a German traveller to Sinai, Felix Fabri, who in 1484, saw 12 calendar icons attached to the 12 columns of the Sinai basilica exactly as they are now (fig. 7)¹⁸. He says that he and his companions went from column to column, kneeling before each one (he implies that there are relics inside each column and that the icons relate to those relics), praying and receiving indulgences at each. It is odd that the series should start at the east end of the north row of columns with January, rather than with September, as we would expect of a proper Byzantine series, and the relics in the column, if such there were, can have had little to do with the saints depicted on the icons. In other words, Fabri's Western outlook must have coloured his description, but it does suggest that these icons may be in their original position.

One other source about the use of these icons is later still: Makarios, an Archbishop of Antioch who visited Russia in the mid-seventeenth century, speaks of sets of calendar icons, known as 'annual tablets', in the Dormition Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin, and describes how each one was taken out and placed on a preskynetarion when its month came around 19. A Russian icon of 1569 once formed part of just such a series; five panels survive (fig. 8)20. This series contains many familiar figures, but it also has a number of new commemorations, saints who had been proclaimed as such for the first time only 20 years earlier, at the synods of 1547 and 154921. Though the Byzantine calendar was not always so receptive to newcomers, clearly even there church calendars did have to be periodically revised22. The Russian series of 12 calendar panels was apparently executed at a large workshop for the production of such icons in Moscow: it was purchased there by a visiting archbishop for presentation to a monastery, a pattern we can well imagine at work already in Byzantine times23.

The Wanderings of Felix Fabri, part 2, London 1897, vol. 2, 608-610. I wish to thank Sharon Gerstel for kind assistance with this reference.

V.N. Lasarev, The Double-Faced Tablets from the St Sophia Cathedral in Novgorod, Moscow 1983, 7. The icons are 'kept on the shelves of lecterns which stand in front of the altar and are covered by altar-cloths', ibid., 8.

Two panels are in the Tretjakov Gallery in Moscow, three in the Russian Museum in St Petersburg: I. Shalina, in Gates of Mystery. The Art of Holy Russia (exh. cat.), Cambridge. n.d. (ca 1994), no 11 (December panel).

Gafes of Mystery, op. cit., 91. One of the sixteenth-century Meteora panels also includes the portrait of a neomartyr (John the Younger of Ioannina. †1526): see P.L. Vocotopoulos. Οι εικόνες μηνολογίου, loc. cit. (note 6), 84.

Hosios Loukas for example, succeeded in making his way into the Constantinopolitan calendar during the course of the eleventh century.

^{23.} Gates of Mystery, op. cit., 91-93. The bishop was Lavrentii, Archbishop of Kazan, who gave the panels to the church of the Dormition in the monastery of Joseph of Volotsk. The panels were apparently set up in three rows of four panels each, on a stand which was located behind the lefthand pillar of the church.

At Sinai, the icons are set high up on the columns, which again seems to preclude any sort of immediate devotional function; Fabri makes it quite clear that no panel of this group was taken down, like the Russian ones, for a month's stay on a proskynetarion. Unlike their Russian counterparts, then, these large Sinai icons were all visible at all times. What were they doing there? We can readily imagine them providing a handy corpus of images, a complete set of mini icons for a church that could scarcely have been expected to possess a complete series of full-size icons of saints (on this one set of Sinai panels there are over 1000 different holy portraits). And we can easily imagine them serving as modelbooks, for the transmission of iconographic types.

These are quite plausible uses, but I suspect none reflects their primary purpose - which, I suggest, was not so much devotional as it was regulatory. These icons, faithfully, even slavishly, reproducing the calendar of commemorations in use in Constantinople, could serve to regulate holy time at distant places, and, like a Greenwich Mean Time, serve to keep the rhythm of commemorations everywhere aligned to that in the capital, and therefore consistent throughout the Empire.

We have cited the choice of saints and the captions as evidence for the Constantinopolitan origin of these Sinai icon series. One detail will serve to show just how specific and significant the connection can be. On the May panel of the 12-month series (fig. 6), the feast of the Third Finding of the Head of John the Baptist, celebrated 25 May, is represented by the image of a bishop receiving the head from an emperor (second row from the bottom, right end). It is a generic image, except that the bishop has a most surprising face: he is beardless. Bishops, whatever their physiognomy and hair style, are in Byzantine art invariably depicted with a beard - it is as much an indication of their clerical rank as the omophorion. But there is one important exception to this rule, namely the ninth-century Patriarch St Ignatios the Younger, whose virtually contemporary mosaic portrait in the church of Hagia Sophia has silver hair but no beard (fig. 9)24, Ignatios was that rare phenomenon, a eunuch patriarch25. His portrait as a eunuch appears in only one other place, in the Menologion of Basil II. on his feast day 23 October (fig. 10)28. Here we see the same startling combination: the clean chin of a deacon with the silver hair of an old man.

The Byzantine literary sources almost never mention the involvement of Ignatios and Michael III with this relic. The Synaxarion notice for the feast is a masterpiece of obscurity, as are other readings associated with this day²⁷. But

^{24.} C. Mango, Materials for the Study of St Sophia at Islanbul, Washington DC 1962, 52, fig. 62. The patriarch died in 877; the mosaic might be as early as the reign of Leo VI (886-912).

^{25.} S. Tougher, Byzantine Eunuchs: An Overview, with Special Reference to their Creation and Origin, in Women, Men and Eunuchs. Gender in Byzantium, ed. L. James, London and New York 1997, 168-184, esp. 180.

^{26.} Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 1613, p. 134. Facsimile: Il menologio di Basilio II, Cod. Vaticano greco 1613, 2 vois, Turin 1907.

^{27.} Synaxarium CP 1902, 707. Equally vague are the poetic texts in the Menaion, although the canon for the feast, anachronistically attributed to the Patriarch Tarasios, seems to contain puns on the names of Michael ("Αναξ αγγελώνυμος) and Ignatios (Ιερεύς δε θείος, θεοφόρος επώνυμος) (St Ignatios of Antioch was called the Theophoros): Mayolov τού Maiou, ed. To Phos, Athens 1961, 211 (third troparion of the 9th ode), 208 (third troparion of the 5th ode).

in the Menologion of Basil II, it is said that 'under Emperor Michael, who established Orthodoxy, and Ignatios the Patriarch, by the grace of God it [the head] was translated to Constantinople and deposited there with great honour, like all the other holy [things] and the relics of the saints, for (the city's) protection and security'28.

This little image on the Sinai calendar icon, then, preserves a tradition concerning Patriarch Ignatios that we find reflected otherwise only in a text in the Menologion of Basil II. We have the impression of something done not only in Constantinople, but under close patriarchal, or imperial, supervision.

A Constantinopolitan connection is also evident in the images of the Virgin that appear on one of two panels that have been associated with the tetraptych on Sinai (figs 3-4)29. Here, above a sequence of scenes of the Miracles and Passion of Christ, we see the Blachernitissa, the Hodegetria, the Hagiosoritissa, and the Chymeute, four famous icons, all labelled, flanking an unnamed seated Virgin and Child (fig. 11). The named ones are all icons possessed by Constantinopolitan sanctuaries at this time. Taken together, this set of six panels, which includes a cautionary panel with the Last Judgement as well (fig. 12), has become a summation of Orthodox faith as defined by the venerations and commemorations followed at the centre of the Byzantine world in Constantinople.

To conclude, let us turn to a nineteenth-century Russian icon in the monastery of Simonopetra (fig. 13), which was exhibited in the recent Athos exposition in Thessaloniki30. This is an enormous icon, a metre and a half high, with feasts of the whole year contained on the single panel. Framing it on all sides are the images of 70 different Russian icons of the Virgin. The feast days of these Virgin icons, which of course remind us of the four Virgin icons placed along the top of the Sinai panel, have here actually been inserted in the monthly calendars, where they routinely replace the traditional saint of the day, and have thus entered liturgical time. This icon is reported to have been given to the monks of Simonopetra by Tsar Nicholas II. If so, it shows that imperial concern with the marking of holy time lasted from eleventh-century Byzantium until the end of the Third Rome.

The establishment of a common temporal rhythm, an identical sequence of commemorations to be followed by communities all over the Empire, must surely have been one of Constantinople's most powerful unifying tools. These calendar icons were one means by which such consistency could be achieved.

^{28.} PG 117, 3258. The passage appears at the end of the entry for the Second Finding of the Head of John the Baptist, on February 24: Vat. gr. 1613, p. 420.

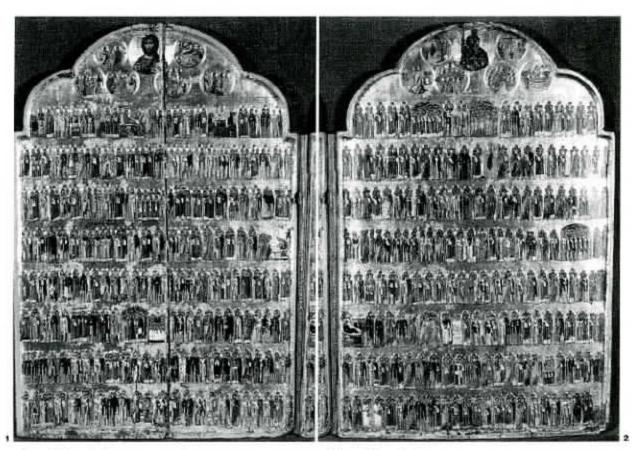
^{29.} Soteriou 1956-1958, figs 146-150. K. Weitzmann, Byzantine Miniature, loc. cit. (note 7), figs 302-303. Belting 1994, 49, fig. 13. For a color plate of the icon with the Virgin images, see J.-M. Spieser, A. Cutler, Byzance médiévale, 700 - 1204, Paris 1996, fig. 310. Across the back of the tetraptych panels are crosses with cryptograms, plus some dodecasyllable verses ostensibly written by the painter, the monk John, asking the saints he has depicted to intercede for him with Christ. Crosses and similar verses, also naming John the monk, appear on the back of two other Sinal panels of roughly the same size, one with the images of the Virgin, the other a Last Judgement. A monk, probably the monk John, kneels at the feet of the central Virgin image. All six panels have Georgian inscriptions added to the Greek ones. Nicolette Trahoulia is preparing a study of this set of icons.

^{30,} I. Tavlakis, in Treasures of Mount Athos (exh. cat.), Thessaloniki 19972, no 2.136, 200.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

ΟΡΙΖΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΝ ΙΕΡΟ ΧΡΟΝΟ: ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΕΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΕΣ ΜΗΝΟΛΟΓΙΟΥ

Η συγκρότηση των ανθρώπων σε κοινότητες, βασικός στόχος κάθε πολιτικής προσπάθειας, συνεπάγεται την επιβολή ενός κατά το δυνατόν κοινού χρονολογικού συστήματος. Αυτήν ακριβώς τη διαδικασία ακολούθησε και το Βυζάντιο. Το κείμενο αυτό μελετά τις εικόνες Μηνολογίου του 11ου και του 12ου αιώνα που βρίσκονται στη μονή του Σινά και προτείνει να τις δούμε ως μέρος της προσπάθειας που πήγαζε από την πρωτεύουσα και στόχευε στη ρύθμιση των εκκλησιαστικών εορτών σε ολόκληρη την αυτοκρατορία. Η στενή σχέση αυτών των εικόνων με την Κωνσταντινούπολη, όπως διαπιστώνεται από την επιλογή των εορτών και των εικονογραφικών τους στοιχείων, υποδηλώνει ότι οι εικόνες αυτές δεν προορίζονταν για την ιδιωτική λατρεία, αλλά λειτουργούσαν κυρίως ως μέσο διάδοσης του κωνσταντινουπολίτικου εορτολογίου και ενοποίησης της αυτοκρατορίας μέσω της καθιέρωσης ενός κοινού λειτουργικού και εορταστικού κύκλου.



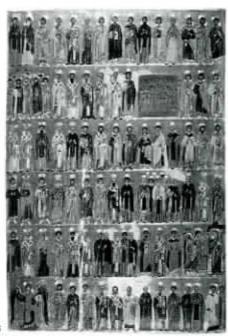
 Sinai. Calendar icon diptych. September through January.

 Sinai. Calendar icon diptych. February through August.





- 3. Sinai. Calendar icon tetraptych. September through November.
- 4. Sinai. Calendar icon tetraptych. June through August.



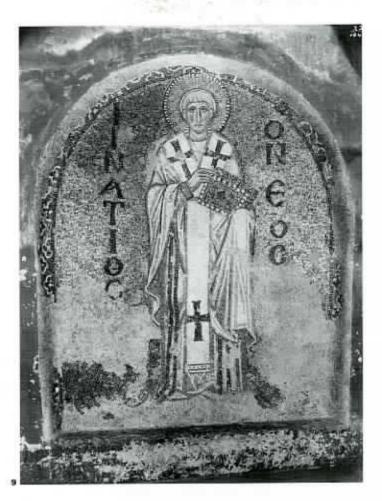


- s. Sinai. Calendar icon March
- s. Sinai, Calendar icon. May.



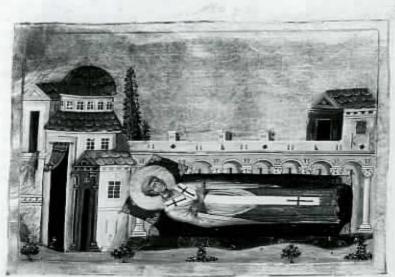


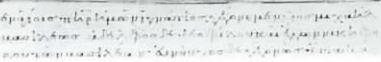
- 7. Sinai, North aisle of the basilica. showing calendar icons hanging from the piers.
- s. St Petersburg, Russian Museum. Calendar icon. December.



- 9. Istanbul, Hagia Sophia, north tympanum. Mosaic of Patriarch Ignatios (St Ignatios the Younger).
- 10. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Cod. gr. 1613, p. 134. Death of Patriarch Ignatios.

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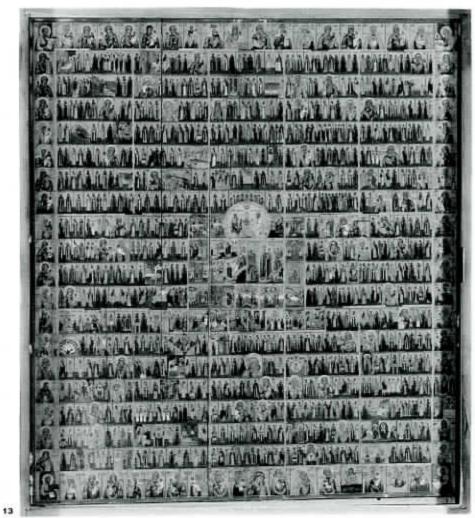








- 11. Sinai. Icon of the Miracles and Passion of Christ, with images of the Virgin.
- 12. Sinai. Icon of the Last Judgment.



13. Athos. Simonopetra. Calendar icon with icons of the Virgin. .